



EVENTEENTH-



ENTURY



NEWS

SPRING - SUMMER 2012

Vol. 70

Nos. 1&2

Including

THE NEO-LATIN NEWS Vol. 60, Nos. 1&2

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

VOLUME 70, Nos. 1&2

SPRING-SUMMER, 2012

SCN, an official organ of the Milton Society of America and of the Milton Section of the Modern Language Association, is published as a double issue two times each year with the support of the English Departments of Texas A&M University.

SUBMISSIONS: As a scholarly review journal, *SCN* publishes only commissioned reviews. As a service to the scholarly community, *SCN* also publishes news items. A current style sheet, previous volumes' Tables of Contents, and other information all may be obtained via our home page on the World Wide Web. Books for review and queries should be sent to:

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ISSN 0037-3028

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

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Cheryl H. Fresch. *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton*, Vol. 5, Part 4: *Paradise Lost*, Book 4. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2011, xix + 508 pp. \$85.00. Review by REUBEN SANCHEZ, SAM HOUSTON STATE UNIVERSITY.

Cheryl H. Fresch does a fine job annotating the most recent issue of the Milton Variorum: *Paradise Lost*, Book 4. The first entry, covering 4.1-12, effectively displays the standard variorum strategy of showing how the same word or passage may have been understood in different historical periods. Although Fresch emphasizes twentieth-century scholarship in this first entry—twelve references to the twentieth-century, one to the nineteenth, three to the eighteenth, and one to the seventeenth—the next eight entries annotate lines 1-12 in even greater detail. The result is an expansive, interesting, and useful series of annotations on the first twelve lines of Book 4.

Conveying the breadth of Milton scholarship is clearly one of Fresch's aims, as evidenced in both shorter and longer entries. As examples, note the following three short entries: one concerning the mechanics of publication as regards two words, one concerning the definition of a word, and one concerning the literary sources of a passage. First, a mechanics entry: The words “submission” at line 81 and “Disdain” at line 82 have or have not been italicized by editors in various editions of *PL*—by the editors of the first and second editions, by eighteenth-century editors like Bentley, Newton, and Todd, by twentieth-century editors like Hughes, Shawcross, Verity, and Fowler (32). Second, a definition entry: In the eighteenth-century Paterson defines the word “peerless” at line 608, and the OED cites Milton's use of this word (299). Third, a source entry: In the eighteenth-century Todd suggests that the sources for lines 772-73, in which flowers cover a sleeping Adam and Eve, may be found in Harrington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* and in Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's *The Divine Weeks and Works*, while in the twentieth-century Bullough suggests an allusion to Jacob Cats's *Trou-Ringh* (376). The longer entries similarly reflect a commitment to expansiveness and equatability as regards what to select and why. Note the following three extended entries: Satan's first soliloquy at lines 32-113 covered in a substantial annotation (12-22); the description of the garden at lines 205-287

covered in a substantial annotation (84-94); the *hail wedded love* section at lines 736-75 covered in a substantial annotation (356-366).

Volume 5, Part 4 shows an informed selection of Milton scholarship spanning the better part of three centuries, up to 1970. And therein lies the problem. The Columbia UP Milton Variorum originally projected six volumes, three appearing between 1970 and 1975: Volume One on the Latin, Greek, and Italian poems, Volume Two (in three parts) on the minor English poems, and Volume Four on *Paradise Regained*. The project was halted because of the deaths of some of the editors associated with it and because of Columbia's inability to find other Miltonists to work on the project. Three of the projected six volumes were never completed: Volume Three on *Samson Agonistes*, Volume Five on *PL*, and Volume Six on *The Prosody of the English Poems*. In 1997, Albert Labriola secured permission for Duquesne UP to complete the Milton Variorum. Since there are no plans to complete Volume Six, two volumes remain: Volume 3 on *SA* and Volume 5 on *PL* (both volumes now designated by Arabic numerals), with the latter comprising several parts. Once these volumes are completed and published, an update of all five volumes is planned, which will cover the years 1970 through 2000. The first volume published by Duquesne consists of Stephen Dobranski's annotations of *SA*, published in 2009. The volume comprising *PL* thus begins with Book 4, published in 2011. The next part, covering Books 11 and 12, is slated for 2012 (and may be in print at this writing). Evidently, the volume covering *PL* will consist of fewer than twelve parts, though we should not be surprised if another pair of Books, besides 11 and 12, is covered in a single part. Since Columbia covered *PR* in one part, perhaps the Duquesne editors felt it appropriate to do the same with certain Books in *PL*. But this is a questionable method of annotating one of the most significant poems in the English language. Though the number of parts comprising Volume 5 and the dates of publication have not been made clear, the publishing pattern thus far infers commentary covering one or two Books of *PL* will be published every year or two, beginning in 2011. At that rate Volume 5 should be published by about the year 2020—a conservative estimate, given how long it has taken to generate *SA* and *PL* 4. For the sake of argument, however, the final part of Volume 5 will therefore be published about fifty years

beyond the cutoff date of 1970. Sometime after 2020 the updating of all five volumes will begin. There is no telling how long this update will take, nor its form, nor who will do it. Nor are there plans, as far as we know, for another update covering from 2000 and beyond. But one thing is likely: In comparison to other variorum commentaries, the Milton Variorum will never be complete and up to date.

That a variorum can be up to date seems a moot point, of course, since once its shelf life begins even its most recent commentary becomes dated. Yet, this is perhaps why editors choose a cutoff date as close as possible to the actual date of publication, usually within about two or three years. For the Columbia Milton Variorum, the cutoff date seems to have been 1968 for volumes which began appearing in 1970. (The Duquesne Milton Variorum editors chose the 1970 cutoff date for this reason.) But the 1968 cutoff date was not consistently maintained in the three published volumes: In Volume One, published in 1970, we find annotations with references to works published as late as 1968; in the three parts comprising Volume Two, published in 1972, we find annotations with references to works published as late as 1968, but we also find bibliographic references to works published as late as 1971; and in Volume Four, published in 1975, we find annotations with references to works published as late as 1968, but in the section titled “Studies in Style and Verse Forms in *Paradise Regained*” we find at least one bibliographic reference to work published in 1970. Of course, bibliographic references are not annotations, but they are nonetheless included in the variorum. Why Duquesne chose to establish a level playing field (in terms of a cutoff date) between all five volumes of the Milton Variorum—some of which will be published from forty to fifty years apart—does not make sense.

As with any variorum, the character and quality of the work is judged according to whether the selection of scholarship seems fair and broad. But it should be recognized, as well, that the annotations themselves reflect the critical and cultural period in which the annotator lives and works; to appreciate this, one need only compare the annotations of any of the Columbia volumes with the two books published thus far by Duquesne. This is not to declare one set of annotations superior or inferior to the other, but rather to recognize scholars working today approach their work, even the work of anno-

tating, differently than their predecessors. A product of its time, the Columbia Milton Variorum was annotated by proponents of the type of scholarship practiced in mid-twentieth-century America, primarily the new criticism and the history of ideas. Their annotations look like and read like they belong in that era of American scholarship. The Duquesne Milton Variorum is also a product of its own time, and it looks and reads differently because its annotators are the proponents of post-1970, even post-9-11, developments and trends in literary theory and interpretation. P.J. Klemp acknowledges as much in his “Preface” to the Duquesne Milton Variorum: “Although the goals of a variorum commentary are largely consistent from generation to generation, the scholarly environment of the 1970s differs in many ways from the one we inhabit in a new millennium” (xiv). Nevertheless, Klemp insists, these most recent annotators embrace the “unspoken assumptions” of the earlier annotators, which includes an interest in and an endorsement of formalism (xv). Perhaps, yet the annotations by Fresch and Dobranski do not read like they were written by new critics; both in what they say and how they say it, they offer something different from their predecessors, although in the works referenced they have chosen not to go beyond the end of the new criticism. Hence, questions arise concerning the most recent annotators of the Milton Variorum: Why quit at 1970 knowing the finished product will require substantial updating? Given the cutoff date, why agree to do the work in the first place? Why not do it right the first time, no matter how long it takes?

When Volumes 3 and 5 are finally completed and published each will begin its shelf life somewhere around forty to fifty years out of date. Here I should like to repeat a claim from my review of Dobranski’s volume on *SA* (*Seventeenth-Century News*, 2010): The best scholarship on *SA* occurred in the post-1970 period of Milton studies. I make the same claim for *PL*. It is a shame to deprive students and faculty—for who else reads or consults a variorum?—the annotations reflecting a more complete and, frankly, more interesting picture of the expansiveness and the development of Milton studies.

Klemp repeats his “Preface” from Volume 3 *almost* verbatim in his “Preface” to Volume 5, Part 4. There are a few word changes, but one change is most telling. In the *SA* “Preface” Klemp states: “After we

have completed the *Variorum Commentary* on *'Paradise Lost,'* we will turn to an even more ambitious project, updating the entire *Variorum Commentary . . .*" (xv). In the same passage from the *PL* 4 "Preface" Klemp substitutes the word "hope" for "will": "we hope to turn to an even more ambitious project" (xv). Gone is the assurance of an update; but again, even if an update happens it will cover only from 1970 to 2000. Furthermore, if the process of updating is "an even more ambitious project"—and I believe it must be—it will take quite a long time to finish this project, since it cannot begin until about 2020. Volumes 3 and 5 of the Milton Variorum, when completed and placed on the library book shelf, will disappoint because the editors involved, all Miltonists, declined to present the best possible selection of Milton scholarship.

Feisal G. Mohamed. *Milton and the Post-Secular Present: Ethics, Politics, Terrorism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. + 167 pp. \$21.95.
Review by DANIEL ELLIS, ST. BONAVENTURE UNIVERSITY.

In *Milton and the Post-Secular Present*, Feisal G. Mohamed takes on two challenges, one involving the ethical practice of reading and one involving the historiography of literary-critical work. As his title promises, Mohamed examines Milton's writings alongside late-twentieth- and twenty-first-century theory and criticism concerned with the concept of post-secularism. Mohamed attempts to do so in a manner that is methodologically sound—neither presentist nor too narrowly historicist—in order to argue that reading literature can help overcome threats to both individual liberty and the greater social good when religious belief conflicts with secular society.

While the book is organized into five chapters, with a brief introduction and epilogue, several of the chapters are closely connected in theme, so that the book has three movements: chapters one and two examine reading and writing practices as they relate to a concept of truth; chapter three considers the role of truth in the relationship between secular government and religious belief; while chapters four and five take on the topic of religious violence as a response to secular society. Chapters one and two examine Milton's use of plain style in

Paradise Lost and his arguments for unlicensed printing in *Areopagitica*. Plain style in *Paradise Lost*, associated inevitably with the character of The Father, is employed to indicate a transcendent truth; *Areopagitica* in turn asserts the right to freely publish this truth, although it does so under the guise, as Mohamed argues, of a more widespread liberty of the press, a liberty it does not, in the end, endorse. As the example of *Areopagitica* suggests, a transcendent truth presents ethical and political problems because it is not universally accessible: if a system of ethics, government, or criticism is founded on such a truth, divine or otherwise, then those who do not accept or do not have access to this truth are in a position to be excluded, confused, or, in the worst case, become oppressed or subjected to violence. Alongside this discussion, Mohamed presents late twentieth- and twenty-first-century critical efforts to rectify these problems. In the case of Jacques Derrida, among others, this effort entails a rejection of the possibility of such a truth; in the case of Alain Badiou, it entails the embrace of such a truth but without the incumbent political and ecclesiastical structures generally attendant upon such a truth. In either case, these efforts most often fail, and usually because, as with Milton's only apparent broad-mindedness, they conceal their own privileged truths.

Through a consideration of Milton's *Of Reformation* (1641) and *A Treatise of Civil Power* (1659), chapter three then examines the way this truth and these practices manifest themselves in statecraft. The chapter charts out a movement in Milton's thought on the relationship between government and the individual conscience: he supports an activist religious government in the earlier tract, but in the later tract supports a legal order that separates religion from state legalistic regulation altogether. Mohamed builds a literary-historical context here by drawing on Quaker pamphleteers, whose arguments for freedom of conscience have echoes in Milton's later tract. Then, through close reading of Milton's tracts, Mohamed suggests that despite the apparent call for freedom of conscience, Milton's concern for liberty of conscience is restricted to, like his arguments about books, a particular kind of conscience. Mohamed thus derives a defining problem for a post-secular age, which is how to build a community not out of non-believers, but out of those who believe differently, a community that does not simply push aside all difference in the service of the

state. Ideally, such a community would value the critical power that religion can bring to the world, while at the same time not allowing any one belief system to oppress other such systems. Mohamed then considers modern discussion of the same problem, notably by Jürgen Habermas, who most completely, though not unproblematically, argues for the critical value of a position that stands outside the state, and the need to accommodate such positions. However, this outside critical perspective, allowed by religious belief that transcends civil society, can be destructive as well as productive.

Chapters four and five thus consider the threat of religious violence in the post-secular age. Chapter four opens with a discussion of John Carey's argument about *Samson Agonistes*, written for the *Times Literary Supplement* for the one-year anniversary of 9/11. Carey asserts that if Milton's poem justifies Samson's violent destruction of his Philistine enemies, then we must reject the poem. Critics, including Carey, thus attempt to cast doubt on that justification. Mohamed examines these critics alongside the philosophy of John Milbank, who envisions a personal Christian ethics that can transcend the vagaries—and violences—of an historical Christian church. But Mohamed also offers a careful reading of *Samson Agonistes*, along with biblical texts and texts by contemporary writers such as Henry Lawrence and Henry Vane, to argue that Milton did indeed sanction divinely directed religious violence. Mohamed then goes on to examine how the critical history that attempts to mitigate this endorsement, often by applying highly aestheticized interpretations, only ends up masking the violent and dehumanizing thought patterns that underpin an (ultimately unjust) secular state. For Mohamed, producing destabilizing readings does not necessarily destabilize unjust structures—it often simply masks them further. It is more productive to confront horrifyingly problematic texts such as *Samson Agonistes* with eyes wide open, but also with an effort to practice the kind of reading that allows us to see into other subjectivities, even if we must ultimately reject them.

