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Prof. Donald R. Dickson
English Department
4227 Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas 77843-4227

E-Mail: scn@tamu.edu
WWW: <http://www-english.tamu.edu/pubs/scn/>

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Jeanne Shami. *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. viii + 318 pp. \$85.00. Review by BYRON NELSON, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

The appearance of King James's *Directions for Preachers* in 1622 undoubtedly stirred up as much anxiety within the clerical community as the *Book of Sports* had created for Puritans and strict sabbatarians. In the *Directions*, James had grumbled about "ungrounded devines" who use the pulpit from which to address "unprofitable" and "daungerous doctrines," and he warned against preaching on predestination or on matters of state. The specific dictates were hard to enforce, but the *Directions* clearly presented a vexing set of problems for preachers, and especially for John Donne, who had become dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1621.

Jeanne Shami proposes to study the sermons of John Donne as an index of clerical conformity in her provocative new book, which helps enormously in the effort to locate Donne on the religious spectrum. Despite some recent efforts to make Donne an Arminian or an early Laudian, Shami keeps Donne within the Calvinist consensus of the pre-Laudian Church of England, but she makes it clear how difficult it was for him to remain a moderate within the church when the boundaries were shifting in the troubled final years of James's reign, even before the seismic shifts under Charles and his new archbishop of Canterbury, Laud. Shami diligently places Donne's sermons within the context of their time and argues that, like his clerical colleagues, Donne was "increasingly challenged by competing claims of conscience and authority" (18), especially after the issuance of the *Directions*, which forced irenical priests such as Donne to stress common values and to work harder at moderation and negotiation.

The sermons from 1620-22 reveal Donne's skill at responding with "discreet conformity" (75) to the controversies in the late Jacobean church. In Shami's view, the sermons show "the integrity of Donne's spirited religious imagination" (75) and confirm the wisdom of Donne's "interpretive inclusivity" (79). She feels that Donne's sympathies lay more with Archbishop Abbot and the Calvinist consensus which prevailed in the years immediately following the Synod of Dort than with the emerging anti-Calvinist bishops and clergy. This study of the sermons of the period exposes what Shami repeatedly calls the "fault lines" of the Jacobean church.

The *Directions* were prompted by specific anxieties about James's policies, such as the fear that James might himself relapse into his mother's Popery and that the Spanish Match might backfire on James's grand political strategy and re-introduce Catholicism through the back door. In her fascinating second chapter, Shami speculates on the possibility that an imprudent sermon by John Knight (who was imprisoned for his April 1622 sermon, which pointed out King Ahab's persecution of the prophet Elijah) triggered the *Directions*. Donne was called on to defend the king's dictates, but he found himself in an almost impossible situation, since as a wide-ranging, "metaphysical" preacher he was routinely guilty of preaching on the proscribed topics. His sermon in defense of the *Directions*, preached at Paul's Cross in September 1622 and published with royal approval, is based on an odd biblical text (Judges 5:20—"They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera") and apparently came across as an ambivalent defense. Shami's exciting notion is to place Donne's performance in the context of the other sermons preached in defense of the *Directions* by such prominent and obscure preachers as Curll, White, Gardiner and Gataker—and Laud himself, who, as a rising ecclesiastical star, not surprisingly was effusive in his praise for James. Shami notes that nearly every sermon preached immediately prior to the *Directions* attacked Catholicism, with the usual warnings against idolatry, the danger of relapsing and the false sense of security; yet James may have found the aggressive anti-Arminian sentiments more troubling.

As Shami observes, Donne may have felt that his September 1622 sermon was more a "political test" than a "public honour" (138), and his ambivalent performance then may explain why Donne never received the bishopric to which his gifts should have entitled him. In later chapters, Shami speculates on the political content of the *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1623) and wonders if it wasn't an overzealous effort at reconciliation with the Church of Rome on the part of the Arminians that was the "emergent occasion" that worried Donne at this time. Shami sees Donne and James Ussher preaching a message of reconciliation among the various factions within the Church of England; they are best understood, in her view, not as part of this emergent anti-Calvinism but instead as "a new strain of Calvinism" (246). The Donne who emerges from the late Jacobean years is an advocate of a "self-consciously inclusive English" church (272), and by the first year of Charles's reign, the Donne who had sought for a middle space

between Catholics and Protestants was now walking a tightrope between the Calvinists and the Arminians. The book ends with a discussion of Donne's triple role, at the end of his career, as a preacher, as the prolocutor of the Canterbury convocation, and as a charitable benefactor of the Charterhouse. Shami concludes by commending Donne as "one of the foundational voices of the Reformed English Church" (283).

This is a sophisticated, intelligent analysis of Donne's pivotal role in the late Jacobean church. It leaves the clear implication that Donne's voice of moderation was sorely missed when power passed in the Caroline church to the Laudians, who sorely lacked Donne's gift for compromise. Shami has read a prodigious number of sermons from the early 1620s and leaves the clear implication that Donne studies could profit from the comparative analysis of the sermons from all the phases of Donne's clerical career. Shami's impressive study makes it abundantly clear that we should not read Donne's sermons as abstract theological musings which are somehow divorced from the contentious religious and political issues of their time. There is a thorough general index, a helpful separate index for Donne references and a useful third index which gives page references to the ten-volume *Sermons of John Donne* edited by Potter and Simpson. I only wish that the *Directions for Preachers* had been included as an appendix to this superb study.

James William Johnson. *A Profane Wit: The Life of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004. x + 467 pp. \$34.95.
Review by HAROLD LOVE, MONASH UNIVERSITY.

John Wilmot, second earl of Rochester, seems like a dream of a biographical subject. He led a scandalous and colorful life, wrote verse that has every appearance of being confessional, and has left a tolerable swag of letters and documents. He is also an excellent subject for retrospective psychoanalysis and venerology-at-a-distance. Why is it then that all attempts to write this life, including the one under review, are so unsatisfactory? The answers are simple. Firstly, the purportedly confessional verse is conditioned at every stage by Rochester's role as a factional clown prince at the court of Charles II. The expectations of a primary readership with whom he was in daily, face-to-face contact influence every line. Secondly, the authorship of

several key poems is uncertain: “Timon,” “Tunbridge Wells,” “Seigneur Dildoe,” and “To the Postboy,” to look no further, all stand under question, while the documentary evidence for his authorship of *Sodom* is about as convincing as that for *Hamlet* having been written by Marlowe. Thirdly, much of what we think we know about Rochester’s life is based on utterly unreliable gossip and the fabrications of an early form of celebrity culture.

It is possible to imagine a biography of Rochester that would confront these difficulties and, where a stand needed to be taken, would do so on the basis of reasoned weighing of the options. Sadly this is not the present author’s method. What we get instead is the repeated presentation of unsubstantiated hunches as if they were ascertained facts. Consider the following passage (one of many that could be cited):

The letter sent off, he went to the Woodstock races and then back to London. There he rejoined his mistress one (Elizabeth?) Foster. She had passed herself off as an innocent girl from the north, but she was the low-born niece of a tavern-keeper in Knightsbridge; she had lost her virginity to one Butler, presumably a highwayman. Pretending faithfulness to Rochester, this “Corinna” as he called her, had sexual relations with others and reinfected John Wilmot with a more virulent form of the pox without his knowledge. (133)

Everything here is misleading, starting with the deceptively exact timetable. The events are placed by Johnson in the late summer of 1670 but the (undated) letter just “sent off” is assigned to 1675 in Treglown’s edition of Rochester’s correspondence (100-01), and all we know of Foster, apart from a passing mention in “Artemisa to Chloe,” comes in a letter from John Muddyman to Rochester dated September 1671:

Fate has taken care to vindicate your proceeding with Foster; whoe is discoverd to bee a damsell of low degre, and very fit for the latter part of your treatment: no northerne lass but a mere dresser at Hazards scoole: her uncle a wyght that wields the puisant spiggot at Kensington: debauchd by Mr Buttler a gentleman of the cloak and gallow shoe—an order of knighthood, uery fatal to maydenhead. (ed. Treglown, 70-71)

There is nothing here about either a sexual relationship (unless “proceeding” and “treatment” are to be wrested into that sense) or catching or re-catching

syphilis. In any case, if Rochester was already, as Johnson maintains, infected, how could he have caught it *again*? Clearly some covert dealing existed between Rochester and Muddyman, but its nature is concealed. It could easily have been one of Rochester's notorious hoaxes, perhaps directed at Foster's "Irish Lord," mentioned in "Artemisa to Chloe." A "wyght that wields the puisant spigot" is a tapster not an innkeeper. "Gallow-shoes" are galoshes or overshoes—unlikely wear for a hard-riding highwayman. Mr. Butler sounds more like a footman in wet weather dress. The assertion (clarified on p. 149) that Foster was the Corinna of "A ramble in Saint James's park" (late 1672?) is pure fantasy. The alleged infidelities are those described in the poem, which is bizarrely treated as a factual life document. A biographer has a right to speculate, but the reader has to be treated fairly, which in this case would have meant quoting Muddyman's sentence on which this whole fabric has been reared and considering all its possible meanings. The same method is on display in Johnson's account of Rochester's relationship with Elizabeth Barry, where once again undated letters are used to construct a narrative which never acknowledges its fabricated basis.

Johnson's belief that Rochester contracted syphilis early in life and then gave it to his wife who transmitted it to their son Charles (161) may be justified but runs against the objection that the couple's three other children lived to a healthy maturity. In the parallel contemporary case of Lord Latimer and his wife, Elizabeth, none of the children survived infancy. Moreover, when Johnson assures us that Thomas Wharton similarly infected Rochester's niece, Anne (176), he ignores Greer and Hastings's even grislier claim that Anne had contracted the disease when little more than a girl, that Wharton, knowing this, married her in the expectation that she would quickly die and make him the inheritor of her large estate, and that he "never went in bed with her" (347). Johnson quotes this last phrase without appreciating that it overturns his own theory.

This is not to say that Johnson does not get some things right. Among its errors and eccentricities the book has assembled much information not given in earlier biographies. Rochester's activity as a member of the House of Lords, the interminable squabbles within his extended family over property and marriages, and the content of his early education are all usefully explored. Readers attracted to early modern gossip about sodomites will also find much to entertain them. The year-by-year narration of events allows the

different streams of Rochester's life—family, amorous, political, literary and religious—to be brought together in a mutually illuminating way which becomes more effective as the story advances into the late 1670s with their richer haul of primary materials. The Popish Plot years and the events leading up to Rochester's death are presented as engrossingly as one would wish. Johnson's identification of Hamilton's mysterious Miss Hobart as Lady Dorothy Howard is persuasive, and he is able to draw on new evidence for identifying the same author's "Miss Sarah" with the actress Sarah Cooke. But the useful things are vitiated by reckless speculation of the kind just instanced and a consistently shaky grasp of detail. A biographer who believes that St Francis is buried at Tours (43), that the Dutch republic was a monarchy (44), that Charles II issued a pro-Catholic Declaration of Indulgence in 1663 (104), or that a knight could give a speech in the House of Lords (177), and who has the second Duke of Buckingham (born 1628) "reared as a virtual son by James I" (died 1625) (82) has surely been snoozing on the job.

But it is the refusal to acknowledge the attributional problems that is the chief drawback of this study. The fact that three manuscripts of "Timon" attribute the poem to Sedley (in many ways a more plausible author) as against only two to Rochester, in one of which his name has been crossed out and replaced by Sedley's, is simply withheld from the reader. In the case of *Sodom*, Johnson asserts Rochester's unaided authorship of the three-act version, which he dates to the early 1670s despite its parodying a line from Crowne's *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, first performed in 1677. He then draws on the work for evidence of Rochester's sexual views, artistic development and state of mind. In a footnote on page 394 the inquisitive reader will learn that the present reviewer had "disputed" an attempt by Johnson to establish this attribution, but without title or date given for my article. For the record, the two papers concerned are Johnson's "Did Lord Rochester write *Sodom*?" *PBSA* 81 (1987), 119-53 and my own "But did Rochester *really* write *Sodom*?" *PBSA* 87 (1993), 319-36. I invite readers of this review to consult both articles and make up their own minds regarding which one presents the more convincing case. Johnson's footnote continues, "However, [Love] includes *Sodom and Gomorah* in his edition of Rochester's works" (Oxford: OUP, 1999). This insinuates that I have changed my mind about the attribution; but what Johnson conceals is that the work is included not in the section of "Poems probably by Rochester," nor that of "Disputed Works," but in the

Appendix: Roffensis of works which for one reason or another are associated with Rochester. Despite Johnson's devotion to his subject, this is not the clear-headed, demythologizing biography of Rochester that is urgently needed.

Erica Longfellow. *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. ix + 241 pp. \$75.00. Review by FRANCES M. MALPEZZI, ARKANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY.

Erica Longfellow's *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* is not a quick read; rather, it is a complex, densely written, and ultimately rewarding study of the use of the mystical marriage metaphor by five women writers—Aemilia Lanyer, Lady Anne Southwell, the anonymous author of *Elizabeth's babes*, Anna Trapnel, and Lucy Hutchinson. Interwoven with the focus on mystical marriage is Longfellow's concern with the production of the texts, whether print or manuscript, and with basic assumptions about the gendering of public and private modes. Much in the same way Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff has previously argued that divine visions empowered medieval women, so Longfellow looks at the way a belief in an intimate relationship with the deity authorized and legitimized early modern women's writings, providing for some a moral standard beyond gender and for others a way to address the operation of divine providence in human institutions.

Longfellow's introduction and first chapter set the groundwork for the study of the individual authors. Her introduction clearly articulates not only the book's subject but also its feminist critical framework and the biographical, bibliographical, and literary historical modes of inquiry through which Longfellow pursues her subject. Her first chapter examines scriptural sources for the mystical marriage metaphor and the history of the commentaries on those sources. She then considers the way in which seventeenth-century Puritan male writers dealt with the metaphor. And while one might expect her to deal with earlier women who made use of the metaphor—Margery Kempe, Catherine of Siena, Mechthild of Magdeburg, or Angela of Foligno, for instance—Longfellow argues any connections between the holy women of the middle ages and these early modern women writers is tenuous since the works of medieval mystics largely disappeared as a result of the Reformation. Thus, the foundation she examines is biblical, patristic, Puritan, and male.

By presenting in chapters 2 through 6 “case studies” of five women writers who used the mystical marriage metaphor, Longfellow provides “a cross-section of early modern women’s experience of authorship” (4). She begins with Lanyer’s *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, emphasizing the elements the poem has in common with the mystical marriage tradition, including the erotic blazons of Christ’s body and the fluidity of Christ’s gender. For Lanyer the spectacle of Christ’s death is transformative, empowering women deemed inferior by some in their society. By representing Christ as the epitome of ungendered virtue, Lanyer depicts a model which both men and women may follow. Next Longfellow examines the variety of genres in *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book*. Through the mystical marriage metaphor Southwell comments not only upon the individual’s relationship to God but also on the institution of marriage. As Southwell contrasts the masculinity of Adam and Christ, she concludes men must follow the example of Christ-as-husband and not rule by dominance and power but by sacrificial love and gentleness. Much as Milton re-defined heroism in *Paradise Lost*, Southwell was re-defining masculinity for her time, using the mystical marriage between Christ and the individual as a paradigm. Chapter 4 focuses on *Eliza’s babes*, poems and prose meditations that are the offspring of the anonymous author’s marriage to Christ. While Eliza’s personal and religious identity have been variously ascribed, Longfellow sees her as a moderate Protestant royalist gentlewoman, who has modelled her works on those of Herbert and his imitators. Moreover, she views the volume as a “printed act of prayer” (135), thus an addition to the long debate about private versus public prayer. Eliza’s private, intimate, devotional relationship with Christ authorizes the public presentation of her literary works. In chapter 5 Longfellow turns her attention to the Fifth Monarchist prophet Anna Trapnel. She contextualizes Trapnel’s prophesying within the debate on women’s religious speech in the 1640s and 1650s and then addresses the role of mystical marriage in Trapnel’s prophetic writings. In the last of the studies, Longfellow examines Lucy Hutchinson’s biography of her husband and her elegies on his death. The parliamentarian John Hutchinson, who had signed the death warrant of Charles I, died after being imprisoned in the Tower during the Restoration. Longfellow argues that in depicting her husband’s physical and spiritual union with God, Lucy Hutchinson equates the political cause she and her husband fought for with God’s cause. In elegiacally mourning her husband and biographically preserving his life,

Hutchinson moves beyond private grief and has a clear public and political motivation. In addition to the *Life* and the elegies, Longfellow also deals with Hutchinson's epic, *Order and Disorder*, frequently drawing comparisons to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and focusing especially on Hutchinson's metaphoric use of the Edenic sexuality of Adam and Eve to suggest the union between God and humanity.

In her concluding chapter, Longfellow deftly ties her material together. She establishes the way in which issues of gender were essentially related to Christian virtue, the way in which the standard of femininity was dependent upon the perception of Christ's masculinity. Ultimately, she asserts, women were not passive victims in defining the standard of the feminine; rather, they "participated in defining what is meant to be a woman and how a woman ought to behave" (212). Moreover, in the concluding pages of her text, she suggests an insightful parallel between the use of scripture by early modern women and modern feminist Biblical criticism. Her argument here is so compelling one can only hope it is a premise for another book. She quickly details some of the common ground shared by modern writers like Phyllis Trible, Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, Rosemary Radford Ruether, or Eleanor McLaughlin and the early modern religious writers she has treated here. This important material needs to be fully explored.

While the paucity of material on many of these writers would in itself make *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* a valuable addition to one's library, there is much more to recommend it. Certainly one of the strengths of the book is Longfellow's attention to detail both as she carefully historicizes the works considered here and as she presents literary analysis of those works. Longfellow's bibliography of primary and secondary materials is thorough, and she includes an index to the text and one to the scriptural passages with which she is concerned. Longfellow's book is an important contribution both to the study of early modern women writers and to religious writing in the period.

Mary Jo Kietzman. *The Self-Fashioning of an Early Modern Englishwoman: Mary Carleton's Lives*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004. 350 pp. + 12 illus. \$79.95.
Review by TIM REINKE-WILLIAMS, UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK.

Mary Jo Kietzman's book is an interdisciplinary study of Mary Carleton, the daughter of a Canterbury fiddler who appeared before the Old Bailey in 1663 charged both with bigamy and with claiming to be Maria von Wolway, a German aristocrat. Carleton's trial attracted widespread attention and her performance in court was so convincing that she was acquitted. After the trial, Mary admitted that she was not in fact Maria von Wolway. Her confession shocked London society and made her a Restoration celebrity. Kietzman's book draws on London and Middlesex Sessions records, Quarter Sessions and wills from Carleton's home county of Kent, London parish registers, and biographies and pamphlets written by and about Mary Carleton to reconstruct her life and place her within the context of literary developments of the later seventeenth century.

Kietzman argues that Mary Carleton anticipated and helped produce changes in women's status in the late seventeenth century by suggesting that she exploited the implicit recognition of women's right to voice opinions in public that emerged as a result of the Civil War. Kietzman believes Carleton's actions helped lead to changes in economic practice, popular mentality, and philosophical thought about identity. She describes Mary as a practitioner of "self-serialization," a concept she defines as the creation and deployment of constructed personages in response to specific situations.

Kietzman argues that self-serialisation was a recognisable social practice and behavioural style of London's lower orders by the 1660s that involved improvising performances and inventing personages. She explains the emergence of this phenomenon by locating it within the context of economic and political changes which led to a loss of social legibility and increased commercial activity but which also made it possible to realise imagined projects, schemes, and performances. Lower class women had no choice but to develop chameleon-like personalities to ensure their economic security. Kietzman takes this further and argues that Restoration culture actively encouraged social display within urban settings of show and promenade. Displaying or verbalising the self was an acceptable and rewarded mode of comportment. With the right clothes and accoutrements women of any social class could

create and represent an artificial personage in public. The extent to which women controlled their creations depended on their confidence or courage and the tropes of public femininity in existence.

Kietzman describes Carleton's life as one of continuous self-serialisation and suggests women of the lower orders "performed" multiple self-identities on the London streets. She argues that Carleton's trial appealed to ordinary Londoners because it showed self-fashioning to be a possibility for the lower sorts. According to Kietzman, the narratives Carleton deployed in court and in print emerged from and were responses to her social circumstances. Her self-serialisations enabled her to advance her personal interests.

As well as being a social practice, self-serialisation was a textual process with wider literary significance, aiding the development of a realist aesthetic by creating both author and constructed personages from social experiences. Kietzman believes that by creating different personages and asserting subjectivity beyond the categories society allowed her Mary Carleton was a precursor to the autobiographical subject of the eighteenth century and the inspiration for the heroines of Aphra Behn and Daniel Defoe. Carleton anticipated the novel by representing self-serialisation as something positive and created and embodied the picaresque mode, a genre that grew out of specific social experience and flowered in a print culture seeking the lives of more or less ordinary individuals.

Kietzman's monograph can be located within a number of trends in historical and literary studies. She places Mary Carleton's experience within the wider context of the historiographies of women's lives in early modern London and of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century crime. This is not a particularly strong aspect of the book. Although Amy Froide's recent thesis on single women is cited, many other important works are missing from the bibliography, particularly the monographs of Laura Gowing and Margaret Hunt. Kietzman argues that Carleton's self-serialisation enabled her to survive within the metropolis. Presumably the book went to press before Kietzman could consult Bernard Capp's recent monograph *When Gossips Meet* (2003), in which Capp suggests a number of other means by which ordinary women negotiated their position within patriarchal society.

By retelling Carleton's story through pamphlets and biographies Kietzman ought to have engaged with studies of cheap print that have dealt with authorship, readership, and increasingly with issues of genre and consumption.

Adam Fox, Peter Lake, Joad Raymond, and Tessa Watt have all made significant contributions to the study of the content and reception of pamphlet literature, but again, other than an article by Fox, this historiography is notable by its absence.

Most importantly, Kietzman places Carleton within the study of female subjectivity at a halfway point between Stephen Greenblatt's ideas of Renaissance self-fashioning and studies of the self in relation to the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century. To this reader Kietzman appears to have been aspiring to write a work of new historicism by recreating the life of an early modern celebrity author through her writings. Considering the title of the book, it is somewhat perverse that Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980) was absent from the bibliography, and it might have been beneficial for Kietzman to consult Bernard Capp's fine study of another self-publicising early modern writer, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (1994).

Kietzman's attempt at an interdisciplinary approach is unfortunately unsuccessful. As a work of social history, there is insufficient engagement with issues of audience and consumption of printed texts, and Kietzman admits in chapter four that her archival research was not as fruitful as she hoped it to be. Literary scholars will likewise find the book a disappointment. The texts being examined do not appear to have been subjected to either a particularly close reading or presented within a sufficiently sophisticated theoretical framework. Ultimately, this is a missed opportunity. Although the idea of self-serialisation is an interesting one that deserves further investigation, it remains to be seen if this study will convince historians or literary critics to pursue it further.

Marta Straznicky. *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 175 pp. \$75.00. Review by NANCY M. BUNKER, MACON STATE COLLEGE.

Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550-1700 historicizes and contextualizes early modern women's closet plays: plays explicitly written for reading, rather than public performance. Marta Straznicky's study reveals that these plays are "permeated with traditions of commercial drama," grounded in an "aristocratic . . . private" literary culture (1). Closet drama, an alternative

tradition, was understood as intellectually superior to and politically more radical than commercial drama. Utilizing texts by Jane Lumley, Elizabeth Cary, Margaret Cavendish, and Anne Finch, Straznicky illuminates their works and authorial positions in relation to concepts of playreading and privacy. Further, she investigates the texts' physical properties, either in print or manuscript, and suggests such detail marks the plays' theatricality. The Introduction notes feminist scholarship's role in collapsing the boundaries between public and private works; Straznicky's study foregrounds the "extrinsic circumstances that have either prevented or facilitated" (2) closet play performance. She argues, "understanding the cultural position of closet drama and its accommodation of female authorship" must address the private works and "public" theatre (3).

Straznicky's first chapter, "Privacy, playreading, and performance," establishes that the culture viewed privacy as a "construct rather than a social fact" (7). She examines the playreading tradition at court, in academia, and in religious instruction and suggests this dramatic expression endows the "acts of reading and writing with the force of public action" (14). Playreading is a type of "public engagement"; to that end, closet drama "participates in the construction of such a concept" (18). As Straznicky notes, playreading practices engendered writers reluctant for public exposure but intent on reaching an elite literary and political audience. Their plays "focus on tensions and points of contact between public and private realm in a way that simultaneously involves retreat and engagement in public culture" (3).

"Jane Lumley: humanist tradition and the culture of playreading," Chapter 2, explores a translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* (c.1553), an "exercise" (19) conducted as a gift for her father. Despite Lumley's legacy as a translator, Straznicky argues this translation demonstrates the playwright's liberal reconfiguration and distance from humanist translation principles. Lumley revises the verse into vernacular prose, generalizes the tragic Iphigenia sacrifice, and minimizes the historical and political in exchange for conflict between public and private duty. Technically, *Iphigenia* shows Lumley deleting metrically complex choruses, cutting lengthier speeches, and conflating dialogues into single speeches, which show attention to reading rather than staging. Straznicky notes that the translation is unique among mid-century texts and argues that confining the text to a domestic audience freed Lumley's creativity (47). She showed both independence in her studies when learning challenging

Greek texts not taught to women and assertiveness in her presentation when working outside established translation boundaries. The “technically deficient translation” and “product of female pen—would have had no place in the broader world of humanist letters” (46), according to Straznicky. Her text represents a creative opportunity but not a public readership.

Chapter 3, “Elizabeth Cary: private drama and print” concentrates on *The Tragedie of Mariam* (1613), the earliest known original English play by a woman. A closet drama published for a reading market, Cary and her publishers sought to “situate the play in relation to elite discourse” (49). The format resembles most classical closet dramas, but attention to stage business links it equally with dramatic publications from private theatre (59). Straznicky argues that Cary’s work deliberately deploys a literary style already coded “private” (4) and heightened by the intimate sonnet dedication to her husband. The play circulated in manuscript, and eventually she wrote a second sonnet. Both dedicatory poems speak to Cary’s definitions of private; each text produces a unique version of the play: a domestic literary circle of personal acquaintances and an elite drama targeted to the educated public of play readers (66). With these versions, Straznicky argues, publishers manipulated the “cultural field” of Cary’s play as “private” drama intersecting with print (66).

Chapter 4, “Margaret Cavendish: the closing of the theatres and the politics of playreading,” addresses the closeting of plays due to the 1642 parliamentary ordinance closing theatres, and suggests reading as the only legitimate theatrical pleasure (70). Two collections of Cavendish’s plays (1662, 1668) take Straznicky’s focus, as she suggests writing, printing, and reading plays, even in private, became political acts. Cavendish placed her private texts into a reading public circulation (67) with an address to her husband in dedicatory epistle, and unlike Lumley and Cary, exerted no effort to limit readers on the basis of family, education, or status. She sought wide readership in dedicating the first collection to general and the second to future readers. Of special interest to Straznicky’s study, Cavendish’s significant textual specifics such as reading protocols, font changes for speech and stage direction, and instructions for reading the plays unite print and performance as well as public and private into the text itself (88). A play written for print alone frees an author to “rhetorically take part in banned public events without leaving the security of private space” (77); to that end, Cavendish’s printed plays buffer

the most extreme public critique. Straznicky contends the playwright respects closet drama's enclosed spaces as a site of "engagement rather than withdrawal" (83) for author and reader.

"Anne Finch: Authorship, privacy, and the Restoration stage," Straznicky's fifth chapter, examines women's closet drama after the theatres reopened. Finch actively pursued an amateur writing career and wanted her works to be read aloud; however, none were intended for performance. Two plays receive Straznicky's attention: *The Triumph of Love and Innocence*, a drama sensitive to particular demands of writing for performance with tight structure and heroic verse, and *Aristomenes; or, The Royal Shepherd*, a tragedy with a political theme. Although Finch explicitly states neither play is to be performed, both manuscripts show remarkable attention to staging. Examples include setting scenes, moving characters, marking and bracketing asides; the play page functions as a "virtual counter-text to spoken dialogue, shifting the reader's attention from spoken to visual content" (93). Finch's social rank required her to maintain amateur status, eschew serious intentions, and refute professional ambition. Since professional entertainment involved money and female pleasure for money exchange was sexualized (99-100), the playwright explicitly attempted control over release and reception of her work. She differentiated herself from those paid to write and erected a firm boundary between public theatre and private playreading.

Straznicky's conclusion, "Closet drama: private space, private stage, and gender" concentrates upon the plays as an alternative to commercial theatre, which was inaccessible to women. Lumley envisioned a household audience, Cary must have anticipated a "private" commercial stage, Cavendish desired readers to "simulate" performance, and Finch prepared a "thoroughly stageable" text (112). Because playreading belonged to the private domain, attention to the "closet" and other domestic spaces shows women's engagement with private drama as a strategic choice.

The playwrights studied in *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550-1700* belong to a cultural elite with its unique circumstances regarding writing, reception, and self-presentation. Straznicky clearly shows the extraordinary combination of personal agency and technical skill exercised among authors whose commonality lies in their plays, each written from a private sphere for a reading public. Through her insightful analyses and historical grounding, Straznicky provides a fresh and thorough portrait of closet drama.

Women's writing scholars and English drama historians will benefit from her study.

K. J. P. Lowe. *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xvi + 437 pp. + 42 illus. \$90.00. Review by THOMAS WORCESTER, COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Vernacular chronicles of three convents form the basis of this study: Santa Maria delle Vergini (Venice), known as Le Vergini; Santa Maria Annunziata (Florence), known as Le Murate; Santi Cosma e Damiano (Rome), known as San Cosimato. The chronicler of Le Vergini, a house of canonesses, was an anonymous member (or several anonymous members) of the community. The text was composed in 1523. Le Murate was Benedictine; Suora Giustina Niccolini produced its chronicle in 1598. San Cosimato was Franciscan; Suora Orsola Formicini composed a chronicle extant in three versions between 1603 and 1613. Lowe does an excellent job showing how each document is a far richer historical source than many scholars have supposed. In comparing and contrasting these chronicles of female religious life from three different contexts, she explores a broad array of questions about female agency, religious traditions and innovations in an age of reform, as well as social and economic life, the arts, and cultural production.

Lowe thoroughly explores both common features of three chronicles, as well as differences between them. Le Vergini restricted its membership to noble women, and their relatively high level of literacy and education is evident from the chronicle's form and content. Many of the noble canonesses could compose orations in Latin; these elite women brought their own private servants with them to the convent, a convent without restrictions of cloister or even anything like perpetual vows. But events in 1519 at Le Vergini had upset these traditional ways: the patriarch (bishop) of Venice took control of the convent, with the backing of the doge. Previously, Le Vergini had acknowledged only the pope as a religious superior, and popes generally left the canonesses to their own devices. The 1523 chronicle manifests the anger of the canonesses who now had to contend with close episcopal supervision as well as the introduction, by force, of a growing number of strictly obser-

vant, cloistered canonesses in their house. Thus anger and resentment on the part of the “traditional” members of Le Vergini pervades the chronicle in ways not found in the chronicles of Le Murate and San Cosimato. Yet all three narratives are conservative in that they promote the “ancient” privileges and traditions of their communities. They all contain foundation stories that glorify the community’s origins and history; they include tales of triumph over adversity that suggest likely survival and even prosperity for many more generations. The chroniclers carefully “construct” a past in order to justify and defend a certain vision of the present and future of their respective communities.

Florence’s Le Murate had survived more than one inundation by the Arno. It was also a convent that had strength in numbers. While Le Vergini typically had between 25 and 50 nuns, Le Murate at times reached 200. It was also a much more inclusive house with a membership by no means restricted to nobility. Music was highly valued in this convent; candidates for entrance were sometimes accepted without dowries if they had good voices. Visual arts were also honored; in 1546, Le Murate commissioned a *Last Supper* for its refectory from Giorgio Vasari. Le Murate was highly regarded by the Florentine elites as a suitable venue for the upbringing of their daughters. Young girls might be placed there, whether or not there was an expectation that they would eventually become nuns. Catherine de Medici spent some time at Le Murate as a child, and she remained a patron of the house long after, even as Queen of France. Suora Giustina Niccolini reports, for instance, that in 1581 Catherine ordered that a bas-relief portrait of herself be given to Le Murate. A fully observant house by the mid-1400s, Le Murate’s traditions were much more compatible with the reforming spirit of the sixteenth century than were the free-wheeling ways of Le Vergini.

San Cosimato was Franciscan; like Le Murate it was observant by the middle of the fifteenth century. It was a community of some 60 nuns; the male authorities to which it was subject were Franciscan friars. In general, Suora Orsola Formicini praises steps that were taken to keep the convent on the straight and narrow path of observance. But Formicini recounts in more negative terms a visitation of Roman religious houses ordered by the pope in the early 1590s and carried out by the bishop of Bergamo. Such external interference the nuns opposed, even though they were models of piety and observance. Friendly relations with San Cosimato were maintained by some

popes: Sixtus IV was a patron of the house.

Lowe does a good job of showing how all of the chroniclers highlighted prominent patrons of their communities. In the case of Le Vergini, links with an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and a whole series of Venice's doges receive much attention as a way of validating and defending the importance and independence of the convent. For Le Murate, Catherine de Medici was by no means the only Medici to have supported the community. Not surprisingly, for Rome's San Cosimato papal patronage could be especially useful to have and to make known.

This study also does a fine job of showing how blind most (male) historians have been to the significance of women's narratives—such as the convent chronicles examined here. Lowe traces such blindness to the biases of nineteenth-century scholars who “imbibed and accepted the cultural norms of their time, which decreed that women were weak, foolish and unreliable” (52). It is thus ironic to see Lowe mimic nineteenth-century historians when she relentlessly scorns and condemns the “Counter Reformation” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whether or not the data from the convent chronicles supports such un-nuanced conclusions, Lowe portrays the nuns as victims of an evil Council of Trent and of clerical “abuse” of authority. The chronology of the chronicles in question corresponds poorly to such a picture. The reform program imposed on Le Vergini by the patriarch of Venice was instituted in 1519, long before Trent (1545–63), and it is precisely those events of 1519 and the years immediately following that form Lowe's strongest case for a “gloomy” (299) Counter Reformation. Study of early modern convents in Italy and elsewhere has become an exciting and prolific field of scholarship. This book makes a solid contribution to further growth of the field. Though some of its interpretive framework may not be altogether persuasive, the volume succeeds admirably in underscoring the importance of previously ignored sources.

Thomas Kranidas. *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2005. xvi + 255 pp. \$58.00. Review by JAMES EGAN, THE UNIVERSITY OF AKRON.

Published in Duquesne University Press's distinguished Medieval and Re-

naissance Literary Studies series, *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal* reads Milton's antiprelatical tracts in the context of a pervasive seventeenth-century tradition of Puritan zealous writing, with substantial reference to the Thomason Collection, arguably the most valuable set of early modern texts in the British Museum. As Kranidas notes in the preface, the book's first chapter doubles as an anthology of seldom studied yet important political and theological pamphlets. He describes his analytical method as "historical, with a touch of the New Historicist in a respect for nonliterary discourse" (xiii). Neither at this point of introduction nor later does *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal* indulge in tub-thumping or self-congratulatory digressions on the virtues of its methodology; instead, the conclusions Kranidas draws about the tracts under consideration will themselves referee his *modus operandi*.

Chapter One identifies zeal in seventeenth-century texts as essentially "righteous indignation and ardor," while conceding that the contemporary Christian connotations of the term had considerable ambivalence, so much so that it is necessary to incorporate several adjacent concepts ("lukewarmness," decency, and indifference) into a comprehensive explanation of zeal. By reviewing at length these ideas, contested and negotiated between Anglicans and Puritans, Kranidas achieves, if not definition by opposites, then at least a secure sense of the volatile nuances of zeal. Puritans, notably the influential Thomas Brightman, equated the Church of England with the "lukewarm" Church of Laodicea, and the lukewarmness trope was still current when Milton's polemic career began in the 1640s. Like most Puritan activists, Milton demystified the "elegant poise" of the *via media* into hypocritical "self-serving" and "cowardly moderation" (17). The Church of England aggressively countered Puritan ridicule and contempt with a vigorous defensive rhetoric meant to validate the Beauty of Holiness. Kranidas considers the pamphlet wars of the 1640s as the front lines of this battle. Controversy over the meanings of "indifference" evolved along a parallel, occasionally intersecting path. The pulpit was another locus of ideological skirmishes, which here took the form of a heated contest between Puritan suspicions over "learned sermonizing" and Anglican caricatures of Puritan preaching as the work of an overreaching ministry of low birth and high pretension. Milton entered the debate on the non-preaching ministry in the digression of "Lycidas"; his Puritan readers would have recognized Milton's allusion to "Blind Mouths" as the paradoxical but appropriate poetic appropriation of a polemic image

ubiquitous in recent public debate. The chapter ends with a postulate addressing the analytical methodology Kranidas puts into play, a methodology, as noted earlier, which “values texts over critical or theoretical positions” (46). In practical terms, this declaration means that *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal* avoids critical self-referentiality and circular elaborations which privilege method over text and often read like postmodern fictions gone bad. What Kranidas aims at, and frequently achieves, is a form of critique which merges the strengths of the traditional historicism practiced by the editors of the *Yale Complete Prose*, Joan Webber, C.A. Patrides, and others with the New Historicism well represented in the work of David Loewenstein, Sharon Achinstein, and David Norbrook.

Chapter Two touches on Milton’s first antiprelatical offering, the brief “Postscript,” which clearly anticipates the characteristics of his later contributions and emphatically laments the deficiencies of episcopal zeal. Kranidas’s version of *Of Reformation* (1641) effectively challenges Loewenstein’s insistence that the tract traces “a tragic process of degeneracy” (58) by arguing for Milton’s emphasis on the momentous, positive transformations that Reform entails. As he consistently does, Kranidas here contextualizes the violence of Milton’s rhetoric by locating it in the lengthy, fully established tradition of militant Christian advocacy. Finally, he offers an alternative to the reading of the pamphlet’s prayer-peroration as overreaching and simplistic by Stanley Fish and Hugh Trevor-Roper, pointing out that Milton’s vision of apocalypse forecasts not only a day of judgment but a day of rewards and honors as well. Kranidas’s reading valuably shows that Milton’s enactment of apocalypse involves both cause *and* effect. This analysis can be reinforced by reference to another major Puritan rhetorical mode, the American jeremiad. In the influential interpretation of Sacvan Bercovitch, the jeremiad juxtaposes divine favor and wrath. Kranidas correctly insists in this case upon the complex dialectic of tensions which typify Milton’s controversial prose.

Chapter Three studies *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641), and Kranidas’s treatment of it is one of two persuasive current readings, the other being that of Stanley Fish. According to Kranidas, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* qualifies as a “methodological treatise on Christian polemic,” a polemic about writing polemic, and specifically about standards of evidence, scriptural injunction and example, anecdote, and the creation of legend (79-83). Milton adds to his previous discussions of zeal by characterizing “inconsiderate zeal” as per-

sonal, anecdotal, and suggests that, for the most part, "Truth is printed" (81). In a reversal both polemical and epistemological, Milton demonstrates that the authority of the Fathers cited by his episcopal antagonists must be recognized as a "measure of distance from truth" (84). He maintains the tonal complexity he had set in the prayer-peroration of *Of Reformation* by adding to his admonition that the search for truth must be cautious and skeptical: scriptural truth, Milton suggests, may yield to the application of human reason.

Chapter Four covers the major Smectymnuan pamphlets, including Milton's *Animadversions* (1641). In what has proven to be the definitive reading of the Smectymnuan controversy, Kranidas shows how Bishop Hall constructs an image as an "authoritative peace-maker" (89). Yet the rectitude Hall tries to project proves theatrical—he insults while denying that he does so. The Smectymnuan exchange becomes a war between the rectitude of the speakers, rectitude typically expressed by prose style. Participants "search for the style of truth-from-scripture" (92), for what Kranidas calls kerygmatic authority. Though his polemic was sophisticated, sophistication did not prevent Hall from underestimating his Puritan adversaries and their ethos. The Smectymnuans showed themselves to be astute readers of early modern polemic and shrewd deconstructors of Hall's invented rectitude. Whatever the strategical outcome, however, the Humble Remonstrant, Bishop Joseph Hall, attempted to control the Smectymnuan debate by means of an "initiator and initiating decorum" (94), one which is essential to understanding Milton's response in the *Animadversions*. For his part, Milton uses anger and laughter as an antidote to the dangers posed by Hall's persona. Kranidas accurately contextualizes the rhetorical precedents for Milton's satiric tactics and the personal digressions of the *Animadversions* (though such digressions do not qualify as formal polemic rebuttals), pointing to their aesthetic qualities which move the *Animadversions* toward an "eschatological poem" (115) and begin to fuse the "offices of poet and preacher" (117) at the same time that Milton continues to de-iconicize Hall. Throughout this pioneering analysis of the Smectymnuan debate, Kranidas remains sharply aware of the intricate dialogues among tracts in the series, the complexity of reciprocal relationships among participants, and the ways in which rhetorical decorum is established in pamphlet warfare. His conclusions anticipate much recent work on polemic exchanges and self-fashioning in seventeenth-century tract writing. Moreover, the attention Kranidas pays to the aesthetic qualities of Milton's

digressions connect his interpretation to the influential essays in *Politics, Poetics and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose* (1990), the collection widely recognized as the most comprehensive modern study of the prose-poetry interface in the Milton canon. If one had to single out the most persuasive, authoritative chapter in *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal*, Chapter Four might be it.

Chapter Five examines *A Modest Confutation* (1642) and Milton's answer to it, *An Apology Against a Pamphlet* (1642). The argument in this debate moves away from the particulars of church discipline toward the personal agendas of the debaters—in both Milton and the Confuter erudition and vehemence contest the claims of humility and moral capacity. Milton's attempts to proclaim and justify his own kerygmatic authority must avoid the “pitfalls of professional and technical pride” (123). Surprisingly, Kranidas dismisses the *Modest Confutation* as moribund and pretentious, more pretentious than Milton's *Animadversions*, despite the *Confutation's* uncommon alertness to Milton's own theatrical self-fashioning. Clearly, Milton's I was “beleaguered” by the Modest Confuter, yet at the same time Milton managed to turn the Confuter's attack to his own advantage by using it as a way of proclaiming the uniqueness of his own I and its emerging kerygmatic authority (140–43). Current scholarship has reinforced Kranidas's argument by showing how pervasive Milton's inclination is during his entire pamphleteering career to define himself in opposition to his antagonists. *An Apology* ends by summarizing the case Milton has made for kerygmatic authority, stressing the power of censure and sounding imagistically the note of prelatical failure to fulfill its ministerial mission, while at the same time redefining Anglican devotion as empty exteriority.

The climactic and lengthiest chapter of *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal* examines kerygmatic authority in *The Reason of Church-Government* and the status of the pamphlet as a “major work of intellectual autobiography” (164) in which Milton begins to redefine the hero as intrinsically kerygmatic, a Christian proclaimer who has the right to rebuke and chastise as well as to celebrate. When Kranidas reviews Milton's claims to kerygmatic authority in book one, he proceeds topically and thematically, mirroring Milton's own accumulative practices, rather than “systematically”; here the reader might wish for a tighter, more systematic organization, even at the risk of oversimplification, because of the demands the presentation makes for precise familiarity with details of imagery and allusion. Kranidas interprets the renowned autobiographical preface to book two as a clarification of Milton's awareness of kerygmatic

authority and examines the emotional resonance of his accepting the sacred office of speaking Christian truth, truth both radiant and hard (183). This interpretation of Milton's mapping of his literary career comes down on the moderate side of the ongoing debate over whether Milton privileged poetic accomplishment, and perhaps laureateship, or polemic activism in the cause of Reformation. Milton's "literary energies," Kranidas charges, "are in the service of the kerygmatic force of English Protestantism" (185). He also suggests that Milton recognized both the superior reader and a populist audience as he outlined his career plans. The paradox of how Milton proposed to connect with an often conservative populist audience, especially in light of the radicalism of much of his intellectual agenda, has just begun to receive its fair share of scholarly attention. Milton returns to polemic censure at the close of *Church-Government*, though his chapter headings seem to indicate otherwise. As Milton judges individual error in church discipline, his rhetoric takes on the idealistic, sometimes antithetical quality Kranidas had examined in *Of Reformation*, the *Animadversions*, and *An Apolog*—while Milton makes allowances for human frailty, he is punitive, sometimes "voluptuously" punitive, as well. In the logic of Christian paradox, Milton's intention would be salvific, though he calls for the abolition of episcopacy and excludes the unworthy from the "holy and humane community" he prophesies (199).

The coda, "Rhetoric and Revolution: The Eccentric Equation," reviews several parallels Kranidas has experienced between the "radical rhetoric of the 1640s in England and the 1960s in the United States" (206), examining the agendas of each polemic set and their analogous goals of mocking, appropriating, and ultimately destroying the decorum of the social-political Establishment. The topic of zeal, he concludes, has a nearly archetypal relevance. Particularly intriguing here is Kranidas's own point of view as detached recorder of and participant in political turmoil. His meditation reenacts the interplay of critical distance from and enthusiasm for polemic literature evident in the body chapters.

This book synthesizes extremely well what might appear to be opposed qualities. On the one hand, its focus is close, properly limited to Milton's antiprelatical tracts and the literature of zeal which frames them. On the other, Kranidas loses no relevant opportunity to range widely, to address Milton's prose and poetry as a whole, and to link his conclusions to appropriate current critical debates. The persuasiveness of his historical methodology is

complemented by the anecdotal, refreshingly unpretentious quality of the coda, which animates and personalizes the act of literary criticism. *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal* proves itself to be an urbane, graceful, and pointed study, one which regularly records the sort of appreciation for both the intricacy and the immediacy of Milton's prose which can be found in the work of Webber, Parker, Lewalski, and Corns.

Susannah Brietz Monta. *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. viii + 245 pp. + 4 illus. \$75.00. Review by LISSA BEAUCHAMP, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY.

The subject of martyrdom in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England has been largely dominated by studies of the various editions of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, also called the *Book of Martyrs*, due to recent and ongoing digital editions published by Oxford University Press (1583 edition, 2001) and Ohio State University Libraries (1563 edition, 2003). Susannah Monta's book, though it ranges through the martyrologies of the early and later volumes of Foxe's *Acts*, goes well beyond Foxe to consider the spectacular elements of English Protestant and Catholic recusant martyrdoms in narrative allegories, lyric poetry, drama, sermons, and prose polemics. In other words, Monta's study offers a much-needed religio-cultural context for Foxe's work, as well as delivering a focused consideration of how this sub-culture operates in literary and theatrical settings.

Monta's book is divided into two parts. In a brief introduction, she establishes the themes and "questions concerning authority and resistance, the nature of the church, religious subjectivity, justification and sacrament, and historical continuity (or discontinuity)" (1) that form the basis of her subsequent arguments in Part One, where she lays out the hermeneutics of martyrological discourses in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Despite the common proposition that "the cause, not the death, makes the martyr (*non poena sed causa*)" (9), religious affiliation as cause is a somewhat confused issue when the spectacle of death is presented using similar persuasive techniques, and as often as not, "The deaths are superior to discourse itself" (10). The three chapters of this section establish and discuss the issues of conscience as a determinant of truth and the problems associated with portraying in-

ward conviction outwardly, ecclesiastical authority both within Catholic and Protestant camps and between them, and the relationship between the testimonial voices of martyr and martyrologist.

Chapter One elaborates the theme of conscience “as an interface with the divine” and the difficulty of “rendering [such] interior constructs into discourse” (13). The important distinction that Monta identifies between Protestant and Catholic rhetorics of conscience is that while the Catholic martyr acts *in imitatio Christi*, the Protestant martyr acts as a model of faithful performance for the community of the faithful. Monta also discusses the issue of enforced silence for the martyr and the (usually male) martyrologist’s task as one of opening discourse on behalf of the martyr (who is often female) but does not include any significant commentary on gender until later in the book. Chapter Two raises the issue of the problematic identification of the “true” Church, which is essentially, again, a matter of audience perspective. Seeing the truth of the martyr’s cause depends on a common adherence of belief, which echoes the religious motif of interpenetrating or circular logic of faith to begin with: “He must be in Christes body that must receive Christes body” (38, qtg. Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, 1620). Indeed, “truth is visible only to those who already posses it” (37), both for Catholics and for Protestants in this period. In Chapter Three, Monta considers the surprisingly common use of wonders and miracles, and on the martyr’s joyful acceptance of pain, suffering, and death, as indicators of the truth of his/her faith. Monta shows that despite Foxe’s own rhetoric of rejecting the miraculous in Catholic martyrologies, he and other Protestant writers remained cautiously fascinated with wonders and recorded them as assiduously as Catholic writers did. Ultimately, Monta concludes that martyrologists of either faith “work to shape reading communities that will celebrate their martyrs, effecting a sort of evangelism of interpretation” (12). This conclusion with regard to martyrology suggests an interesting link to medieval and early modern exegesis, which uses similar rhetoric to convey the transporting power of reading scripture through an emphasis on the topological sense of personal application in sense of everyday conduct, but such a comparison is beyond the scope of Monta’s book.

Part Two consists of four chapters, each using a comparative method to examine significant Protestant and Catholic texts (allegorical narrative, lyric poetry, sermons, prose polemic, and drama) that “use martyrological texts

and controversies as source materials, subtexts, or points of departure” (79) in order to demonstrate the more theoretical points of Part One. In Chapter Five, Spenser’s Book One of the *Faerie Queene* is compared to Anthony Copley’s *A Fig for Fortune*, a Catholic allegorical response to Spenser’s Protestant allegory. Copley’s Catholic knight not only displaces the allegory of Queen Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary, as we might expect, he also weds earth to heaven in the medium of the Mass and achieves his wedding rather than deferring it perpetually as Spenser’s Red Crosse Knight does. In Chapter Six, Robert Southwell and John Donne are shown to offer competing discourses of suffering and religious confidence. While Southwell and Donne both promote self-integration as a desirable result from suffering, Southwell insists on martyrdom as a literal, physical act that confers the oxymoronic certainty of belief; Donne, on the other hand, insists that suffering is itself a kind of martyrdom, however figuratively, and that the certainty of belief is attainable without the suicidal connotations of literal martyrdom. Theatrical representation of the martyr’s spectacle is considered in Anthony Munday’s *The Book of Sir Thomas More* and in Shakespeare’s *Henry VIII* in Chapter Seven. In both plays, “To enact interiority on stage is to risk an infinite regress, an endless series of performances” (158): Munday capitalizes on More’s famous wit to defer stating his “cause,” and thus the play perpetually reserves judgement on his status as martyr; Shakespeare multiplies the causes in *Henry VIII*, staging Catholic and Protestant convictions side by side and, like *Thomas More*, “make[s] room for potentially divided theatrical audiences” (186). And in Chapter Eight, the collaborative play *The Virgin Martyr* demonstrates the later shifts of the 1620s onward, where the analogy of an early Catholic martyr (St. Dorothy) works to spur English Protestant resistance to increasingly political Catholic recusants and priests. It is here that gender suddenly becomes part of Monta’s argument, and it is rather too late in the book to develop it fully. Still, she does point out that the perception of female “weakness” makes for more powerful testimony and demonstrates how emphasizing weakness paradoxically conveys greater strength in martyrological rhetoric, just as Christina Luckyj has argued recently in *A moving Rhetorick: Gender and silence in early modern England* (2002).

Monta builds on recent scholarship with regard to how the cultures of martyrdom in Reformation England draw on performative as well as literary tropes, and, as she argues persuasively, Protestant and Catholic rhetorics

draw out each other's shifting figures and themes with an almost alarming versatility: "Martyrologies . . . demonstrate that religious beliefs and representational practices were not neatly aligned in the period but were in flux. Virginity was not an ideal which only Catholic writers deployed; miracles were not eliminated in Protestant martyrological writing; Catholic writers reworked and relied upon the language of inwardness and conscience" (235). Indeed, it is often difficult to distinguish between Protestant and Catholic depictions of martyrs, and it is sometimes unfortunate that Monta's uneven treatment occasionally obscures this fascinating and difficult topic. While it is critically useful to blur categorical distinctions in order to draw out points of similarity, Monta could have established clearer lines of discursive organization to better identify variations. She has a habit of insisting on both similarity and difference between Protestant and Catholic practices at the same time, such that it is often difficult to follow her otherwise very interesting arguments about how Protestant and Catholic writers use the discourses of martyrdom to characterize religious virtues as performative ideals. At other points, the effect of extensive examples is that of repetition, and the sense of an expanding argument falls quite flat. For instance, after an ingenious reading of how *The Virgin Martyr* evokes an active engagement in the politics of religion in the final chapter, five examples of Catholic texts, some at length, are used to make a single point of comparison (that Catholic priests in the 1640s embraced a patriotic position, claiming sympathy for a politically fraught country and potentially compromising their statuses as martyrs). Though occasionally difficult to follow, this contribution to scholarship on early modern literature, drama, and religious history is knowledgeable and insightful.

Reid Barbour. *Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. viii + 282 pp. £45.00. Review by HOLLY FAITH NELSON, TRINITY WESTERN UNIVERSITY.

Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England is a welcome addition to the field of early modern cultural studies. Reid Barbour has produced an original and meticulously researched book that demonstrates the complexity of religious stocktaking in Caroline England. Barbour interrogates the traditional metanarratives applied to the Caroline church, eschew-

ing the language of binaries in his exploration of the “Caroline religious imagination” and the “circumstances of English Protestant faith” (10, 3). Following in the footsteps of Achsah Guibbory, Kevin Sharpe, and Anthony Milton, Barbour takes us beyond the “Spirit of Anglicanism” or the Anglican/Puritan divide and thrusts us into the overdetermined world of the British church between 1625 and 1649, a world characterized by dialogism, paradox, and ideological gaps.

Barbour, in new historicist fashion, broadly defines literature, unveiling religious stocktaking in sermons, religious tracts, poetry, diaries, philosophical treatises, and plays. His book is both telescopic and microscopic in its vision: it scrutinizes a wide spectrum of early modern works on ecclesiology, theology, and natural philosophy by Stuart writers, but also produces myriad close readings of familiar and lesser known works. Barbour’s analyses of these texts not only further our understanding of the ways in which the clergy and laity struggled to forge the national church into an unified body but also reveal how the failure to stabilize an ecclesiastical identity and secure wholesale conformity contributed to the onset of civil war.

Barbour begins his book by considering the struggle of three Caroline communities to reconstitute English Protestant heroism. The church heroic, he demonstrates, was a matter of great importance to the court of Charles I, the Ferrar family at Little Gidding, and Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, at Great Tew. Each of these three communities, he suggests, offers its own vision of heroic Protestantism. Eclipsed by the militant Protestantism of Elizabeth I, Charles I strove to constitute “a brave new ideal of religious heroism” through ceremony, seeking in the process “to create in symbol the honor that was languishing in military action and foreign policy” (26). The insular community at Little Gidding was more sceptical in its assessment of Protestant heroism, particularly in its reliance on violence to advance the kingdom. Though eager to restore English parish religion and to export Protestantism, the community at Little Gidding perceived religious heroism “as a laborious, resourceful, and vulnerable struggle in the fallen world over the terms and costs of an exchange between violence and spirituality” (53). At Great Tew, heroism was less a military than an intellectual endeavor. For Lucius Cary, Protestant heroism was neo-Platonic, sceptical, and irenic. The community at Great Tew prized reason, censured violence, defended doubt and even dissent, and embraced a universalist soteriology. Barbour shows that Great Tew and

Little Gidding, paradoxically, both challenged and helped to sustain the court's renovation of religious heroism.

In his third chapter, Barbour turns from heroism to the role of liturgy and decorum in enriching the rites of worship, particularly to the anxiety over the function of fancy in church services. Barbour associates Laud's dreams about religion with his promotion of ceremony as an ecclesiastical asset based upon "the ritualized body, the stimulated senses, and the disciplined imagination" (91). While celebrating their own decorous fancy, the Laudians deemed the extemporaneous prayers of the Calvinist conformists false and unregulated fancy, to which Calvinists responded by labelling the carnal "superfluous opulence" of Laudian ceremony Popish fancy (97). This Caroline debate over the transgressive imagination and decorous ceremony remained unresolved, despite the desire of many Caroline authors to merge spirit and ceremony.

Protestant stocktaking in Caroline England is further complicated, Barbour suggests in chapter four, by the disagreement over the theological, social, and ecclesiastical significance of personhood. Barbour explores the way in which Caroline divines schematize the interaction between persons and God and between human beings; he discovers in their sermons a fixation on the election or reprobation of persons and a tension between spiritual and social discourses on personhood. Scripture advises that "God is not a respecter of persons" (Acts 10:34), yet this does not accord with the doctrine of double predestination. Humans who "respect persons . . . commit sin" (James 2:9); however, this biblical injunction subverts the Laudian emphasis on the decorum of social place in a hierarchical society. An associated dilemma, Barbour claims, surfaces in regard to the person of the clergy, reflecting the tension between the Puritan view of the personal authority of a minister as a particular and private man and the Laudian framing of the ministerial person as "institutional, composite, and conformable" (146). Barbour claims that this homiletic debate over personhood is played out on the Caroline stage, as both "drama and pulpit were bound up in the search for the meaning of God's disregard for persons" and of the "person of the parson" (163,165).

Barbour moves from the world of the stage to the book of nature in his final chapters, examining the role of natural philosophy in Caroline religious stocktaking. Though the majority of Stuart writers viewed theology and natural philosophy as related disciplines, they disputed the place of "natural

inquiry” in religion (180). Barbour places Francis Bacon and Robert Fludd on two ends of the philosophical spectrum, and Sir Thomas Browne, William Harvey, and George Hakewell (among others) somewhere in the middle, and associates particular natural philosophies with certain ecclesiastical practices. He finds in the works of Donne, for example, a “theory of natural plenism and holism” which accords with “his belief in the ceremonial unity of the church” (210), just as Edward Herbert’s emphasis on “rational and natural law” leads him to disregard rituals, priests, canon laws, and other features of the prelatical church (211). Barbour cleverly ties his discussion of natural philosophy and Protestant ecclesiology to the Jacobean Book of Sports and the Caroline vogue of landscape poetry and painting, relating, for example, the treatment of nature in the poetry of Robert Herrick to his appreciation of “a mythic cosmos, festive society, and ceremonial church” (218). Thus, the complex religious significance of the renovation of natural philosophy in the Caroline period is borne out in Barbour’s book.

Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England is not an easy book to navigate. The breadth of Barbour’s subject, the numerous texts he scrutinizes, and the density of his prose make it difficult, at times, for the reader to establish connections between his ideas. However, it remains an extraordinarily erudite, stimulating, and comprehensive exploration of Caroline Protestantism across various discursive formations. Barbour accomplishes his lofty goal to trace the ways in which “the inventors of Caroline orthodoxy attempted to convert the vexations of circumstantial compromise into a code of valor, a boon to the fancy, a genealogy of religious truths, a decorum of holiness, and a natural philosophy” (250). This book is, therefore, essential reading for scholars in the field.

Sharon Achinstein. *Literature and Dissent in Milton’s England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xii + 302 pp. + 11 illus. \$60.00. Review by P. G. STANWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

This long, thoughtful, hugely detailed book seeks, in its author’s words, to accomplish two aims: “First, it observes how, as a community and a political concept, dissent was created through cultural forms arising from an experience of social exclusion.... Second, the book observes the changing nature

of religious radicalism on the eve of the Enlightenment, specifically with respect to religiously motivated violence” (3–4). The book’s thesis is even better stated much later: “The premises of this study are that the English Revolution was not a complete failure; that radical energies released there continued to fire politics and religious controversy in the Restoration; and that the literary activities of the radical sectarians merit attention for their complex engagement with political and otherworldly concerns” (115). Many remarkable figures appear in Achinstein’s cultural, political, and literary study, with Milton central among them; but he is treated, quite sensibly, not simply as one of the last great writers of the Renaissance, but as one who responds as well to the Restoration world in which he wrote his greatest work. The years immediately following Charles II’s return from exile began a new era, but the previous twenty years could not be forgotten, and their memory elicited and strengthened the response of non-conformist and dissenting parties (the distinction between these labels seldom seems clear-cut).

Thus the book treats literary expression within its cultural situation, beginning with broad, theoretical considerations in “Reading Dissent,” the first of eight chapters (with a “Coda: enlightenment”). Next follows “Memory,” on the treatment and mourning of the dead in sermons and homilies. Rather unexpectedly, Achinstein focuses in this chapter on Milton’s *Samson Agonistes*—“nothing if not a performance of political memory” (49). Her reading of the play, to which she will return in a later chapter, is subtle; and, in her discussion of Samson’s rejection of Manoah’s offer of ransom, she declares, for example, that “Samson chooses not to consign himself to this emasculate role in a feminine space, the household. His long hair, itself formerly the sign and not the agent of his strength, would cluster uselessly, slackly, a limp male member” (52–53). The difficult argument, here rather curiously formulated, seems to be that Samson’s loss is a kind of commemoration of the dispossessed of “the Good Old Cause,” and that Milton reworks the Samson story in order to remember and to recover “community potency” (55).