Despite Mohamed's careful concern for historicist method, some of the historical contexts could be built more thoroughly. For example, the discussion of Milton's plain style forms a central part of Mohamed's argument in several chapters. The relationship of style to holy truth

was the subject of a rich discussion of theory and practice for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers, discussions with which Milton was doubtless aware. But the engagement of those discussions here is mainly limited to a citation of Perry Miller and a two-page discussion of Cicero. This approach leaves a very complex intellectual problem of the period, one that directly impinges on Mohamed's argument, largely unexplored. Additionally, while Mohamed's juxtaposition of Milton's texts with recent theorists and critics does produce a book that largely avoids the pitfalls of both new historicism and presentism, his methodology also generates a perhaps unacknowledged question. For Mohamed, writers in all ages (or at least these two ages, the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries) posit timeless, transcendent truths. But these truths are always in fact historically contingent, and the initial drive to posit them ultimately emerges out of self-interest, whether this self-interest is consciously acknowledged or not. Thus Mohamed's work implies that while we ought to be suspicious of the existence of timeless, transcendent truths, we can take for granted that there are, in effect, timeless, transcendent lies. This actually seems a productive assumption with which to undertake this sort of project—but the book might have gained had Mohamed been positioned to more fully acknowledge this curious paradox. Nevertheless, this book offers profound insights into modern critical theories and the difficulties of those theories. At the same time, it provides genuinely new interpretations of some key Milton texts, which allow for real insights into the work Milton's writing was doing in the seventeenth century, and the kind of work it does today.

Andrew McRae. *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xi + 247 pp. + 9 illus. \$90.00. Review by M.G. AUNE, CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The work of Andrew McRae, professor of English at the University of Exeter demonstrates a consistent interest in the intersections of literature and history. His first book, *God Speed the Plough* (Cambridge

1996), examined the crises and changes faced by rural England from 1500 to 1660. His second, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge 2004), focused on satire as a means of understanding the political instability of the early Stuart years. This project spawned a very useful on-line edition of manuscript libels, published by *Early Modern Literary Studies* (2005). All of this work has been characterized by a heterogeneous choice of primary sources including sermons, plays, manuscript poetry, pamphlets, manuals, and political tracts. McRae continues this approach in his latest work, adding travel narratives, maps, and travel guides.

McRae uses mobility as his access point into domestic travel, writing in the introduction that “mobility lent shape to some of the definitive transformations of the era: from the shift towards capitalism, through the ongoing spatial redistribution of the population, to the political reconceptualization of passive subjects as active citizens . . . [and] how new perceptions of mobility were conceived” (7). This thematic focus helps the book achieve McRae’s goal of writing a “cultural history” rather than an expository account (14).

Chronologically, the book begins in the early sixteenth century with John Leland’s travels through England, compiled as a means of producing a royal map for Henry VIII but not published for nearly two hundred years. It ends with an epilogue on Daniel Defoe’s *Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-26). McRae has chosen this span, he argues, because it roughly constitutes a beginning and end of a shift in conceptions of human mobility and its attendant tension with place. The book is organized into two sections, the first, “Routes,” is made up of chapters on rivers, roads, and inns and alehouses, each with a particular genre as a focus.

Chapter 1’s investigation of rivers employs cartographic and chorographic writing, nationalistic river poetry, river poetry by river workers, and country house and prospect poems. While common understanding held rivers to be freely accessible, akin to roads, the reality was more nuanced. The banks of rivers were considered private property and landowners could build dams and weirs altering the water level or limiting access to the banks. This is important, McRae claims, because it points out how individual landowners and local

customs could restrict or facilitate mobility. At the same time, those who worked on the rivers because of their mobility became subjects of suspicion—they lacked ties to particular places and customs.

Chorographic writing tended to ignore these tensions, instead portraying England's rivers as a means of unity and access. River poems presented a similar conservative understanding emphasizing the history of particular locations rather than movement or change. In contrast, poems by working watermen, such as John Byshop and John Taylor, provide a different view. Rivers are sometimes dangerous places of labor and sites of conflicts over commerce and property. McRae includes the country house / prospect poem tradition in this discourse. Jonson's isolated, Edenic Penshurst, because of its situation on the River Medway, was in reality central to disputes over river commerce and communication.

Where rivers evoked poetic ideas of circulation and nationhood, roads were associated with prosaic networks. Each stop on a road could be understood as being connected to other stops. Unlike river writing, works about roads tended to be in prose and concerned with the “organization of knowledge” (68). Road-maps, itineraries, spiritual biographies, and rogue pamphlets established roads as elements of a network that eventually would change the identities of the towns they connected. Though McRae attempts to resist a strict chronological approach, the development of the English road from Roman roads to post roads to stage-coach routes is too straightforward to ignore. It also provides a guide to understanding how certain cities, because of their location, became more important nodes on this travel network than others. The chapter concludes by examining how knowledge of this system of roads could grant mobility to commoners, beggars, peddlers, and others on the margins of society creating keen anxiety about vagabonds and rogues.

Chapter 3's subject, inns and alehouses, articulates with the network analogy posited in the previous chapter adding the concept of encounter to mobility. Inns and alehouses were points on a network where the mobile stranger encountered the fixed local. News was exchanged and local myths were shared and challenged. After a discussion of the historical and cultural contexts of inns, McRae turns to dramatic representations by Shakespeare, Massinger, and Jonson to

investigate how discourses of hospitality and identity shift in spaces where the majority of residents are transients.

The second part of the book, “*Travellers*,” examines particular methods of travel and particular travelers. In three comparatively shorter chapters, it provides a type of case study that explores the implications of the material in the first part, especially the emergence of a sense of national identity. Though the title of chapter 4 is “The Progress,” and it does examine Elizabeth and James’ progresses and their representation, it serves as a survey of royal travel from the Tudors to the Restoration. Elizabeth could claim, as she moved through England, to be the nation’s possessor, granting and withholding favors and being celebrated by pageant writers such as Thomas Churchyard. Charles I and II, however, would travel as fugitives, pursued by Parliamentarians who were assisted by newly developed networks of communication. Their representations would not appear in pageants, but in a public sphere of newsbooks and coffee houses.

McRae uses the travel writing of Celia Fiennes, who traveled throughout England around the turn of the seventeenth century, to contextualize travel journals, journey poems, and the concept of tourism. By the mid-seventeenth century, domestic travel had begun to lose some of its stigma and become regarded as patriotic and adventurous. Though many travelers were motivated by curiosity and research, McRae also sees the emergence of leisure travel and tourism. Fiennes thus becomes the model of the domestic grand tourist. She takes advantage of the mobility that her class and gender offer to learn about her nation, not just in terms of its history or landmarks, but its infrastructure and economics as well. For McRae, she helps set the stage for Defoe and the travelers that follow him.

The last chapter concerns John Taylor the Water Poet, perhaps the most famous domestic traveler of the period. McRae uses the term traffic as a focus. At the time, traffic had negative connotations of transporting and trading goods illegally, or at least suspiciously. Taylor, McRae argues, became a form of traffic himself as he used travel as a means of earning money and establishing a new form of authorship. Taylor’s travel writings, rather than simply representing locations, described the process of travel itself. Because they were written for a

subscription readership, they were explicitly intended to reward the author. Travel and travel writing, for Taylor, was not only possible, it is profitable.

A discussion of Defoe's *Tour* marks the epilogue. In his narrative, Defoe confesses to curiosity as a motive and demonstrates how the concerns of mobility and place were no longer impediments. Travel and travel writing had become agents of national linkage rather than anxiety.

McRae largely succeeds in his desire to write a cultural history of early modern domestic travel. He provides thorough historical and cultural backgrounds to his texts. His choice of primary sources is wide ranging as with his earlier books. Gender and especially class are effectively used as points of inquiry. If the book has a flaw, it would be that religion does not receive as thorough a treatment. Pilgrimage was indeed banned by Henry VIII, but like so many Catholic practices, it did not stop entirely and was in various ways appropriated by Protestants.

Literature and Domestic Travel is especially effective in situating the work of Taylor in a greater conception of domestic travel, such as the work of Fiennes, rather than focus too heavily on his writings as *sui generis*. The book expands the critical engagement with travel writing beyond the global to demonstrate the pervasiveness and importance of travel within England by the English. Perhaps most importantly, the sense of English identity that has been usefully traced through external encounters is now being examined in terms of the internal as well.

Katrin Ettenhuber. *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 267 pp. \$110.00. Review by MITCHELL M. HARRIS, AUGUSTANA COLLEGE (SIOUX FALLS)

In their monumental edition of John Donne's sermons, George Potter and Evelyn Simpson came to some stunning realizations about Saint Augustine's influence upon John Donne. Of the Church Fathers that Donne cited, Augustine eclipsed all others by a significant margin.

Given this clear distinction between Augustine and the other Fathers in Donne's mind, it is somewhat surprising that it took so long for a single monograph to investigate the very nature of the relationship between Donne and Augustine. Katrin Ettenhuber's *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* attempts to fill in this gap in Donne studies, and it can be said from the very beginning of this book review that the results of her labor will not disappoint her readers. Simply put, Katrin Ettenhuber's *Donne's Augustine* is not only a magisterial examination of John Donne's reception and use of Augustine, but also a magisterial examination of his exegetic and hermeneutic practices—practices that are seen as both universal in purpose and locally contingent when necessary—from the time leading to his ordination to the final moments of his sacerdotal years as an English divine.

Ettenhuber organizes her narrative into two distinct parts. The first (chapters one and two) is intent upon demonstrating “the breadth and range of Donne’s Augustinian reading” (21). In chapter one, “How Donne Read Augustine,” Ettenhuber returns to the seminal work of Potter and Simpson, pointing out how new research methods allow us to catch many things that the editors of Donne’s sermons missed: Augustine is cited more frequently than even Potter and Simpson had realized, certain Augustinian texts that were once perceived as marginal to Donne’s thinking are actually quite central to it (e.g., *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus*), and the primacy of the *Confessions* in Donne’s thought is more readily identifiable than before. Ettenhuber then divides the first chapter into two parts. The first part surveys the patristic editions that were available to the divines of Donne’s time, particularly three sixteenth-century editions of Augustine’s *Works*. The second part of the chapter then goes on to outline, in Ettenhuber’s words, “what one might term Donne’s philosophy of quotation, the ways in which his scholarly protocols were theorized and put to a variety of uses” (30). In the second chapter, “Augustinian Case Studies,” Ettenhuber moves from investigating Donne’s “philosophy of interpretation” to his own textual practices—the “most characteristic ways in which Donne absorbs, digests, and (re-)presents Augustine’s texts” (65). She achieves this in two ways: first, by attending to Donne’s interactions with Augustine’s primary texts, and second, by attend-

ing to his interactions with medieval and early modern mediators of Augustine and his texts.

The second part of *Donne's Augustine* examines five specific case studies that are designed to investigate “particular sources and modes of recourse in depth, discovering a variety of applications for Donne’s Augustinian hermeneutic” (22). The first such study (chapter three) focuses upon the use of Augustine in Donne’s *Essays in Divinity*, where, argues Ettenhuber, “Donne discovers the beginnings of a new vocation, but also finds his Augustinian voice” (106). What makes Donne’s “Augustinian voice” unique in the *Essays* is the absence of local and polemical concerns. Rather, in the *Essays*, “textual conversation and communion with Augustine is part of a larger project of interpretive self-realization” (108). Chapter four turns to Donne’s *Biathanatos*, the “chronological beginnings of Donne’s Augustinianism” (135). Here, Donne’s Augustinianism is seen to be of a completely different variety from that expressed in the *Essays*. This is due in large part, Ettenhuber contends, to the casuistical nature of *Biathanatos*. Thus, we see Donne paradoxically invoking Augustinian *caritas* as the rhetorical and hermeneutical means to dispense with Augustine’s own pronouncements on the nature of suicide. Donne’s “misrepresentation” of Augustine “is part of a deliberate attempt to push the intentionalist ethics of casuistry to its absolute limits,” Ettenhuber maintains (139). And his “hostile attitude towards the Augustinian position on suicide is framed by insistent affirmations of his own charitable motives” (139). In chapter five, Ettenhuber continues to examine Donne’s growing concern with Augustinian *caritas* and the role that it plays in the Lincoln’s Inn sermons. As she notes, for Donne, charity “proves an especially useful tool” in the Lincoln’s Inn sermons, “because its processes overlap with a legal term that every member of his audience would have known: the controversial and much contested notion of equity, or legal discretion” (163). In other words, Ettenhuber brings together for her readers a greater narrative about charity—as a strictly Augustinian theological concept. It finds clear analogous relationships in the fields of law, politics, and “civic engagement” more generally understood as well as the individual conscience. The key point here, then, is that “Donne’s dual insistence that exceptions to a law are implied in its spirit or reason, and that equity and charity are forms

of hermeneutic ‘liberty’ which can be contained by the law, would certainly have appealed to the common lawyers of Lincoln’s Inn” (177).