The third chapter, “Prison,” considers writing and protest in confinement; for dissenters, like John Bunyan, made “powerful celebrity prisoners” (61). In this chapter and throughout the book, Achinstein provides numerous illustrations of her thesis, perhaps offering more instances than the reader needs in order to understand the argument. The numerous examples of “prison” composition are rather tiresome, for they reveal how feeble is the

literary value of these melancholic outpourings, however well-intentioned some may be or useful in defining the culture of confinement. There is much bad poetry written in every age, and the woeful musings of John Reeve (fl. 1680) prove this point; the excerpts quoted from him and others in this chapter (and later in the book) make painful or else tedious reading. But this is a book that aims to disclose social and cultural attitudes that arise from difficult times and from an oppressed but vigorous people, who were not always artistically endowed. Achinstein is surely aware of the limitations of the many minor figures she cites, but she is probably right in giving us a full sense of the nature and range of dissenting work. Thus the very substantial figures of her study—Baxter, Bunyan, Milton—seem to jar against and jostle with John Reeve and his kind.

Indeed, the following chapters discuss these three principal writers from the viewpoint of “violence”—“the means by which the Holy Spirit worked through the bodies of the faithful” (85). Although known more for his irenicism and the pastoral qualities displayed in his vast output of prose, Baxter did write a long autobiographical poem that includes a history of the Civil Wars and his relationship and response to them. “Love Breathing Thanks and Praise,” which appeared in *Poetical Fragments* (1681), is a remarkable (though incoherent) work, and Achinstein gives a fine account of it by showing how the poem is dedicated “to the process of divine destruction and renewal” (97). She concludes this excellent section of *Literature and Dissent in Milton’s England* by concluding that while the aim of Baxter’s poem was to find “Love,” he “instead closes with divine violence: perhaps God’s love is violent” (101). And Bunyan, too, extends this theme, especially in *The Holy War* (1682), in which he makes pointed reference to the figure of Samson, assuming indeed the persona of Samson himself: the solitary sufferer, but yet the instrument of deliverance.

The subsequent and central chapter of this book deals exclusively with Milton’s late poetry, especially the 1671 volume, *Paradise Regain’d* and *Samson Agonistes*. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton had prayed for an “answerable style” (IX.20), and that prayer receives a response in the Angel’s assurance to Adam with the promise of a Comforter (XII.486). The confident words of the chorus similarly inspire Samson: “Go, and the Holy One / Of *Israel* be thy guide / To what may serve his glory best” (1427-29). Achinstein’s analysis is too complex to summarize adequately, but she seeks to demonstrate that these

prayers in their different ways are surely answered, and significantly so; for the close of the drama proves that “violence and Redemption are conjoined in Milton’s thinking” (152). His placing of *Samson Agonistes* after *Paradise Regain’d*, chronologically and typologically in reverse order, has puzzled and worried generations of readers. But Achinstein believes that Milton is offering a dissenting voice through the emblematic Samson story, one common to Baxter and Bunyan and others, which “reflects the uncertain temporality after the promise and before the fulfillment” (152)—a movement characteristic of the apocalyptic strain of the Revolution that survives into the Restoration.

In her concluding chapters, Achinstein considers such literary and political issues as “enthusiasm,” poetics, and hymnody. *Literary enthusiasm*, Achinstein writes, is represented by Milton, who was associated not only with a dissenting tradition because of his ideas but also was possessed of revolutionary energy: “the conviction that one’s ideas were immediate from God” (160). But in his famous prefatory poem to *Paradise Lost*, Andrew Marvell sets out to civilize Milton’s poem by making it palatable to Restoration literary culture. The point is well taken. From Marvell’s clever domestication of Milton’s literary enthusiasm, we turn to the Dissenting tradition of literary creation, which acknowledged above all the importance of arousing spiritual desires. Paraphrases of the Psalms were frequently made, and commentaries on the Song of Songs were surprisingly popular; but the obvious eroticism of this biblical text led Dissenters to show how sexual desire might be reshaped and directed toward spiritual ends. George Herbert also makes an important appearance as the preeminent devotional poet of the Restoration, frequently imitated and seen “as a powerful artistic model of the authentic utterances of souls striving for spiritual truth and a proper sacrifice to God” (200). Finally, hymn writing underwent an immense development in this period, the genre offering both public expression and also domestic space.

Achinstein has written a useful book; and in her compilation of so much material and so many figures, she has described an important cultural moment, a time that brings an old order into an emerging new one. The book is best in its earliest and middle sections, weakest and least strenuously argued in the late chapters. The notes are inconveniently gathered at the end, now a publisher’s common cost-saving measure; and there is no bibliography. The author’s style is generally lucid but shares in the current tendency toward the emptying of one’s notes into a flood of detail. A few verbal tics might be

eschewed: “psychic affect,” “poetic affect,” “emotional affect,” etc.; “lanced at” (68, 119, etc.); “robust” (a term now all too frequent). But these are very minor points in an important study of seventeenth-century political and literary culture.

John R. Roberts. *John Donne: An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism, 1979-1995*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2004. xxvii + 605 pp. \$145. Review by DONALD R. DICKSON, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

Students of John Donne will welcome this volume by John R. Roberts and place it alongside his previous works, *John Donne: An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism, 1912-1967* (1973) and *John Donne: An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism, 1968-1978* (1982). As with his other bibliographies, two volumes on George Herbert and one on Richard Crashaw, the latest offering is destined to become the frequent companion of those working in the field.

“The primary purpose of this bibliography,” Roberts explains, “is to provide students, scholars and critics of John Donne with a useful aid to research” (ix). As before, he has collected all books, editions, monographs, essays and notes written specifically on Donne and then has provided essentially descriptive (rather than evaluative) annotations. The annotations often include substantial quotations or paraphrases that help readers evaluate the usefulness of an item. The items are arranged chronologically by date of publication (then alphabetically within each year) and assigned an item number; furthermore, the indexes are very easy to use since they are keyed to the item numbers. Included are an Index of Authors, Editors, Translators, Reviewers and Illustrators; a Subject Index, and an Index of Donne’s Works, which is further divided by genre. For convenience he has adopted what are fast becoming the standard abbreviations for Donne, those devised by the Donne Variorum team. Duquesne University Press is to be commended for publishing this volume in such a handsome format. It is larger (7"x10") than the previous ones (5"x9") and laid out in two columns on the page, which makes it easier to read. The index of works is also spaced more generously on the page than previous editions. One measure of the comprehensiveness of his reach and his meticulous pursuit is a comparison with the MLA Bibliography for those same years. Using “Donne, John” as the search term for

a subject search of the MLA International Bibliography on-line yields 897 entries, whereas Roberts lists 1572 entries for that same period.

The third volume of Roberts's *John Donne: An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism* makes it easy to confirm some trends in Donne scholarship. Quite obviously there has been no lack of enthusiasm for his poetry as a simple comparison of the number of items in each of the volumes reveals. In the period from 1912-1967, 1280 items were devoted to Donne (with a significant rise in the rate as the New Criticism discovered Donne's utility in the post war era); from 1968-1978, 1044 items; and from 1979-1995, 1572 items *in toto*. While considerable attention is still given to the Songs and Sonnets, we can also readily see that interest in other genres is on the rise. From 1912-1967, 61 items were published on the Satires and 33 on the verse letters; but in the last third of the twentieth century there is far more: from 1968-1978, 124 on the Satires and 89 on the verse letters; and from 1979-1995, 150 on the Satires and 109 on the verse letters. Because Renaissance scholars have become interested in such matters as social authorship, in Donne's coterie at the Inns of Court, in his pursuit of literary patronage etc., they have shifted their gaze to hitherto neglected poems. Likewise, interest in Donne's prose, in particular the sermons, has grown tremendously. All this work is readily accessible in Roberts's new bibliography. Any lengthy work of this kind, it is not without blemish—e.g, the reference to ll. 468-772 of *Metempsychosis* in item 1188—but those undertaking any serious inquiry into Donne's work are well advised to begin by consulting this indispensable volume.

Hugh Amory. *Bibliography and the Book Trades: Studies in the Print Culture of Early New England*. Edited by David D. Hall. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. ix + 174 pp. \$49.95. Review by WILLIAM J. SCHEICK, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

The late Hugh Amory was Senior Rare Book Cataloguer at the Houghton Library (Harvard University). He and David D. Hall co-edited *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*. In homage to his co-editor, Hall has collected five previously published essays and two unpublished articles by Amory on the subject of New England printers and booksellers. Read together, these writings provide an enlightening introduction to the controversies that have arisen

concerning the early New England book trades.

The collection commences with an investigation of a pseudomorph (a lump of iron salt) that reproduces a Bible-page fragment found in the seventeenth-century grave of an eleven-year old Mashantucket Pequot girl. The presence of this Bible page in a non-Christian burial site intimates more than an early Native American attribution of talismanic power to writing. Gleaning evidence from this mere fragment, Amory pieces together something of the larger picture of the place of Bibles in Puritan culture. Of particular interest to him is the small format of these works, which were expressly produced for personal use. Larger household Bibles were purchased for public display. In colonial times large print was associated with elevated social status.

In another textual investigation, Amory shows that over the course of its six extant first editions *The Bay Psalm Book* was in effect as mutable as a biological organism. Some of these changes were deliberate revisions, while others were accidental. Amateur printers such as Stephen Day, for instance, failed to differentiate between textual matter and marginalia. Such accidents add special difficulties for anyone trying to detect firm patterns in any bibliographic skein.

In colonial New England books were most often commissioned and subsidized by magistrates, churches, private groups, and authors. This practice, often a virtually in-house relationship, resulted in a form of censorship. Printers Samuel Green, Jr. and John Allen, for example, turned away subventions for books that would have offended Increase or Cotton Mather, two of these printers' most steady clients. As a result, declined authors necessarily turned to other colonies, such as New York, and to London as outlets for their work. These works then made their way back to New England. In short, the New England book trade was always a trans-colonial and a trans-atlantic phenomenon.

Consider, in a different vein, the strange case of Bostonian Hezekiah Usher's 1680 decision to import from Amsterdam a new edition of the Bible designed for the New England market. Since three New England editions of the Bible had already been published, there hardly seemed to be any need to turn to Holland for still another edition. Amory, however, deduces from the details of this bibliographic mystery that "around 1680 there was a dearth of printers in Boston who could have handled formats as

sophisticated as eighteens or even twelves" (72).

Colonial printers rarely undertook printing projects on speculation. When they did so, they tended to lose the gamble. The Boston market, Amory finds, at best accommodated 450 copies a year of a particular title. That many purchases were unusual, however. More typical was a slow sale of a book over many years at the rate of about forty copies per annum. Profits were higher on locally printed material than on imported texts. And a publisher's bottom-line was enhanced by such practices as sheet-swapping and sheet-sharing among printers, at home and abroad, especially in currency-poor situations.

As these observations indicate, *Bibliography and the Book Trades* is far more engaging than its bland, inadequate primary title suggests. Although Amory tends to write as an insider who is sometimes insufficiently aware of readers unfamiliar with academic bibliographic pursuits, the impact of his essays is never lost. Amory's work amounts to an engaging whodunit, recounting the adventures of a bibliographic sleuth sifting through sparse clues and then deducing the historically obscured motives behind authorship, audience, and book-printing and book-selling practices in colonial New England.

Douglas Trevor. *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xi + 252 pp. + 9 illus. \$75.00. Review by THOMAS P. ANDERSON, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY.

Douglas Trevor's *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England* is a significant contribution to the way that literary critics have understood the relationship between individual emotions and materiality. By looking closely at the work of major Renaissance writers such as Spenser, Shakespeare, Donne, Burton, and Milton, Trevor recuperates—indeed reinigorates—accounts of human agency and subjectivity in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for literary critics exhausted by the hegemony of the idea of the socially constructed subject.

Trevor aligns his critical position with other scholars—specifically Katherine Maus, Gail Paster, and Michael Schoenfeldt—who resist an “overestimation of the social reverberation of acts of writing and cognition and the presumably ensuing forfeiture of personally felt passions” (4). In the book's introductory chapter, the author acknowledges that subjectivity was not invented

during the early modern period, but Renaissance writers did “invent the locus point of melancholy, shifting it from lost and/or loved objects and moving it inside their bodies, where it bubbled and bumed in the spleen” (32). Overtly challenging the new historicist “oversimplification of the ways in which culture writes itself” (5), Trevor proves that by the seventeenth century melancholy was both a “condition *and* a practice” (7). Where much past work on the topic has understood melancholy in relation to the redemptive or genial sadness associated with Marsilio Ficino’s late medieval accounts, Trevor contends that early modern scholars could be both sad and sick without concomitant moral or spiritual uprightness.

The book’s challenge to the Ficinian model of melancholy is the first of Trevor’s major contributions to recent accounts of early modern melancholy. Trevor contends that the scholarly melancholy is painful for the “psychological trauma” (9) it produces, and that this condition suggests “introspection and self-awareness in the period” (9). Trevor’s second significant contribution to early modern scholarship on sadness and subjectivity is his convincing claim that the melancholic scholar is not only evident in representations—Hamlet and his “inky cloak” (1.2.77)—but more critically in “the apparatus of scholarship” (26). In examining prefatory materials of scholarly works, marginalia, fonts, typefaces, editorial glossing, and exchanges between writers, *The Poetics of Melancholy* transforms the concept of subjectivity and expressions of psychological trauma into material practices. Careful not to dismiss the importance of the social in the construction of identity, Trevor insists that as critics look closely at the apparatus of scholarly writing they witness an early modern subject that is constantly reconstituted in a series of material compositions as well as the dislocated scholarly self, “dependent upon both the works of other scholars and the evaluation and estimation of one’s contemporaries” (32).

Trevor’s study identifies the increasingly influential presence of scholarly melancholy. In his account of Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calender*, Trevor claims that the poet literally marginalizes the influence of scholarly sadness out of necessity. His desire for court patronage and his belief in a Neoplatonic Christian allegory make him keenly aware of the limitations of Galenic thought. Thus, Spenser dismisses the “most elaborate examples of erudition as beneath the poet” (40), and he relegates those examples and comments to the scholar-figure and to the poem’s editorial glosses. Spenser’s elaborate strategy

to disavow the potentially career-threatening scholarly melancholy speaks to the power of the condition in poetic circles during the period. According to Trevor, with the editorial glosses and the dispersal of Spenser's own authorial identity with the convention of E. K., the poet protects himself from any association with the melancholic temperament. The allegory of *The Faerie Queene*, Trevor argues, further enables Spenser to make sadness pitiable but also divine. Trevor understands Book 1 of the epic "not only as a poem to Queen Elizabeth . . . but also as verse that reaffirms transcendence and incorruptibility of a spiritual dominion demarcated by sadness" (59).

In contrast to Spenser's conscious rejection of scholarly melancholy, major literary achievements in the early seventeenth century bear witness to the changing status of melancholic disposition. Chapters on *Hamlet* and on John Donne's poetry make similar claims about dispositional sadness. In both cases, scholarly sadness appears more "esteemed and in fashion" (63), even as the humorial tendency promises "very real physical suffering, including the possibility of self-slaughter" (63). Trevor's account of the character Hamlet argues that his skepticism would have been understood in the period as a symptom of scholarly melancholy produced in the body itself and not as a response to knowledge of source-texts on skepticism. Connecting Hamlet's skepticism to bodily disposition makes sense of his famous mood-swings, which evince a suicidal desire for which the play's source materials do not account. Hamlet's problem, then, is as much internal as external—that is, he experiences the trauma of realizing the limitations of the self imposed on him not as an antic disposition but as actual scholarly sadness that reifies his "sense of being singled out for suffering" (86).

In a book full of pleasures and discoveries, Trevor's chapter on John Donne and scholarly melancholy is especially rewarding. Weaving biographical criticism with literary analysis, Trevor presents an image of Donne as one who often equates "his scholarly activity with real imprisonment" (94). Trevor claims that Donne's "devotional prose, letters, and sermons" demonstrate how the poet "read his body, faith, and the world at large humorally" (92). Trevor suggests that Donne "persistently sees himself as racked not so much by events in his life as by his own constitution" (102). By paying particularly close attention to key passages from his poetry and correspondences with friends, Trevor makes the case that Donne sees his own scholarly sadness as a critical part of his religious faith, "to be both treasured and feared" (105).

Trevor, however, is not content with a purely psychological diagnosis of Donne, and he turns to Donne's investment in the scholarly apparatus of *Biathanatos* as a material indicator of the "fundamental alterity of the early modern subject" (110). According to Trevor, the sidenotes serve a "therapeutic function in that they affirm the viability of the written cure, however qualified by one's humorial tendencies" (111).

What is a pleasurable coda in Trevor's chapter on Donne—the editorial apparatus as symptom—becomes the primarily focus in his chapter on Robert Burton. In the analysis of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Trevor contends that the treatise "can grow indefinitely . . . because . . . [Burton] has found in Galenism neither a cure nor a concrete diagnosis for his own particular ailment but rather a means by which to describe and connect this ailment endlessly to other entities" (119). For Burton, the printed page and its accompanying apparatus "reveal the capacity of learned writers to resist . . . social conventions and expectations through a variety of rhetorical and textual strategies" (119). According to Trevor, Burton's appropriation of multiple discourses in his treatise is an early modern form of sociology. This "protosociological inquiry" (120) reveals Burton's "obsession with the diagnosis and treatment of his ever-dominant melancholic humor" (120). Burton manipulates the printed page in order to express his frustrations over a system of patronage that rewards undeserving scholars. His obsession with the apparatus of his text is "a means by which intellectuals can claim analytic expertise that transcends the scope of the passions" (120), or as Trevor contends, it is at least a projection of Burton's own sense of the importance of the passions onto the larger community. The chapter on Burton concludes with the persuasive claim that Burton's discovery in the act of constant revision is that the "scholarly self is a marginal one . . . both constructed in the margins of one's text and melancholically identified as a peripheral societal being" (149).

From a scholar obsessed with marginalia to one who discards it altogether, the final chapter suggests that John Milton's work represents the demise of Galenic theory. According to Trevor, Milton's favorable attitude toward solitariness and his experience with new medical theories of the day led to his dismissal of the Galenic body. The chapter contends that Milton's isolated pastoralism is an expression of his sense that the scholar figure be comfortably solitary. Trevor extends this solitariness to include the critic of the antiprelatical and divorce tracts who refuses to use the sidenote in favor of

authorial opinion presented as if it were independently developed. Milton's comfort with solitariness shifts, however, as he ages and becomes blind. Trevor argues that Milton's insistence on the separation of the Heavenly Father and the Son in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* reveals "a far more ambiguous range of experiences and sentiments than it might have in the 1630s, when being removed from others nurtured the young poet's learned and literary ambitions" (181). Trevor's analysis of the influence of Galenism in the trajectory of Milton's career concludes with the acknowledgement that despite new scientific discoveries that contributed to the demise of the humoral theory, Milton "came to refute the negative implications of black bile without dismissing the existence of black bile itself" (192).

Douglas Trevor's *The Poetics of Melancholy* is a theoretically informed, historically grounded, and critically nuanced account of the influence of scholarly melancholy on major writers in early modern England. With its insistence that inwardness matters as much as the social forces that regulate identity, the book represents an important contribution to theories of Renaissance subjectivity and identity.

Allan Greer. *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakowitha and the Jesuits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. xiv + 249 pp. + 15 illus. \$30.00. Review by BR. BENET EXTON, O.S.B., ST. GREGORY'S UNIVERSITY.

In 1980 Pope John Paul II beatified the Indian maiden Kateri Tekakowitha. She died in 1680, and progress of her cause for sainthood has taken a long time. She has not been canonized a saint although the elusive miracle needed has reportedly occurred, and so it is possible that Pope Benedict XVI will canonize her.

Allan Greer claims that his book is an advance on the over 300 books in 20 languages that have appeared so far. Although he uses the same two primary sources as the others, he supplements them with other materials that describe the culture and circumstances in which Kateri lived. (Greer does not use Kateri's "Indian" name but instead uses the equivalent European "Catherine.") The two primary sources are the biographies by Fr. Claude Chauchetiere, S.J. and Fr. Pierre Cholenc, S.J. Greer says these are seventeenth-century hagiography—writing about a possible saint—and not history as we

know it in the twenty-first century, presenting her as a real person in a real setting. He does this by reviewing other biographies and works from the seventeenth-century and about that century, finding that life in New France was not all miracles and martyrdom. He shows how Indians and colonists lived and how they reacted differently to Kateri's sanctity. While the French were open to the idea that Kateri might be a saint, the Indians were not interested in a dead person but tried to keep a person's memory alive by passing on that name to another person.

Allan Greer is a professor of history at the University of Toronto. He is the author of *The People of New France* (1997), *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (1985), *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America* (2000), and co-author of *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800* (2002), and others. These publications attest to his expertise in the area of saints and seventeenth-century North America.

The history, briefly: Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680) was born to an Algonquin Catholic Christian mother who was a captive of the Mohawks, was adopted into the Mohawk tribe, and who married a Mohawk man and had the child Kateri. When she was four, smallpox struck the family; the rest of the family died, but she survived, although scarred and with fragile health. Kateri became a Catholic around 1677 and joined the Catholic Indian community at Kahnawake/Sault St. Louis in Canada. When she died on April 17, 1680, the smallpox scars disappeared before the eyes of many witnesses. For this and other reasons the Jesuits who took care of Kahnawake and others living there considered Kateri a saint. They began promoting her cause by praying for her intercession and asking for miracles which reportedly occurred.

Greer does an extensive review of the historical background of Kateri and her people. He helps the reader to come to a better understanding of the social and cultural life in France and New France in the seventeenth century. His many examples show that life was not easy in those days. He shows how difficult it was for the first Jesuit missionaries, especially the North American Martyrs. The Indians were brutal with their captives, usually torturing them to death. He reflects that it would have been better to be killed in battle than to undergo the tortures that were devised for them.

Fr. Chauchetiere's life, constructed from his diaries and other sources,

became a primary way to understand Kateri's story. Greer follows Fr. Cauchetiere as a Jesuit living in seventeenth-century France; the Order had a network of schools and colleges throughout France and Europe. They were highly educated and appropriately were called the Pope's "storm troopers." Greer also examines Cauchetiere's mystical life that led him to become a missionary in New France and to perceive in Kateri a saint.

This volume includes several illustrations from Cauchetiere's biography of Kateri, giving an understanding of daily life in Kahnawake, so providing the reader with an eyewitnesses' picture of Kateri. Although Greer provides an index and notes in the back of the book, there is no bibliography; however, the notes can serve for that because they are so extensive. Greer's book is a very good examination of the life of Blessed Kateri, her way of life and that of her people. It is also a good presentation of the French and their way of life in France and in New France. This book is recommended for collections on the seventeenth century and biographies on Indians in academic libraries and personal libraries.

Elio Christoph Brancaforte. *Visions of Persia: Mapping the Travels of Adam Olearius*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003. xxiv + 238 pp. + 66 illustrations. \$45.00 Cloth, \$27.50 Paper. Review by JONATHAN BURTON, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

In the introduction to his study of the works of the German traveler and cartographer Adam Olearius, Elio Brancaforte promises to examine "how aspects of Safavid Persia are portrayed in Adam Olearius' visual and narrative work and how he creates a representation of the land for a Western audience" (xxi). It would be more accurate, however, to say that the author is interested in Olearius as a producer of visual imagery whose work demonstrates the interanimating dynamics of word and image, particularly in regards to the frontispiece and the map. This is a book of greater interest to those interested in the history of the book and the map than to scholars of Renaissance travel, ethnography, and Safavid Persia. That Olearius' voluminous work contributed to a more complete understanding of Persia in terms of its land and peoples is certainly demonstrated, yet the heart of this book lies instead in clearly delineated readings of the apparatuses framing Olearius'

books.

Olearius is best known for his *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse* (The Expanded, New Description of the Muscovite and Persian Journey), an 800-folio page ethnography/traveler's account that contains 120 engravings and features information on geography, biology, linguistics, history, and natural history. Brancaforte describes the text as containing a "Baroque excess of information," though his interest in the visual elements of Olearius' work tends to eclipse the text's narrative elements (17). What we learn a great deal about are the numerous illustrations, some of which were drawn by Olearius himself. In his detailed analyses of various frontispieces (all clearly reproduced), Brancaforte demonstrates that the best of the genre combines written and pictorial elements in a manner that effectively reproduces the subject matter of the text in condensed, visual form. The frontispiece thus "can be seen as a kind of portal or gateway to the written description that follows," reflecting and prefiguring the verbal descriptions that form the body of the text (186).

To distinguish Olearius' account of Persia, Brancaforte first reviews the tradition of representing Persia in the West, tracing Olearius' inheritance from authors such as Xenophon and Herodotus, through earlier seventeenth century authors including Barnabus Brissonius, Thomas Herbert, and others. He next discusses the incentives for European travel to Persia before treating the Holstein mission to Persia (1633-39) for which Olearius served as official secretary. This is typical of Brancaforte's very teacherly style: for each aspect of Olearius' work that he plans to treat, the author first provides a pithy history of that element in a broader European context. Thus, we find general introductions to frontispiece design, early modern cartography, emblem books, broadsides, costume books, and assorted other subjects intended to contextualize and distinguish Olearius' work in each area. At times however, these introductions dwarf any treatment of Olearius' work itself, leaving a reader unclear as to the extent of Olearius' particular contributions.

The second chapter begins by considering the influences on European frontispieces, including the heraldic device, emblems and hieroglyphs, the stage and actors, and the portrait. With its 19 illustrations, the chapter provides a clear and useful introduction to frontispiece design for non-experts. Its preparatory discussion dovetails neatly with the ensuing treatment of Olearius' work on frontispieces, both for his own work, and for others.

Chapter three treats Olearius' *Persianischer Rosenthal*, a translation of Sa'di's *Gulistan* (The Rose Garden) of 1258 A.D. Again, Brancaforte is more interested in the fabulously detailed frontispiece than in the actual poem or translation. Thus he produces an excellent reading of the engraving to argue that the separate figures of the frontispiece "embody the entire text, providing a visual table of contents" (79). Yet because Brancaforte's interest in visual culture favors illustrations over visual imagery in poetry and/or prose we see little of the text which the frontispiece is alleged to embody. Instead, and despite the fact that lions and lion skins appear only once in Sa'di's text, we find a lengthy discussion of lions and lion skins in both European and Persian traditions, offered to explain the inscription of the book's title on a lion skin. With its treatment of stone sculpture, coin engraving and mannerist art, this chapter will be of greater interest to art historians and historians of the book than to those interested in the *Gulistan* itself.

By far the longest section of the book, chapter four analyzes the *Nova Delineatio PERSLAE*, Olearius' new and improved map of Persia and the Caspian Sea that first accompanied the *Offt beehrte Beschreibung Der Neuen Orientalischen Reyse* (1647) and was reprinted in the *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse* (1656), as well as in subsequent editions of the travel account. Drawing heavily on the work of J. B. Harley and Tom Conley, Brancaforte surveys the development of cartography and the depiction of the Caspian in early modern Europe before offering a close reading of Olearius' map. What made Olearius' map a milestone in this history was its departure from previous European maps that depicted the Caspian as an oval extending from east to west, an incorrect depiction dating back to Ptolemy's *Geographica*. Yet where this chapter is most interesting is not in its location of Olearius' map in regards to European cartography but rather in its account of Olearius' engagement with Islamic cartography. Brancaforte convincingly demonstrates that Olearius was influenced by Persian and Arabic sources, both in terms of key texts and individuals with whom Olearius conversed. In this discussion, Brancaforte makes good on his introductory claim that Olearius hides "information relating to questions of authorship, political power, and intellectual influence (such as the Islamic sources that are silenced in Olearius' text)" (xxii).

Brancaforte explains that the dialogue or interplay between the visual and the textual is the "leitmotif" linking the different chapters of his study. While

this may be the case in his readings of frontispieces, this reader found that the visual sometimes drowns out the textual in as much as the narrative elements of Olearius' works remain largely unexamined. In particular, for a book that begins with references to the work of Edward Said and Mary Louise Pratt, there is very little here that situates Olearius in the history of early Orientalism. Ultimately, one might argue that the Adam Olearius that Brancaforte presents is of greater interest in terms of his visions of the book than his visions of Persia.

Richard Maber. *Publishing in the Republic of Letters: The Ménage-Graevius-Wetstein Correspondence 1679-1692*. Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 2005. viii + 274 pp. \$56.00. Review by LAURA CRUZ, WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY.

Publishing in the Republic of Letters is a slender volume, consisting primarily of the transcribed and annotated letters that were part of an international exchange between two scholars, Johann-Georg Graevius (at the University of Utrecht) and Gilles Ménage (in Paris), and a Dutch printer, Henrik Wetstein (in Amsterdam). The exchange focuses on the long-delayed publication of Ménage's annotated edition of *Diogenes Laertius*, which finally occurs in 1692. The letters, reprinted in their original French, constitute a valuable case study which sheds considerable light on the inter-workings of the Dutch publishing trade as well as the social and professional milieu of prominent European scholars on the eve of the Enlightenment.

Since the seventeenth century, Dutch printers and publishers played an integral role in the European trade of books, yet the Dutch contribution has not been subjected to the intense and innovative treatment as has the history of the book in countries such as France and England. In a 1952 article entitled "The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century," David W. Davies described the range of the Dutch international book trade based on the meager number of available commercial records, especially the documents from Amsterdam booksellers collected (and published) by M. M. Kleerkooper and W. P. Van Stockum. His was one of the first contributions towards the creation of a history of the Dutch trade in books, a worthy goal that has still not seen completion, due in no small part to the logistical difficulties involved. Material on the Dutch book trade tends to be

widely scattered and polyglot, not only because of the decentralized nature of the Dutch republic but also because of their far-flung distribution networks for books.

The history of books in the Netherlands has received a great deal of domestic attention since 1952, including the creation of the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (1460-1800), consisting of over 110,000 titles, and the publication of numerous primary source materials, notably I. H. van Eeghen's impressive multi-volume history of the Amsterdam book trade (1960) and Bert van Selm and J. C. Gruys' microfiche collection of Book Sales Catalogues (1990). There have also been noteworthy contributions on the history of individual Dutch printers, such as P. G. Hofstijzer's work on Pieter van der Aa, and on printing industries in particular cities, such as Marika Keblusek's work on The Hague. Unfortunately, few of these contributions have been made available in English. Yet it is undeniable that there has been a recent upsurge in scholarship of the Dutch book inside and outside of the Netherlands, which has gone from being the preoccupation of bibliographers to including scholars of history, language, and economics.