Chapter six is certainly the most “local” of Ettenhuber’s case studies. It examines the so-called “Crisis of 1629.” “The most immediate contexts for Donne’s sermon of 24 May 1629,” Ettenhuber suggests, “were the dissolution of parliament two months earlier, on 10 March, and the controversial peace with France in April of the same year” (185). For Ettenhuber, these political contexts allow readers to better understand the theological and political conditions which once again reshaped Donne’s Augustinian hermeneutics of charity. His Whitsunday sermon of that year “ultimately marks a withdrawal from the polemical fray,” she argues, “and, in many ways, inaugurates the final phase of his ministry: by adopting a homiletic approach that is characterized not so much by active participation in political debated as by meditation, devotional introspection, and anticipation of eternal rest in heaven” (189). Indeed, the comfort offered in a sermon on the “Comforter” stems “from an appeal to ‘Truth it selfe’ (9.94), from an imagined transportation to a realm where factionalism and self-interest give way to a holy conversation with those ‘whom we love’” (201). Such a conclusion allows Ettenhuber to segue with adept grace into a discussion of Donne’s eschatological thought during the final years of his ministry (1627 to 1631) in chapter seven, “‘The evidence of things not seen’: Donne, Augustine, and the Beatific Vision.” As the culminating chapter of Ettenhuber’s book, it also serves as a meditation on the culminating effects of Augustine on Donne’s religious thinking. “For Donne, as for Augustine,” she remarks, “divine self-revelation represents the completion of a lifelong hermeneutic quest: the vision of God heralds the advent of a completely new mode of knowledge, cognition, and comprehension” (205). Here, we see Donne meditating with power and grace—just as Augustine had done centuries before him—on the meaning of death, happiness, and the ecstatic possibility of a metaphysical union with the godhead—a peace that eclipses all human understanding.

One simply cannot say enough about what Ettenhuber has achieved in *Donne’s Augustine*. It is a clearly organized narrative on Donne’s growing relationship with one of the most important voices in the whole of Western civilization, but it is so much more. It adds

to our understanding of Donne's methods of exegesis, the development of his philosophical hermeneutics, and his ability to negotiate the political follies of his time without losing sight of the religious and spiritual duties he was compelled, and *called*, to perform. In other words, Ettenhuber invites us into the mind of a man who also clearly believed in a spiritual dimension to his being that rested beyond the scope of the mind. *Donne's Augustine* is acutely aware of that dimension of Donne's life, and with profound scholarly and critical insight, Ettenhuber brings her readers to that part of Donne's life by showing how his love for Augustine reaffirmed the spirit while sharpening the mind. For these reasons, and many more, *Donne's Augustine* will play a central role in Donne scholarship for decades to come.

John Stubbs. *Reprobates: Cavaliers of the English Civil War*. New York: Norton, 2012. 549 pp. \$39.95. Review by BOYD M. BERRY, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY.

In *Reprobates: the Cavaliers of the English Civil War*, John Stubbs has written at length about mid-seventeenth-century verbal wit produced by educated, elite courtiers and writers. The civil war is a complicated business and Stubbs' stated aim is to keep it complicated, which certainly is laudable. He "follows the cultural creation [over time] of the civil war cavalier" who "is present erratically rather than constantly" (6-7) in his telling. His campaign for complexity sees terms like "roundhead" and "cavalier" as producing only simplification and stereotyping, dismissing them as reprobates; thereby creating partisan, "claustrophobic categories." He focuses on "the privileged world which nourished John Suckling" and other [courtly wits] (340). (Previously, he had produced a study of John Donne.) Since he perforce writes of an age much given to reductive reprobating, his approach is useful. However, a comment such as "What cavaliers grieve for as misfortune, puritans interpret as the judgment of God on their souls" (143) sounds like simplifying and reducing of the sort he wishes to move away from.

That reminds us of how difficult it is to eschew party labels, which mostly Stubbs manages.

Stubbs' focus is on poets, particularly William Davenant and Sir John Suckling, both of whom bob up from time to time throughout his lengthy study. They interest him because they were witty; they were not modeled on such a cavalier as Prince Rupert, who was physically very strong, a serious soldier and perhaps a "roaring boy" or a cheerful breaker of the peace and windows. In preparation for the march on Scotland, "Suckling and his urbane friends" volunteered as part of "their identity as royal servants." Paradox, e.g., of courtiers as warriors is frequent and sensible in Stubbs' study.

In short, Stubbs long study demonstrates how these royalist wits changed their tunes over time—from before the fighting to after it. He has some hard and sensible things to say about them in the early going—for instance, about their sexuality—for he sees them as initially reprobates and delinquents, prodigals and courtiers and "roaring boys" whose "real legacy consisted in not quite conforming to type," initially, privileged outlaws. Their writing "suggests how, when a society cleaves into warring parties, people remain more complex than their partisan labels allow." He argues that the cavaliers "retained human depths and edges in common; and it was these which allowed them to keep their scarred world running" (469-70).

Readers of this review will not be surprised by most of the copious illustration and example which Stubbs brings; persons not so well informed about the period will profit because his prose is indeed readable. Perhaps his title is a bit misleading because Stubbs could be said to "un-reprobate" these reprobates over the course of his long presentation. His point is that their writing, at the gradual close of hostilities, suggested the importance of our common humanity.

Francesca Bugliani Knox. *The Eye of the Eagle: John Donne and the Legacy of Ignatius Loyola*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2011. Religions and Discourse Series. 342 pp. \$75.95. Review by MITCHELL M. HARRIS, AUGUSTANA COLLEGE (SIOUX FALLS).

When I spotted the provocative title of Francesca Bugliani Knox's *The Eye of the Eagle: John Donne and the Legacy of Ignatius Loyola* for the first time, my curiosity was piqued. Here was an academic monograph that could seemingly go in many directions. For example, it could engage various points of argument in past Donne studies regarding the meditative tradition and Donne's poetry and prose, or it could re-examine Donne's Catholic upbringing and potential recusancy. Better yet, it could complicate one's understanding of meditative practices in post-Reformation England—that is, it could potentially reassess how Ignatius Loyola came to play a crucial role in both Protestant and Catholic literature. Upon cracking open Knox's text, however, one realizes that such potentially historically informed and nuanced arguments are never going to be considered. Instead, in *The Eye of the Eagle* one will only encounter a monolithic version of John Donne: an English poet turned divine who somehow managed to remain an ardent practitioner of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* despite serving a major role in the English Church during the early part of the seventeenth century. In other words, one encounters an argument that is based purely upon an ideological presupposition, narrowly focused in scope, and unrelenting in its untenable thesis: when it comes to the meditative tradition, Donne was always looking back to Loyola, nobody else.

In chapter one, Knox examines "John Donne Criticism and the Ignatian Legacy." To be sure, the criticism she examines is selective, her interpretation biased, and her motives suspect. Chapter two, "Discretion and Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* in Donne's Time," initially looks like a great chapter. Here, Knox suggests that there are "historical and biographical reasons for thinking that Donne might have known and been influenced by the Catholic tradition of discretion and Ignatian spirituality" (21). What would appear to be particularly interesting is her examination of meditative books—both Catholic and Protestant—printed in England between 1579 and 1633. If ever

there were a place for Knox to make her readers historically informed about the presence of Ignatian spirituality, it would be here. Yet even here the case is thin and the conclusions premature. For example, in discussing how Protestants often adapted Catholic devotional books to suit their own purposes, Knox is willing to concede that “Ignatian spirituality could . . . in general appeal to Christians not belonging to the Roman Catholic Church” (59). But she does not stop there. Instead, she goes on to suggest that “the Society of Jesus, although committed to the personal conversion of people, did often give the Exercises, wrote or translated devotional books inspired by the *Spiritual Exercises*, with the purpose of reconciling souls to Roman Catholicism and papal authority” (59). In other words, the overarching premise of Knox’s text is that there is no true Protestant meditative tradition: it is always mediated through the Ignatian meditative tradition, which has its eye on conversion.

The rest of the book, then, is generally predictable. In chapter three, “Mental Prayer, Discretion and Donne’s Early Religious Poems,” Knox argues that the “Divine Meditations” (note her unwillingness to refer to them as the *Holy Sonnets*), when read “in the light of the material and dynamics of the First Week of Ignatius’s *Spiritual Exercises*,” make better sense to the general reader: “Donne’s concern with sin will not appear out of the ordinary” (72). Of course, Knox must suggest a specific sequential arrangement of the “Divine Meditations” (that of the 1635 poems) in order to make them align with the *Spiritual Exercises*. The sequential arrangement of the “Divine Meditations” that Knox proposes is questionable in and of itself, given that it largely avoids confronting the remarkable work achieved by the *Donne Variorum* editors’ work with the *Holy Sonnets*. The rest of the chapter examines *La Corona* (it’s the second week of the *Spiritual Exercises*), “A Litany,” and “The Cross.” Chapter four looks at the *Essays in Divinity*, while chapter five examines Donne’s biblical exegesis and the influence of Ignatian “discretion” upon his exegetical practices. In chapter six, “Donne’s Theology,” Knox widens the net, explaining “why Donne’s way of applying and engaging with theology in the *Essays* bears a strong similarity with the role Ignatius gave to theology in his *Spiritual Exercises*” (185). Chapter seven looks at Donne’s ecclesiology. Here, at

last, Knox is willing to concede a clear discrepancy between Donne and Ignatius's visions of obedience to the Church: "However favourable to obedience to the Church and its laws and decrees, Donne rejected obedience to things which were not essential articles of faith nor authentic laws or decrees of the Catholic Church" (255). Of course, the concession of dissimilarity is itself strange, considering that, as an English divine, Donne was not Catholic. *The Eye of the Eagle* promises more than it delivers, which is sad. I was hoping to learn more about Ignatius Loyola and the ways in which his legacy helped frame the debates—whether consciously or unconsciously—of post-Reformation England. Instead, one simply reads about a Donne who followed Ignatian spiritual practices by the book. Knox's Donne is thus a rather flat character, and this flatness seems to fly in the face of his rather impressive legacy—which includes his poetry, polemics, meditations, and sermons—that points to a rather complex and nuanced individual thinker—someone who struggled to make sense of his Catholic upbringing while finding a clear sense of duty and religious vocation within the Church of England. To find the story of that Donne, however, readers will need to turn elsewhere.

Nigel Smith. *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon*. Yale University Press, 2010. xiv + 400 pp. \$45.00. Review by ALEX GARGANIGO, AUSTIN COLLEGE.

"Chime" is a word much in evidence in Marvell studies these days (rhyme words chime with each other, as do authors, subject matters, intertexts, contexts), and Nigel Smith's new biography chimes in with genial intelligence and erudition. Smith capitalizes on the 2003 edition of Marvell's prose from Yale (soon to be completed with a new and fuller edition of Marvell's letters), which has renewed interest in his overtly satirical, political, and theological writing after the Restoration (such as *The Rehearsal Transprosd* and the *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government*), rather than the largely pre-Restoration poetry that still gains the lion's share of critical attention (for example, "To His Coy Mistress," "A Drop of Dew," and "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland"). Marvell the

politician proves at least as important as Marvell the poet—if, indeed, one can separate them. Smith's biography has many advantages over its predecessors. Perhaps its greatest insights are the following: that Marvell spent much of his life in the position of client (to, among others, Thomas Stanley; Thomas, Lord Fairfax; Oliver Cromwell; the Duke of Buckingham; the Earls of Carlisle, Anglesey, and Shaftesbury; the Hull Corporation; and perhaps, briefly, to Charles II); that part of such service may have involved spying of various sorts, especially in Holland; that Continental, especially Dutch contexts, shed new light on some of his greatest poems, such as *Upon Appleton House*; and that all of these chiming interconnections are audible in the close reading of passages and their intertexts that some varieties of historicism have dismissed as outmoded New Criticism and influence study. Marvell may have spoken and spied for others, but he also may have acted as a double agent, especially if his spying duties included monitoring former English Commonwealthsmen in Holland in the early 1660s, for whom Marvell may have felt some sympathy.

All of these factors help explain Marvell's genius at ventriloquizing others' voices without entirely extinguishing his own, setting himself conspicuously nearby but often outside the patriarchal fray. An important component of Smith's biographical method is the broad-spectrum, at times Namierite examination of family members, friends, acquaintances, and patrons whose interests and mindsets Marvell mirrored, sometimes with a barely discernible reluctance. In this respect (Marvell's penchant for both hiding and exposing himself, in both life and literature), Smith concurs with the psychohistorical approach to Marvell visible in the work of the editors of the recent *Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell* (2011), Derek Hirst and Steven Zwicker. Like fellow Marvell scholars Nicholas von Maltzahn and Nicholas McDowell, Smith has a fine ear for intertextual echoes (or chimes) that aid attempts to pin down the dates and meanings of various Marvell's poems. Of course, examinations of echoes and influence are not always unequivocal: the same chime can sound in different directions without establishing incontrovertible proof that one text came first. A case in point is Alan Pritchard's dating of "The Garden" and "The Mower against Gardens" after the Restoration, rather than during the Fairfax period, on the basis of language similar

to that in poems by Katherine Phillips and Abraham Cowley printed after 1660—a dating that Smith accepts. It is also possible that Phillips and Cowley were echoing and revising Marvell's garden poems, available in now lost manuscripts from the 1650s.

Smith's opening chapter identifies the stakes in current Marvell biography and criticism, which form merely the latest episode in his reception as, successively, Whig patriot, retiring poet, and defender of religious and political dissent—each label identifying something crucial about Marvell by itself, but best used in combination with the other two. Chapter 2 describes Marvell's upbringing in Hull, Yorkshire, under the care of his father, the Reverend Andrew Marvell, whose theological interests ranged widely and provided models for those of his son, especially toward the end of the latter's life. The fact that he sent Marvell off to Cambridge at the tender age of twelve suggests young Andrew's status as prodigy, and while there, he seems to have been the victim of a Catholic attempt to co-opt him to their cause as something like a new Edmund Campion, a new English advocate for Catholicism. The Rev. Marvell, however, quickly scuttled this plan, but his steady influence abruptly ended in a boat accident in 1641. His father's premature death by drowning, combined with Marvell's still mysterious dismissal from his position as Cambridge fellow soon thereafter, put paid to any hopes for an ecclesiastical or academic career, throwing him into the almost permanent position of suppliant. As chapter 3 indicates, Marvell appears to have avoided the first Civil War (1642-6) by traveling on the Continent, probably as tutor to an unknown aristocrat on the Grand Tour, whose family would have been Marvell's first patron. When he returned to England in 1647, Marvell likely spent time in or at the edges of the circle of Royalist poets surrounding another patron of sorts, Thomas Stanley, which, as McDowell and Smith argue, may explain the various cross-echoes in all these men's poetry, as well as the fact of Marvell's penning three elegies to Royalists in these years, perhaps without a wholesale commitment to their politics and religion.