If Davies' work sketched the outlines of the trade, these contributions began to fill in that outline, but much work remains to be done. The letters collected in *Publishing in the Republic of Letters* constitute one more piece added to the puzzle. They come from a surprising source, Richard Maber, a specialist in French literature at the University of Durham. This collection of letters represents a rich fragment of his larger project, the compilation of Ménage's wide ranging and voluminous correspondence—some 1,600 letters in total. He was alerted to the existence of Ménage's correspondence with Graevius, consisting of forty letters, by an archivist colleague at (of all places) the University of Copenhagen, where they are currently held. Maber's larger objective is the elucidation of the personal networks that existed among scholars in the late seventeenth century and of Ménage's prominent place within those circles, which is attested to by Ménage's extensive references to common scholarly acquaintances and updates on his other works in progress in his letters. Coupled with the second set of letters, however, these remarkably intact series also provide a great deal of insight into the informal arrangements in the world of scholarly publishing, a dimension often lacking in other sources.

The link to that world is contained in the second series of letters between Wetstein and Ménage. Thirty letters are reprinted in the text, though the series

is less complete than first. The great age of scholar-printers, such as Christopher Plantin, was the sixteenth century, but Wetstein was a member of a prominent Swiss academic family and was able to exchange information with Ménage about fellow scholars in Germany, France, and Switzerland. His style in writing to Ménage shifts, as Maber notes, between the collegial exchange of relative equals to the cruder more workmanlike reports of his endeavors as a printer. Over the course of their nine-year correspondence, Wetstein fusses over many of the details involved in printing such a complicated and authoritative work. He and Ménage wrangle over costs, quality and availability of paper, the appearance of illustrations, the commercial viability of different formats, the difficulties in sending books over the French border, and other details. At the same time, Wetstein peppers his correspondence with a growing list of excuses for the long-delayed publication of the text. From war between France and the Netherlands, to cold weather which freezes ink, the trials and tribulations of the printing industry are laid bare in a moderately petulant tone that should seem faintly familiar to modern readers who have dealt with home repair contractors. Most amusing are Wetstein's comments on proofreader/translator Marc Meibomius, whose personal eccentricities and short attention span continually hold up production. Personalities aside, this series of letters contains valuable nuggets of information about book production and distribution in the late seventeenth century.

Though its contributions should certainly be acknowledged, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters* is a case study focused on the publication of one book and one strand of a much larger scholarly network, which does, by its very nature, place limits on its wider applicability. Maber's illuminating footnotes read like a who's who of late seventeenth-century scholarship, but he is, understandably, less expansive on the technical aspects of printing and the nature and organization of the book trade. The letters beg further explication and expansion of the historical context from which they arose, which is presumably Maber's intention in publishing them as a primary source, leaving the job to specialists. Hopefully, the exhortation will be answered. Simply finding and making these letters known marks a significant first step towards a greater understanding of the early modern book trade, but it is a step upon which Dutch scholars have idled for too long.

Lee Ward. *The Politics of Liberty in England and Revolutionary America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. x + 459 pp. \$90.00. Review by GEOFFREY M. VAUGHAN, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, BALTIMORE COUNTY.

This is first and foremost a book of intellectual history. All the actors in this drama are writers, and despite some attention to their biographies, this book recounts how their ideas played-off one another and eventually changed the course of history. Certainly this is an unfashionable approach in some quarters of the academy. I happen to be as convinced of this approach, if not in all particulars, as I am compelled by the argument of this book, if not in all particulars. Anyone interested in the political ideas of the seventeenth century and their impact on subsequent British and American intellectual and political history would do well to read it.

This book seeks to resolve two paradoxes. The first paradox arises from what the author claims to be the intellectual origins of the Whig politics of liberty in the absolutist arguments of Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes (12). The second paradox lies in a much more political and historical problem: "British and American Whigs interpreted the same events and institutions in Anglo-American political history in substantially different terms" (17). Sir Robert Filmer is the pivot around which the first paradox revolves while Pufendorf is the pivot for the second. These two orbits overlap and, between them, encompass roughly two-hundred years of history with the Catholic natural lawyers, Francisco Suarez and Roberto Bellarmine, at one end and the American revolutionaries, Thomas Jefferson and Tom Paine, at the other.

The book is divided into three parts, although these parts do not correspond directly to the resolution of the two paradoxes. In Part I the author argues that Filmer rejected Catholic natural law and Calvinist resistance theories because they were a threat to the stability of monarchies. The author also explains that Filmer criticized both Grotius and Hobbes for their secular defense of absolutism and for the hostage they gave to fortune by basing even absolutism on consent. There is nothing new in this section to students of the seventeenth century, but it is well argued and, if not entirely necessary for the subsequent section, sets the stage for what will come.

Part II is the heart of the book, and in this section we discover the resolution to both paradoxes. According to the author, Whig theory devel-

oped during the Exclusion Crisis as a response to the republished work of Filmer, *Patriarcha*. Just as Filmer had feared, the Whigs used the hostage Grotius and Hobbes had given them to develop arguments against absolutism. Thus the first paradox is solved: in responding to Filmer the Whigs borrowed the premises of his erstwhile fellow absolutists to develop a consent theory that could lead to republican conclusions. But this leads us to the second paradox, for there were competing Whig theories.

In explaining how they developed their theories, Wård argues that James Tyrrell relied heavily on Pufendorf, the result being a moderate Whiggism. Algernon Sidney was influenced deeply by Spinoza, while John Locke, it seems, was *sui generis*; but both were far more radical than Tyrrell. This leads to his distinction between moderate Whig and radical Whig. In subsequent political history the British political classes accepted Tyrrell's version of Whiggism while Sidney and Locke were exported to the American colonies. Thus the second paradox is resolved: the radical Whigs in the colonies and the moderate Whigs in Britain had become two great nations divided by a common philosophy.

Perhaps as a coda, Lee explains in Part III that the arguments of Sidney were dominant in the early stages of the American Revolution but were overtaken by Lockean arguments at a later stage. Locke's version of radical Whiggism was then enshrined in the New York and Massachusetts state constitutions and became the nation's dominant philosophy as expressed in the Constitution of the United States.

As even a brief summary reveals, this is an ambitious book. But that brief summary does not reveal just how ambitious the book really is. Not only are there extensive analyses of all the Whig authors mentioned above but the author also offers sections on Suarez and Bellarmine, Beza and Hotman, George Buchanan, Henry Parker, John Tranchard and Thomas Gordon (as Cato), and part of a chapter devoted to Hume, Montesquieu, and Blackstone. Only then does he turn to the Americans James Otis, John Dickinson, and individual chapters on Jefferson and Paine. Is all of this necessary to make his argument? In a way. Is all of it necessary for those most likely to read this book? Perhaps not.

The author does a very good job of explaining the political and rhetorical reasons that his authors had for choosing which books to criticize and which to approve. For instance, an intricate weave of arguments developed when

Filmer tried to outdo Grotius and Hobbes as an absolutist responding to earlier Catholic and Calvinist theories of resistance. The Whigs then leapfrogged Filmer to appropriate ideas from Grotius and Hobbes while simultaneously trying to avoid their forms of absolutism and any suspicion of recusancy that might attend defenders of resistance that was first developed by Catholic natural lawyers. In this effort, Tyrrell appropriated ideas from Pufendorf, Sidney from Spinoza, while the *sui generis* Locke developed Whiggism in his own direction, and all of this led to three branches of Whig theory that were adopted in different ways on two sides of the Atlantic. Sorting out the pattern of this process is the real achievement of this book and well worth the attention of students of the seventeenth century, students of intellectual history, and students of the American Revolution. This is a success.

Yet there is one persistent imbalance that runs through the book and may even affect the argument. Although the author is attentive to the political and rhetorical motives for choosing certain opponents and allies, he is not as attentive to the caprice or opportunism of some of these decisions nor does he consider the effect on their arguments and the status they should be accorded. Unfortunately, the one place where he does consider such subtle motives will prove to be, I am sure, the most contentious part of the book. In Chapter 8, "Natural Rights in Locke's Two Treatises," the author makes the following claim: "[I]t becomes clear that Locke's most important aim of the *First Treatise* is not to refute Filmer, but rather to deliver a powerful, if often implicit, criticism of extant variations of the doctrine of natural liberty. The radicalism of the *First Treatise* presupposes Locke's assessment of the inadequacy of his predecessors in the natural liberty tradition" (214). So Locke's bold attack on Filmer was a screen for his exceedingly cautious criticism of Suarez and Bellarmine? While I am not prepared to dismiss the argument, for the author does make some very good points, he has not proven to my satisfaction that Locke had more to fear from criticizing Jesuit theologians in his anonymous tract than from the mouthpiece of royalists. His patron's experience in the Tower and Sidney's at the gallows are good evidence of where the real danger did lie. But I fear this one section will attract undue criticism and deflect praise from a praiseworthy book.

Every library should have a copy of this book and every serious student of the period should have it on his or her shelf. There are gems of insight and

brilliant summaries of arguments. The reader who would most profit from it, however, is one who is approaching the period for the first time, but not as an undergraduate. This makes its best audience difficult to discern, but anyone would profit from the read.

Caroline Castiglione. *Patrons and Adversaries: Nobles and Villagers in Italian Politics, 1640-1760*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. ix + 254 pp. + maps and illustrations. \$19.95 Paper. Review by R. BURR LITCHFIELD, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

Studies of eighteenth-century France have shed light on the nature of peasant communities and their increasing litigiousness, which erupted in the *Cahiers de doléances* of 1788 and in the Great Fear, the peasant uprising in the first month of the French Revolution. There has been less study of village politics in Italy, especially for readers of English. Thus Caroline Castiglione's well researched, well written, and insightful study is welcome. The relationship between feudal landholders and peasant communities was a very important one. Who could forget the scenes in 1860 at the Prince of Lampedusa's Sicilian estate of Donnafugata in Luchino Visconti's film, *The Leopard*? Castiglione focuses on estates of the Barberini family in the countryside north-east of Rome. This is not a demographic or agricultural history. Instead it treats the family history of the Barberini, village politics, and the Papal government. The Barberini bought feudal jurisdiction over several villages in the last year of the pontificate of Matteo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII (1623-44). The Barberini came from an un-remarkable Florentine family, and at the end of his pontificate, Urban VIII attempted to secure the family's permanence in the upper ranks of Roman society by obtaining a landed endowment. He tried unsuccessfully to wrest the fiefs of Castro along the papal border with Tuscany from the Farnese family (*nipoti* of Pope Paul III) in 1641, which produced the brief War of Castro between the Papacy, Tuscany, and Venice in 1642-44. Frustrated, his nephew, Taddeo, bought, at huge expense, a collection of villages earlier assembled by the old Roman feudal Orsini family.

This was not one estate. The family had earlier bought the nearby Principality of Palestrina. In the new property, Monte Libretti carried the title of a duchy, Nerola of a principality, and Montorio of a marquisate. In the 1740s

the separate populations ranged from about 550 to 850. One generally thinks of the plain around Rome as being depopulated and little cultivated, but these villages were on higher ground in the Sabine hills—one of their sub-products was ice to cool summer meals of the Papal court and the Roman nobility. It has been recognized that the communal life of villages such as these (they had statutes, communal councils, priors, and established procedures) was one of the sources of modern Italian civic life. Having acquired the villages, Urban VIII's final heir, his grand-nephew, Matteo Barberini (1631-1686), had to get sufficient revenue from them. He lived, of course, in Rome, and probably seldom visited his estates; he worked through agents. The villages came replete with an assemblage of feudal rights: civil and eventually criminal jurisdiction (exercised through an *auditore*), inns, mills, and feudal rents. The family owned only part of the territory directly; from the rest they collected feudal dues and participations in the harvests. But the villagers also claimed civic rights: hunting rights, grazing, and wood gathering. Other players in the local scene were Papal agents from Rome who pressed to collect taxes, both from the Barberini and from the village communal councils.

The problems began at Nerola in 1653 when Matteo Barberini attempted to ban the village's hunting rights to the family's advantage. The dispute dragged on into the 1680s: the communal council exhibited their statute, disregarded Barberini edicts, hired lawyers, and appealed to Papal courts in Rome, which eventually ruled in the Barberini's favor. At Monte Libretti there were a variety of problems: grazing rights, appointment of the communal physician or surgeon, the schoolmaster, renting the inn, even the church bell. The archpriest and local Confraternity of S. Niccolo became involved. There were disputes about the communal statute, about record keeping, and about communal indebtedness. Further lawyers were hired. The communal council was not always united, and factions appealed directly to the Barberini. Castiglione leads us skillfully through the detail of these disputes (gleaned from communal, Roman, and Barberini family archives) into the eighteenth century. She argues that the villagers evolved in practice a kind of "adversarial literacy" based on their statutes, the communal councils, appeal through lawyers to Papal courts (which often ruled against them), and dogged tactical and verbal skill. They wanted traditional rights and ultimately "the common good." The Barberini wanted respect for their paternal authority and peaceful local acquiescence.

Complications emerged through the Barberini family history. Matteo Barberini's heir was Urbano Barberini (1664-1722), a spendthrift who sold a part of the estate to pay his debts. His brother, Cardinal Francesco (1662-1738), worked to save the rest. His only daughter, Cornelia Costanza (1716-97), was married to a member of the Colonna family who assumed the Barberini name. Francesco and Cornelia paid much attention to local matters; their agents were insufficiently diligent, the streets were not clean, the Lenten trout were not arriving promptly, and the "infamous vice" of card playing was rife in "taverns or other local haunts . . . for money or for drink . . . for recreation or for conversation" (121). Eventually (in the 1740s and 1750s) the family tried to influence the composition and voting procedure of the communal council at Monte Libretti.

Increasingly, the Papal bureaucracy in Rome intervened more directly in the countryside through what was called the *Congregazione del Buon Governo*, which was reorganized in 1704. This was interested chiefly in the collection of taxes due to Rome. (It must be admitted that the control of feudal holdings was much less in the Papal States than what was introduced in the Hapsburg-ruled, more progressive states of Lombardy and Tuscany, where similar problems existed.) Papal visitors arrived in the villages to complain about local record keeping and communal indebtedness, and to impose annual budgets. The *Buon Governo* seems largely to have favored the interests of the Barberini, but it sometimes favored the communal councils, and it left communal institutions in tact.

This study does not tell us about how developments came out under the French inspired Roman Republic of 1798-99 or the Napoleonic occupation. Presumably adversarial bargaining between landowners and villagers continued through the nineteenth century. Siding with E. P. Thompson, Castiglione neatly concludes: "The challenge of the seigniorial regime in the law courts of Rome, sustained by villagers working through their communal institutions [and adversarial literacy] was quite old by the time the French Revolution came to Italy via Napoleon. . . . Villagers like those of the *stato* of Monte Libretti were leading the way in the mid-eighteenth century, but found no elites yet ready to follow" (180).

Diana Newton. *The Making of the Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603-1605*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005. x + 164 pp. \$80.00. Review by CHARLES W. A. PRIOR, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

King James VI and I has tended to suffer at the hands of historians. Described by a contemporary as the wisest fool in England, the impression that has come down through the centuries is of an unprepossessing closet homosexual with horrid table manners and a flair for penning pedantic treatises on the evils of tobacco. The scholarship that covers the years of his English reign (1603-25) has tended to dwell on topics other than his manner of rule. James is presumed to have governed a realm characterised by a bland climate of peace. Were it not for a few juicy court scandals and the Gunpowder plot, we would be tempted to remember this strange king as an avid hunter and amateur scholar who stares warily back at us from several portraits of the time. He is, in other words, often treated as a warm-up act for the main event: the disastrous reign of his faulted second son and “spare” to the throne, Charles I.

The tide has begun to turn. Scholars such as Jenny Wormald, Brown Patterson, Maurice Lee, and Linda Peck, among others, have offered careful discussions of James’ mode of rule in both Scotland and England, his ambitions for a pan-European Protestantism, and his court as a political machine in the manner of the early Tudor household. This book, published as part of the Royal Historical Society’s new series of “Studies in History,” builds upon this work as well as that on the “new” British history, in order to provide a compact analysis of how James made the transition from king of Scotland to the first British ruler of multiple kingdoms.

The book opens with a brief discussion of James’ early years as King of Scotland, a throne he inherited in 1567 at the age of thirteen months. The sixteenth century had seen another boy king, Edward VI, and recent scholars have shown the degree to which the fact of his youth did not inhibit his interest in the business of government. Newton reminds us that James had never known a time when he was not king, and this bred in him a confidence and sense of moderation that was essential to rule. Indeed, he ruled with patience, balancing factions in Scotland, especially those defined by religion in general and Catholicism in particular. The transition to power discussed by

the second chapter shows how James prepared the ground in England as he made his way gradually south after the death of Elizabeth I in March of 1603. “30” (James) wrote a barrage of coded letters to “10”—Robert Cecil—and to “deer 3”—Henry Howard, among the counsellors most loyal to “24” (Elizabeth), and thus well placed to prevent disaffected English nobles from forming a hostile faction. Good use is made here and throughout of letters and other archival sources, which together show James as a keen student of English government, seeking to reassure those wary of him that no great alteration of “law or custom” was in the offing. Yet Newton argues that, for all of this preparation, James nevertheless misjudged the political climate of England. There was the problem of the Church of England, established in Protestantism in 1559 yet rejected by many Protestants for leaning too close to Rome and by all Catholics as being a church that was the product of human custom and law, having no connection with the *corpus mysticum* that was the true church. Added to this were the problems of war and commerce and the tenuous balance of power in Europe along confessional lines, a balance that would be disrupted in 1618. Then there was the political structure of England as a combination of centre (London), localities, regional issues, and borderlands that had challenged the business of governing since Henry VI.

Of these, it is religion which presented James with his most serious challenges, and these are discussed in two chapters that examine the response to the Canons of 1604—wildly unpopular measures designed to impose some order on the Church of England. The problem was that they re-opened old wounds concerning liturgy, ceremonial practice, and rule of the Church by bishops. It was along these lines that English and Scottish Protestants found common cause, furnishing us with a test case for what John Morrill and others have called the “British problem.” In Northamptonshire the local magnates got up a petition protesting the use of the court of High Commission as a means of turfing out non-conformist ministers, and this touched off a flurry of petitioning and pamphleteering, and the spread of virulent anti-Catholicism. What prevented a civil war was James’ decision to act swiftly by tightening local controls, and in these pages we discover a wealth of material on the functioning of the Jacobean “regime” at all levels.

A final chapter offers an assessment of the Jacobean “legacy” as it respected finance, parliament, religion, and local government—the main topics

around which the narrative is arranged. At this point one begins to wonder if this hitherto careful, compact, and balanced study of a confined patch of historical turf has not begun to overstretch itself. For it is disingenuous to speak of anything approaching a legacy—let alone an “enduring legacy”—when the book itself deals almost entirely with a period of two years. There were twenty more to come, and it might be argued that the “added parliament,” the Synod of Dort, the debate over the Perth Articles, and the failure of the Spanish Match were what defined the Jacobean legacy, for these were the events that shaped political, religious, and diplomatic history in the period after 1625. This is not to deny that the conflicts of 1603 to 1605 continued to reverberate—an even cursory examination of pamphlets and other books shows that they did—but to these issues were joined others, and it is only after James’ death in 1625 that one can begin to imagine what his legacy truly was. Nevertheless, this book is a fine first step in a history that has yet to be written, and it provides a detailed and well-balanced account of a crucial and neglected bit of early Stuart history.

Frances Harris and Michael Hunter, eds. *John Evelyn and His Milieu*. London: The British Library, 2003. ix + 298 pp. + 62 illus. \$70.00. Review by CHRISTOPHER BAKER, ARMSTRONG ATLANTIC STATE UNIVERSITY.

Of the two great seventeenth-century English diarists, Samuel Pepys has probably garnered more attention since his death than has John Evelyn. Conflicted, ambitious, petty, secretive, and driven, Pepys is the more visceral and dramatic of the two when compared to the scholarly, observant, pious, artistic, and cosmopolitan Evelyn. But comparisons here are odious. Evelyn deserves to be appreciated for the unique sensibility he offers, especially when one views him, as this volume does, beyond the confines of his diary alone. “No one says Evelyn was a great thinker,” remark the editors (15), but there is no mistaking the cultured catholicity of his tastes and interests. As his contemporary William Rand commented, his “sprightly curiosity left nothing unreacht into, in the vast all-comprehending Dominions of Nature and Art” (155). This volume, comprising an introductory essay and fourteen studies of Evelyn in varying contexts, documents Rand’s statement with varied breadth.

Evelyn was an accomplished bookman, and three essays examine his

letters, library, and interest in bookbinding. His correspondence was a frequent means for him to share what he called his "Impertinences," his private and scholarly pursuits which often ranged far beyond his public and official tasks. He seems to have self-consciously fashioned his letters after the model of Pliny, and Douglas Chambers finds in them "the conscious literary language of self-definition" (27). His more than 800 extant letters reveal Evelyn as an epistolary artist who often suggests himself as the rustic gentleman of taste, recalling the Virgil of *Georgic II*. His enthusiasm for letter writing in fact extended through four generations of Evelyns. Susan Whyman notes that the extensive letters of his son and grandson reveal letter writing as an essential skill for one's personal advancement and intellectual cultivation (competence was expected in both English and Latin) as well as for personal expression. For literate families like Evelyn's, epistolary skill took on an "almost obsessive importance" (260). Giles Mandelbrote observes that Evelyn's impressive personal library numbered "nearly four thousand printed books and over eight hundred pamphlets" (72-73), a library some thirty percent larger than those of Pepys, John Locke, Robert Boyle, or Robert Hooke, with the largest portion devoted to religion. Though Evelyn's books now provide us with an antiquarian treasure, he seems to have had little interest in volumes printed much before his own era. His frequent annotations help us chart his acquisitions and provide some revealing personal judgments, such as that on a history of the reigns of Charles II and James II, which, as he marked on its title page, was "full of malicious mistakes" (85). Mirjam Foote points out that Evelyn probably purchased most of his volumes unbound; he employed bookbinders in both London and Paris to bind them attractively with his own monogram.

Evelyn's interest in art took him to Italy in 1645 with the Earl of Arundel, a close friend of Inigo Jones; Evelyn may have later served as a friendly intermediary between the two. Given Arundel's importance as a collector and Jones's as an architect, Edward Chaney suggests impressively that this may have been "the most culturally significant Grand Tour ever undertaken" (53). Perhaps, but there is no denying its influence upon Evelyn himself, who became an avid collector of prints. Chaney is able to show that the Gardens of Mantua which Evelyn visited were actually in Padua, correcting the erroneous impression that he had walked sixty miles to see them in the city for which they are named. Evelyn's interest in Italian art is of a piece with his enthusiasm

for prints; his own collection of them resulted in his *Sculptura* (1662), the “first monograph about prints and printmaking published in any language” (95). Antony Griffiths points out that Evelyn deserves notice as not only a writer about printmaking but also as a printmaker himself and as one of “the earliest known British print collectors” (97). Evelyn encouraged his daughter, Susanna, to take an interest in art, and she developed an interest in painting which was encouraged by her mother-in-law. Carol Gibson-Woods’s essay on her illuminates Susanna’s artistic pursuits as typical of the achievements of cultured young women of the era.

Three substantial essays address Evelyn’s religion, humanitarian work, and politics. While not an uncritical Anglican, Evelyn was intensely loyal to his church; in John Spurr’s words, “the lower the Church’s fortunes sank, the more confident Evelyn was that it was the true church” (152). His papers contain summaries and comments on more than three hundred sermons he heard, and the devotional works he composed reveal his prayerful effort to “[increase] in all manner of heavenly Graces” (150). Gillian Wright’s essay on the devotional practices of Evelyn’s beloved daughter, Mary, who died at nineteen of smallpox, demonstrates how the father’s piety helped shape that of his talented daughter. He offered no decisive personal commentary on the major theological issues of his time, but his writings display his effort to remain true to the English church throughout a critical period of its history.

Certainly there was a religious motive, then, in Evelyn’s humanitarian work in helping to build the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich. In 1664 he had been appointed a Commissioner for the Sick and Wounded and Prisoners of War, an opportunity and burden which Gillian Darley says “drew out an efficient, even exemplary, civil servant” (165). After plans to build the hospital at Chatham proved fruitless, work was begun at Greenwich, an agonizingly slow and, for Evelyn, personally costly, enterprise. Nevertheless, by his death some three hundred pensioners were housed there, a testimony to his role as “elder statesman and consolidator” (182). While such solid philanthropy and his “impeccably Anglican” (156) behavior have helped stamp Evelyn with the label of “conservative,” Steven Pincus’s absorbing essay, “John Evelyn: Revolutionary,” points out that he was in fact rather more liberal in his friendships and political views than has been assumed. Pincus sees Evelyn as “deeply disturbed with the Restored monarchy” (187) yet not wanting to appear a rebel. He had close friendships with prominent Whigs such as Shaftesbury,

Locke, and Lady Sunderland and drew up a “hitherto unnoticed agenda for revolutionary change” (193) which advanced his ideas for reforms in foreign policy, economics, and the church. Contrary to the traditional view, typified by that of Virginia Woolf, who deemed him a predictable monarchist, Evelyn emerges as “not a conventional royalist” (210). Essays by Mark Laird on Evelyn’s home and garden at Sayes Court, by Isabel Sullivan on the Evelyn estate at Wotton in Surrey, and by Edward Gregg on Evelyn’s grandson, John, round out this volume with helpful domestic and genealogical detail.

This volume is at once scholarly and attractive; numerous plates of books, manuscripts, and prints supplement the essays. Newcomers to Evelyn will value its inclusiveness, while Evelyn scholars will appreciate its new insights and fresh reevaluations. John Spurr admits that Evelyn “never became a great man” (155), but the sheer variety of his private interests and public accomplishments recommend him to us as one of the most accessible figures of his time. With pointed understatement, Steven Pincus says simply, “Evelyn was not an insular man” (195).

Milo Keynes. *The Iconography of Sir Isaac Newton to 1800*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005. viii + 120 pp. + 24 ills. \$80.00. Reviewed by NICHOLAS H. CLULEE, FROSTBURG STATE UNIVERSITY.

In this centennial of Albert Einstein’s miraculous year of 1905, Einstein’s image is immediately recognizable on the posters, announcements, and web site for the “World Year of Physics 2005” celebration of his accomplishments. This image is not just recognizable as the person but has also come to evoke the very idea of the scientist and the extraordinary genius whose power alters fundamentally our understanding of the world. Before Einstein, Isaac Newton arguably held this position as supreme icon of scientist and genius, if we are to judge from the images presented in Milo Keynes’ recent book.

Milo Keynes, whose uncle, John Maynard Keynes, collected Newton’s manuscripts, has identified 231 separate images of Newton produced to 1800. This book is essentially a catalogue of these images. Part one treats the portraits and is divided into sections for *ad vivum* paintings and drawings, posthumous paintings and drawings, doubtful and spurious portraits, and engravings. The second part considers sculptures with sections for busts,

reliefs, the death mask, monuments and statues, ceramics and waxes, cameos and intaglios, and portrait medals and tokens as appropriate. Each part has its own bibliography.

The entries in each section are organized chronologically. Each original is pictured in black and white followed by entries discussing copies and variants. Each entry gives Newton's age and the year, size, medium, current owner and location, a description of the rendering of the subject, any inscriptions, and a provenance. Entries also provide brief biographical details related to Newton's activities at the time of the portrait if it was *ad vivum*. Keynes explains other objects in the image, such as scientific instruments, and gives the titles of books in the pictures. Some of these are quite precise, identifying the exact pages from the specific edition of the *Principia* based on the diagrams that can be seen, or relating a book with the name Daniel to Newton's *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*. Forty-one of the most important images are presented in twenty-four high quality color plates.

In addition to literary reflections, these images may serve as visual evidence of Newton's fame, stature as a cultural icon, and influence as the epitome of the new science. Keynes does not provide his own interpretation of what these images collectively might tell us about Newton's cultural role and reception over the period he covers. His catalogue does, however, provide material and guidance for developing such interpretations. The *ad vivum* portraits were commissioned by Newton or institutions with which he was affiliated, and copies were made for family and friends. The posthumous images attest to a continuing market, often in forms such as engravings and prints, ceramics, cameos, and medals and tokens that were produced in multiple copies. Where there is evidence for quantity production and offerings by catalogue, Keynes gives the details. He also gives indications of who commissioned particular works and their original locations, thus providing evidence for establishing the cultural setting for Newton's image. Particularly revealing are Keynes' reproductions of portraits of others that have images of Newton in the background, mostly as sculpture busts. Apparently Newton's aura was thought to reflect favorably on others by association. This is a handsome book. It is worth a look by any student of early modern Europe; Newton as the Einstein of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries looks out from every page.

John Eliot. *The Eliot Tracts: With Letters from John Eliot to Thomas Thorowgood and Richard Baxter*. Edited by Michael Clark. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2003. viii + 453 pp. \$99.95. Review by WILLIAM J. SCHEICK, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

Oliver Cromwell's establishment of a Protestant regime in England quickened the millennial urge that was always pulsing deep within Puritans in Europe and the colonies. Under Cromwell's rule England became, in John Milton's words, "the first [nation] that should set up a Standard for the [Reformation] recovery of lost Truth, and blow the first Evangelick Trumpet to the Nations" (*Of Reformation in England* [1641], Book One). With great expectations of last-things to come, many participated in a reverse migration from New England to their now spiritually liberated homeland. By 1651, even influential John Davenport was ready to leave New England for England, though by mid-decade he clearly saw the error of his over-estimation of Cromwell's Protectorate. The Reformation mission of New England was not yet completed, Davenport then concluded, but without scaling back his heated millennial expectations.

John Eliot (1604-1690), the colonial missionary to the Indians, caught millennial fever during the 1650s. By then he was convinced that the conversion of Indians was part of the prophecy concerning the conversion of the Jews said to immediately precede the Second Coming of Christ. Eliot had read Thomas Thorowgood's *Jews in America*, which argued that Native Americans were the lost tribes of Israel. Eliot had already touched on this idea in *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England* (1649), but during the following decade he even more attentively argued the point by identifying connections between Algonquin and Hebrew. Eliot's long 1652 letter on this subject would eventually appear as a preface in the second edition of Thorowgood's book in 1660.

1660, however, was a bad year for such millennial dreamers. The Stuart restoration distressed Puritans on several fronts, not the least of which was its seeming disruption of millennial progress. Finding authority in the example of the Protestant regicides of the 1640s, a band of Fifth Monarchists attempted to unclog the way. On behalf of Christ's imminent second appearance, these extreme millennialists attempted the violent overthrow of the King. Their effort did not work. Charles II survived, while the Fifth Monar-

chists fared less well. There were, moreover, repercussions at home and abroad for all Puritans. The exodus from the homeland was on again as talk among English non-conformists, increasingly imposed upon by the monarchy, focused on flight to Holland and New England. Even Increase Mather, his personal London dreams of fame now in tatters, also dejectedly returned to Boston.

Eliot had his own problems after the Restoration. He had published *The Christian Commonwealth* in London (1659), a work of millennial vision (influenced by his missionary work) that supported biblically-sanctioned arguments for an end to monarchies. In less than two years, he found, such a view was once again a dangerously seditious position to have taken. Under pressure—his book was publicly burned in Boston—Eliot back-peddled. But the thrust of his millennial beliefs, at least in its less controversial elements, was not impeded. Oddly, despite the opening shocks and setbacks dealt by the Stuart Restoration, Eliot and other New England millennialists, including Increase Mather, caught a second wind.

They found what they needed in a literal understanding of Paul's prophecy in Romans 11:1-26. They read Paul's forecast of the conversion of the Jews in relation to developments in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-1660s. There Sabbatai Sevi (alternatively named Zvi or Zvei), a self-proclaimed messiah, had seized the attention of many Europeans, who noted his influence on the decision of some Jews to return to their homeland. For a number of millennialists, this migration seemed to inaugurate the predicted conversion of the Jewish nation, a development believed to precede the Second Coming of Christ.

These matters convey something of the fascinating background of the eleven tracts and the two letters edited by Michael Clark in *The Eliot Tracts*. This background informs Eliot's point of view while undertaking and writing about the conversion of America's indigenous peoples. Clark provides an informed introduction to Eliot's interaction with Native Americans. He reminds us that the works that were most evidently written by Eliot were published between 1653 and 1671, while the earlier books (dating back to 1643) show the missionary's influence in one way or another. Clark also provides a respectable account of the current state of Eliot studies. There are no annotations, unfortunately, but there is a helpful index, a map, and facsimile title pages. Eliot's works repay close attention, and so it is good to have them

available in such a handy format.

Markku Peltonen. *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. ix + 355 pp. \$60.00. Review by BRETT F. PARKER, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA UPSTATE.

Markku Peltonen has written a revealing and thoughtful analysis of both the intellectual origins and ideological functions of dueling, arguing that the practice entered English life as an appropriation of the Italian Renaissance notion of civility and increasingly served to legitimate native political and social values. By tracing the arguments underlying the duel, Peltonen demonstrates the considerable flexibility of the ideology of civility and its attendant notion of honor, which allowed advocates of the duel to defend the practice in the face of changing circumstances and increasing criticism. Because civility was at root about proper behavior and politeness in a world of courtiers and gentlemen, it inherently was wedded to the notion of honor. Consequently, the duel was promoted as a necessary response to impolite behavior, a way to restore the civility and ensure sociability. Conventional enough, but by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, supporters (most famously John Oldmixon) insisted that dueling also promoted British freedom. By making the duel a “home-bred attire,” it was represented as a fundamental part of an indigenous culture that celebrated courage and valor (189). Such malleability helped make the duel a venerable tradition in early modern England.

Peltonen’s argument for the sustainability of dueling through the eighteenth century rests on his initial depiction of civility as a primary focus of humanist treatises in the sixteenth century. The concern in these works was essentially how to best exude good manners or politeness, which helped “win and confer” honor and reputation (35). According to Peltonen, honor was important to genteel society in England because it cut two ways, vertically and horizontally. Honor, as one’s reputation or opinion in the world, necessitated revenge for insults and thus the duel served to maintain virtue among gentlemen. The problem, however, was that such logic could and often did run counter to royal authority and Christian teachings. One of Peltonen’s most significant chapters treats the anti-duelling campaign in Jacobean England.

Here he notes that dueling became so pervasive as to raise fear that it undermined James's authority and was particularly disparaged by common lawyers and antiquaries who found it a foreign fashion unbecoming of English society. But Peltonen is right to suggest that dueling fit well with the cult of martial virtue in early modern England and thus was partly a "reaction" to Italian influence (93). Just as important, by 1618 the royal solution to dueling had changed from the creation of a court of honor to dismissal of the prevailing theory of civility and reputation.

The legitimization of dueling was largely completed, Peltonen argues, by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the language of "courtesy" was replaced by "civility" and "politeness." These terms continued to stress reputation and sociability but increasingly meant pleasantness. As a result, dueling came to be seen as both "a cause and a consequence" of a particular "British" character, one that not only marked their gentility but also their freedom (199).

Peltonen concludes his study with an examination of Bernard Mandeville's praise of dueling, insisting that Mandeville returned to the sixteenth century, court-dominated notion of civility and "sided with those who argued that politeness and civility only concerned our appearances" (268). Importantly, this allowed Mandeville to fit dueling into his larger social theory. Commercial society, it appears, needed the external and theatrical performances associated with civility and honor. This artificiality, as well as the connection between politeness and sociability, permitted Mandeville to declare that the courtly and commercial worlds were not mutually exclusive. Rather, they were driven by the same motives—pride and pleasure—and the duel guaranteed and enhanced the civility necessary for both.

The strength of *The Duel in Early Modern England* is its contextualization of the arguments over dueling within the ideology of civility. Peltonen's work raises doubt about the conventional understanding that politeness supplanted virtue as more befitting a commercial people. One wonders, nevertheless, how writers, especially in the eighteenth century, squared notions of civility and politeness underlying the duel with ancient constitutionalism. Knowing this, Peltonen would surely have been able to say something more definitive about British freedom and martial spirit.

Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer, eds. *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xx + 210 pp. + 1 illus. \$80.00. Review by B. R. SIEGFRIED, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

The editors of *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*, Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer, have collected sixteen essays in honor of Aidan Clarke whose scrupulous and energetic work as teacher and historian is acknowledged throughout the volume. Marshaling the whole in support of a vision of historiography that is more than mere taxonomy yet far from ideological cant, the book is dedicated to the proposition that ethical insight may be had from “a genuine encounter with the problems and possibilities of historical work” (xiv). The first essay, an overview by the editors which gives an excellent and authoritative account of the received state of early modern Irish history, sets out the modest ambitions of the volume: to promote new approaches that take seriously the confirmed patterns of conquest and plantation identified by previous scholars while moving toward more highly attenuated discussions of complications and contradictions within such paradigms. With respect to received perspectives on the Catholic-Protestant divide, for instance, Brady and Ohlmeyer write that “revealing similarities and associations across confessional divides, the new approach to the history of popular religion has wonderfully complicated and enriched our understanding of both the political and cultural history of the early modern period” (9). Understood to be set in tandem with established views on English interventions in early modern Ireland, the subsequent essays in the volume develop detailed documentation of unexpected reversals, compromise, and accommodation on the part of activist English bureaucrats, civic officials, and ecclesiastical leaders forced to confront an unexpectedly unruly reality.

The essays are chronologically arranged. The first five focus mostly on the last decades of the sixteenth century; the next seven develop discussions surrounding the early to mid-seventeenth century, while the last several take the later half of the century as their target. The fortuitous overlapping of issues and themes from one chapter to the next results in a book that is more than merely a series of mutually reinforcing readings. Indeed, the first essay, “The attainder of Shane O’Neill, Sir Henry Sidney and the problems of Tudor state-building in Ireland,” by Ciaran Brady, is something of an elastic band for several of the later essays. Brady’s basic premise, as it is taken up and ex-

panded upon by several of the contributors, usefully accommodates the distinctive characteristics of subsequent decades while simultaneously highlighting unexpected continuities throughout the century. Specifically, by sketching Henry Sidney's attempt to create a core of mythic tradition to which all the various inhabitants of Ireland might give allegiance—a synthetic right-to-rule that was advanced “on the basis of a great constitutional declaration”—Brady sets forth a theme to which many essays in the volume return: the restless search, evidenced by a wide swath of documents spanning the century, for a narrative that could convincingly establish, once and for all, legitimate grounds for English rule in Ireland.

Harold O'Sullivan's essay is the weft to Brady's warp, providing further support upon which the other essays in the volume more fully cohere to form a richly hued tapestry of seventeenth century Irish history. “Dynamics of regional development: processes of assimilation and division in the marchland of south-east Ulster in late medieval and early modern Ireland,” is a gem. A survey of south-east Ulster from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, the essay is set forth as a challenge to historical accounts which have failed to be attentive to regional specificity. Though it occasionally runs close haul to the winds of broad generalization, the fine handling of detail prevents the discussion from ever luffing, and the result is a clear view of both unexpected change and curious continuity. O'Sullivan nicely illustrates the general thesis of the collection: specific local conditions often altered the trajectory of colonial development in ways not envisioned by English strategists.

The fortuitous integration of the essays is a strength paralleled by the book's overall writerly grace. Frankly, it is good to see several fine historians restore the narrative mode to its proper place, especially since so many of the contributors are writers who command a fluid and elegant prose, totally free of jargon and untroubled by current fashions proliferating among so many scholars. Jane Ohlmeyer's essay deserves special attention in this regard. Nowhere near enough work has been done on the role of the Irish parliament in the history of English expansionism, but Ohlmeyer's essay does much to set the terms in which further work ought to be developed. “The Irish peers, political power and parliament, 1640–41” firmly demonstrates just how significant a role the peers could play, while providing a practical resource and model for all scholars of the early modern period.

Those interested in the role of the Irish parliament in the mid-seventeenth century will want to give this book special consideration. Ohlmeyer's discussion is part of a constellation of essays which address parliamentary issues. Bríd McGrath, Robert Armstrong, and Micheál Siochrú variously address election strategies, the effects of religious confederacies, and debates over Poyning's law (which required the Irish executive to seek royal licence to hold a parliament), all of which adds up to what McGrath summarizes as "a picture of a heterogeneous community coming to terms with considerable social and political change and able . . . to show flexibility, imagination, cooperation, and sophisticated political thinking" (205). Although the profile of parliament that emerges from these essays is not positively new, the angle of perspective is useful, and the historical picture of seventeenth-century Ireland gains strikingly both in intensity and clarity. Indeed, the portrait is more fully realized when the character of education—whether broadly religious or specifically calculated to ensure the welfare of the state—is seriously highlighted. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, Brian Jackson, R. J. Hunter, Alan Ford, and Richard Lawrence all contribute essays to this end. The failed attempt at applying conventional European models to Irish universities, the paradox of a common education being the basis for religious controversy, the endeavors of planters to wrestle social actuality into religious conformity, the interventions of powerful religious figures in the organization and reformation of educational institutions, and even one settler's rhetorical evolution from colonial justification to qualms about wealth and complacency, are all delineated in deft, sure strokes. Raymond Gillespie and Patrick Kelly close the book with essays that take us to the end of the century in a gyre that arcs, turns, and takes us back to Brady's introductory thesis. Ultimately, the volume seems to assert that every documented change paradoxically reveals a startling continuity: the on-going preoccupation to develop a narrative that could convincingly establish legitimate grounds for the English conquest of Ireland.

The book's failings are relatively minor and gratifyingly few. Geoffrey Parker's essay disrupts what would otherwise be a remarkable degree of consistently-sustained coherence from chapter to chapter. Though a strong discussion in its own right, Parker's comparison of the crises of the Stuart and Spanish monarchies of the seventeenth century has little to do with the titular focus of the book. Even so, Sarah Barber's chapter, "Settlement, transplantation and expulsion: a comparative study of the placement of peoples,"

does give Parker's chapter something of a toehold. Also, little by way of interdisciplinary work is proffered, a surprising lacuna given that it would no doubt have further underscored the concern with continuities so elaborately delineated in the introductory essay. Still, what the volume lacks in especially sophisticated or venturesome arguments it makes up for in being lucid and engaging, as well as wide-ranging and full of fresh new sources. Indeed, the steadiness of each contributor's archival work represents precisely the kind of scholarship that has seemed threatened by more tendentious and literary-oriented propositions. In short, the map of early modern Ireland this volume offers is richly textured, highly informative, and skillfully executed.

Ruth E. Mayers. *1659: The Crisis of the Commonwealth*. Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 2004. xii + 306 pp. + 1 illus. \$75.00. Review by JASON PEACEY, HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST.

Despite perpetual scholarly interest in the English civil wars and interregnum, historians are still able to find periods and episodes where conventional wisdom requires thorough revision, not least because of the prevalence of easy assumptions and lazy statements. Like scholars who have challenged the inevitability of the regicide and of the downfall of Richard Cromwell, Ruth Mayers questions common perceptions regarding England's republican government during the second half of 1659, although in doing so her account bears more than a passing resemblance to revisionist histories of the drift towards civil war in 1642, both for good and bad.

Mayers is undoubtedly right to stress the importance of reconsidering the revived Rump Parliament, which met from May-October 1659, following the collapse of the protectorate. This period is often treated as little more than a Canute-like attempt to stem the inevitable tide of resurgent monarchism, which led to the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty in the spring of 1660. She is unquestionably right to argue that, for this period more than others, there is a danger of accepting the version of events pedalled by the "victors"—the royalists—and in seeking to re-examine the "crisis of the commonwealth" she is more than happy to challenge the work of scholars as eminent as Austin Woolrych, Ronald Hutton, and Steve Pincus.

Mayers' central contention is that, rather than being doomed to failure,

not least by irreconcilable tensions among the commonwealthsmen, the regime actually demonstrated its ability to overcome the difficulties that it faced, and she stresses contemporary evidence of republican strength as a counterweight to claims made by contemporary opponents. Aware that all such sources were biased, she nevertheless claims that the former has tended to be ignored at the expense of the latter, and that, when the Rump's record is considered without the benefit of hindsight, its administrative effectiveness and capacity for coalition-building becomes clear for the first time. In making the case for the republican regime's potential, Mayers examines an impressive range of sources, and she displays a keen awareness of the need to appreciate, and make allowance for, the partiality of these and other pieces of evidence.

The approach adopted is broadly thematic, rather than chronological, and in addition to chapters examining the case against the Rump, and the arguments deployed by his supporters, analysis focuses upon the regime's immediate priorities (including financial stability), its attempt to overcome division and achieve consensus, government of the City of London and of the localities, and policies regarding Britain and the wider world. The final two chapters examine issues surrounding the breakdown of republican authority in the autumn of 1659. Throughout, Mayers argues that the regime quickly proved itself to be efficient and viable; that it made solid, if unspectacular, progress; and that such progress probably ought to be considered remarkable given the circumstances. Central to this argument are claims regarding the diligence, even zeal, on the part of republican MPs and regarding the fact that divisions between civilian and army republicans have been overplayed.

Both contentions rest in part upon Mayers' analysis of parliamentary and conciliar records, in terms of attendance, committee membership, and divisions on particular votes, and her willingness to engage with these difficult sources is particularly welcome. However, while apparently aware of the problems associated with analyzing "the dry bones of institutional evidence" (28), her reading of such material is probably over simplistic, and she arguably places more interpretative weight on such evidence than it will justifiably bear. A second key strength of the book is its engagement with another neglected source, namely the wealth of printed pamphlet literature generated during the period, not least those tracts which defended the republican regime. It is hard to believe that any other scholar has read as widely in this material, although

some might question whether sufficient attention has been paid to the way in which such works were generated, and the possibility that they were not merely biased, but also written at the behest of those whose reputations they endeavoured to enhance.

The danger with a project such as this is that, having charged other historians with presenting a misleading picture of a regime which was doomed to failure, the author reacts not merely with a dispassionate weighing of the evidence, but with a counterblast. For much of the time, Mayers demonstrates an impressive clarity of logic and subtlety of interpretation, but out of an understandable urge to respond to the bias of the regime's opponents, she ultimately appears to privilege the claims of its supporters. In challenging received wisdom her account occasionally becomes somewhat polemical, and there is a danger that one biased view is merely being replaced by another.

Where Mayers' account is most perplexing is at those moments when she seeks to address the degree of division with republican ranks. An extremely interesting demonstration of the extent to which attempts were made to overcome potential divisions develops into a claim regarding the potential for, and even existence of, "consensus," when what are actually being discussed are merely shifting alliances and marriages of political convenience. Like revisionist historians of the outbreak of civil war, who accentuate consensus, Mayers also argues that political breakdown was "a near adventitious consequence of changing circumstances," and of tensions and mistrust between personalities, rather than being the result of more profound tensions (229). Indeed, in another attempt to overturn conventional wisdom, Mayers comes close to blaming the collapse of parliamentary government upon civilian rather than military republicans, and upon one or two grandees in particular. Just as it is hard to agree with the author's claims regarding the extent of agreement within the republican movement in the summer of 1659, so it is difficult to concur that the army's interruption of Parliament's proceedings in the following autumn represented a little local difficulty and a clash of personalities. That it was the regime's contemporary and subsequent enemies who claimed that the republicans were fundamentally divided does not necessarily make it false.

In an atmosphere of scholarship and scholarly publishing which privileges studies of broad time periods and often precludes detailed analysis of a few months, this book is to be welcomed, not least for the clarity of its prose

and argument and the thorough nature of its research. Moreover, there is much to commend the aim of re-examining this short yet key period of English history, as well as the claims regarding the “regenerative capacity of English republicanism,” and of “the fluidity and creative possibilities of this moment” (275). Nevertheless, that irrevocable divisions existed within the ranks of English republicans and could only be set aside for a limited period after the collapse of the protectorate still seems to be the best guide to this phase of the Rump Parliament and the most plausible explanation of its collapse.

Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds. *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce and Politics in the Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. vi + 346 pp. + 54 illus. \$55.00. Review by LUCIANO BOSCHIERO, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

The editors of this volume certainly faced a formidable task selecting papers to comment on the very wide-sweeping topic of botanical studies during the age of exploration and colonization. It is a topic that encounters several political, religious, economic and intellectual issues in a variety of settings and across a large period of time. Schiebinger and Swan do not shy away from attempting to have all these issues represented in this volume. They bring together sixteen short articles about various scientific figures and events, and settle for an aim in their introduction which reflects the wide scope of the topic: “It is our thesis that early modern botany both facilitated and profited from colonialism and long-distance trade, and that the development of botany and Europe’s commercial and territorial expansion are closely associated developments” (3).

All of the contributing authors comfortably fulfill this general objective by focusing on a variety of case studies. For example, while Andrew J. Lewis examines the relationship between natural historians and private entrepreneurs in early nineteenth-century America, Judith Carey focuses on the technologies and knowledge systems brought to the Americas by enslaved Africans from the Rice Coast mainly during the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, Kapil Raj examines the relationship between south Asian and European traders, especially with regard to an unpublished early eighteenth-century manuscript

by French botanist, Nicolas L'Empereur. These three papers, as examples, illustrate the variety of case studies explored in this single volume. Furthermore, each author uses his or her work in order to construct a broader argument: Lewis concludes by commenting on the authority that natural historians attempted to command in the marketplace; Carney argues that "rice culture" (219) in the American colonies should be considered as a legacy of West African slaves; while Raj uses his work as a case study for historians of Western science to consider: "science in Europe . . . when observed from the vantage point of the Indian Ocean, moved in spaces bounded by national, political, and economic interests, and shaped by different regimes of performativity within which alone the meaningfulness of knowledge can be determined" (268).

Other papers in this collection also introduce various figures and events in the history of botany that provide for a highly entertaining and educational read, such as Michael T. Bravo's study of the botanical skills of the eighteenth-century Moravian missionaries; as well as Claudia Swan's analysis of how the Dutch trading companies assimilated information about plants and plant products at the turn of the seventeenth century; and Anke te Heesen's account of how German physician Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt used bookkeeping techniques to record botanical information he acquired from his expedition in Siberia in the 1720s.

While readers might find this array of stories illuminating, the very broad aim of this volume limits the individual papers from reaching any great heights. Each paper is so short that the authors do not have the opportunity to explore important historical, as well as historiographical, complexities of their case studies and readers are left with many unanswered questions. As an example, Chandra Mukerji provides an interesting account of the role of botanical gardening in French political culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *Jardin du Roi* in Paris, established primarily for academic functions, became a symbol of royal power, as a prominent medical facility as well as a site for public ceremonies. Through this study, therefore, Mukerji raises awareness amongst historians of the importance of botanists and garden designers in the French royal court. However, readers may be left wondering how this story relates to the status of seventeenth-century knowledge makers: how did botanical gardeners contribute to the rise of their discipline? Were they forced to persuade the king of the utility of their work? If garden

designers were also skilled in mathematics and engineering, how did this contribute to the status of their work? In turn, how did this effect the status of mathematicians in general?

Another example of the loose ends created in these short chapters is Harold J. Cook's paper on the process by which authorship was attributed to the volumes of information arriving from the Dutch trading companies. In his early seventeenth-century exploration of Asia, Jacobus Bontius converted indigenous knowledge about plants, which he believed to be superstitious, into factual information easily digestible by his Dutch audience. According to Cook, this exemplified Bontius' commitment towards the accumulation of "universal matters of fact" (117). But was this a deliberate attempt to employ an inductive method? Was Bontius drawing from the methodological work produced by his contemporary in England, Francis Bacon? Or is Cook simply borrowing terminology from Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer's work on the London Royal Society? If so, is he suggesting that some sort of gentlemanly culture of trust existed within the botanists of the Dutch East India Company that was similar to the environment that Shapin and Schaffer claim existed in mid-seventeenth-century London? While relevant for a complete understanding of the topic, such questions are not addressed.

Despite this shortcoming, some streams of thought can be found that link some papers together and provide for a more thorough historiographical approach to the topic of colonial botany. In particular, Daniela Bleichmar, Antonio Lafuente and Nuria Valverde, and E. C. Spary discuss issues of authority and persuasion that situate their case studies in an intellectual, as well as cultural, context not discussed by the other authors.

Bleichmar examines the case of late sixteenth-century Spanish author, Nicolás Monardes. Living in the port city of Seville, Monardes received minerals and plants from travelers arriving from the Americas. Bleichmar points out that Monardes became an authority on New World medicine without even crossing the Atlantic Ocean once. Part of his success depended on his unwillingness to accept indigenous explanations of the properties and functions of the plants he received. Instead, he interpreted his work in accordance with the traditional Galenic and Hippocratic conceptions accepted in Europe. This is what assisted his colleagues in other parts of Europe to understand and apply his writings.

Meanwhile, in their analysis of Spanish imperial botanical policies, Lafuente

and Valverde argue that in the late eighteenth century, Spanish kings attempted to standardize the categorization of botanical findings arriving from the New World, allowing them to take full medical, political and economic advantage of these new resources. The main authoritative tool for this standardization was Linnaean taxonomy. According to Lafuente and Valverde, Linnaean tables carried such authority, that they mediated “between the sensations of the subject and the object toward which they are directed. . . . Nature, then, is a world that distances itself from common experience. As things are geometrized, tabulated, and named, as order is given to data (soon called ‘facts’ by the supporters of this cataloging system), scientists proclaim themselves the only reputable witnesses” (137). The parallels between Lafuente’s and Valverde’s work, and that of Bleichmar, are clear: scientific claims are only determined as valid and true if they are framed within the accepted knowledge structures established by the scientific community, whether that is in regard to Galenic medicine, or Linnaean taxonomy.

This becomes a recurring theme in Spary’s analysis of the eighteenth-century disputation between Pierre Poivre and his rivals about his claims to possess a true nutmeg plant. Spary’s study of this dispute shows how rivals in this episode discredited each other in print and through rumors, in an attempt to destroy one another’s reputation and to ensure that they failed to secure public support for their claims. That is to say that the claim was acceptable only when the community of botanists could be persuaded of the authority of Poivre’s work; this is the intellectual and cultural context in which the nutmeg dispute must be considered by historians.

This collection of papers, therefore, makes some significant contributions to the history of colonial botany. Despite the brevity of each chapter, some important historiographical issues lie just beneath the surface of each case study, promising that future lengthier analyses will prove fruitful for historians in this field.

Massimo Ossi. *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi’s Seconda Pratica*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. xviii + 280 pp. \$60.00. Review by STEVEN SAUNDERS, COLBY COLLEGE.

The central aim of *Divining the Oracle* seems modest: to explicate a single

musical term, Claudio Monteverdi's *seconda prattica*, yet as Massimo Ossi's title intimates, penetrating the veil of obscurity surrounding this central concept in sixteenth-century musical aesthetics involves as much divination as scholarship. The term *seconda prattica* originated at the dawn of the seventeenth century as a defensive maneuver in the infamous Artusi-Monteverdi controversy. By creating a dichotomy between the *prima prattica* founded on the norms of strict Renaissance counterpoint and a *seconda prattica* based on vividly conveying new "*affetti*," Monteverdi and his defenders sought to justify the composer's violations of the voice-leading rules codified by the theorist Zarlino. Under the *seconda prattica*, faulty dissonance treatment becomes an acceptable expressive device if deployed in the service of text expression.

The Artusi-Monteverdi feud festered for almost a decade, but, in Ossi's view, their dispute provided only the prologue to a far longer drama, for, as it turned out, the compositions from Monteverdi's fourth and fifth madrigal books that Artusi criticized transgress Renaissance voice-leading rules only marginally. A more thoroughgoing change in Monteverdi's style occurred in the first decade of the seventeenth century when the composer began to employ a variety of compositional techniques—including ostinato basses, ritornellos, refrains and other schematic designs, strophic forms, recitative and aria, the concertato style, and the *genere concertato*—that rejected the very premises of Renaissance composition. Ossi broadens the terms of the debate over the *seconda prattica* by focusing considerable attention on such later works, and on later documentary sources concerning Monteverdi's aesthetics, most notably, two important letters from Monteverdi to the theorist Giovanni Battista Doni from 1633-34 and the preface to the *Eighth Book of Madrigals*.

The *seconda prattica* remained a touchstone for Monteverdi throughout his life. In an appendix to the *Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1605), the composer promised a book called *Seconda prattica, overo perfettione della moderna musica*, and nearly thirty years later, he was still assuring Doni that he would publish a treatise under the title *Melodia overo seconda prattica musicale*. Thus Ossi's somewhat controversial conviction that Monteverdi's aesthetic stance was "remarkably coherent [and] unified by consistent interests and method" (29) merits serious consideration.

One of the keys to this coherence and consistency, according to Ossi, is a kind of formal schematization and interest in large-scale musical organization. For example, Monteverdi conceived several of his madrigal books not as

loose-knit collections of independent works but as dramatic unities held together by underlying narratives. Ossi reads Book Five as a double cycle—with the opening *a cappella* madrigals providing a dramatic condensation of the key plot elements of Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, and the continuo madrigals providing commentary on the preceding “madrigal-drama.” Evidence for this view includes the narrative arc of the texts; local and long-range tonal structures; melodic correspondences; vocal scorings; and strophic basses shared among several compositions.

Ossi finds another key element in Monteverdi's conception of the *seconda prattica* in the unlikelyst of places, among the modest *canzonette* of the *Scherzi musicali* (1607). In a chapter based on an important earlier article, he seizes upon the odd coupling of Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's famous *Dichiaratione*, perhaps the most extended and spirited defense of Monteverdi's second practice, with the unassuming, homophonic *Scherzi musicali*. Using this seeming anomaly as an interpretive window, he suggests convincingly that canzonetta-like formal procedures such as strophic forms, instrumental ritornellos, and *colle parte* doublings helped to generate dramatic modules that were deployed as structural elements in Monteverdi's opera *Orfeo* (1607).

Another of Ossi's fundamental ideas is that Monteverdi juxtaposed elements from diverse genres as an expressive device, supporting his notion with insightful analyses of several overlooked works, particularly the madrigal for solo singer and three instrumental choirs “Con che soavità,” and the “Gloria à 7 concertata” from the *Selva morale*. Ossi also offers a fresh reading of the notoriously enigmatic preface to Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* of 1638. The preface—the closest thing we have to an artistic manifesto from Monteverdi's later years—presents a vexing series of three-fold classifications, including musical elements (*oratoria, harmonica, retmica*), genere (*conciato, temperato, molle*), ranges of the human voice (*alta, mezzana, bassa*), affects of the soul (*ira, temperanza, umiltà*), functions (*da teatro, da ballo, da camera*), and compositional types (*guerriera, amorosa, rappresentativa*). Beginning with the insight that Monteverdi modeled his preface on passages from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (the preface refers mistakenly to Plato's *Rhetoric*), Ossi seeks to unravel Monteverdi's multifaceted classification scheme. Beginning with Aristotle's distinction between the text and its delivery, he argues that Monteverdi envisioned a similar continuum reaching from musical delivery (performance) to musical content (composition). Under such a view, each of the three *generi* has characteristic affect and

registers and attracts a particular constellation of textual, harmonic, and rhythmic features.

Several of the chapters of *Divining the Oracle* betray their origins as independent articles or conference papers. Translations of some texts appear multiple times, and the translation to “Questi vaghi concerti” is printed twice with different translations (72 and 91-92). Many of the footnotes could have been updated, most glaringly, perhaps, the references to Monteverdi’s letters in the old edition by Domenico De Paoli rather than to the more recent, authoritative one edited by Éva Lax (1994). The discussion of Monteverdi’s tonal language seems slightly dated, overlooking recent work by Gregory Barnett, Michael Dodds, Beverly Stein, and others. The descriptions of poetic texts, too, is inconsistent; symbols for trochaic and iambic meters are interchanged at one point (120), and the term “verse” is sometimes used to mean strophe, at other times to indicate a poetic line (127).

The volume is aimed at specialists in early seventeenth-century music, most particularly at Monteverdi scholars. It assumes an acquaintance with both Monteverdi’s oeuvre and the literature on the composer. Discussion of individual pieces often begins without orientation regarding the date of composition or collection in which the work is found, for example, and the discussion of the Artusi-Monteverdi controversy assumes prior familiarity with the key documents and players. By enlarging the chronological range of the discussion about Monteverdi’s *seconda prattica*, *Divining the Oracle* provides a useful antidote to literature that focuses narrowly on the Artusi-Monteverdi controversy. At the same time, it scrupulously avoids the danger of bringing virtually any musical innovation of the seicento under the banner of the *seconda prattica*. Nonetheless, the focus on the later Monteverdi also has its drawbacks. The book fails to pursue Giulio Cesare Monteverdi’s crucial claim that the real *seconda prattica* masters were late Renaissance composers such as Cipriano de Rore, Giaches de Wert, and Luca Marenzio. Similarly, the relationship between the preface to the *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* and the *seconda prattica* remains ambiguous, since the term *seconda prattica* does not even appear in the preface.