In any event, once the king had lost the war and his head by 1649, Marvell needed new patrons, and he seems to have found them in the victorious Parliament's generals: first Fairfax, then Cromwell. As

chapter 4 demonstrates, the time Marvell spent at Fairfax's estate of Nunappleton, Yorkshire as tutor to his daughter, Maria, accounts for the poems addressed to Fairfax—*Upon Appleton House* chief among them—and possibly other lyrics, although a number of them may have been composed earlier in London within the ambit of the Stanley circle. The dates and purposes of important poems that originate in this period (roughly 1647-51) remain subjects of critical debate, as we saw in the case of the garden poems. Smith reads the "Horatian Ode" as not just *about* Cromwell and the new, potentially republican political order, but perhaps addressed *to* Cromwell. Moreover, Smith weighs in on another problem in Marvell studies: the apparent about-face in "Tom May's Death," which seems to attack the dead republican poet Thomas May. Smith sees the poem as an exploration of what a poet such as Ben Jonson would have thought of May had he lived to see civil war and May's death from a Royalist point of view; "Tom May's Death" is thus an exploration of a persona's (Jonson's rather than Marvell's) thoughts about the function of poets and poetry rather than politics per se. But chapters 5 & 6 show that Marvell soon became Cromwell's client as tutor to his ward, William Dutton, and then as assistant to Milton as Latin Secretary, perhaps helping the latter write the *Second Defense of the English People*. Smith serves up further astute readings of the other Cromwell poems of the 1650s.

At the Restoration, as chapter 7 demonstrates, Marvell managed to turn his coat enough to survive and continue as MP for Hull, an office he had first won in Richard Cromwell's Protectoral Parliament. Marvell spent much of the next two decades serving different masters, most of whom shared his desire to ease the lot of religious and political dissenters. It was during these years, according to chapters 8 & 9, that he may have acted as spy for another former Commonwealthsman, Sir George Downing, and as something close to the status of secretary to Dissenter-friendly parliamentarians such as Philip, Lord Wharton and the Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as servant at various points to the similarly inclined Earl of Anglesey and Duke of Buckingham, for the latter of whom Marvell may have written the advice-to-a-painter poems. The garden poems may date from this period and emerge from Marvell's stays at Lord Wharton's estates and gardens in the late 1660s. However, the writings best known to his contemporaries

were Marvell's popular prose satires, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* and *Mr. Smirke* (subjects of chapters 10-11), which continued the fight for religious toleration. Probably while under the patronage of Shaftesbury, Marvell composed his damning *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (subject of chapter 12), which alleged a plot to bring French-style Catholic absolutism to England, thereby gutting its mixed monarchy. Marvell did not live to see something very like this nightmare emerge in 1678 as a false scare about a Popish Plot against Charles II. However, the Exclusion Crisis that followed (ca. 1678-1681) saw not only the birth of political parties but the canonization of Marvell as Whig patriot—a label that would stick for much of the next century and beyond (chapter 13). The subtitle of Pierre Legouis' 1928 biography of Marvell in French (shortened, updated, and translated in 1965) had added the terms "Poet" and "Puritan" to "Patriot": *André Marvell: Poète, Puritain, Patriote*. But Smith chooses "The Chameleon" as his subtitle in order to emphasize the fluid and elusive nature of Marvell's political, religious, and literary identities, agreeing with von Maltzahn that Marvell had become a religious free-thinker by the time of his death in 1678, flirting with ideas like Socinianism that had interested his reverend father. In sum, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon*, with its sensitive readings of Marvell's life, lines, and times, is now the standard biography.

Richmond Barbour. *The Third Voyage Journals: Writing and Performance in the London East India Company, 1607-10*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. x+285 pp. illus. \$75.00. Review by GENE HAYWORTH, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER.

Richmond Barbour's illuminating introduction to *The Third Voyage Journals: Writing and Performance in the London East India Company, 1607-10* succinctly frames the significance of the manuscripts that are fully published in this volume for the first time. The work includes the texts of four journals and one journal summary of the Third Voyage of the London East India Company, an enterprise which developed protocols for writing, reading, and archiving expedition narratives that could be used by management to plan future business endeavors.

These journals reflect England's first voyage to reach India. Such trade enterprises required essential knowledge of geography and culture, routes, local trade practices, and potential dangers. Ships' personnel drafted the journals with an intent to build an archive that would inform future ventures; therefore they offer insight into the company's attempt to cultivate markets and devise trade strategies and an account of the company's priorities. Because merchants such as the East India Company did not want to publicize the content of the journals, which contained trade secrets, they were often sealed in archives and inaccessible to scholars, and only recently have they been brought to light.

Barbour's introduction includes a brief history of the two ships, the *Hector* and the *Red Dragon*, explaining how the vessels came to be owned by the East India Company, and summarizes an account of the previous two voyages, in 1601 and 1604, which had established a trading compound in Java. The Third Voyage, as Barbour notes, was "charged to open factories in the Red Sea and on the Indian subcontinent in Cambaya, and to pursue trade in Sumatra, Bantam, and the Moluccas" (5). According to Barbour, this Third Voyage also included the *Consent*, which sailed from Tilbury Hope nine days before the others, on March 12, 1606, with a crew of thirty men. The *Consent* never reunited with the rest of the fleet; it returned to England in 1608. The *Red Dragon* returned to England in 1609, the *Hector* in 1610.

The authors of these journals were committed to providing the details of daily life on the two vessels: the mariners' navigational practices, outbreaks of scurvy and dysentery, personnel issues, and the geography of the places along the way, which included Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Madagascar. The *Hector* was under the command of Captain William Hawkins and the *Red Dragon* was commanded by William Keeling. While their accounts of the voyage were published long ago, the observations penned by other crew members have previously only been available in excerpts. Collected together in one volume, they offer an interconnected narrative of life at sea. None of the manuscripts covers the entire voyage, but together they provide collective description of the first eighteen months. Some readers will want to tackle the journals in the order presented, while others may wish to do a comparative analysis—to examine how the authors' experiences on a particular day differ or agree. Each of the journals will

resonate with readers for different reasons.

The anonymous *Hector* journal, covering the dates 4 March 1607 to 12 March 1608, (with a gap from 30 August through 18 February 1608) appears to have been written by two individuals. The handwriting of each is distinct, and the narrative voices are unique. The writers note weather conditions, arrivals and departures, and the impact of specific events, like Easter service and the punishment of shipmates for crimes such as stealing. Two additional *Hector* contributions, Anthony Marlowe's journal (14 July 1607 to 22 June 1608) and Francis Bucke's papers (portions of a letter and a brief journal fragment of 1608), and the *Red Dragon* journal of John Hearne and William Finch (8 March 1607 to 19 June 1608), offer fascinating details, not only of daily life aboard the ships, but also about the crew's interactions with new cultures and trade with distant lands that includes such commodities as "Eliphantes teeth," "meate," and "gould."

Barbour's work also includes a summary of General William Keeling's journal, from the surviving transcripts which are believed by scholars to be genuine. The significance of Keeling's journal is that he was the only member of the voyage to make note of the *Red Dragon* crew's performance of *Hamlet* and *Richard III*, the first performance of works by Shakespeare outside of Europe. Barbour first explored the journals to determine how the circumstances of the voyage may have impacted the productions, and how the productions may have impacted the circumstances of the voyage.

Due to weather conditions, the two boats landed in Sierra Leone on 6 August and stayed for five weeks. According to the transcripts of Keeling's journal, on 5 September 1607, the crew performed *Hamlet* for their hosts. Back at sea, Keeling invited Hawkin's men on board for a performance of *Richard II*, perhaps to distract the crew from deaths and illness, and to address problems of morale. The crew of the *Red Dragon* again performed *Hamlet* on 21 March 1608. The ships parted ways in May of 1608 after stopping in late April on the Island of Socotra, the *Red Dragon* for Sumatra and the *Hector* for India. They rejoined in December in Bantam. Keeling sent the larger vessel home and sailed East on the *Hector* to the Banda Islands, then back to Bantam, which he departed in October 1609. He reached England in May 1610; having made the East India Company a profit of 234%.

Richmond Barbour is Associate Professor of English at Oregon State University, and also the author of *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626*. *The Third Voyage Journals* will appeal to those interested in the history of trade as well as those interested in maritime history and performance practice. Barbour's notes (pages 255-71) provide a compelling context for the journals, the history of the journeys, and the author's own extensive research. In addition, there is a bibliography of primary sources, an index of persons and places, and a brief index of subjects.

Michael G. Brennan, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Margaret P. Hanney, eds. *The Correspondence (c. 1626-1659) of Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010. 227 pp. + 8 illustrations. \$99.95. Review by COLLEEN E. KENNEDY, THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

The letters of Dorothy Percy Sidney (1598-1659), Countess of Leicester, reveal a shrewd housewife, doting mother, and unrepentant gossip. This is the first time that her letters have been fully transcribed and edited, and what we learn from this collection are her personal fears and hopes, most reverberatingly, for the well-being of her children. Through the letters, readers learn the costs of establishing the London homestead, Leicester House, and the protracted marriage negotiations for their beloved daughter, Doll. The Countess of Leicester, then, is both a typical matriarch attempting to keep her estate and family in order, and also worthy of study due to the exceptional pedigree of her own and her husband's family dynasties. Her correspondence is thus a fitting addition to the recent Ashgate series, *The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500-1750: Contemporary Editions*.

The three editors have also co-edited another set of Sidney familial correspondence: *Domestic Politics and Family Absence: The Correspondence (1588-1621) of Robert Sidney, First Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester* (the parents of Dorothy Percy's husband, Robert Sidney), as well as two collections of the works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (aunt to Robert Sidney).

They are currently working on editing yet another set of Sidney family correspondence. Separately, they have all published on the Herbert and Sidney families, those denizens of early modern English aristocracy associated with Penshurst and Pembroke. Simply put, they have the access and wherewithal to Sidney family archives and are making these materials more accessible for scholars, both by publishing these rare materials and by creating this narrowly focused, yet comprehensive edition that details the Sidney family's place in Caroline and Interregnum England.

In this particular edition, the editors have supplemented the letters with well thought out supplementary materials absolutely needed to keep these impressive families in order. They provide both a Sidney Family Table and Family Tree, a Chronology, and an index of Persons and Places. In addition, they offer helpful footnotes and translate the ciphers used by Dorothy Percy Sidney and her closest allies as they write about sensitive courtly matters in numerical code. Most crucially, however, the editors have provided a lengthy introduction to Dorothy Percy Spencer, her immediate family members, and the precarious position of the Sidneys in the tumultuous mid-seventeenth century. Because of the long list of persons involved in the forty years of correspondence and the repetition of familial names, the correspondence could become quite chaotic, but the highly organized paratext allows for clear and unencumbered readings of the correspondence without distracting or complex referential materials overwhelming the contents of the letters themselves.

The Countess of Leicester was related by marriage to some of the most important English women writers, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and Lady Mary Wroth, who depicts Robert and Dorothy as a loving couple in her prose romance *Urania*. Dorothy's marriage, however, was fraught with difficulty. Her husband was a stubborn and high-minded individual capable of holding long-term grudges that affected his political advancement, and he was often gone for extended periods as a foreign ambassador. Her letters reveal that she offers advice, especially on how to act cordial, to her husband, and although his letters are frustratingly not published and maybe not extant, we can tell from her tone that he often loses his temper, but she

does seem to have quite the influence over her husband. She lovingly addresses him as “My Dearest Heart” and in the Introduction, the editors provide the Earl’s mournful recollection of his wife’s last illness and death. Dorothy sleeps in Robert’s bed during his long absence, and several of her letters demonstrate her longing for his embrace.

The letters between the Countess and two of her siblings are equally interesting. Her eldest brother, Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was her greatest champion, offering advice and support during her husband’s absence and especially during the difficult years of the Civil War. Her younger sister, Lucy Percy Hay, Viscountess of Doncaster and Countess of Carlisle, was a celebrated court beauty and wit, and the sometime mistress of the Duke of Buckingham. In the exchanges between the sisters, Lucy uses her position as Lady of Queen Henrietta Maria’s bedchamber to make advances for her brother-in-law. Lucy’s letters are full of courtly gossip and sartorial news, but she also expresses a dogged loyalty for her sister. Dorothy, in her letters to her husband, expresses admiration for both siblings’ devotion, but she often chides Lucy as vain and flirtatious.

The letters also plot out the rising and falling action of the Earl of Leicester’s political career, demonstrating both the approach of the national Civil War, but also the domestic civil wars as family members claimed opposing allegiances. In the earlier letters, 1626-1643, Robert maintains a series of political, parliamentary, diplomatic, and courtly posts. Even though he sometimes loses favor, his social position is relatively secured. From 1644 until Robert’s death in 1677, he has a break from Charles I and never regains a prominent position again. Readers learn of the burgeoning political careers of the Sidney sons, and after Robert Sidney’s disastrous turn as Lord Deputy of Ireland, the difference between his wife and son Algernon’s increasingly Parliamentary leanings, and the Earl’s own withdrawal from court to Penshurst. One son, Algernon, will eventually be executed for his part in the Rye House Plot while another son, Robert, attended to King Charles II when he returned to England. Dorothy, however, died in 1659, right before the Restoration, but her letters demonstrate how influential and ambitious one aristocratic matriarch could be, even when separated from her husband and writing from her country estate, Penshurst.

Mary C. Fenton and Louis Schwartz, eds. *Their Maker's Image: New Essays on John Milton*. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011. 198 pp. + 6 illus. \$55.00. Review by WENDY FURMAN-ADAMS, WHITTIER COLLEGE.