Divining the Oracle makes a number of major contributions to Monteverdi scholarship. It brings together insightful analyses of many works; fresh insights into the large-scale planning behind Monteverdi’s madrigal books; brilliant demonstrations of the centrality of elements of the canzonetta to

Monteverdi's thought; and the most incisive treatments yet of the *genere concertato*. If the quest for a unitary understanding of Monteverdi's *seconda prattica* still seems elusive, even quixotic, Massimo Ossi has succeeded at something equally ambitious and important: he has provided a cogent guide to Monteverdi's musical aesthetics, forcing us to ponder anew the considerable compositional and aesthetic range of seventeenth-century Italy's "oracolo della musica."

Robert Kendrick. *The Sounds of Milan, 1584 to 1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 528 pp. \$87.72. Review by CHRISTINE GETZ, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

The study of North Italian music of the early seventeenth century has blossomed on both sides of the Atlantic over the past ten years, but monographs devoted to urban music of the period are still less numerous than those dedicated to the topic for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus, Robert Kendrick's *The Sounds of Milan, 1584-1650*, comes as an especially welcome addition to the scholarship on North Italian Music of the period. The fact that the monograph follows Kendrick's equally impressive *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (1996) by only six years is nothing short of breathtaking, particularly considering the wealth of detail contained.

Using archival documents, iconographical sources, early printed books, and the available secondary scholarship, Kendrick considers the music produced in early seventeenth-century Milan within the context of the institution for which it was originally intended, and, where possible, in which it was originally performed. The overarching theme of music within its sounding space is particularly strong in the first third of the book, which is devoted to the Milanese institutions that boasted musical chapels of noteworthy size and quality, but loses some of its force in the second section, which considers a number of practical issues related to civic music-making, including plainchant rites, civic and ecclesiastical ritual, the training of Milanese musicians, the content of locally produced theoretical treatises, and the Milanese music-printing industry. The sounding spaces thread re-emerges to a certain degree, however, in the final third of the book as Kendrick takes up the issue of the music itself.

The Sounds of Milan promises to consider music in Milan from the death of Carlo Borromeo through the twenty-year reconstruction following the devastating plague of 1630, but it is more properly described as a study of sacred music during the same era. Despite the plethora of new archival documents pertaining to secular music at the gubernatorial court presented in Davide Daolmi's *Le origini dell'opera a Milano: 1598-1649* (1998), in fact, Kendrick avoids, for the most part, secular topics, focusing instead upon the tremendous activity that took place in Milan's ecclesiastical institutions during the period. This is by no means a defect, for even within these boundaries the author is required by the sheer weight of the project to entertain many interesting topics only briefly, thus leaving the industrious reader with numerous opportunities for further exploration.

Reconstructing performance situations for individual works and decoding their potential meaning for the seventeenth-century listener is no easy task, but Kendrick daringly requires the reader to consider the various possibilities surrounding a given piece on the merit of the surviving archival, iconographical, and musical evidence, and this is one of the most intriguing aspects of the book. While specialists may find some of Kendrick propositions controversial at best, the very dialogue that they provoke promises to push us towards a far better understanding of both the role of music in the exegesis of theological constructs and its attendant power in communicating religious symbolism.

Perhaps the strongest contribution of the book is the discussion of the music itself, for Kendrick's mastery of the repertoire printed in Milan during the era is stunning in scope. This mastery is characterized not only by an encyclopedic knowledge of the facts surrounding each collection issued but also by a thorough familiarity with both frequently chosen texts and the current emblematic styles. Kendrick deftly teases out differences in compositional approach by comparing settings of the same text in terms of rhetorical approach and style, and thereafter attempts to relate the differences to the institutional needs that each composer faced. He further abolishes pre-existing conceptions regarding the development of the individual styles that so intrigued seventeenth-century theorists by forcing the reader to consider the inherent cross-pollination and potential symbolic import of stylistic motifs found in the examples themselves.

Although *The Sounds of Milan* is targeted towards an audience comprised

of scholars of North Italian music of the early seventeenth century, any serious scholar of North Italian culture will find the book both a useful reference source and an engaging read. Nearly every important Milanese composer, institution, patron, and printer receives at least minimal attention, and much of the detail assimilated appears in no source published heretofore. Musicians and non-musicians alike will value both the rich detail and the interdisciplinarity of Kendrick's approach, and scholars of rhetoric will find his musical analyses, which rely heavily upon an understanding of the basic principals of rhetoric as taught in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially worthy of further discussion. Those interested in attempting to unravel the effects of the rather strange co-existence the Ambrosian and Roman rite that characterizes Milanese ritual will also find much food for thought, for Kendrick engages this difficult subject directly through a thorough examination of the extant manuscript and printed sources of the period. In short, scholars of North Italian culture will find Robert Kendrick's *The Sounds of Milan, 1584-1650* not only a highly useful reference book but also an engaging and thought-provoking introduction to the role of music in urban life in seventeenth-century Milan.

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. with Peter C. Sutton. *Rembrandt's Late Religious Portraits*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005. 152 pp. + 21 color plates + 70 comparative ills. \$40.00. Review by LARRY SILVER, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Beginning students in art history have difficulty distinguishing iconic religious imagery from the conventions that it shares with portraiture, so they frequently will try to discuss "portraits of the Virgin." Actually there is something truly profound about the turn that religious art made in the later Middle Ages towards icons that share the palpable presence and plausible likenesses of portraits. This icon tradition, established first in Byzantine bust-length images, was exported to Italy and Flanders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and had a long afterlife in religious art, as demonstrated in the recent (2004) major exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*.

In many respects both the title and the content of this new Rembrandt

catalogue, from a current exhibition shared between the National Gallery in Washington and the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, poses many of the same challenges with its portrait-like images by the artist of Christ and various saints. These are precisely the sensitive, moodily dark pictures for which Rembrandt is best known and justly celebrated. That they combine his life-long talents for portraiture with a religious agenda makes them doubly fascinating. In fact they were all painted within a few years of each other, some of them possibly conceived as a series.

The premise of this exhibition is to test that hypothesis of a series, first voiced almost a century ago, when Rembrandt scholarship was in an early phase but at an intense peak of interest (Catherine Scallen, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Scholarship*, Amsterdam, 2004; not cited). Two scholars, Wilhelm Valentiner and Fredenk Schmidt-Degener, postulated that these images, stemming from the late 1650s and early 1660s, belonged together, even though there is no record of a commission or a particular destination to a known religious community. Thus these images also raise the question of their religious content and perhaps even of Rembrandt's own beliefs—especially at a time in his life when he had been battered economically and personally while still maintaining a career as a painter (his printmaking output virtually ceases at the time of these pictures).

Unfortunately, this handsomely produced catalogue resolves none of the basic puzzles and postulates, though it does provide the basic data. Nor does it take on any of the related pictures, once attributed to Rembrandt and now assigned to his last pupils or “workshop” (whatever that might mean for a straitened painter), such as the handsome *Head of Christ* (Bredius 627; formerly Harry John coll., Milwaukee; now Brigham Young University Museum of Art), or related images by pupil Aert de Gelder. One exception is the workshop *Christ/St. James Minor* (1661; no. 12, Metropolitan), here called “School of Rembrandt.”

The three essays in this catalogue remain at a general level. Wheelock's introductory remarks do adduce the theories about this group of pictures as well as Rembrandt's attributed religious affiliations, and he incorporates the state of knowledge about Rembrandt and the Jews of Amsterdam, utilizing the provocative recent study by Michael Zell (*Reframing Rembrandt* [Berkeley, 2002]). He also considers the heritage of apostle series in prints and paintings by Dutch artists as well as Catholic Rubens, arguing that Rembrandt's saints

have a Protestant tinge in their humility. The self-identification of Rembrandt with St. Paul, embodied in a 1661 self-portrait from Amsterdam (no. 11), stands as a hallmark of the entire enterprise and receives its own focused essay by Peter Sutton. A more general but relatively superficial study by Volker Manuth characterizes Rembrandt's apostles as "pillars of faith and witnesses of the word," to round out the essays.

Far more valuable are the individual entries, though even here inconsistencies should be noted. The entries begin with an image of *A Bearded Man in a Cap* (165[7]; no. 1, London), which is not clearly related to these issues; it has historically been thought to be "a Jew," but largely from a romantic notion of Rembrandt's affinity for his neighbors; it is not even clear whether this is a portrait (like the young man with a skullcap; Kimbell Museum, Fort Worth) or a general type (it does closely resemble Rembrandt's *Aristotle* of 1653 in New York). By contrast, *An Elderly Man as Apostle Paul* (165[9]; no. 4, London) *does* look like a portrait and was even identified by Regteren Altena as the poet Vondel. Rembrandt's common-law wife, Hendrickje, appears in a 1660 half-length (1660; no. 5, New York) and hardly looks like the "sorrowing Virgin" that she is claimed to be in the catalogue. Nor does the Rotterdam *Man in a Red Cap* (1660; no. 13) resemble an apostle; despite his open book and pen, his costume seems rather contemporary. And the falconer identified as *St. Bavo* (a later work, dated, ca. 1662-65; no. 17, Göteborg) seems much more flamboyantly aristocratic than saintly; despite his cross, this is neither an apostle nor a Dutch saint (St. Bavo is local to Ghent, where Rubens produced an altarpiece in his honor). The *Monk Reading* (1661; no. 16, Helsinki) cannot be fitted into any definition of apostles, and he is not distinguished as a saint, such as Francis, let alone the "Protestants" argued for in the essays (note, however, that Rembrandt prints include a *St. Francis* and a *St. Jerome*, and his pupil Dou painted hermit monks). Even the attribution of *Bartholomew* (1661; no. 8, Getty) to Rembrandt rather than an imitator seems dubious, though its dimensions do tally well with other images in the exhibition.

So there are problems with any hypothesis of a unified cycle of apostle figures with Christ, not least the different presentations, some with attributes and suggestions of settings or more at half-length (*St. James Major*, 1661, no. 9, private coll.), others merely bust figures against a dark background. On the other hand, why produce any painting at all of obscure figures like Bartholomew or *Simon* (1661; no. 10, Zurich), unless within a larger series—at

least planned, particularly around the shared date of 1661. There are some unfamiliar and stunning pictures in this exhibition, notably the aged *Madonna of Sorrows* (1661, no. 14; Epinal) or the half-length *Christ* (ca. 1657-61; no. 15; Glens Falls, Hyde Coll., whose repaired mutilation is well covered in the catalogue).

What this moving and attractive, if compact, exhibition achieves is to remind the viewer—particularly around the newly cleaned Amsterdam *Self-Portrait as Apostle Paul*—how powerfully Rembrandt managed to combine the pious with the personalized. We might never be able to answer the question definitively of whether (or not) he ever envisioned a cycle of Christ and the apostles (why paint the Virgin for Holland?), albeit never completed as planned. But we can clearly see how a gifted portrait painter could re-imagine spiritual heroes as lifelike presences—just as he also painted two similar large canvases, three-quarter length against dark backgrounds, of two Jewish leaders at critical moments in their lives during this same period in his own life: *Moses with the Tablets of the Law* (1659) and *Jacob Wrestling the Angel* (both in Berlin). Thus there still remain larger questions about Rembrandt, religion, and the role(s) of such “pious portraits.”

John Michael Montias. *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002. 336 pp. \$39.00. Review by HUBERT MEEUS, UNIVERSITY OF ANTWERP.

As early as 1608 specialized auctions of works of art were held in Amsterdam. But there is nearly no comment on auctions in contemporary writings, neither are there contemporary representations of art auctions. The only available sources are the Notebooks of auction records conducted by the Orphan Chamber of Amsterdam dating from 1597 to 1638. These Notebooks offer unique material because apart from the description of objects sold and the prices they mention the names of all the buyers that did not pay cash. Montias has analyzed the contents of the Orphan Chamber Notebooks in a database, and in the first part of his book he tries to complete that material with prosopographical research on all persons mentioned in the notebooks. He identified 2,048 buyers who bought about 13,000 lots of art objects in 524 sales. Some were professionals, art and print dealers, painters

and sculptors, while others were ordinary collectors, and a few of them were art lovers. Along with the owners of the goods sold they form the core of Montias's study. Departing from these lists, Montias tries to reconstruct social economic and cultural networks in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

The first part of the book describes how the Orphan Chamber disposed of the estates of deceased residents who had left heirs of minor age. Montias explains how the auctions were organized and conducted. He tries to answer questions about minimum prices, expenses incurred by the auctioneer, and printed catalogues and collusion among buyers to keep prices down or up.

The Notebooks supply us with sets of names of collectors beyond the scope of any other source; moreover, they are a unique record of the prices that were actually paid for works of art. Montias has tried to retrieve owners and buyers in the archives to determine their wealth, which was more closely reflected in the highest prices they paid at the auctions than in the numbers of lots they bought, and even their religious beliefs. He attempts to reconstruct auctions as a social activity by delving into the family, guild, and business links among buyers. Of the works of art sold he inventorizes the subjects, the artists to which they were attributed, and their prices. In the beginning, Amsterdam auctions were still essentially a local phenomenon. Later on, immigrants from the Southern Netherlands played a dominant role in the gradual ascent of Orphan Chamber Sales from a local neighborhood phenomenon to a major Amsterdam institution.

The detailed prosopographical research helps to get an understanding of the workings of the art market. Montias really tried to consider all possible combinations based on his material. He traces the tutor over the orphans. He compares the contents of the Orphan Chamber Notebooks with a sample of notarial inventories. He even looks at the relationships with speculators in "tulip bulbs."

Montias has made a statistical analysis of the content of the sales. Only three to five percent of the estates of inhabitants leaving minor heirs were put up at auction. Although his sample only covers 18% of the sales, the value of the art works they contain exceeded 95 percent of the value of art works sold in those years. The statistical handling of his data is not very convincing because of the very heterogeneous character of his material and the information that is often lacking. He has traced the age, occupation, and geographic

origin of the buyers, but his information is so disparate that one can doubt regarding the usefulness of a statistical handling. Often, Montias himself relativizes the value of his figures. After all, most collectors bought the greater part of the works of art in their collections from art dealers, the artists themselves, or from private transactions.

In part two, Montias tries to situate “selected buyers” in a social and economic framework. He sketches the careers of the most prominent art dealers and tries to determine the relationship between buyers and major artists. The author also looks at dealers related to Rembrandt as well as to Rubens, and he situates them in the cultural life of Amsterdam. Anecdotal evidence—for example, about Hans Le Thoor, who did not succeed in selling paintings to the king of Denmark, or about Johannes de Renialme, the privileged dealer of Rembrandt’s paintings—throws some light on their mentalities.

By looking at the relationships between families and friends, Montias tries to construct clusters of private buyers. These chapters contain a lot of genealogical information, which is often so detailed that it is hard to follow when one does not know the person spoken about. For these chapters, Montias has done an enormous amount of archival research, paying attention to every detail that might hint to a link between those in any way involved with the auctions. He is frequently seduced to draw relations between persons with the same name although that can be very deceiving, since there are a lot of people with identical names in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. The numerous lists of names of often virtually unknown persons do not make the book more readable.

Montias’s book resembles seventeenth-century Amsterdam. It contains a wealth of information, often very detailed, very heterogeneous, challenging but sometimes also a bit confusing, and at the same time very difficult to get a complete view of. The title promises a synthesis, which the book does not offer. Reading this book constantly gives the feeling that one is going through notes to a book that still has to be written. The twenty-seven page index of names typifies the book as a work of reference rather than as a general survey.

Hunter, Lynette. *The Letters of Dorothy Moore, 1612-64: The Friendships, Marriage, and Intellectual Life of a Seventeenth-Century Woman*. The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500-1750: Contemporary Editions. Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2004. lviii + 138 pp. \$74.95. Review by ELLEN J. JENKINS, ARKANSAS TECH UNIVERSITY.

In seventeenth-century Europe, while any number of scholars were occupied in the observation and analysis of the natural world and Man's place in it, a few religious leaders were still engaging in serious discussion about whether women even possessed souls—there was very little question that if they did, a woman's soul would not be the equal of a man's soul. Women were lesser creatures. The physicality of the childbearing process relegated women to a status barely above the beasts, and it was common knowledge that the female was morally and intellectually inferior and significantly more depraved than the male. Education was the province of men. A woman's intelligence was based upon the "softer" realms of knowledge, limiting her scope to housewifery and childrearing, caring for the sick, and ministering to the poor. Only in private life was a woman able to practice her gifts; public life was the domain of men.

Dorothy Moore (1612-1664?) was not satisfied to allow society or Protestant clergymen to set limits for her personal vocation or religious convictions. The daughter of an English colonist in Ireland, the young widow of an Irish nobleman, Moore was a woman of great intellect who lived in England and on the Continent at various times in her life. She also came to be a participant in the circle of Protestant reformers that included the Polish-born "intelligencer" and educational-reform advocate Samuel Hartlib; the theologian and philosopher, John Dury, whom she later married; Katherine Boyle (Lady Ranelagh) and her brother, the chemist Robert Boyle; and others who aimed to end sectarian divisiveness among Protestants and to reform education. Moore's letters to these compatriots, circulated by Hartlib, and to other contemporaries demonstrate what Hunter describes as her exceptional rhetorical skills, noting examples of formal, conversational, and informal styles. Moore was remarkable in another respect: she wrote to important men outside her circle to discuss religion and education with less feminine deference than was common at the time for correspondence between women and men, whether she was addressing the Dutch ambassador in London or

a professor of theology at the University of Leyden.

In an exchange of letters she initiated in October 1643 with the latter, Professor André Rivet, who was also tutor to William II of Orange, Moore asked an important question: if women had specific gifts that were granted to them by God, and if women, as well as men, were members of the Body of Christ, then how could women use their talents to benefit the entire membership while they were excluded from the public sphere? When Rivet's answer seemed to skirt the issue with evasions and responds that women can only care for the poor and sick and be good mothers and housewives, Moore writes again. In a polite but pointed response, she apologizes, suggesting that her choice of wording must have caused Rivet to misunderstand her question, or he surely would have given a more useful answer.

Moore also argues that women should be educated in areas other than dancing and dressing, which serve little purpose but to inflame pride. In a letter to Lady Ranelagh written in approximately 1650, Moore addresses her concerns that females are not being given the sort of education that will enable them to serve mankind but are being trained to "the working of fancy" (87).

By this time, Moore had married Dury, whose efforts to reform education and to prepare mankind for the coming Millennium involved a call for improved schools and religious training and the dissemination of knowledge to all classes. Dury was, himself, responsible for reorganizing the royal library at St. James's Palace and saving many of the documents and records left behind after the arrest and execution of Charles I. He was also one of the earliest proponents of infant schools. While Dury's responsibilities as a minister and then as Cromwell's agent abroad kept him away throughout much of their marriage, their correspondence shows that Moore and Dury had similar aims in educational and religious matters.

Lynette Hunter, the author of *The Letters of Dorothy Moore*, is Professor of the History of Rhetoric and Performance at the University of California-Davis. Hunter has a polymathic background, having worked in biochemistry and humanities computing before turning to the history of medicine, feminist rhetoric, and even aboriginal storytelling. Other works by Hunter include *Shakespeare, Language and the Stage: The Fifth Wall, Approaches to Shakespeare from Criticism, Performance and Theatre Studies* (with Peter Lichtenfels, 2005); *Literary Value/Cultural Power: Verbal Arts in the Twenty-First Century* (2001); *Critiques of*

Knowing: Situated Textualities in Computing, Science and the Arts (1999); and *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society* (with Sarah Hutton, 1997).

The Letters of Dorothy Moore suffers from an inconvenient structure, with commentary and interpretation in the first half of the book and the letters, themselves, in the second. The commentary would be more useful if it appeared between or alongside letters, as, for instance, in Michael and Eleanor Brock's *H.H. Asquith: Letters to Venetia Stanley* (1983). In Hunter's book, by comparison, the reader finds herself having to flip pages repeatedly in order to find relevant text, an unnecessary and annoying distraction.

The greatest lapse, however, is in context. The author refers to the historical events that provided the setting for Moore's life and even discusses their effects upon the finances, occupation, and whereabouts of the subject but assumes that the reader will already know everything necessary about those events. For instance, the "reduction" of the Irish and Moore's investment in the campaign is oblique at best. The Irish Rebellion of 1641 is only mentioned in passing, and the English Civil War is omitted almost entirely, despite the official roles several of the letter-writers played on the fringes of the Stuart court and then in the Commonwealth.

On the whole, *The Letters of Dorothy Moore, 1612-64*, while unsuitable for a novice or undergraduate, is interesting and revealing reading. Hunter's commentary brings to light the subtleties of Moore's rhetoric and discloses the sense of vocation, the radical Christianity, and the dedication to service of this remarkable seventeenth-century woman.

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Edited by Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University; Western European Editor: Gilbert Tournoy, Leuven; Eastern European Editors: Jerzy Axer, Barbara Milewska-Wazbinska, and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, Centre for Studies in the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, University of Warsaw. Founding Editors: James R. Naiden, Southern Oregon University, and J. Max Patrick, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Graduate School, New York University.

◆ *Il latino nell'età dell'umanesimo.* Atti del Convegno, Mantova, 26-27 ottobre 2001. Ed. by Giorgio Bernardi Perini. Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze Lettere e Arti, Miscellanea, 12. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2004. VIII + 209 pp. The papers collected in this volume derive from a conference held under the auspices of the Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana and dedicated to humanistic Latin. The intention was to inaugurate a cycle of conferences on this theme, but economic exigencies have forced the organizers to delay the larger project. The essays in this volume, however, are well worth publishing anyway, providing a sort of overview of where things stand in several key areas.

In "On the Awareness of the Renaissance," Alejandro Coroleu surveys a topic of recurrent interest, the idea of the Renaissance as a concrete period in intellectual history. Beginning with Michelet, Voigt, and Burckhardt, Coroleu interweaves strands from Petrarch, Palmieri, and Biondo Flavio with those from Weisinger, Ferguson, and McLaughlin in English and Simone and Garin in Italian to analyze both the possibilities and drawbacks inherent in the motif of Renaissance consciousness. Vincenzo Fera in turn notes, correctly, that imitation "è uno dei motori di tutta la cultura umanistica, la chiave di tutte le

metodologie” (23) associated with language study. His title, “*L’imitatio umanistica*,” is somewhat misleading, in that the essay is really focused on Petrarch—actually on Petrarch in one decade, the 1330s—but this is a key moment in the larger story, and it is elucidated skillfully here. “Poeti d’Italia in lingua latina. Un archivio elettronico da Dante al primo trentennio del XVI secolo,” moves us from traditional philology, masterfully executed, to the computer age. Paolo Mastandrea and Manlio Pastore Stocchi note that specialists in humanist Latin are handicapped by the lack of lexical resources on a par with those available to classicists. Accordingly, a consortium of universities in the Veneto began identifying, recording, collecting, and digitalizing the Latin verse produced in Italy from the birth of Dante through the first half of the Cinquecento. The first results were produced on a CD-ROM, but everything has now been transferred to a website, <http://lettere.unive.it>, which allows all or part of the digital archive to be searched for a given word or phrase, for research or teaching purposes. The authors digitalized so far are listed at the end of the article. Next Silvia Rizzo reminds us that there is not one language called ‘humanist Latin,’ but “I latini dell’Umanesimo,” multiple stratifications and varieties, diverse registers, technical languages, jargons, dialects, and so forth. In “Le latin à l’époque de l’humanisme au Portugal: données de situation et suggestions pour une étude d’ensemble,” Aires A. Nascimento offers a refreshingly honest assessment of what remains unknown about the language of Portuguese humanism. The Portuguese, of course, had some of the most exciting news of the day to present, and Latin was the language in which it would logically have been shared with an international audience, but at least in the early sixteenth century it seems that the schools and universities were not producing very many native Latinists of the first rank. *HISLAMP*A (*Hispanorum Index: Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Posteriorisque Aevi* (Lisbon, 1993)) serves as a beginning point for the study of Portuguese humanist Latin, but the work of making critical editions, for example, is just beginning, and much remains to be done. In “Latino e volgare, latino nel volgare,” the wording of the title, again, has been carefully fashioned to suggest what the author has in mind. Giuseppe Patota notes that the humanists themselves stressed what they saw as the superiority of Latin to the *volgare*, but that from Alberti on, the humanistic *volgare* oscillated between Latinization and Quattrocento Florentine. This is a claim that requires proof, and a valuable appendix lists the linguistic usages of Leonardo Bruni, Matteo Palmieri,

Cristoforo Landino, and Lorenzo il Magnifico on which the general argument rests. Finally Jean-Louis Charlet surveys dictionaries, a basic tool in language study, in “Les instruments de lexicographie latine de l’époque humaniste.” Some of the individuals studied here, like Robert Estienne, are well known; others, like Lorenzo Valla, are famous scholars whose work, strictly speaking, is not in dictionary-making; while others, like Nestore Dionigi, are simply not well known. All, however, are worth the attention they receive here.

Unlike some conference proceedings, this one makes an interesting and valuable whole, with the various essays illuminating the subject of humanist Latin from various angles. And unlike some Italian *atti*, this one is well indexed. It should be on the shelf of anyone seriously interested in the subject. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Antike Rhetorik im Zeitalter des Humanismus*. By Carl Joachim Classen. Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2003. X + 373 pp. 101 Euros. As anyone who has been working in the field of ancient rhetoric and its influence in the Renaissance over the last forty years knows, Carl Joachim Classen is one of a handful of scholars who have dominated the field. He was the obvious choice, for example, to handle the speeches of Cicero for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, and he would have been the perfect person to attempt a new synthesis of what James J. Murphy once referred to as the thousand (literally) unduly neglected works of Renaissance rhetoric and their classical sources. In the foreword to the volume under review, Classen admits frankly that as he approaches the end of his career, the challenges of a project like the *CTC* article are unlikely to be overcome. Instead of the synthesis, Classen has selected a series of essays, most of them more rather than less recent, expanded and updated as well, that cover much, though not all, the ground required by a full survey. Since it was not planned as a comprehensive survey, the result has some inevitable *lacunae* for someone who might want that, but it is a gold mine nevertheless.

The volume opens with the magisterial “Cicero-Studien in der Romania im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert,” which shows in seventy-one pages of text and 234 footnotes how much work has been done on the topic, how many-sided the reception of antiquity in the area of the Romance languages is, and how deeply Cicero affected politics, law, and language in the

Renaissance. The focus narrows in “Das Studium der Reden Ciceros in Spanien im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert,” which details the process by which the study of Cicero in Spain gradually frees itself from Italian influence, with Spanish scholars focusing on language and its structure, on the expressive possibilities of rhetoric, and on integrating Cicero with Christianity, although an interest in textual criticism and in the antiquarian content of the speeches was often a sign of education abroad, even in the sixteenth century. A valuable appendix lists Spanish and Portuguese editions and translations of Cicero’s works from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. In “The Rhetorical Works of George of Trebizond and Their Debt to Cicero,” Classen shows that George’s fame rested not in his originality, but in the usefulness of his introduction to argumentation. “Quintilian and the Revival of Learning in Italy” distinguishes several stages and levels of interest in Quintilian’s work and its influence in early Italian humanism. Petrarch and his immediate followers certainly read and respected Quintilian, but even after Poggio’s discovery of the complete text it took time for the *Institutio oratoria* to be integrated well into the educational theory of the day: George of Trebizond attacked Quintilian, probably seeing in his work a rival full-scale handbook; Antonio Loschi’s *Inquisitio* marked an early influential application of Quintilian’s principles; but Lorenzo Valla, finally, made the *Institutio oratoria* the object of his textual studies and the subject of his efforts to improve the Latin language. “Cicero and Seneca in der Rhetorik der Renaissance” is nominally a review of two books from the early nineties, but it goes well beyond what one would expect of a review: page 184, for instance, gives us three lines of text and thirty-nine lines of notes. The next two essays, originally published in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, appear under the same title, “Cicero inter Germanos redivivus;” distinguished as numbers I and II; they follow, first, the role of non-German scholars and scholarship in the development of Ciceronian studies in Germany, then the way in which Cicero’s speeches became school texts, sources of stylistic figures, *exempla*, and maxims about life. The collection closes with essays that focus on four key figures in humanist rhetoric. “Heinrich Bebel” was born in a bio-bibliographical encyclopedia, and does exactly what one expect of such a piece, explaining how Bebel became one of the most influential figures in southern German humanism and setting out works by and about him. In “Neue Elemente in einer alten Disziplin. Zu Melanchthons *De rhetorica libri tres*,” Classen explains that Melanchthon blended the traditions

of the rhetorical handbooks and the *artes praedicandi*, providing guidance in speaking, writing, and analysis for students. “Die Bedeutung Ciceros für Johannes Sturms pädagogische Theorie und Praxis,” according to Classen, lies in using Cicero as a model, narrowly conceived, not to choke off possibilities in those who imitate him, but to express themselves successfully. The last essay, “Lodovico Guicciardini’s *Descrittione* and the Tradition of the *Laudes* and *Descriptiones urbium*,” shows how Guicciardini used the rhetorical tradition to express his own views.

Elegantly written, in English as well as in German, the essays in this volume exemplify scholarship at its best, with the Latin of antiquity blending effortlessly into the Latin of the Renaissance. (Craig Kallendorf)

◆ *Servant of the Renaissance: The Poetry and Prose of Nicolaus Olahus.* By Cristina Neagu. Bern: Peter Lang, 2003. 439 pp. \$82.95. Nicolaus Olahus (Oláh Miklós), Primate of Hungary from 1553 to his death in 1568, used Latin for the great majority of his writings: correspondence with Erasmus and other northern European humanists and dignitaries; a body of verse, much of it occasional; a chorographical *Hungaria* and an historical *Athila*, devotional, liturgical, and catechetical texts for the archdiocese of Esztergom; perhaps also a minor alchemical piece. Like so many central European Neo-Latinists, he played different parts on different stages. On the one hand, he was a member of a princely Wallachian family, being a great-nephew of Vlad III, “the Impaler,” and he contributed importantly to the cultural life of Hungary in the decades after the terrible defeat at Mohács; on the other, he was, in the words of Jozef IJsewijn, “a representative of Hungarian-German courtly humanism working for nine years in the Netherlands to boot” (*Companion* ed. 2, 1.178). He can, therefore, be seen from two perspectives, that of his eastern European identity and that of his Latinity.

In studying such men as Olahus, IJsewijn continued, “in many cases not only a fair knowledge of Latin and German but also of other Central-European languages is most desirable, if not indispensable.” This is true of Olahus himself: the archival sources are in Budapest, Esztergom, Cologne, Rome, Sibiu, and Vienna, and much of the secondary literature is in Romanian and Hungarian. The result has been that very little had, until the publication of this book, been written on him for the use of readers confined to the western European languages: material by Henry de Vocht and others on his

Netherlandish and Erasmian connections, an article in a literary monthly published in Bucharest, an entry in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, a chapter in Marianna Birnbaum's *Humanists in a Shattered World*. Christina Neagu brings the most important qualifications to the task of presenting Olahus to an English-reading audience: she is impressively polyglot, and has been able and willing to pursue archival work right across Europe. Having completed an Oxford DPhil thesis on "The *carmina* of Nicolaus Olahus in the context of his literary career" in 2000, she has now produced this book. Oddly, she gives no hint of its origins in a doctoral thesis: indeed, she does not even mention her examiners in the acknowledgements, and though she thanks Terence Cave for his "scholarly advice and criticism," she does not explain that these were offered in his role as her supervisor.

Servant of the Renaissance can be divided into two parts. The first is a critical introduction to Olahus' writings. This focuses on his poems, but also covers the *Athila* and the *Hungaria*, which Neagu suggests "were designed as a single work," though the evidence that they were ever transmitted together is not convincing, and discusses some of his letters and the archepiscopal publications. The second part is a survey of the textual witnesses and an edition of Olahus' seventy-six poems—without a translation, which is a pity, since Olahus deserves to be known to readers who are not fluent Latinists. The poems have been edited before (Teubner, 1934), and although Neagu's text is more lightly normalized than its predecessor, the justification for including it here is really the convenience of having the poems within the same covers as the monograph. One appendix sets out the evidence for Olahus' composition of the alchemical *Processus sub forma missae* published as by Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis in the *Theatrum chemicum* of 1602, and another offers bio-bibliographical sketches of a number of the people mentioned in the text.

Good as it is to have all this, *Servant of the Renaissance* is not altogether a satisfactory book. One problem is that Neagu has not seen her task as the introduction of Olahus to readers unlikely to be familiar with him: "his life and work are fairly well documented," she writes in her preface, but how many of us are fluent enough in Romanian and Hungarian to take advantage of the documentation? Although *Servant of the Renaissance* is based in part on wide reading in the primary and secondary sources, and it can be quarried for historical information, the "main object of this book," according to the author, "is to provide a thorough study of Olahus's *Carmina*." This is done

largely by the discussion of long quotations from individual texts, and this is of variable quality. It sometimes degenerates into extravagantly worded paraphrase, and there are points where the text is simply misunderstood. For instance, Neagu writes of the “choice of the name Lucina for the mother of the infant” in a genethliakon in which *Lucina favens dulcem spirabat odorem | atque suas dotes casta Minerva dabat*. Lucina is of course the goddess of childbirth, not the mother—just as in Virgil’s fourth eclogue, which Neagu actually cites here—and *spirabat odorem* reinforces the point, alluding to another goddess, *ambrosiaequae comae divinum verticis odorem | spiravere* (*Aeneid* 1. 403–4). Likewise, the *chari simulacra mariti* carried by a widow who says that *pignus amoris erunt* are said to be “something closer to a mental picture. The recollection of a whole from scattered pieces of memory.” More in this vein follows; but the *simulacra mariti* are evidently children, not mental images, contrasted with the silent image of her dead husband carried by a different widow in the companion epigram. The conclusions which Neagu reaches after 250 pages largely given over to critical analysis hardly justify the effort: Olahus, we learn, had “a keen eye for, and an enthusiastic involvement with, the creative possibilities of structured language.”

Olahus was evidently a much more interesting figure than this banal conclusion suggests, and Neagu was well placed to give us a sustained account of his life, writings, and diverse milieux, which might ideally have been supported by texts and translations of the poems and selected prose works. She has instead confined herself to “writing a book on Nicolaus Olahus’s *Carmina* in the context of his literary career,” a phrase which repeats the title of her thesis as this book surely repeats much of its content. (John Considine, University of Alberta)

◆ *Deux pièces de la controverse humaniste sur Plin: N. Perotti, Lettre à Guarneri, C. Vitelli, Lettre à Partenio di Salò*. By Jean-Louis Charlet. Sassoferato: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni, 2003. 193 pp. This book takes us back to the end of the fifteenth century, when scholarly controversies swirled over Pliny’s *Natural History*, a time when academic careers were made or destroyed over decisions about how to free classical texts from their medieval accretions. Pliny’s encyclopedia was especially important, for it represented the summation of knowledge in ancient Rome, and even if the beginnings of experimental science came to challenge the limits of the wisdom inherited from the

past, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century that knowledge was still firmly based in the classical heritage. Shortly after the first printed editions of Pliny appeared, Niccolò Perotti, humanist scholar and archbishop of Siponto, sent a letter to Francesco Guarnieri that began a key quarrel about Pliny. This letter aroused a response from Cornelio Vitelli. In this book Charlet prints these two key documents, along with a study of their genesis, diffusion, and reception.

Charlet's story proves to be unusually interesting. Beginning with John Monfasani's realization that the *editio princeps* of Perotti's text did not square up with several key manuscripts, Charlet shows that the *Lettre à Guarnieri* owes its survival to a certain Moreto who removed it from its proper context and presented it as a more general document that had been addressed to him. This deception was discovered by Aldus Manutius, who in his turn presented a lightly edited version of the original letter. Charlet thus establishes that there are three different states of this key document: the one originally sent to Guarnieri and disseminated in the scholarly ambience of Venice, one that was circulated in the circle of Bessarion, and a version of the second state that was lightly modified by Perotti after its diffusion. Charlet sets out to complete his study according to a method he labels 'philologie biologique,' that is, a philology that aims to reconstruct the vital processes by which a text is elaborated by its author at the same time as it traces the various phases in the reception of the text.

The book begins with a lengthy introduction, in which Charlet explores Perotti's work on Pliny, analyzes the theory and practice of his philological method in the *Lettre à Guarnieri*, unravels the transmission of the text and the existence of the three states, and presents a selective bibliography of relevant secondary sources. Critical editions of the two letters follow, along with detailed commentaries on them. Two appendices present documents that Charlet believes to be helpful in putting the letters in context: a working edition of the preface to Bussi's 1470 edition of Pliny, which Perotti criticized, and an epigram of Francesco Patrizi's on Perotti and the Pliny controversy. A useful *index verborum et nominum* concludes the volume.

Readers of this journal should know that the volume under review here is part of the ongoing work on Perotti that is being carried out under the auspices of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni. The first phase of this work was concluded with the publication in 2001 of the eighth and final

volume of Perotti's *Cornu copiae*. Shortly afterward Charlet joined with G. Abbamonte, M. Pade, J. Ramminger, F. Stok, and S. Boldrini to begin work on a critical edition of Perotti's *carteggio*. At that point work on the present volume, destined initially for another publisher, was well underway. It therefore made sense to transfer publication to the Sassoferrato venue, as an announcement of what is to come. This volume, like the *Cornu copiae* volumes, has been prepared according to the most exacting standards, and it is heartening to see that a figure of Perotti's importance has attracted the scholarly attention he deserves from a team of scholars who are fully able to appreciate his tremendous achievements. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Les Étoiles de Némésis: La rhétorique de la mémoire dans la poésie d'Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494)*. By Émile Sérís. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 359. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002. 494 pp. This solid, well-presented, and well-researched work will assuredly be of interest to all students of Italian poetry of the fifteenth century and of the transmission of the classical tradition in Renaissance culture. The book explores the role that memory plays in the poems of Angelo Poliziano and its compelling connection with the author's poetics. The surprisingly cryptic title, undoubtedly meant to pique the reader's curiosity (which it does successfully), demands an explanation, which the author provides in the Introduction (11). By placing her study "under the sign of Nemesis," Sérís intends to exemplify the peculiarity and specificity of Poliziano's dynamic relationship with the classical past. In fact Sérís points out that while the goddess had consistently been portrayed negatively in the ancient Greek tradition as the avenger of *hybris*, the imagery of Nemesis that Poliziano creates in his *Sylvae* instead plays a positive role. Sérís sees this representation as programmatic and intentional on the part of Poliziano. She also interprets the figure of Nemesis as depicting the dynamic interplay between transmission and mnemonics in the author's poetry.

Sérís argues that Poliziano crafted his poetic production for the specific purpose of immortalizing the lives of the Medici and the Gonzaga princes and relating their feats for posterity. Poliziano did this through a series of specific strategies, rhetorical and philosophical in nature, aimed at creating mnemonic connections with important political events that were defining moments in the lives of the princes he sought to immortalize. Sérís's central argument consists of her demonstration of, and her arguments for, what she

defines as the “rhetoric of memory” in Poliziano’s poetry. The author then defines as Poliziano’s “ethical memory” the poet’s portrayal of places and images linked to the princes and their lives. By a close study of the original editions, she argues that the poet did not intend to organize his moral allegories in any coherent system. Poliziano’s joyous poetic tones are effective in creating positive attitudes, therapeutic and cathartic in their nature. However, his poems did not aim at teaching a system of moral values; rather, the purpose of Poliziano’s *exempla* of human passions, both positive and negative, was to purify, to cleanse the spirit from negativity. Even though it lacks an authentic set of moral values, the author’s portrayal of princes as the embodiment of the *homo faber fortunae suae* (the *exemplum par excellence* in the Italian culture of the Quattrocento) is nonetheless developed through an authentic poetic voice. Although Poliziano (the first to use modern techniques of philology in critical textual reconstruction) was hailed by his contemporaries as a leading poetic voice in the rebirth of Greco-Roman celebratory poetry, in the greater scheme of things he was overshadowed by the historical events that marked the end of the optimistic view of life in the Italian Quattrocento. Séris’s book is only in part an exercise in the genre of literary rehabilitation, as the author opens up a number of new questions and sheds new light on a number of other familiar ones. Given the central purpose of her study—the vindication of Poliziano as a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, a poet who was applying rhetorical strategies to his writing in which he was driven by a purpose (to immortalize the good rulers of his times)—Séris’s book will, therefore, also be of interest to students of the history of the transmission of the classical tradition. Poliziano’s relationship with the *auctores* from the past is complex in nature. On the one hand, he moves away from the mnemonic model, but on the other, he uses mnemonic literary strategies from Quintilian and Statius to exemplify perfectly the dynamic and creative character of *imitatio* in Renaissance culture.

Starting out with an outline of the role of memory in Renaissance culture, the author then reviews the mnemonic experience as it emerges from political commemorations in Poliziano’s writings. This first section (37-160) is followed by a consideration of ethics and reminiscence (161-294), in which a detailed discussion of Poliziano’s *exempla* lays a convincing critical foundation for the analyses and evaluations of the final section, the memorization of a poetics (294-417). Séris’s style is clear and the volume is well-organized, com-

plete (it certainly required an enormous amount of research) and yet accessible. Although long quotations tend on occasion to make for laborious reading, it is particularly to be appreciated that Sérís offers ample and specific contextualizations for her theses and analyses. The most solid contribution of the author is the way in which she convincingly sheds light on the many aspects of Poliziano's poetics. She shows the depth of the relationship between the poet and his models from antiquity, expressed by a dynamic dialogue that constitutes the core of the concept of *imitatio* from classical antiquity through the Renaissance. *Imitatio*, by no means mere imitation, should rather be seen as an original re-creation, a competition with, and at the same time a tribute to, celebrated authors from the past. Sérís does not approach the discussion on *imitatio* from the standpoint of the theories of intertextuality, which I believe may prove supportive of her views on memory and the complex relations between the classical tradition and Renaissance culture. Still her book, besides being an extensive study of Poliziano's joyful poetry (a solid literary embodiment of the positive, life-affirming, optimistic nature of the Italian Renaissance), also proves to be a worthy contribution to the history of the transmission of the classical tradition through the centuries. The volume ends with an extensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources, and a useful *tableau récapitulatif* of "places and images of memory" in Poliziano's poetry. The perhaps excessive length of some quotations is but a minor blemish in a piece of considerable scholarship that will not only inform the diligent reader, but will also surely serve as an important reference work in the years to come. (Simone Bregni, St. Louis University)

◆ *Dialogues de l'origine du français et de sa parenté avec le grec*. By Joachim Perion. Ed., trans. and annotated by Genevieve Demerson and Alberte Jacquetin. Textes de la Renaissance: Traités sur la langue française, 66. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003. 832 pp. 126.00 Euros. *Institution de la langue française. Gallicae linguae institutio 1561. Texte latin original*. By Jean Pilot. Introduction, translation, and notes by Bernard Colombat. Textes de la Renaissance: Traités sur la langue française, 72. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003. CXX + 272pp + 376 pp. 76.00 Euros. The excellent tradition of Honoré Champion in providing critical editions of sixteenth-century linguistic texts continues apace. Under the expert eye of Colette Demaizière, editor of this series, we are offered two exemplary volumes which will be welcomed by historians

of the French language and by Neo-Latinists alike, and which should be purchased by all serious research libraries. In the case of Périion we have a leading Renaissance Hellenist whose scholarly work saw only one edition, whereas Pilot's manual is a practical comparative grammar by a minor humanist, frequently reprinted over the next century. Both critical editions follow the same generic format: an introduction situating the author and work, a facsimile reproduction of the Latin text, and a translation into modern French accompanied by very full notes. As Périion's editors note in passing, the facsimile reproduction does not allow the convenience of the translation being printed as a parallel text; it is irritating to keep turning back and forth to check comments in footnotes. More seriously, the facsimile of the Pilot 1561 edition is poor. Perhaps the original text is patchy—grey dots bespeckle some pages like an impressionist landscape—but with digital photography it should have been possible to produce a cleaner image, to do justice to the high standard of the rest of the volume. The reproduction of the Périion is acceptable, although again the type is faint on some pages. Fortunately, this is the only major quibble I have with either volume.

Joachim Périion's dialogues arguing the close relationship between ancient Greek and French have hitherto been available only in a Slatkine Reprint (1972). Ironically, Demerson and Jacquetin realised, shortly before completing their work, that another team of French scholars is also currently reviving Périion's fortunes: he is one of the twelve outstanding Hellenists being treated by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Humanist courtesies prevailed in this early twenty-first century, since the current editors had access to the findings of Professor Maillard's team and acknowledge them scrupulously in their notes. The portrait they sketch of Périion shows a man of tensions: a Benedictine who moved from theological writings to editions and Latin translations of Aristotle; a passionate Hellenist and staunch admirer of Budé and of Briçonnet (with whom he shared a love of Livy), yet acerbic opponent of other humanists such as Ramus; a polished Neo-Latinist, but sometimes surprisingly naïve (at least to the modern eye) in the more outlandish classical "etymologies" he advances for French words. Demerson and Jacquetin have judged that Périion's work will interest a fairly broad group of readers and their introduction is well pitched for those whose specialty is not the history of the French language. There is much to interest literary scholars working on dialogue forms and political historians (Périion's dedication to the

king, Henri II, appeals to the prevailing vogue for emphasising his country's Greek heritage). Neo-Latinists will appreciate this late example of quasi-Ciceronian style (the *Dialogues* appeared in 1555), which is finely rendered in French. The semi-autobiographical setting, with Joachim instructing his nephew and erstwhile pupil, adds a freshness to the exchanges. In the arguments he advances, Périer is not scared to court controversy: he is adamant that no known language, not even Hebrew, is the original prelapsarian tongue. On the French spelling reform quarrel, he sides firmly with etymologists: *ne quisquam recte unquam scribet, nisi qui verba unde orta sint, intelliget*. And he rejects Erasmian rules for pronouncing Greek, following the models offered by the refugee Byzantine scholars. The text offers, in sum, a further insight into many of the debates preoccupying French humanists in the 1550s.

Jean Pilot's grammar of the French language exemplifies the tradition of successful comparative bilingual (Latin-French) grammars produced in the French Renaissance. Bernard Colombat has tracked down twenty editions published between 1550 and 1641. His choice to reproduce here the 1561 edition is entirely logical: it is a revised and extended version of the original 1550 text, and later editions—not overseen by Pilot himself—were usually based on it. In the dedicatory letter to the Prince Palatinate, Pilot attributes the composition of the work to a practical motive: he needed such a book since he was to teach French (via the medium of Latin, we presume) to the Prince's young cousin in Germany. Typically for the period, although Pilot claims that well-bred families all wanted their sons to learn French, he acknowledges that such study must be confined “aux heures perdues,” in other words the time left by the study of the main curriculum in Latin. His work is, therefore, of a practical pedagogic nature, and indeed the second half of the treatise, dealing with non-inflected parts of speech, comes close to a conversational manual, albeit one drawn largely from classical sources (often borrowed, unacknowledged, from Robert Estienne's dictionaries). However, in the first half, following the traditional order of classical grammars, Pilot surveys inflected forms—articles, nouns, pronouns, verbs—with an attentive eye for French forms which do not easily fit the Latin model. Although his approach is governed by morphological considerations, syntactic features are observed in passing: e.g., the difficulty in distinguishing between the use of the *passé composé* and the preterite. Surveying Pilot's treatment of pronouns, Colombat comments that he “pratique un latino-centrisme modéré” (LXII), a comment which

could well be extended to the work as a whole. While Pilot is eager to point out occasions where he believes French grammar is closer to either Greek or Hebrew, Latin remains the dominant model. Colombat has prepared this edition with great care. It must be said that, from the outset, he assumes he is addressing those specialists who will be conversant not only with classical grammarians but also well acquainted with Pilot's French precursors. Thus he draws up a number of tables to compare Pilot's approach with the latter. Pilot is not a visionary, but rather a practical pedagogue. Although Pilot had not ironed out some contradictions—the number of cases in French is given as three, four or five in different instances!—the generally clear order and layout of the book suggest the influence Estienne's bilingual manuals. Colombat's introduction and the generous footnotes accompanying the (accurate, well phrased) French translation provide the reader with a very complete account of Pilot's place within the history of the French language. He may not have been a scholar of the status of Péron, but the popularity of this text provides another telling example of the role of Latin as the practical *lingua franca* for international exchanges in the Renaissance. (Valerie Worth-Stylianou, Oxford Brookes University)

◆ *Aqueduct Hunting in the Seventeenth Century: Raffaello Fabretti's De aquis et aquaeductis veteris Romae*. By Harry B. Evans. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. xvi + 309 pp. \$60. Harry Evans here provides the first translation into English of Raffaello Fabretti's *De aquis et aquaeductis veteris Romae dissertationes tres*, a work that first appeared in 1680, when it was published simultaneously in Rome and Paris. The three *dissertationes* appear to have been composed rapidly—between 1677 and 1679—but only after a lifetime of exploration and investigation of the remains; Fabretti (ca. 1619-1700) was about sixty years old in the year of their publication. Their importance has been known to students of the ancient (and subsequent) aqueducts of Rome ever since; he is cited as a starting point for research on Rome's aqueducts by all three of the great scholars who studied them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Rodolfo Lanciani, *I commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti* (1881); Thomas Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (1935); and Esther B. Van Deman, *The Building of the Roman Aqueducts* (1934)—and, as Evans rightly points out (279), it was to answer questions left unanswered by Fabretti that both Ashby and Van Deman undertook their respective studies.

Hence, for the relatively small audience professionally or sympathetically interested in Roman aqueducts and aqueduct hunting (which Evans calls “a favorite outdoor sport for both casual visitors to the city and scholars,” 1), this book will be of tremendous interest. On a somewhat broader canvas, it will also be intriguing to anyone interested in the history of scholarship during the seventeenth century, since Fabretti himself was a part of the learned *intelligentsia* of Italy at that time. After ordination into the priesthood, he served at various times as a papal diplomat, an ecclesiastical judge, and the director of publication for papal edicts; late in life he served for over a decade as superintendent of the excavation of catacombs and *custode delle ss. reliquie e dei cimiteri* of Rome. Evans’ sketch of Fabretti’s career (4–9), though brief, positions the scholar carefully in time and place, and demonstrates how important an example he is of the scholarly world of seventeenth-century Italy and, indeed, Europe in general.

Fabretti’s three *dissertationes* do not attempt a complete or systematic coverage of what was known in his own time of Rome’s aqueducts. Rather, the first deals with the very last of the ancient aqueducts, the Aqua Alexandrina (built by Alexander Severus *ca.* AD 226), the second treats the sources of the Aqua Marcia and Aqua Claudia above Tivoli in the upper reaches of the Anio valley, and the third deals with the discrepancy between the Regionary catalogues of the fourth century AD (which list twenty water sources for the city of Rome) and Procopius (who cites fourteen aqueducts). Both the second and third *dissertationes* go, in fact, a good deal further than these subject headings imply, since Fabretti regularly brings in tangential material intended either to supplement and corroborate the information he provides, or to offer comparisons to and further information about various points made by the most important ancient authority on Rome’s aqueduct system, Sextus Julius Frontinus (who served as *curator aquarum* in AD 97–98) and whose treatise on the aqueducts survives (*De aquaeductu urbis Romae* 102.17; see also P. Grimal, Frontin, *Les aqueducs de la ville de Rome* [Paris, 1961], vi–ix). Nonetheless, the organization is, at least by later scholarly standards, haphazard at best. Evans rightly points this out without criticism or condemnation, since Fabretti was working very much within the traditions of his own time, not ours. Much of the archaeological and antiquarian matter discussed by Fabretti is original to him and invaluable to us, since it was based on first-hand acquaintance with the remains of the aqueducts when far more was left than was

true even in the days of Lanciani, Ashby, and Van Deman, much less at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Equally apparent throughout Fabretti's work is his constant reference to, reliance on, and recognition of the essentiality of the ancient authorities who deal with the aqueducts, especially Frontinus but also sources from later antiquity like those mentioned above. Here he is turning the Renaissance fascination with what the ancients said to a new use: combining ancient texts with what can be observed on the ground to attempt as thorough a reconstruction of an ancient phenomenon as possible. In this endeavor Fabretti may legitimately be regarded as a pioneer.

Evans' translation of Fabretti's often-quirky Latin is readable and clear; his commentaries on each of the three *dissertationes* show how often Fabretti seems to have 'got it right' in attempting to reconstruct elements of the hydraulic and architectural system of the Roman aqueducts, and also brings in a wealth of subsequent research that aids in understanding what Fabretti's more obscure remarks may mean. Indeed Evans' erudition throughout this book is impressive; it is in every way a worthy successor to his excellent study of Frontinus that appeared a decade ago, *Water Distribution in Ancient Rome: The Evidence of Frontinus* (1994). I can suggest only one improvement (which was impossible, I imagine, if the book was to be kept within an affordable length and price range): since Fabretti's Latin text is by no means easy to come by, and since the readership of this volume must inevitably be quite small, it would have been a service to both the classical and archaeological audience, and to the late- and Neo-Latin readership, if the original Latin had been included, perhaps printed on facing pages with the English translation. Lacking that, the most accessible source in which to read what Fabretti actually wrote is the reprint of the original 1680 publication that appeared as vol. 3 in the series *The Printed Sources of Western Art*, edited by T. Besterman (Portland, OR, 1972); beyond that one has to scrounge for the reprint issued in 1788. A new edition of the Latin would have been welcome; but even a simple reprint facing Evans' fine translation would have increased even more the value of this otherwise-excellent piece of scholarship. Mention should also be made of the reproduction of maps, drawings, sections, and inscriptions from Fabretti's original edition which are included here (figs. 1-36), courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale; their inclusion graces and informs the text just as Fabretti must have intended. (James Anderson, University of Georgia)

◆ *Homo Viator: Itineraries of Exile, Displacement and Writing in Renaissance Europe*. By George Hugo Tucker. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 376. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2003. XIX + 395 pp. CHF 112. A brief review such as this cannot adequately reflect the range and ambition of Tucker's study, which is encyclopedic in scope—and, especially, detail—and aims to encompass figurations of exilic writing as a pan-European phenomenon in the early modern period, with special focus on sixteenth-century travelers, writers, and readers in the French, Italian, Spanish, and Neo-Latin traditions. Among the many key figures in the history Tucker offers, readers of this book will encounter discussions (some admittedly brief, others more elaborate) of Ovid, the Stoics, Dante, Petrarch, Clément Marot, Joannes Sambucus, G. B. Pio, Guillaume Du Bellay, Joachim Du Bellay, Petrus Alcyonius, Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus), Amatus Lusitanus, Ortensio Landi, and Pierre Belon. There are also intriguing treatments of important sixteenth-century exilic locations, including most importantly Ferrara, but also Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and London.

Homo Viator is composed of three major sections: Part One: Introduction: Travel, Writing, Identity and the Typology of Exile; Part Two: *Homo Viator*: Versions of the Pilgrimage of Life, Versions of the *Tabula Cebeitis*; and Part Three: *Homo Viator*: *Homo Scribens*. In the first part, Tucker sets out to survey the various figurations of exile and writing—and their relation to identity—deployed in the works of Dante, Rabelais, Du Bellay, Joannes Sambucus, Montaigne, and especially Petrarch, who for Tucker introduces the idea of “freedom of exile” in which the more conventional notion of exile as punishment yields to the idea that exile is liberatory: “For Petrarch . . . the actual ‘journey’ [encoded in the *homo viator* concept itself] is in fact an affective, intellectual and artistic one of ceaseless self-questioning and self-(re)definition” (47). Part Two follows Petrarch's lead and turns to a consideration of the “Journey of Life” conceit and the various, and sometimes competing, interpretive traditions of allegorical commentary on particular exemplars, including the story/stories of Odysseus and Hercules, Guillaume Du Bellay's allegorical *Peregrinatio humana*, and the ekphrastic *Tabula Cebeitis* in its several early modern translated and paraphrased versions that variously frame the critical choices to be made between the *vita activa*, on the one hand, and the “truer *vita contemplativa*” (141), on the other. The third part of Tucker's book offers a series of inter-related “case studies” dedicated to the exploration of the role

of writing and the writing process in negotiations (of various sorts) of exiliar literature, with special attention paid to three major exemplars: Petrus Alcyonius's *Medicus legatus de exsilio*, the writings of Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus [1517-1599]) and Amatus Lusitanus (João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco [1511-1568]), two of the important traveler/writer figures to emerge from the context of the Marrano Diaspora from Portugal; and, lastly, Joachim Du Bellay's "Roman" literary works: *Les regrets*, *Divers jeux rustiques*, and *Antiquitez de Rome*.

The expansive scope and ambition sketched briefly above together constitute both the central strength and at the same time a certain liability in this study, providing (on the one hand) multiple points of entry for scholars interested in exiliar discourse across sixteenth-century Europe, while (on the other) consequently limiting the attention that can be paid to any one instance. Even Tucker's most elaborate discussions—of the works of Alcyonius or Du Bellay, for example, which are central to the overall treatment of exiliar writing—are very strictly limited and circumscribed by the encyclopedic demands of the book itself, with Tucker devoting no more than thirty or forty pages for each author (and this space is divided between short biographical sketches, publication, re-printing, and reception history, even before attention is turned to the texts themselves), one finds oneself wanting a closer and perhaps more rigorous engagement with the writings of these two figures. Perhaps the fact that much of the material in *Homo Viator* was published separately (as carefully detailed in the Preface) helps to account for the catalogue-like quality to the entire book, where example seems to take precedence over the careful articulation of over-arching argument. And, of course, once the central claim to something like comprehensiveness is staked, then the door is opened for the citation of elements omitted or overlooked. Given the great expansion of what is collectively known as 'travel writing' in the early modern period (especially, though not exclusively, New World travel and discourse), their absence in this study—if only as contextual elements—seems altogether curious. The same could be said concerning the absence of discussion of exiliar texts in the English tradition (though perhaps this is explained by the conventions of the particular comparativist model employed throughout the book).

All of that being said—and, indeed, invited by the encyclopedic nature of *Homo Viator*—this erudite and learned book should be more commended for what it achieves than chided for what it declines to take up. It makes an

admirable contribution to the literature on exile and writing in Europe during the sixteenth century. Indeed, Tucker's book, with its breadth and scope, together with an extensive bibliography and useful index, will, one hopes, help to open avenues for future research. (Howard Marchitello, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Lateinische Lyrik der Frühen Neuzeit. Poetische Kleinformen und ihre Funktionen zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung.* Ed. by Beate Czaplá, Ralf Georg Czapla, and Robert Seidl. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003. 457 pp. 112 Euros. This book is a collection of fifteen articles based on talks given by German and Austrian scholars at a conference held in Bad Homburg, Germany, in 2001. Arranged chronologically, the essays cover Neo-Latin poets from Italy, France, Germany, and England. Since most of the poems are hard to find in libraries, the authors have decided to print the texts discussed, with German translations facing the Latin originals. In reviewing fifteen different essays with varying approaches, the reviewer can hardly be expected to deal with them in detail. Faced with the dilemma of limiting himself to a mere listing or of 'playing favorites' by selecting only a few articles, this reviewer has decided on a compromise: in order to do justice to the different topics and approaches, a brief summary, which goes somewhat beyond a mere listing, of all fifteen essays will follow.