Their Maker's Image: New Essays on John Milton is the ninth volume of criticism to grow out of the biennial Conference on John Milton and the first to be edited by Professors Fenton and Schwartz. A collection of ten essays—all illuminating, some revelatory—it merits its place beside *Spokesperson Milton* (1994), *Arenas of Conflict* (1997), *Milton's Legacy* (2005), and the five other volumes edited by Charles Durham and Kristin Pruitt and published between 1994 and 2008. Each of the previous eight volumes, two of which received the Milton Society of America's Irene Samuel Prize for the best collection in Milton studies, has represented the full range of approaches to Milton's work—giving voice, by design and conviction, not only to established scholars but also to younger scholars who have gone on to become leaders in the field. This volume is no exception, representing both differing points in Miltonic careers and a wide variety of methodological lenses.

In the first section of the book, four remarkable—and mutually illuminating—essays consider Milton's use of classical sources in his radical reinvention of Christian epic. Richard DuRocher closely examines Milton's "anthropopathic" and "passible" God in the dual context of Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *De Doctrina Christiana*, to argue that "it is not beneath the dignity of Milton's God to express emotion generally" and that "if the emotion accords with virtue ... God's possession of that emotion makes it not only morally good but also spiritually 'holy'" (33). Unlike Virgil's agents, Du Rocher argues, Milton's "heavenly spirits, the Father and the Son above all, direct their passions, even their hate, toward the work of justice" (41). In short, Milton's "God feels, and he feels better" (23). Maggie Kilgour consciously engages DuRocher's examination of the passions, moving on to an exploration of *envy* and its positive twin, *emulation*. Whereas, in its classical formulations, envy is passive, "associated with inertia and melancholy," emulation is active, making us "transcend our limitations to become creative in our own right" (49). Yet ironically,

God's divine creativity—intended to inspire emulation—inspires in Satan not emulation but envy, while Milton, in his aspiration to “soar/ Above th' Aonian Mount” must constantly guard against the dampened wing of that aspiration's evil twin. Sarah Van Der Laan makes equally subtle observations of Milton's allusions to the *Odyssey*'s nymph Leucothea—and of the ways those allusions serve to express the complex interaction of free will and prevenient grace in *Paradise Lost*. And finally, in an argument grounded in Milton's allusions to Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus, David Bradshaw arrives at a gorgeously nuanced reading of Eve's offer of self-sacrifice in *Paradise Lost*. Not to be conflated with the Son's entirely efficacious act, neither to be dismissed as a case of egotism parallel to that of the hapless Nisus, her voluntary action “serves as a type of the Son's love, and as such carries *some* of the redemptive power of the antitype” (89, emphasis mine).

The next six essays are more varied in both subject and methodology—ranging from the philosophical problem of free will in a newly mechanical universe to the meanings implicit in the material conditions of early modern cultural production; from the influence of Ramist logic on angelic debate in *Paradise Lost* to the theological underpinning of Milton's political argument against licensing in the *Areopagitica*; from the nature and meaning of solitude in *Paradise Regained* to the truly bizarre history of Milton's defamation as a papist in Restoration polemics. A reader might pick and choose among these essays, but all force us to think about Milton's work in exciting new ways.

Thomas Festa takes up two contrasting but related representations of God drawn from scripture and operative in *Paradise Lost*: that of the divine architect (a representation connected to God's omniscience and related to the logical process of induction) and that of the divine geometer (a representation connected to God's omnipotence and related to the logical process of deduction). Both conceptions of deity are traditionally connected, as in Milton's text, to the emblematic image of a compass, but use that image in strikingly different ways. Like his near-contemporary Leibniz, Milton is unwilling to choose between these two concepts of God; but unlike him, Milton rejects “convenient moral harmonies” for a more “vertiginous, dissonant, unaccommodating” view—one, in Festa's view, “in need of elaborate

justification” (111).

Building on the work of Shakespearean Coleman Hutchinson, Randall Ingram examines the physical volume of Milton’s 1645 *Poems* (in particular the typology and page-setting of “Lycidas”) to argue that although examining nonverbal features of an early modern text involves the risk of projecting our own preconceptions, “ignoring those features risks forfeiting sensitivity to media evident” not only in Milton’s works but in many early modern books (127). Somewhat analogously, Emma Annette Wilson reminds us of the importance of Milton’s logical education at Cambridge—and the value of understanding its influence on the structure of angelic argument in *Paradise Lost*.

The next two essays, those by David Ainsworth and Samuel Smith, will be especially useful and accessible to students of Milton and their teachers. Both are beautifully and lucidly written; each illuminates in a careful and graceful way a major Miltonic text. In his marvelous essay on “Spiritual Reading in *Areopagitica*,” Ainsworth fills a gap left by primarily political readings of Milton’s case against licensing, by reminding us that Milton understood reading “as a strenuous and rigorous form of worship, founded upon the belief that the Spirit within reveals the truth of all texts only to a reader who reads carefully and critically” (147). From this premise, Ainsworth undertakes a brilliant and attentive reading of the text itself, demonstrating the complex relations among the treatise’s various metaphors while modeling exactly the kind of reading-into-truth that Milton hoped to promote. Likewise, in his essay on the Son’s “bounded” solitude in *Paradise Regained*, Smith carefully distinguishes the solitude of Adam—the “unbounded” solitude of loneliness before the creation of Eve—from the solitude of the Son. The Son’s solitude, Smith argues, is “bounded” by a strong network of deep human relations (especially with his mother Mary); moreover it is voluntary, temporary, and undertaken as a step toward his very public mission in the world.

After these stirring meditations in something like prophetic strain, the volume’s final essay provides a sobering if tragi-comic reminder about the dangers of prophetic immortality. In “Restoration Polemic and the Making of the Papist Milton,” Nathaniel Stogdill analyzes the

remarkable evolution of anti-papal rhetoric between the Henrian and Elizabethan eras and the Restoration, when Dissenters moved into the anti-monarchical role formerly occupied by Roman Catholics. In this new political context, the “discourses of ‘popery’ and ‘antipopery’ . . . had a variety of unpredictable valences” (178)—valences so removed from their original religious meanings as to make dissent and popery politically equivalent, and to make Cromwell’s “Goos-quill Champion” a “non-falsifiable” example of both.

Readers are bound to find favorites among these essays. I know I will turn to those by Du Rocher, Bradshaw, Ainsworth, and Smith again and again, and that the ideas they embody will become parts of the re-membering of Milton I do each year in the classroom. The book itself is beautifully edited, with a graceful introduction by Fenton and Schwartz conveying the warmth of this collaborative effort that is truly a *symposium*—one in which the living voices of some of Milton’s most astute readers can still be heard. Most poignantly, those voices include the voice of Richard DuRocher, who left this life too soon and too suddenly in 2010. The book is dedicated to his memory, and will no doubt be the first of a number of fitting memorials to his wise and generous leadership in the field. The book’s (literally) inspiring cover—featuring Mary Elizabeth Groom’s glorious 1937 wood engraving of the Descent of Milton’s Heavenly Muse—perfectly represents the inspiration readers will find when they turn to the conversation inside.

Mark Knights. *The Devil in Disguise. Deception, Delusion, and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. xxi + 279 pp. \$55.00. Review by KARIN SUSAN FESTER, UNIVERSITY OF WALES, TRINITY SAINT DAVID.

Mark Knights in his extraordinary work challenges the commonly held assumption that the English Enlightenment began among the intellectual elite during the seventeenth century. According to Knights, the English Enlightenment had its roots in the dynamics of local and personal struggles. The Cowper and Stout families, and the local Quaker community in Hertford, England are the focus of this historical account set against the background of the two British revolutions.

The book is structured around three dramatic trials: Spencer Cowper's murder trial in 1699, the prosecution of Henry Sacheverell in 1710, and Jane Wenham in 1712. Revolutionary change is the essence of this book as it recapitulates the local tragedy, conflict, and political and religious resistance—catalysts—which all eventually influenced the broader political, social and moral cultures of England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Knights supports his micro-historical analysis with original manuscripts, judicial records, images, meticulous notes and references. Throughout the work the author also builds on the political ideas expressed by various writers and philosophers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Knights begins the introduction to the book by stating: "This book is intended as an introduction to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a period that has been rather neglected but which can be described as the English Enlightenment"(1). Therefore, Knights' book makes a valuable contribution to the field of seventeenth-century studies particularly with regard to the "micro" history of the English Enlightenment.

Chapter one "The Trial of Spencer Cowper" is focused on the murder of Sarah Stout, a Quaker. Although the chapter reads like a tragic romance and murder mystery, it has much more to offer than I could include in this brief review. Spencer Cowper's lengthy trial actually set a precedence for its time because it was one of the first attempts to scientifically scrutinize empirical evidence in order to solve a crime and for making the evidence public (29). However, the case was never conclusively solved due in part to insufficient evidence and because the testimonies of educated professionals or persons of high social standing were given considerable weight in addition to political influences. Therefore, Cowper's trial indicated "how scientific 'truth' was reinforced, or even determined, by social factors" (22). The trial exposed cultural shifts about the morality of women, the nebulous zone between fact and fiction, the reliance on empirical evidence used in the trial , freedom of the press, and political culture.

In chapter two "Partisan Feuds," the author concentrates on the different ideological positions and intense disputes between the Whigs, Tories, Quakers and other religious dissenters. Detailed are

the political-social dialogues emerging out of political and religious spheres as well as the politics surrounding Cowper's trial and the immense efforts made to disprove murder and instead blame it on suicide. Ultimately this chapter examines the process by which the sacred authority of both the monarchy and the national church were undermined by the local events and legal proceedings detailed in chapter one and in subsequent chapters of the book.

In chapter three "Quakers" the significance of the Stout family in the Quaker movement is presented in detail. The oldest Quaker community in the world was in Hertford, England and it is the center of the stage for the events in this book. The Quakers rejected the dominants society's values and religion—and neither did they align themselves with mainstream Protestant dissenters—and thus were perceived "as the disturbing nature of religious zeal and enthusiasm" (70). The chapter describes the persecution and suffering of Sarah's father and those of other Quakers. Sarah's life is portrayed as well as how her Quaker values encountered complications with Spencer and society in general. Knights emphasizes "how the Quaker movement posed important challenges to traditional belief and in doing so became part of debates that helped to constitute England's early Enlightenment" (70).

In chapter four, "Moral Panic and Marital Affairs," Knights delves deeply into exposing the tensions, anxieties and hypocrisy surrounding the institution of marriage and how this would ultimately affect the progression of the Whigs' and Dissenters' political and religious revolutionary ideas which the Church of England was reluctant to accept (108-109). Knights draws on Sarah Cowper's diaries—the wife of prominent Whig politician Sir William Cowper—which expose the hypocrisy behind the Whigs' ideas on political, religious and sexual freedoms. James Boevey's deist manuscripts, which greatly influenced William Cowper's political agenda, are also elucidated. Especially interesting is how Knights draws comparisons between Sarah Cowper and other politically oriented women writers of the period such as Mary Astell, Mary Chudleigh, and Mary Wollstonecraft. The chapter proceeds to demonstrate how the various women writers of the period did not always maintain similar views concerning religion, women's enslavement by men and the hypocrisy of the Whig politicians and

clerics. Sarah Cowper, unlike other writers, was one who concentrated on expressing her own individual experiences rather than broader viewpoints (121-124).

In chapter five, “Fanatics and False Bretheren,” the focus turns to the trial of Henry Sacheverell of 1709 and expanding on chapter four. Sacheverell, a staunch supporter of the national church, was prosecuted for his criticism of the Revolution of 1688-9, and its founding principles, and “for his attack on religious toleration” (142). Two questions will confront the reader. First, “how far we should tolerate those who preach intolerance and grant them free speech” (143). Second, “Sacheverell’s trial also raises the question of how far clerics and religious leaders should comment on political matters” (143). Interestingly Sarah Cowper, a supporter of the Church of England, did not support Sacheverell and expressed her discontent with the constant hypocrisy and lack of trust she observed in both politicians and clerics (160-61). It was this hypocrisy that was used against the Cowpers, the Whigs, the dissenters, and even the clerics. Thus, the hypocrite came to be known as the one who hid behind the mask or cloak so they could manipulate the political landscape, as well as social and moral cultures.

Chapter six, “Despair and Demonism,” is a dense chapter because it not only re-engages with earlier chapters but also examines many interesting and unusual aspects pertaining to the Quakers, melancholia, suicide, and witchcraft. Knights details the political witch hunts of Jane Wenham and others as well as the debates on the impossibility of witchcraft and also its denial. He also delves deeper into the mystery surrounding Sarah Stout’s death, the Quaker religion, and Sarah’s failure to meet the expectations of her religious faith and its link to melancholia. Knights wrote: “Melancholy was thus associated with enthusiastic religion, with the Devil, delusion, despair, and suicide. Dissenters and particularly sects such as the Quakers seemed to be perfect examples of the disease” (199). Knights also elucidates the work of Dr. Thomas Willis (208), an anatomist, who studied the interaction of the body, brain, and mind and how he demonstrated through anatomical studies that natural causes might indeed explain the onset of melancholy instead of blaming it on the devil (207). Knights emphasized that: “The Wenham case, together with the de-

bates about suicide and melancholy, suggest that change was afoot, particularly in religious, political, and scientific culture, but these shifts were also disputed. The arguments were divisive, widespread and ideological" (240).

In the Conclusion of the book, Knights emphasized how the "micro" history of Hertford provided insight into how cultural, religious and political attitudes and events were "deeply related" and ultimately influenced the "macro" history of seventeenth-century England (242). Knights draws attention to an essential element: "The Enlightenment was a contest between competing notions, a sort of cultural civil war, and we can find this occurring at the local and familial level" (243). In the midst of this we shall see that individuals were also important contributors and catalysts to the development and articulation of ideas that eventually gave rise to religious, political, social, cultural, and economic changes in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England.