The question of the function of a particular poem is in the center of Martin Früh's analysis of an ode of the Italian humanist Antonio Geraldini (1457-1489), which deals with the death and funeral of King John II of Aragon (d. 1489). Früh demonstrates how the poet adopted the lyrical formal elements of antiquity, using them for specific purposes. Jorg Robert, in a long and wide-ranging article, is concerned with the neo-Platonic poetics of the elegy and "the pluralization of the poetic discourse" around 1500. Hermann Wiegand, who in 1984 published a seminal work on Neo-Latin travel poems (*hodoeporica*), examines two more poems of this important genre, a poem by the Swiss Heinrich Glareanus and another one by the Bavarian Balthasar Nusser. Also concerned with a journey is Ralf Georg Czapla in his essay "Zwischen politischem Partizipationsstreben und literarischer Standortsuche." He examines the journey to and sojourn in Italy by Paul Schede Melissus (1549-1602), giving the reader fascinating insights into the economic situation of a humanist prince of the time. In her comparative and

interdisciplinary study, Claudia Wiener reevaluates the position of a Neo-Latin poem within its literary and pictorial contexts. Up to now, the elegies of Benedictus Chelidoniumus which accompany Dürer's woodcuts series of the St. Mary Life of 1511 have been interpreted as being a Latin translation of a late medieval German poem. Wiener argues instead that they were in fact the adaptation of a humanist epic, the *Parthenice Mariana*, by Baptistus Mantuanus. In her article "Mißlungene Epik? Zur Poetik der Kleindichtung in Giovanni Battista Pignas *Satyrae*," Elisabeth Kleckler analyzes one of the most original products of Neo-Latin bucolics, the *Satyrae* by the Italian poet Giovanni Battista Pigna, which according to the author represents a Virgilian parody. Martin Korejak interprets a wedding poem, an epithalamium, composed on the occasion of the wedding of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrolia with Anna Caterina Gonzaga by a certain Johannes Leucht as evidence of the growing need for self-representation. Thomas A. Schmitz places the poems of the French humanist Jean Morel (1539-1633) in the context of French Neo-Latin poetry of the sixteenth century. Schmitz demonstrates paradigmatically that Morel did not slavishly imitate his ancient Latin models but that he competed with them and enriched his poetry with Christian elements. Both Lore Poelchau and Wolfgang Schibel attempt overall assessments of individual poets. While Poelchau introduces the reader to Christian Schesaeus (1536-1585), an important representative of humanism in Transylvania, Schibel, in his essay "Westonia poetria laureata: Rolle, Schicksaal, Text," provides an introduction to Elizabeth Jane Weston (1582-1612), the most prominent female Latin poet in early modern times. Three poets of the German Baroque are the subjects of articles by Baumbach, Arend, and Czapla. Manuel Baumbach examines the creative reception of the legend of St. Meinhard by Jacob Bidermann (1578-1639), arguing that the Jesuit poet used the legend to criticize Protestant positions. Stefanie Arend, on the other hand, deals with the panegyric of the Palatine councillor Ludwig Camerarius by Martin Opitz (1599-1639), while in her fine essay "Erlebnispoesie oder erlebte Poesie?" Beate Czapla places the *Suavia* of Paul Fleming (1609-1640) into the tradition of the European *basia* poetry. According to Czapla, Fleming synthesizes two apparently irreconcilable concepts: on the one hand, he claims to continue the tradition of *basia* collections of Janus Secundus and Janus Lemutius; on the other, he violates this principle by stimulating the erotic phantasy of the reader. Samuel Johnson's Latin poem "Gnothi seaton" is the center of Rüdiger

Niehl's essay "Samuel Jonnson: Selbstanalyse eines melancholischen Lexikographen." By drawing on the contemporary pathology of humours, Niehl increases our understanding of that key poem. In his wide-ranging article with the provocative title "Die 'tote Sprache' und das 'Originalgenie': Poetologische und literatursoziologische Transformationsprozesse in der Geschichte der deutschen neulateinischen Lyrik," Robert Seidel wonders how within the five-hundred-year-old history of Neo-Latin poetry, paradigms of justification and criticism can be explained from the perspective of cultural history. He is particularly interested in the epochal break of the eighteenth century, after which Latin lost its function as a medium for literary communication.

International in scope and without exception of high quality, the contributions in this volume should be of interest to anybody dealing with the large, and in many cases unexplored, body of Neo-Latin poetry. (Eckhard Bernstein, Freiburg im Breisgau)

◆ Walther Ludwig. *Miscella Neolatina. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 1989-2003*. Ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber. *Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies*, vol. 2, pts. 1-3. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004-2005. XII + 582, VIII + 624, X + 614 pp. To celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of Walther Ludwig (9 February 2004), the editors of the series *Noctes Neolatinae* resolved to collect into a *Sammelband* the essays on Neo-Latin subjects that Professor Ludwig had published since 1989. The new volume would complement *Litterae Neolatinae, Schriften zur neulateinischen Literatur*, the collection that Ludwig Braun, Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers, Paul Gerhardt Schmidt, and Bernd Seidensticker had made for Professor Ludwig's sixtieth birthday (Munich: Fink, 1989). Since the honoree is one of the world's pre-eminent Neo-Latinists, and since the original essays are widely scattered in venues that are often difficult to access in all but the best research libraries, the decision to republish was a wise one. And since Professor Ludwig, like all German professors, had been retired for two-thirds of this period, the project undoubtedly seemed manageable enough. Unfortunately—or rather, at least for the rest of us, fortunately—the sixty-six essays involved did not fit into one volume, but rather required three volumes, and long ones at that. The editorial staff, thank goodness, persevered; Professor Ludwig selected the essays and edited them lightly, providing some updating; and the project continued

forward with speed and efficiency. We have before us the results, a veritable treasure-trove for the Neo-Latinist.

The sixty-six essays have been grouped under twelve rubrics and distributed over three volumes. Under I. Neulateinische Literatur und humanistische Kultur, we have 1. "Latein im Leben—Funktionen der lateinischen Sprache in der frühen Neuzeit," 2. "Klassische Mythologie in Druckersigneten und Dichterwappen," and 3. "*Leges convivales* bei Nathan Chytraeus und Paulus Collinus und andere Trinksitten des 16. Jahrhunderts." II. Humanismus und Christentum gives us 1. "Matern Hatten, Adam Werner, Sebastian Brant und das Problem der religiösen Toleranz," 2. "Philosophische und medizinische Aufklärung gegen evangelischen Biblizismus und Teufelsglauben. Der Arzt Wolfgang Reichart im Konflikt mit dem Theologen Ambrosius Blarer," 3. "Der Ulmer Humanist Rychardus und sein totes Kind. Humanismus und Luthertum im Konflikt," 4. "Eobanus Hessus in Erfurt. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Humanismus und Protestantismus," and 5. "Musenkult und Gottesdienst—Evangelischer Humanismus der Reformationszeit." In III. Humanismus und das Studium des Griechischen, there are three essays: 1. "Das Geschenkexemplar der *Germanograecia* des Martin Crusius für Herzog Ludwig von Württemberg," 2. "Martin Crusius und das Studium des Griechischen in Nordeuropa," and 3. "Paideia bei Johannes Caselius und die Rezeption des Isokrates." Under IV. Studenten und Universitäten, we have 1. "Eine Tübinger Magisterprüfung im Jahr 1509," 2. "Universitätslob—oder wie der Humanist Jakob Locher Philomusus für die Universität Ingolstadt warb," 3. "Die Kosten eines Universitätsstudiums im frühen 16. Jahrhundert, illustriert an Zeno Reichart aus Ulm," 4. "*Galli*. Syphilis unter deutschen Studenten des 16. Jahrhunderts," and 5. "Bacchus hatte den Vorsitz. Über den Autor einer Dissertation über das Zechrecht." V. Epik und Lehrdichtung gives us 1. "Die humanistische Bildung der Jungfrau Maria in der *Parthenix Mariana* des Baptista Mantuanus," 2. "Strozzi und Giraldi—Panegyrik am Hof der Este [und die Sprachenfrage]," 3. "*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima* des Joachim Camerarius und die Tradition des Arat," and 4. "Frischlins Epos über die württembergisch-badische Hochzeit von 1575 und zwei neue Briefe Frischlins."

Sections VI to IX are covered in volume 2. In Section VI, Epigrammtik, Elegie, Heroidenbrief und Lyrik, there are fourteen essays: 1. "Horazrezeption in der Renaissance oder die Renaissance des Horaz," 2. "Platons Kuß und seine Folgen," 3. "Der dreiteilige Chor der Lakedämonier über die Lebensalter

bei Plutarch und Petrus Crinitus,” 4. “Castiglione, seine Frau Hippolyta und Ovid,” 5. “Giovanni Pontano und das *Pervigilium Veneris* des Jean Bonnefons,” 6. “Eine unbekannte Variante der *Varia Carmina* Sebastian Brants und die Prophezeiungen des Ps.-Methodius,” 7. “Das bessere Bildnis des Gelehrten,” 8. “Zur Verbreitung und Bedeutung der Epigramme des Simon Lemnius,” 9. “Die Epikedien des Lotichius für Stibar, Micyllus und Melanchthon,” 10. “Georg Fabricius—der zweite Rektor der Fürstenschule St. Afra in Meißen,” 11. “Das Studium der holsteinischen Prinzen in Straßburg (1583/84) und Nicolaus Reusners Abschiedsgedichte,” 12. “Ficino in Württemberg—ein Gedicht von Nicolaus Reusner,” 13. “Joachim Münsinger von Frundeck im Album amicorum des David Ulrich,” and 14. “Der Humanist und das Buch: Heinrich Rantzaus Liebeserklärung an seine Bücher.” Section VII, Drama und Dialog, offers two pieces, 1. “Ein Epitaphium als Comoedia,” and 2. “Formen und Bezüge frühneuzeitlicher lateinischer Dialoge,” as does Section VIII, Reise-, Stadt- und Landbeschreibung, 1: “Die Darstellung südwestdeutscher Städte in der lateinischen Literatur des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts,” and 2. “Eine unbekannte Beschreibung Stuttgarts von Christoph Bidembach (1585).” This volume concludes with Section IX, Epistolographie, Historiographie und Rhetorik, containing the following essays: 1. “Erasmus und Schöffelin—vom Nutzen der Historie bei den Humanisten,” 2. “Literatur und Geschichte. Ortwin Grätius, die ‘Dunkelmännerbriefe’ und ‘Das Testament des Philipp Melanchthon’ von Walter Jens,” 3. “Der Humanist Ortwin Grätius, Heinrich Bebel und der Stil der Dunkelmännerbriefe,” and 4. “Der Ritter und der Tyrann. Die humanistischen Invektiven des Ulrich von Hutten gegen Herzog Ulrich von Württemberg”

Volume 3 contains three sections. Section X, Humanismus in Süddeutschland, contains thirteen essays: 1. “Graf Eberhard im Bart, Reuchlin, Bebel und Johannes Casselius,” 2. “Nachlese zur Biographie und Genealogie von Johannes Reuchlin,” 3. “Joachim Münsinger und der Humanismus in Stuttgart,” 4. “Vom Jordan zur Donau—die Rezeption Sannazaros durch Joachim Münsinger von Frundeck,” 5. “Die Sammlung der *Epistolae ac Epigrammata* des Ulmer Stadtarztes Wolfgang Reichart von 1534 als Dokument humanistischer Selbstdarstellung,” 6. “Eine Humanistenfreundschaft. Der Briefwechsel zwischen dem Pforzheimer Nikolaus Schmierer und dem Ulmer Wolfgang Reichart (1516-1543),” 7. “Die Interessen eines Ulmer Apothekers: eine deutsch-griechisch-lateinische und astronomisch-astrologisch-medizinisch-

magische Sammelhandschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts,” 8. “*Pontani amatores*: Joachim Camerarius und Eobanus Hessus in Nürnberg,” 9. “*Non cedit umbra soli*: Joachim Graf zu Ortenburg als Humanist und Leser von Justus Lipsius,” 10. “Die humanistische Bibliothek des ‘Ernvesten’ Wolfgang Schertlin in Esslingen,” 11. “Der Doppelpokal der Tübinger Universität von 1575 und zwei neue Epigramme des Nikodemus Frischlin,” 12. “J. P. Ludwigs Lobrede auf die Reichsstadt Schwäbisch Hall und die Schulrhetorik des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts,” and 13. “Rudolf Lohbauers Bild ‘Hyperions Fahrt nach Kalaurea.’” Section XI, Humanismus in Nord- und Ostdeutschland sowie in den Niederlanden, presents 1. “Der Humanist Heinrich Rantzau und die deutschen Humanisten,” 2. “Des Martin Opitz Epicedium auf Erzherzog Karl von Österreich,” 3. “Martin Opitz und seine *Vita Seyfridi Promniaci*—eine humanistische Biographie,” and 4. “Arnoldus a Boecop und ein Band mit Gedenkschriften an Justus Lipsius.” Finally, Section XII, Wissenschaft der Gegenwart, closes with seven essays: 1. “Über die Folgen der Lateinarmut in den Geisteswissenschaften,” 2. “Risiken und Chancen bei der Erforschung der neuzeitlichen Latinität,” 3. “Die neulateinische Revolution,” 4. “Ein Porträt des Erasmus,” 5. “Der Caspar Peucer-PorträtHolzschnitt von 1573 im Caspar Peucer-Ausstellungskatalog von 2002 und ein Bildnisepigramm des Martinus Henricus Saganensis,” 6. “Zum Gedenken an Paul Oskar Kristeller,” and 7. “Zum Gedenken an Jozef IJsewijn.” The collection closes with a complete list of Professor Ludwig’s publications, which numbered 313 at the time of publication, and an index of names.

The majority of these pieces are careful studies of one work, or one individual, or one relationship, the pieces from which the mosaic of scholarship in Neo-Latin is eventually reconstructed. At the beginning and end of the collection, however, Professor Ludwig steps back and surveys the ‘big picture,’ a right he has earned through years of painstaking research. These volumes put the lie to the old apophthegm, *mega biblion, mega kakon*—it’s a big book (or rather, three big books), but invaluable. Indeed our gratitude must be shared, to Professor Ludwig for his scholarship, to Dr. Steiner-Weber for her editorial efforts, and to the series editors (Professor Marc Laureys and Dr. Karl August Neuhausen) for their commitment to such an extensive project. As volumes like this attest, readers of this journal should check regularly on what is being published by *Noctes Neolatinae*, which is a relatively new series but one that is rapidly becoming an established presence in the field. (Craig

Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Silva. Estudios de Humanismo y Tradición Clásica. Ed. by Jesús María Nieto Ibáñez and Juan Francisco Domínguez Domínguez. Vol. 3, 2004. 453 pp. This issue of *Silva*, like its two predecessors, contains a large number of articles that should interest readers of *NLN*. In “La representación de la muerte en *El Caballero determinado* de Hernando de Acuña,” Monserrat Bores Martínez studies the two representations of death in this work as a way to modify the possible reception of the text. Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, “Pe. Matteo Ricci, S.J, cultor da tipografia e da xilografia ao serviço do conhecimento científico na China: entre a cartografia e as matemáticas euclidianas,” surveys the evangelizing, teaching, and publishing activity of this Jesuit missionary to China. Two works on *The Lusíads* follow: Maria Luísa de Castro Soares, “A visão do homem em Camões e Pascoaes,” compares the image of man in the works of a sixteenth- and a twentieth-century writer, while Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares, “*Urbanitas, humanitas e intervenção em Camões*,” explores the values of Portuguese Renaissance humanism transmitted by the poem in comparison with D. Jerónimo Osório’s *De regis institutione et disciplina*. Vicente Cristóbal López, “Virgilianismo y tradición clásica en el *Monserrate* de Cristóbal de Virtués,” highlights the reception of Virgil’s *Aeneid* in *Monserrate*, a Spanish epic poem on religion. In “La formación clásica de los primeros evangelizadores novohispanos,” Elsa Cecilia Frost shows how the friars who evangelized New Spain used their knowledge of the classics to help explain the nature of the New World and its inhabitants. The material-spiritual split in neo-Platonic thought is the subject of Francisco Garrote Pérez, “La ‘ausencia’ en la poesía neoplatónica, modelo humanista de escisión personal y de imposibilidad de realización,” while Luis Gil Fernández, “La producción editorial de signo humanístico en la época de los Reyes Católicos,” compares the humanistic publishing programs of the kingdoms of Castille and Aragon. The next two articles feature two little-known works of Spanish humanism: Raúl Manchón Gómez, “Noticia del libro rarísimo *Naufragio y Peregrinación* de Pedro Gobeo de Vitoria (1610) y de su versión neolatina *Argonautica Americanorum* (1647),” and Antonio M.^a Martín Rodríguez, “Un versión burlesca del mito de Progne y Filomela en el siglo XVIII. La intervención de Diego Blanco Carillo en la Academia de San Cayetano de Salamanca.” Jesús María Nieto Ibáñez, “Historia y mitos grecorromanos en la tragedia neoclásica

española,” notes that Greco-Roman myths still play an important part in Spanish theater of the eighteenth century, adapted to exemplify such Enlightenment principles as defence of liberty, individualism, and patriotism. Finally, M.^a Asunción Sánchez Manzano, “Algunos preceptos de la teoría de la imitación y la renovación del léxico en el estilo renacentista,” explores the seeming paradox that language changes in the face of theoretical propositions about immutability in literary classicism. Sixty-five pages of book reviews follow.

This, the third volume of a new journal devoted to Neo-Latin studies, exemplifies the range of work being done by Spanish scholars in the field. Some of the essays, like those of Frost and Garrote Pérez, offer useful overviews of their subjects; others, like those of Manchón Gómez and Martín Rodríguez, introduce the reader to works that are likely to be new to them. The articles by Cadafaz de Matos and Gil Fernández in turn are representative of what I see as an especially useful tendency among Spanish Neo-Latinists, to focus on the printing history of the works they study to a greater extent than is often done among Anglophone scholars. The essay by Nieto Ibañez is especially interesting for its focus on the eighteenth century, rather than the more commonly studied Siglo de Oro. I would recommend that the readers of this journal get into the habit of consulting each year’s issue of *Silva* as it appears. In my case I returned to a manuscript I had thought was finished and added references to three different pieces from the journal; I suspect others will find themselves doing the same thing. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ Marsilio Ficino. *Platonic Theology*, vol. 5: Books XV-XVI. Trans. by Michael J. B. Allen. Latin text ed. by James Hankins, with William Bowen. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 17. viii + 353 pp. Pietro Bembo. *Lyrical Poetry / Etica*. Ed. and trans. by Mary P. Chatfield. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 18. xxi + 278 pp. *Humanist Comedies*. Ed. and trans. by Gary R. Grund. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 19. xxx + 460 pp. Biondo Flavio. *Italy Illuminated*, vol. 1: Books 1-4. Ed. and trans. by Jeffrey A. White. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 20. xxvii + 489 pp. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2005. \$29.95. This, the year’s harvest from the indefatigable series editor, James Hankins, presents us with four more volumes in what has quickly become the foremost series in the world in Neo-Latin studies.

The first volume is the fifth in a run of six devoted to the *Platonic Theology*,

an attempt to reconcile Platonism with Christianity that was very influential in Christian humanist circles. One of the merits of this series is the general editor's willingness to commit several volumes to important works like this—Bruni's *History of the Florentine People* and Pius II's *Commentaries* are in progress in similar format—then to publish the volumes seriatim, as they are ready. In other cases, when desirable works are too short to make up a volume on their own, they have been combined with similar texts, either by the same author (the Bembo volume under review) or in the same genre (*Humanist Comedies*). Simple decisions like these have freed the series from a very real, but very common unintentional bias, one that favors works of 300-350 manuscript pages, the length of the average book published by scholarly presses these days, and opens up the publication possibilities enormously.

Some of what we find here is unexpected. Polly Chatfield's Bembo, for instance, does not give us *Gli Asolani*, the explication and defence of Platonic love, or the *Historia Veneta*, his work as the official historiographer of Venice, or the *Epistolae familiares*, Bembo's contribution to a genre every aspiring man of letters in his day attempted. Instead we have *De Aetna*, a youthful dialogue published by Aldus Manutius that conveys Bembo's love and respect both for his father Bernardo and for Virgil, his humanistic muse. The bulk of the volume, however, is given over to the *Carminum libellus*, a remarkable collection of poems that mirrors the emotional life of a man who was simultaneously an accomplished humanist, a cardinal in the church, and an inveterate pursuer of beautiful women. The first group of poems conveys the power that a beautiful woman can exert over a man, showing us someone who is witty and self-mocking but for whom his affairs are also deadly serious. Next comes a group of poems that reflect greater maturity, the voice of someone who knows death, disappointment, and servitude. A third group is more public, presenting poems in which the writing of classicizing poetry and the Christian faith seem to blend together seamlessly. The final group of poems are almost all epitaphs, the fitting end of a life well-lived. Two appendices give us poems that were excluded from the collection as it was published in 1552-1553 and poems whose authenticity is open to question; here we have "Sarca," an epyllion that demands reading next to Catullus LXIV but is also first-rate in its own right. There was much to straighten out in editing this material; what is more, poetry like this is notoriously difficult to translate. Chatfield's verse translation makes these texts available in English for the first

time, and they will surprise and delight time and again.

The five comedies in Grund's volume, three of which had never been translated into English before, include Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Paulus* (ca. 1390), Leon Battista Alberti's *Philodoxeos fabula* (1424), Ugolino Pisani's *Philogenia et Epiphobus* (ca. 1440), Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *Chrysis* (1444), and Tommaso Medio's *Epirota* (1483). These five plays are representative of the genre, which combined features of Latin New Comedy with native forms, *novelle*, goliardic poetry, and scenes from everyday life in Italy that Ariosto, Machiavelli, and Aretino would continue to develop in the Cinquecento. It is especially interesting to watch the way in which the genre evolves over the century, from a preference for Terence to a preference for Plautus, and from beginnings that seem more than half medieval to something that will clearly lead into the sophisticated vernacular comedies of the next century. It is also interesting to see how advances in scholarship are reflected in the development of Neo-Latin drama. The publication of Vitruvius's *On Architecture*, for example, led to advances in the construction of theaters and scenery that appear both in Alberti's *Philodoxeos fabula* and in his *On the Art of Building*. It is also possible to see how philological progress—the reader of Terence at the beginning of the Quattrocento would probably have still encountered his plays arranged as prose—is marked in the changing language and structure of the plays. Not every scene is great drama, but all of the plays are worth the read.

Biondo Flavio, antiquarian and papal bureaucrat, has left us a topographical survey of Italy, divided into fourteen regions based on modifications of Roman provinces. Each region is defined, its name explained, its borders established, its cities and towns noted, and its topographical features, especially its rivers, lakes, and sea coasts, surveyed. *Italy Illuminated*, however, is more than a geography book. As a good humanist, Biondo was haunted by the gap between present and past, so that the book becomes an effort to reconcile the ancient Italian landscape (and its nomenclature) with the present one. This reconciliation is made possible through humanism, which is celebrated along the way: indeed, Biondo played an important role in solidifying the concept of *medium aevum*, the idea that a barren period lay between classical culture and its new rebirth. Like much humanist literature of the day, *Italy Illuminated* is constructed as a *bricolage* of ancient authors, Livy being the chief source for quotations but Pliny and Strabo providing much of the flavor. The result, as White puts it charmingly, is “not only a proto-Baedeker, but

loose notes for an Italian history, as well as a kind of history of classical scholarship” (xix). It’s an important work, and one that should not have had to wait almost 450 years for republication.

Unlike many such series, The I Tatti Classical Library has established and maintained a reliable record of bringing out several volumes each year. Let’s see what 2006 brings. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Conversational Latin for Oral Proficiency. Phrase Book and Dictionary.* By John C. Traupman. 3d edition. Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2003. \$34. For anyone interested in spoken (sometimes called Neo-) Latin, the Latin Teach web site maintains a page of useful links (<http://www.latinteach.com/converse.html>), among which is *Retiarius: Commentarii Periodici Latini*, whose Editor, Terentius Tunberg, and *Editores consociati* comprise a core list of the *experti* of the recent revival of spoken Latin. Spoken Latin courses, where students are trained first to speak, then to write and read Latin, draw Latin teachers, graduate students in classics, history, and late antiquity, and Latin enthusiasts who are not matriculating in any formal program. Reginald Foster’s popular *Aestiva Latina* program in Rome attracts many more than the fifty students he can accommodate each year, and the *Institutum Latinum* at the University of Kentucky has oral Latin and Latin composition at the core of its curriculum. For more informal Latin conversation, there is also an annual series of total-immersion Latin experiences in northern California through S. A. L. V. I. (*Septentrionale Americanum Latinitatis Vivae Institutum*), the North American Institute for Living Latin Studies. John Traupman’s (hereafter JT) *Conversational Latin for Oral Proficiency*, now available in its third edition with a new accompanying audio-cassette expected before the year’s end, has been fundamental to the steadily growing interest in the spoken Latin movement. The movement is not new—that is, spoken Latin has a history of revival starting with the Renaissance humanists. For that revival, there are two fine dictionaries: D. T. Starnes, *Renaissance Dictionaries: English-Latin and Latin-English* (1954), and R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (1994). This book, in fact, may be the most accessible and adaptable text available for anyone interested in incorporating spoken Latin into more traditional Latin training.

The current ‘revival’ of spoken Latin is closely linked to the instructional techniques of the living languages, which have moved more and more toward the active use of language in speaking, listening, and reading. The

pedagogies they employ—mimetic and situational—are almost impossible to adapt in the Latin classroom, the more so because even when the literary texts commonly read in Latin courses were written, they were distinct from the popular speech. Most Latin instructional methodologies are still based, for over a thousand years now, on morphology, syntax, and lexicography. To abandon this traditional approach altogether would be a disservice to students who are serious about reading Latin literature, as they will rely upon commentaries, grammars, and lexica that assume this training. JT's *Conversational Latin* allows students to appropriate the modern language methodology without abandoning traditional philology. In fact, JT's book and accompanying audio CD of Level I and II conversations presuppose an intermediate-level student well trained in basic grammar and vocabulary.

Primarily a phrase book with dictionary, the book is divided by topics—the family or the weather, for example—into twenty-five chapters. Each chapter contains three levels of practice conversations and topical vocabulary. Two chapters (I and II) provide suggested classroom activities. Several chapters supplement the vocabulary list with additional material: Chapter I (Greetings) contains “Additional Greetings and Responses”; Chapter IX (Days, Weeks, Months, Years) includes a section called “The Julian Calendar,” a layout of the months with the Latin name for each day in each month (including February in a leap year!), and a section on “Hours of the Day and Watches of the Night”; Chapter XIII (School) adds two pages of “Commands for the Classroom,” which lists a few comments—*recte sede* (“sit up straight!”) or *omitte strepitum, quaeso* (“please stop chattering!”)—we may only think (but not say) in a large public university; and Chapter XXIII (Geography and Topography) includes a sub-section (“*Uniti Status Americae*”) with the Latin names of the fifty states and their capitals, and, for some states, the names of other large (*Miamia, Florida*) or famous (*Acrifoliorum Silva, California*, ‘Hollywood’) cities. In many cases, JT has had to create names, e.g., *Petricula* for Little Rock, which are not available in other sources of Latin place-names (cf. C. Egger, *Lexicon Nominum Locorum* [Vatican City, nd] and its *Supplementum* [Vatican City, 1985]).

Some chapters contain notes to the vocabulary that clarify usages or irregularities. In Chapter III (Houses and Furniture), for example, JT distinguishes between different Latin words for ‘room’: *cubiculum*, *cella*, (‘small room’), *dormitorium* (‘bedroom’); the different words for ‘door’: *ianua*, which has two panels called *fores* or *valvae*, and *ostium* (‘doorway’); and the distinction

between *aedes* ('house') and *domus* ('mansion'), with the irregular declension of *domus*.

In Chapter IV (Daily Activities), some of the technical vocabulary is fast becoming obsolete, so students should be cautioned not to confuse *cella telephonica* ('phone booth') with cell phone. In Chapter V (Sports and Other Leisure Activities), JT has divided the long vocabulary into specific sports. Soccer alone has twenty-five different entries, such as *follem per portam pede pulsare!* ('to score a goal'), a feat in itself for an announcer to shout in the heat of a game. Among Other Leisure Activities, there are thirteen entries for television, but students preoccupied with text messaging, hamming it up for the cell phone camera, 'berrying,' or even surfing the web will notice some caveats.

Certain vocabulary notes and entries are conversation starters. The note in Chapter VIII (Food and Drink) (71), for example, delivered with Stoic approbation, is hard to believe: The ancient Romans enjoyed none of the staples of our modern daily diet. They had no chocolate, no candy, no coffee, and no ice cream! In Chapter XIII (School), the vocabulary entry for Latin (*Latine*) includes a long list of interrogatives, e.g., *Disisne Latine?* ('Do you know Latin?'), *Loquerisne Latine proflienter?* ('Do you speak Latin fluently?'), *Ubi Latine studuisti?* ('Where did you study Latin?'). Chapter X (Expressions of Time) has long entries on "day" and "time" including such colloquial expressions as *Propediem*, 'Any day now,' and *Tempus est maxime!* 'It's high time!'. There are several expressions using the word "peace" in Chapter XXI (War and Peace), such as, *pacem frangere*, 'to break the peace,' and *pacem facere*, 'to make peace,' but not nearly so many as the long list of locutions connected to war, which include *bellum clandestinum* ('guerilla war'), *bellum piraticum* ('war against pirates'), and *bellum servile* ('war against slaves'), but no *bellum territum* ('war against terror').

Several chapters have very long vocabulary lists. Chapter XI (Useful Colloquial Expressions) has an expansive list of colloquial expressions (89-109) supplemented by others in the General Vocabulary at the end of the book. Most of them are, indeed, very colloquial expressions, such as *cum aliquo colludere* ('to be in cahoots with') or *quid id ad te attinet* ('what's it to you?'), and not to be found in C. Meissner's more traditional *Latin Phrase-Book*, trans. W.H. Auden (1966). While expressions like *Male mi sit* ('I'll be darned') and *Eu edepol res turbulenta!* ('Geez, what a mess!') are entertaining for students to read, it would be more beneficial if they could connect them through citations to

the same or similar expressions in Latin texts. Chapter XVII (Emotions and Qualities) also has a lengthy (147-57) vocabulary list, which spans the gamut of possibilities from a to y, ability (*facultas*) to yearning (*desideratio*).

The longest chapter, anticipating its use in the Latin classroom, is Chapter XXV (Grammar). In this chapter, JT has written question-and-answer exchanges between a student (*Stuens*) and a teacher (*Magister/Magistra*), in place of model conversations. These model similar exchanges that could take place between the teacher and student in any Latin class. The grammar terms and structures are based upon the writings of Roman grammarians. All eight parts of speech are fully discussed through this question-and-answer exchange, and there are Latin examples offered for each. At the chapter's close, the rules of accentuation (*De Accentu*) are fully explained in Latin, as is the parsing of words (*De Proprietatibus Dictionum Describendis*).

There are five appendices, all practical and user-friendly in that they are not overly long or dense: 1) Yes and No in Latin, 2) Colors, 3) Numbers, 4) Proverbs and Sayings, and 5) Computer Terms (the WWW, *si scire velis, scribitur TTT—Tela Totius Terrae*).

The General Vocabulary is ample, sometimes repeating words already listed in the chapters' topical vocabulary but also adding many other words or other uses of particular words already defined. In itself such a lengthy and handy English-Latin vocabulary list is a useful tool for students.

There are a few typos, which I forbear to mention because they do not mar what is really a very useful compilation of all the basic information necessary for developing a spoken Latin curriculum to supplement any of the more traditional Latin teaching methodologies. With its pronunciation guide, the macrons and accents that appear on all Latin words throughout, the five appendices, the topical vocabulary lists, and the three levels of conversations in each chapter, *Conversational Latin for Oral Proficiency* is a must-have for any Latin classroom. Thoughtfully laid out, engaging, and accessible for all levels because of the Latin-facing-English-format, it can be adapted for any curriculum. *Cedo istum librum!* ("Go for it!") (Cynthia White, University of Arizona)



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