The book consists of an introduction, list of characters, chronology, list of figures, six chapters and a conclusion. Included at the back of the book are a glossary of terms, extensive notes, suggestions for further reading of primary sources, and a subject index. Knights' historical analysis of the local events and personal struggles in an English community during the late seventeenth century and its contribution to the English Enlightenment will be especially useful to scholars specializing in various aspects of the English Enlightenment such as cultural, social, legal, economic, gender, and scientific studies. This book will also appeal to undergraduate students who require a supplementary text. Since the book concentrates on issues such as political resistance, religious toleration, minority cultures, and gender equality, which are also quite relevant in our present world, it is a fruitful book for teaching in various subject disciplines.

Syrithe Pugh. *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality: Classical Literature and Seventeenth-Century Royalism*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010. v + 196 pp. + 1 appendix. \$99.95. Review by CHRISTOPHER MADSON, UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO.

Earl Miner's influential work, *The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton* (1971), renewed scholarly interest in royalist and High Church poetry from the late 1640s and 1650s, while simultaneously establishing the themes defining that genre—a retreat from politics and public life, a celebration of private sociability and inward virtue. Miner's work argues that cavalier thinkers responded to Charles's impending loss of the throne by removing themselves from public debate, quietly secluding to the countryside as they waited out a long political winter. Largely influenced by this work, the generation of critics following Miner too often trivialized or overlooked the political complexities underlying wartime and post-war royalist poetics. While new historicists have made significant efforts in the past thirty years to reestablish the political weight of cavalier poetry, there is much yet to be done in the field. And it is with this gap in mind that Syrithe Pugh wrote *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality*.

In her new monograph, Pugh complicates readings of Cavalier poetry, reinforcing the importance of approaching the works through their classical references. Specifically, she argues that Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* and Richard Fanshawe's translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, supplemented with other translations and original verse and prose, underlie their works with Ovidian and mythological references in such a way that those allusions collectively tell a story separate from the narrative of the individual poems. What emerges is a royalist poetic defined by its nuanced critique of the king's reign and the emerging republic. The intertextual references structuring these collected works—Charles's—both published in 1648, just months before Charles's execution—allowed their authors to voice their politics without putting themselves too directly in harm's way.

Though Herrick's poetry is a staple in contemporary anthologies, Pugh argues that relatively little has been said about his politics, in no small part because he did not directly participate in the wars. This

is far from true. As Pugh notes, Herrick was ejected from his vicarage for refusing the Solemn League and Covenant in 1647, returning to London and publishing his ample collected works not a year later. For Herrick, these experiences cemented his loyalty to the king's brand of monarchy.

In her smart readings of Herrick's poems, Pugh shows how the poet incorporated the form and content of classical poetry—specifically drawing from Ovid—in order to create meaning that is systematic, complex and strategic. As Pugh notes, "Herrick's entire poetic output, excepting the religious verse of *Noble Numbers*, systematically alludes to all of Ovid's major poems too. This ... direct[s] the reader's attention not only to Ovid's individual works but to the whole shape of his career, whose narrative, reflecting his relation to political power, is fundamental to Herrick's purpose" (39). Despite Herrick's light and amatory subject matter, the network of classical references infusing the collection allows Herrick to communicate serious and large ideas.

Perhaps, the most interesting aspect of this Ovidianism is Herrick's appreciation and use of the concept developed in Ovid's exile elegies of poetry as virtual space, affording freedom from the limitations imposed in actual space and time by separation, exile and death (76). Modeled on the double space of Ovid's exile poetry, *Hesperides* on one hand represents Herrick's Devonshire living as a lamented 'banishment into the loathed west', his pseudo exile creating a discontent that reflected his bitter opposition to Cromwell's Parliament and royalist support, and on the other poetry itself, as a virtual space in which the defeated royalist party may survive fragmentation and defeat and continue to commune (57).

Pugh argues that Herrick's poems deployed Ovidian ideas both to critique the Parliamentarian regime and lament its dominance. The intertextual qualities of his writing created a space in which the poet and his displaced king could enjoy an authority independent of and immune to hostile power (82).

Though few of us today know Fanshawe's poetry, his ideas and works were certainly respected by royalists in the 1640s. He was Secretary for War to the Prince of Wales throughout much of the civil wars. In this position, he orchestrated Prince Charles safe escape

from England in 1646, “making possible the restoration of monarchy fourteen years later” (87). Despite putting his life at risk to defend the king’s cause, and ensuring the continuation of the Stuart monarchy, Fanshawe’s collected works argue a polemic critical of Charles—a complex argument veiled in a network of classical references, a strategy similar to Herrick’s.

One of the most startling works in Fanshawe’s volume, according to Pugh, is his *Maius Lucanizans*, a commendatory poem first included in Thomas May’s *Supplementum Lucani* in 1640—an anti-Caesarean work that supports the death of a tyrant, specifically if that project calms civil tensions. Fanshawe’s poem weaves together references and allusions to Virgil, Lucan, Augustus and May’s work (155). In the end, our poet asks the young Prince to seek a Virgilian praise, one that “can be justified only when applied to a ruler who does not seek power for its own sake but only to serve the common good” (170).

As with her chapters on Herrick, Pugh interprets Fanshawe’s individual poems with a careful eye, revealing exciting layers of political meaning. In the end, Pugh shows that Fanshawe is doing more than just calling on “Prince Charles to return to a better style of government, submitting to the ‘counsel’ of those qualified by learning and wisdom—perhaps to govern in the ‘Parliamentary way’ of Queen Elizabeth.” Fanshawe’s collection “was also a call to the learned...to assume a more Spenserian role, devoting themselves to their country’s good by daring to offer moral and political guidance and admonition to their Prince” (149). Pugh’s analysis reveals a complex man. Fanshawe is a soldier critical of his king; a royalist who continues to support the idea of monarchy despite the fact that it has made him an exile in his own country.

In contrasting Herrick and Fanshawe, Pugh argues against Miner’s earlier work by documenting cavalier voices that do not retreat from the public forum. She reveals a post-war world where defiant royalists critiqued king and Parliament through skillfully crafted poetics. The subgenre of poetry that emerges utilizes intertextuality and allusion in ways that allowed Herrick and Fanshawe to articulate uniquely personal critiques of England’s political climate.

Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality will serve as a valuable resource to teachers of Herrick’s poetry and the history of the

English Civil Wars. More than that, Pugh also makes a compelling case for pulling Fanshawe more fully onto the literary stage. After reading this work, I would not be surprised to find excerpts of Fanshawe's translations or the poem "Two Copies of Verses to the Prince upon several occasions" in future anthologies. His inclusion would allow us to paint a fuller picture of the civil war experience.

Rahul Sapra. *The Limits of Orientalism: Seventeenth-Century Representations of India*. Newark:: University of Delaware Press, 2011. iv + 219 pp. \$65.00. Review by NAGENDRA RAO, GOA UNIVERSITY.

Edward Said's *magnus opus*, *Orientalism*, has influenced a considerable number of scholars, who have used Saidian doctrine to critique pre-modern societies of the East with an arsenal of broad generalizations. Colonial authors denigrated Indian culture as barbaric and uncivilized and produced a simplistic, dichotomy between East and West. This approach has placed all colonial scholars in one homogenous category and by implication all Indians in another. The aim of *The Limits of Orientalism: Seventeenth-Century Representations of India* is to show that a simplistic interpretation of eastern culture and civilization is unwarranted and undesirable, since it produces faulty readings of "colonial" texts. Some scholars have been sympathetic, consciously or unconsciously, to the native culture, which is not in itself homogenous but rather variegated. The argument that colonial authors perceived natives as belonging to one undivided or homogenous culture cannot be substantiated with any empirical evidence. *The Limits of Orientalism* analyzes English scholars who visited India during the pre-colonial and colonial period to show that travelers did understand the difference between Hindus and Muslims, as the latter were considered as foreigners like the Europeans, both belonging to an alien culture as far as Indians were concerned. At the same time, the book shows that later scholars realized the importance of Hindu culture and respected the vitality of Hindu civilization.

It is true that some scholars considered Indians to be "barbaric" and "uncivilized," but this does not mean that all English writers ac-

cepted this notion. It is true that Saidians had noted the existence of such writings, but they were ignored as they did not fit in the overall framework of post-colonial critique of Orientalists. In this sense, the author has challenged the view that Orientalists belong to one homogenous category while Indians to another. It is important to note that some English authors expected Muslim elites to collaborate with them, thereby leading to political alliance between the Muslims and the British.

One can discern that only a few scholars have questioned the broad framework of analysis provided by Edward Said. There is contradiction in the writings of Orientalists, as they on the one hand criticized Hindus and Muslims on the religious grounds, while on the other praised the Mughal civilization, thereby implying that achievement of elite sections was appreciated. It is important to identify reasons for such contradictions. In some situations, scholars were forced to criticize Indians in order to satisfy the authorities in London. At the same time, they appreciated the respect showed to them in the Mughal court.

It is also important to differentiate between pre-colonial and colonial English writings. This is because it is in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the English became seriously engaged in the work of building an empire in India. In the seventeenth century, the Orientalists were not concerned with colonial ideology, as there was no empire to defend. In this sense, the seventeenth-century Orientalist writings can be considered as objective, even though one can find a few exceptions to this rule. It is true that scholars such as Gayatri Chakravarti Spivak have used Saidian doctrine while analyzing Indian society and culture, but they have also identified a few limitations in Orientalism theory as propounded by Said and his followers. There is a need to accommodate heterogeneity while analyzing Indian culture and civilization, and some scholars go so far as to demand an India-specific theory to suit the diversity of Indian culture. This shows that proper understanding of Indian culture does not emerge by using Saidian framework.

After identifying the heterogeneity of India, the author proceeds to demonstrate the heterogeneity among the different Europeans, such as the Portuguese, the English, and Dutch, which shows that monolithic generalizations do not work on the colonial side of the ledger

either. There is a need for more careful reading of the text, based on the analysis of contemporary social and economic developments. The English, for instance, were concerned with commercial interests, while the Portuguese, who had already established their colony in India, exhibited colonial ideology. In this way, it is important to differentiate between the Portuguese and the English writings.

The author suggests the need for invention of alternatives in order to counter the hegemonic discourse of Said. This can be achieved by discovering counter-hegemonic discourse within European literature, and by analyzing the dialogue between the West and the East. Such exercises enable historians to analyze the subject-object dichotomy. The author has showed that even though some English travelers criticized Indian culture, many other scholars have recognized vitality of Indian civilization, as they considered Indians worthy of trade partnership.

The European writings should be understood based on the compulsion of writers, as they were influenced by their religious philosophy, and this led to exaggeration of the *Sati* system in India. The author has identified the limitations of relying on only a single discourse while reading a text, thereby exhibiting the need for several discourses. In this sense, the author has succeeded in inspiring readers to confront authors who use simplistic notions and depend on a single discourse with a view to dissect the meanings of texts.

The book is an important addition to the understanding of Saidian Orientalism. The author has asserted that one should not establish relationship between Orientalism and colonialism as they belonged to different genres and suggested that seventeenth-century Orientalist discourse was not written with the purpose of founding the English empire in India. It is interesting to note that even in colonial times heterogeneity can be found in the English literature that analyzed Indian culture and civilization. The book has not only challenged the Saidian argument, but also presented alternatives, which can be used to achieve the desired result.

Charles Carlton. *This Seat of Mars; War and the British Isles 1485-1746*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. xxii + 332 pp. + 24 illus. + 9 maps + 7 tables. \$40.00. Review BY EDWARD M. FURGOL, MONTGOMERY COLLEGE-ROCKVILLE.

Charles Carlton set on an ambitious project and has produced a good synthesis of British (including Irish) military history for the early modern period. He rightly points out the importance of warfare in the isles during early modern period. As Carlton observes, it made the British state and laid the foundations for the British Empire and the Pax Britannica.

Carlton's writing style engages the interest of the reader. His technique of alternating chapters of narration with thematic ones helps the reader gain a deeper understanding of the material. The author properly provides extensive coverage of the English Royal Navy. Although he should have stated that HMS *Sovereign of the Seas* was the first of a new type of warship—the ship of the line. He also demonstrates an impressive knowledge of the secondary works and printed primary sources with a vast command of the English, Welsh and Irish history of the period. For those areas his mining of the material results in a valuable foundation for researchers. The book benefits from a number of illustrations and maps. The use of endnotes and the lack of a bibliography are regrettable. Carlton's book only dimly reflects the most recent historiography for Scotland. In that regard a second edition is clearly warranted, because Scotland offers some unique elements to the subject.

Since the book strives to “examine the hard reality of how war ... affected the history of early modern Britain” (xv), the Scottish lacunae are particularly disturbing. Carlton's contention (6) that state formation is a top-down activity is contradicted by the Jan Glete's studies of the United Provinces and the accomplishments of the Scottish covenanters in 1638-41. In chapter two the discussion of recruiting overlooks Scottish differences. Into the 1800s officers were levying men for either national or mercenary service recruited from their kin, traditional supporters, and tenants. That feature of Scottish recruiting was as, if not more, important, than the scouring of the country for the dregs of society that Carlton details. The second method (restricted to

1639-51) created local regiments raised by parochial recruiting boards responding to the committees of war/the shire, which had received instructions from the national government. Carlton omits the wars of Mary Queen of Scots. Her first one, in 1562, against the overmighty earl of Huntly, received the congratulations of Elizabeth's government, because it removed a pro-Roman Catholic magnate from the British equation. In 1565, during her honeymoon, Mary took to the field as co-commander with her father-in-law the earl of Lennox. The successful rebellion in 1567 ended in negotiation on the battlefield, and had important ramifications for Britain as a whole. The Scottish civil war of 1568-73 impacted British affairs and led to an English expedition north to help the King's men defeat Mary's supporters. These matters are too important to be ignored; their absence gives the reader an incomplete picture of military-political dynamics affecting England and Scotland. The omission of Scottish sixteenth-century military service in the United Provinces and Sweden is unfortunate, because of disproportionate numbers involved compared with England, and the Scots' demonstration that Britons could perform effectively overseas.

No mention is made of the ability of Scottish mercenaries to receive senior or independent command or ennoblement from the kings of Denmark and Sweden in the first half of the 1600s. The discussion of the king's militia plans (89) omits those for Scotland, which led to successful resistance to a crown policy. Chapter four's discussion on why men served omits any reference to religious, familial or political motivation. Certainly amongst Scottish officers on the continent (such as Alexander Leslie and Robert Monro) allegiance to Protestantism, the head of their family or the anti-Habsburg alliance trying to restore the Stuart princess of Palatine-Bohemia inspired them. Instead Carlton quotes Sir James Turner (95), a former covenanter serving in the Scottish Royal Army that officers served only for money. The Third Civil War ended with the completion of the conquest of Scotland in 1652—not the battle of Worcester in 1651 (112). Alexander Leslie was not at the "Trot of Turriff" nor did he invade England in 1639, contrary to what's stated (115). The marquis of Hamilton is wrongly placed in the Firth of Forth in 1640 instead of 1639; his role in arranging transportation of the Irish army to attack Scotland in 1640 is overlooked (116). The Protestant response to the Irish rebellion

of 1641 omits that of the local settlers and the Scottish army sent to protect them (118-19). Contrary to the claim that Highlanders were antithetical to Presbyterianism (132), there were many covenanting clans in the Highlands. The presence of Irish Roman Catholic musketeers in Montrose's army and the sack of Aberdeen in 1644 are not discussed (133). Mention of Montrose's consistent failure to value intelligence and his poor relations with Scottish royalists would have enhanced the discussion of his campaigns (134). The English atrocities in the storming of Dundee in 1651 are omitted, although the court martials convened after two weeks of pillaging (67) are included. The account of the 1648 battle of Preston (163) is overly simplified, and omits the Scots' abandonment of their English royalist allies, and the battle of Winwick. The Jacobite rising of 1715, which featured an English component, and had battles in both England and Scotland, is ignored entirely. Chapter thirteen lacks any reference to Scottish parochial relief provided to widows and orphans of soldiers, and to disabled soldiers.

There are some other issues. For instance, Henry VIII's spending on foreign mercenaries (16) was normative for the period, not exceptional. Stating that parliament chose the earl of Essex as commander in chief due to his title (71) overlooks his extensive military service. That James I had no interest in military affairs after 1603 (79-80) omits his use of veteran regiments against the Spanish in the Thirty Years' War. The account of the Second Bishops' War has nothing about English diplomatic, intelligence, mobilization and leadership challenges that help explain their defeat. There is no reference to Prince Rupert's problems in moving Newcastle's army to Marston Moor (127), which prevented him from attacking. Charles' victory at Lostwithiel (128) did not counter balance his strategic defeat in the north. The combatants in the First English Civil War would find the statement that there were relatively few sieges (155) contrary to their experience. Cavalry attacking the flank or rear of an infantry unit had devastating results, which are not mentioned in the passage about combat between the two arms (172). The coverage of sieges (174) lacks any reference to successful relieving forces. The research of J. Glete and J. Hattendorf empirically contradicts Carlton's statement on the relative efficiency of English naval administration as opposed to that of the Dutch (189).

It was not naval success (192) that led to peace between England and the United Provinces in 1673, but parliamentary opinion. In 1689–90 it was not the relief of Derry (197), but the duke of Schomberg's failure to defeat James that led William to campaign in Ireland. There is no mention of the importance of fire ships in naval warfare. The Royal Navy had accepted signal books at least a decade before 1803, contrary to Carlton (213).

In spite of these flaws, Carlton is to be commended for providing non-military historians of the British Isles with a sound introduction to a subject of immense importance to the period.

Sara F. Mathews-Grieco, ed. *Erotic Cultures of Renaissance Italy*. Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010. xix + 291 pp. 28 colour plates. \$99.95. Review by DUNCAN SALKELD, UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER.

This beautifully illustrated collection of essays offers a fresh approach to the study of eroticism in early modern visual culture. Taking often surprising points of departure, the essays cover an unusual range of sources, including doodles, sketches and other ephemera, to show the extent to which the erotic permeated everyday Renaissance life. Guido Ruggiero begins the volume with a succinct introduction to the essays, carefully noting the innovative approach each one takes in analyzing the history of sexuality's visual representation. His own example of an unusual source is taken from a tale by Machiavelli that transmutes cruising for boys in the streets of Florence into a charming story of bird-hunting. Birds, he notes, will feature again in the collection, which the editor has divided into two halves, the first section under the title "Visual testimony and verbal games." Sarah F. Mathews-Grieco then offers a major essay on the diversity of printed sexual images of the fifteenth century in Italy. She goes beyond obvious sources such as Marcantonio Raimondi's *I Modi* to discuss a variety of lesser known printed sexual images. Phallic penetration, she argues, distinguished the pornographic from the more sensual or evocative naked human, and a tacit "decency threshold" lamely guarded the

boundary. Explicit images would be first engraved, and then toned down in subsequent copies, as part of what looks to Matthews-Grieco like a deliberate marketing ploy. Depictions of pagan gods, mythological figures, satyrs, sausages, salamis and even beans, eggs, and flowers all function as synecdoches of full, passionate consummation. As Matthews-Grieco shows, demand for erotic images involved all social levels, and consequently publications, displays and auctions of such material met rather patchy opposition from the authorities. The essay demonstrates that a thriving print culture of the erotic subsisted alongside the more elevated, decorous treatment of the sexual act favoured by the elite.

Guido A. Guerzoni next discusses the naughty drawings of a minor accounting clerk in Modena. These images, usually doodled in the margins of a page, depict a woman showing her buttocks, a man ejaculating, a couple precariously balanced on a chest while having sex, and a merry scene of joint masturbation. The more Guerzoni looked for similar images, the more he found them, turning up elsewhere in archives held at Parma, Turin, Florence, Venice and Milan. The author is rather modest in acknowledging his lack of ‘scholarly tools’ but the chapter is fascinating as an account of the emergence of amateur porn in the sixteenth century and of the value of studying “popular” erotica from the era, including its ephemera. The essay illustrates the kind of insight and understanding of human intimacies that can result when such sources are at last taken seriously.

Allen J. Grieco’s study concerns the ways in which birds and bird imagery functions euphemistically for the sexual act in vernacular and visual documents. Images of winged penises on marble statues or a mailoca jar, a goldfinch pecking at an opened fig, or male genitals transformed to a hawk’s head all suggest sublimated fabulae of fecundity and penetration. The bird/penis metaphor was, as Grieco shows, deeply embedded in the popular imagination. Bird-catching, bird-hunting or collecting served as metaphors for pursuit, courtship and forms of sexual play. Grieco takes a philosophical detour to account for the history of these associations, schematizing from “the Great Chain of Being” to show that birds, being higher, are hotter. To what extent these intriguing neo-Platonic dietary considerations filtered

down into common everyday understanding is not quite clear, but Grieco's considerable evidence here presented of associations between eating fowl and having a good time makes this wide-ranging essay a genuine pleasure to read.

Marta Ajmar-Wollheim's discussion of phallic and sexual imagery on pottery vases, trays and plates places the erotic in its conjugal and family context. Erotic images might readily lend themselves to celebrations of weddings of procreation, and in doing so, both erode the distinction between the licit and illicit and point to the social domestic purposes they served. Some depictions of couples may well have been commemorative while others may have functioned in a more ritual or ceremonial way as tokens for a hand-fast or betrothal. Some seem to have been designed for display either within the home, or in more public places such as pharmacies. As with the other essays, Ajmar-Wollheim's study is one of the first of its kind, seeking ways of interpreting not just erotic images in popular culture, but other more diverse forms such as private communications and party-games. The letters of Fiorenza Gramani Capello to her newly-wed husband show her "itch" for him and her restraint for the sake of her honour. It is all too easy to forget, Ajmar-Wollheim shows, that marriage could also be "carnal and lascivious."

The second half of the book is devoted to discussions of "Ritual eroticism and sociability." Cecilia Cristellon's close study of matrimonial trials in Venice heard between 1420 and 1545 highlights disputes that could arise as to the legitimacy of marriages, especially where sex had already taken place. Cristellon broadens our understanding of marriage in the pre-Tridentine period by showing that cases of *stuprum* (fornication) bigamy, concubinage and adultery complicated understanding of what the concept of marriage could allow and what it could not. A variety of nuptial practices such as conversations held, understandings construed or misconstrued, pre-contractual promises, and claims of public or private consent, all made it difficult to define exactly what marriage was at this time, and when it had occurred. Seeking clearer, more rigorous definitions, meetings of the Council of Trent transformed marriage from a gradual process that stemmed from private agreement to a public, ceremonial and decisive occasion.

Molly Bourne's essay reads bawdy innuendo in the letters of Mantua's ruler Francesco II Gonzaga (1484-1519). He had numerous children, legitimate and illegitimate, but caught the French pox and died of it. Prior to his demise, Francesco had a fondness for vulgar and misogynist humour and liked to tell lewd tales in his letters to associates. The letters are evidence of a male bonding between professional and elite men but were also matched by more cautiously worded innuendo in letters between his wife, Isabella d'Este, and an advisor and ladies-in-waiting. Gonzaga received a letter from one friend telling him how he and his friends enjoyed a group of prostitutes just outside Mantua, giving it to one "*da grigolia, that is in the ass.*" This kind of virile confession, Bourne observes, brought the writer, Teofilo Collenuccio, within the centre of political power and gave him access to the prince himself. Other letters involving "prick" jokes compare interestingly with those received by Isabella which advise her to reconcile with her husband, make up for lost time and be to him "fresh stuff." In this context, sex becomes its own kind of special access.

Flora Dennis lifts the lid on musical instruments and finds images of reclined nudes hiding under harpsichord tops. She picks out the trope of making music as euphemism for sex and shows that playing on one's instrument was a practice favoured by a variety of musicians, including lutenists and rebeccs. The anthropomorphized instrument was usually feminized, and decorated to suit the tastes of an elite social class. Songs and ballads suffused with sexual innuendo convey a palpable sense that music can be physically satisfying as it caresses the ears. In one ballad, when the kitchen maid asks her serenading lover to cork her bottle, we all know pretty much what she means.

Tessa Storey finishes the collection by extending her already fine work on courtesans to consider prostitution's implications for notions of manhood, honour and sociability. She argues that courtesan culture in Renaissance Italy was not a transgressive feature of male culture, nor a matter of merely private sin, but was part of the social fabric. Her chapter reminds of some fascinating women's lives, admired or denounced as "honest" courtesans or "vulgar" prostitutes. Although several of these women, including Evangelista Maddalena Capodifero and Tullia d'Aragona, have been discussed in other studies, Storey's

extensive knowledge of the Italian archives results in attuned readings of the ways in which courtesans managed “power” in a predominantly male culture. She tells the fascinating tale of Maddalena Saltarella who slept with the men who took her to Rome, received male guests like a queen, but ended up (probably) out on the street. An unusually confessional letter of Lelio Capilupi to a religious friend about his pursuit of a Neapolitan courtesan, asks in a mix of pride and shame that if the friend might convert the courtesan through his “preachings,” her shame might be turned to charity. Capilupi thinks the girl enjoyed it, but, already the property of the banker Tobias Pallavicino and another Spanish gentleman, one wonders how far that can have been true.

This immensely valuable collection pioneers ways of reading both visual and textual erotic materials from the early modern era. It neither hides the challenges of doing so, nor indulges in academic pretension. Each essay is the result of patient, careful, accurate scholarship and many hours working through original and documentary sources. It moves decisively away from body-fixated discourse and opens up the fascinating diversity of sexual representations to serious cultural enquiry. Elegantly written, meticulously presented, inordinately expensive but important in so many ways, this book constitutes an impressive contribution to the current “archival turn” in early modern studies and makes a significant contribution to the emerging history of human joy.

John Scheckter and Henry Neville. *The Isle of Pines, 1668: Henry Neville's Uncertain Utopia*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. xvii + 222 pp. \$99.95. Review by DAN MILLS, CLAYTON STATE UNIVERSITY.

Henry Neville's 1688 text *The Isle of Pines* has appeared in various collections of utopian literature and seventeenth-century republican texts, but John Scheckter's edition is the first of its kind. Scheckter's new critical edition of Neville's *Isle of Pines*, entitled *The Isle of Pines, 1668: Henry Neville's Uncertain Utopia*, also includes five chapters of interpretation that analyze this enigmatic utopian text, a text that has largely been neglected in seventeenth-century English literary studies. Such an edition of *The Isle of Pines* comes much needed to scholars, and

the critical analysis and apparatus perform informative and exhaustive readings as well, as he has provided a very useful and timely edition of a text that deserves more critical attention. Although Neville's *Isle of Pines* inherently offers a very complicated textual puzzle (It appeared in print over a series of complicated pamphlet printings), Scheckter goes far beyond the seventeenth-century implications of this complicated publication history by analyzing the reception, printing history, and translation history of the text through well into the eighteenth century. Not since Worthington Chauncey Ford's 1920 study, *The Isle of Pines: A Study in Bibliography*, has such an exhaustive study of this unfairly marginalized text been attempted, and Scheckter's critical edition will render any future critical editions unnecessary.

Although a relatively brief text, *The Isle of Pines* nevertheless presents significant textual and critical conundrums. The critical edition in this volume demonstrates considerable textual facility and exhaustive collation of a number of texts. Scheckter makes the intriguing editorial decision of keeping the long “s” as it appears in the series of pamphlets that constitute the original text. This decision adds an element of authenticity to reading *The Isle of Pines*, but beyond that there appear to be no real benefits. But in the span of the subsequent five chapters, Scheckter provides a very insightful sequence of readings of *The Isle of Pines* that survey matters ranging from printing history to paratextual elements of various editions of the text to critical interpretation. Chapter 1 of the analytical section, “Which Copy hereafter-followeth’: Editions and Procedures,” details how Scheckter collated and combined the numerous editions of the text. But this chapter goes further, however, and offers a survey of editorial procedure for other editions, starting with that of Thomas Hollis in the eighteenth century. Scheckter contrasts Hollis’s editorial choices with those of William Chauncey Ford, whose 1920 edition and essay marks the beginning of modern study of *The Isle of Pines*. Scheckter ends the chapter with details about his own editorial choices and segues effectively into Chapter 2, which offers an insightful look at the translations of Neville’s text that appeared immediately after its initial publication in England in 1668 and continued to appear well into the eighteenth century. Chapter 2 also addresses the various paratexts of

the various editions of *The Isle of Pines*, and Scheckter does a fine job negotiating the complexities of how these “paratexts” actually constitute part of the narrative proper. As *The Isle of Pines* appeared as a series of pamphlets, Scheckter may err in his use of the term “paratexts,” but nevertheless he offers useful insight into this rarity of a “literary” text that appeared as a series of pamphlets and fragments that themselves could be individually considered “paratexts.”

Scheckter’s third chapter, entitled “I shall enquire more particularly’: Veracity, Uncertainty, and Narrative Structure,” aims for more of a philological close reading of *The Isle of Pines* and its verisimilitude in the context of the increasingly popular genre of travel writing in the seventeenth century. Scheckter argues that Neville “draws upon and destabilizes concepts of uncertainty within the mechanisms of vraisemblance” that he bases on the increasingly popular genre of travel writing (77); this chapter provides strong groundwork for inaugurating *The Isle of Pines* into this portion of utopian scholarship at large. Chapter 4, “A great help to one another’: Gender Race, and the New Society,” addresses the most prevalent critical issues of the narrative in *The Isle of Pines*: gender and race. This chapter does not exhaustively address these issues in the context of Neville’s text and an increasingly stronger stream of publications continue to appear from Gaby Mahlberg, Daniel Carey, and others who discuss these issues in more detail. Chapter 5, “‘The Countrey being thus settled’: The Development of Indigenous Culture,” makes the bold claim that *The Isle of Pines* attempts to illuminate seventeenth-century England as a “century of isolation” (134). Scheckter also illustrates a linguistic implication of *The Isle of Pines* and its relationship to English-European interactions: “In problematizing language, for example, the text emphasizes the questions of dissemination and reception—perhaps unresolvable—that already influence European transactions” (137). Chapter 6, “‘The strange effects of Powder’: Anglo-Indigenes and European Encounter,” addresses the larger implications of the post-colonial themes of the text as well as the Dutch-English encounter that takes place when the Dutch sailor Henry Cornelius van Sloetten arrives on the heavily populated island. Scheckter argues that *The Isle of Pines* presents “the world as endless play of forces in which self-enactment and self-interest offer greater advantage than cooperation

and commonwealth" (154). Similarly to the work of J.G.A. Pocock, this chapter accurately positions Neville's commonwealth sympathies and relationship with James Harrington in the political discourse of the seventeenth century.

Scheckter has also provided two very useful appendices, one of which offers a complete account of the surviving copies of *The Isle of Pines*. In addition, Scheckter provides a virtually complete bibliography of critical reaction to Neville's utopia text as well as a meticulous account of textual variations of the numerous texts he examined to compose his critical edition. Also included is an impressive bibliography of relevant seventeenth century primary texts that offer original and illuminating insight into analysis of *The Isle of Pines*. But Scheckter does not just focus on direct literary and archival scholarship; he employs the applicable critical theories of Michel Foucault and Fredric Jameson to contextualize Neville's text within the utopian genre at large. Despite the long-standing critical neglect afforded *The Isle of Pines*, critics have recently begun to rediscover not only the utopian *Isle of Pines*, but also Henry Neville and his other publications. A 2006 issue of the journal *Utopian Studies* dedicated to *The Isle of Pines* seems to have inspired an outpouring of recent critical examinations of Neville's text. Such scholars as Gaby Mahlberg and Daniel Carey have begun to contribute to a growing critical reassessment of *The Isle of Pines* as well as Neville's other writings, such as his prose dialogue *Plato Redivivus* and his translations of works by Machiavelli. Scheckter's critical edition should thus prove useful to anyone working with Neville in particular and with seventeenth-century English Republican writers at large.

Margaret Willes. *The Making of the English Gardener: Plants, Books and Inspiration, 1560-1660*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011. x + 336pp. +80 b/w + 24 color illustrations. \$45.00. Review by WILLIAM E. ENGEL, THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH, SEWANEE.

When I told a friend I was reading a new book on English gardens his assumption was, naturally enough, that it must be about Capability Brown and his followers. Nothing could be further from the case. In fact Capability Brown, although mentioned in passing in the introduction, is not even listed in the index. Instead this book concerns the period before the creation of the great landscape gardens and examines in painstaking detail “the networks of communication and circles of cultivation” (1). Margaret Willes is interested in what justifiably can be termed the horticultural revolution in England.

The *terminus a quo*, two years after the accession of Elizabeth I, is selected owing to its being a time when England lagged woefully behind the rest of Europe where all aspects of gardening were concerned. The *terminus ad quem*, 1660, logically enough is the arrival of Charles II into his restored kingdom when England was “poised to lead the world in the design of gardens” (2). We do well to recall that just four years after the Restoration the first book sponsored by the Royal Society was John Evelyn’s great treatise on trees, *Sylva* (271).

What happened in this one-hundred-year span is the subject of a series of carefully linked investigations that are derived from a range of sources including “drawings, plans, and occasional glimpses in the background of portraits” (8), since the gardens under discussion no longer exist in their original forms and the libraries of the great gardeners now are dispersed. The ten chapters move in turn sensibly from garden designs following European models created to delight Gloriana; to the tools used to plan and execute garden designs, as well as the necessity of planting edible root vegetables in times of dearth; to the introduction of exotic plants from the Ottoman domains and the New World; to the burgeoning demand for gardening and husbandry books in English; to decorating homes and banqueting houses—especially those in and part of gardens themselves; to gardens

of members of King James's family and inner circle, as well as those planted by yeoman—and their wives—with an eye toward “profitable enterprise” (163); to the collecting and growing of rare and unusual plants; to the application of theories of medicine and astrology in the cultivation of plants with an eye toward pharmacology; to the brisk trade in and market for low-priced books with a bearing on gardening coincident with a rise in general literacy; to advice on gardening and correspondence among the cognoscenti including those “knowledgeable plantsmen” who spent time abroad during “The Long Winter” (259). The final line of the epilogue provides a satisfying sense of triumph and closure: “The stage was now set for the English garden to become the envy of the world” (275).

Along the way the reader is treated to a range of emblems, allegories, and metaphors associated with specific plants and gardens; most notably the celebrated image of England as a garden as revealed in the third act of *Richard II* (63). We also learn of the radically Trinitarian designs encoded in the garden buildings on the estate of the recusant Sir Thomas Tresham (39-40); as well as the biblical herbal of Levinus Lemnius, translated into English in 1587, filled with parables taken from “references to plants, fruits, and trees” (46). Most compelling in this regard is the elaborate Grove of Diana of John, first Baron Lumley, who is credited with creating “one of the first allegorical gardens in England as an apologia to Elizabeth I” for his having been implicated in “the Ridolfi plot which aimed to marry his brother-in-law the Duke of Norfolk to Mary Queen of Scots, and re-establish Roman Catholicism” (42). Owing to Elizabeth’s long-standing and often cultivated link between herself and virgin huntress Diana, Lumley by implication is the hapless Actaeon in this elaborate Italianate garden with its rich iconographic program. The very act of his turning his ambitions toward gardening and away from politics—and, by extension, using his money and estate in ways that visibly showed his contrition—seems to have been his way of acknowledging his gratitude to Elizabeth for confining him to the Tower of London and not having him beheaded with the other conspirators.

Apropos of the Diana and Actaeon story, many gardens of the period relied on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* for themes and programmatic

details. For while it is well known that Robert Dudley, a great patron of literary works, had engaged Arthur Golding to translate Ovid (the book we now think of as “Shakespeare’s Ovid” owing to his thorough mining of its stories and allegories), never before had I considered the rationale behind his request: the *Metamorphoses* was “the source for the decoration of the great fountain at the centre of the formal gardens at Kenilworth” (37). This is a clear instance of how English gardening and literature go hand in glove. Dudley continued to develop his gardens at Kenilworth radiating out from the center to the extent that, although Elizabeth had visited briefly in 1572, by July 1575 the prospects and sites (including walls along the walk adorned with stone white bears, emblems of the Dudley family, and the first appearance of obelisks in England) were so alluring and refined that the queen stayed for an unprecedented nineteen days (24). Undoubtedly it was to Dudley’s Kenilworth along with Cecil’s Theobalds, the gardens of Francis Bacon’s youth, that the essayist looked back nostalgically when he wrote his idealized description of the requirements and decorum of a proper garden (151).

For a number of reasons this book is a delight to read. First, the detailed explanations of black and white illustrations advance the book’s main themes and clarify how we have come to know what can be known about this ephemeral art of garden-making. For example, two geometric grids of a garden design “show how gardeners laid out knot gardens, which had become highly intricate by this period. The string and pegs diagram on the left are often mentioned in household accounts of garden equipment” (53). Along the same lines special mention must be made of the outstanding and numerous color plates that greatly enhance the luster of this already handsome volume. Also the author generously supplies brief biographies and expatiates judiciously on key familial and political affiliations among the people mentioned. For example, one may tend to forget how exactly Arbella Stuart figured into Elizabeth’s concerns about the royal succession, but Willes reminds us and, moreover, shows a decisive link to one of the preeminent gardeners of the period, Bess of Hardwick (30).

A final aspect of this book that makes it a pleasure to take in hand is the index, which will appeal both to literary historians and gardeners alike. Scholars will welcome the fact that entries proceed by authors’

names rather than by their books. This procedure is especially helpful in the case of, for example, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilli*, which can be found under Colonna. This also makes it possible to consider the extent of Hugh Platt's remarkable contributions to husbandry and agronomy without getting bogged down in trying to track these developments in his various treatises. And gardeners will come across much here that explains why certain flowers (most notably the rose and the tulip) and how specific horticultural techniques came to be valued over others. Incidentally, individual flowers are listed in the index as well, so people interested in carnations or saffron crocus or even hops can go directly to their favorite plants. In all this is a rich and useful compendium on the history of the men and women of an earlier age who sought to make an art of nature and to see nature more clearly in their artistic endeavors.

James Kelly and Fiona Clark, eds. *Ireland and Medicine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010. xiv + 227 pp. Review by CELESTE CHAMBERLAND, ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY.

Medical historians' traditional preoccupation with professionalization and institutionalization has increasingly yielded to the evolving historiography of the medical marketplace in recent decades. By shifting the focus from universities and physician biographies to more broadly based conceptions of training and practice, scholars such as Margaret Pelling and Andrew Wear have enabled a more expansive picture of early modern medicine to emerge. Nevertheless, Ireland has been notably absent from this scholarship. In seeking to address this lacuna in the historical record, Fiona Clark and James Kelly have assembled a collection of essays that seeks to underscore the complexity of an oft marginalized, yet prolific site of early modern medical practice. In *Ireland and Medicine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, a diverse range of scholars explores the development of a distinctly Irish medical tradition that retained its Gaelic legacy whilst demonstrating the influence of English and Continental medical

knowledge. More complex than mere syncretization, the authors in this volume argue, transformations within the Irish medical world over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflect the intersection of indigenous medical culture with a truly international intellectual culture in the wake of the scientific revolution and the collapse of Galenism.

In seeking to delineate the idiosyncrasies of the Irish medical marketplace, Clark and Kelly have appropriately placed Mary Ann Lyons' incisive analysis of professionalization and the formation of physician networks in Dublin at the beginning of this volume. Owing to failed attempts at establishing a Dublin-based College of Physicians in the early seventeenth century, Lyons asserts that most Irish physicians acquired their medical training at continental universities, especially Reims. In concert with the influx of English medical practitioners in the 1640s, the international intellectual spirit of the Irish medical landscape enabled physician networks to transcend distinctions of religion, politics, and cultural preference. As a point of contrast with the physicians, the distinct character of Irish medicine is further illuminated in James Kelly's compelling assessment of domestic medicine in the eighteenth century. Kelly asserts that until the hospital and the professionalization of physicians supplanted the prevailing authority of "medico-magical cures" in the nineteenth century, Irish medicine was characterized by a uniquely "elaborate tradition of domestic and self-medication" (135).

Wendy Churchill's essay further expands the discussion of domestic medicine and provides a well-rounded and engaging assessment of the ways in which gender shaped the doctor-patient relationship. As evidenced by the case of Katherine Cary, an eighteenth-century Irish woman suffering from a debilitating breast ailment, Churchill contends that the consultation process may have necessitated the intervention of Cary's husband, but it also reflected the agency and influence Katherine maintained in her dealings with James Jurin, a physician with whom she and her husband corresponded. Based on her analysis of the Cary-Jurin correspondence, Churchill cogently makes a case for "the centrality of female patients" in the Irish medical marketplace that mirrors the doctor-patient experience elsewhere in the British Isles (181).

Inasmuch as *Ireland and Medicine* illuminates the complexities of early modern Irish medicine, the collection as a whole conveys an uneasy tension between attempting to place Irish medicine more squarely within the mainstream of European medical history and acknowledging Ireland's peripheral status. The attempt to reject long-held assumptions about the dearth of medical expertise in Ireland is occasionally undermined by a tendency toward assessing Irish medicine exclusively through an Anglo-centric lens, with London's medical marketplace frequently identified as the archetypal point of reference. Given that so little has heretofore been written about early modern Irish medicine, however, the volume's contributors cannot be faulted for this tendency. Rather, they should be commended for their efforts to initiate a scholarly dialogue that will undoubtedly lead future generations of scholars to expand existing conceptual frameworks. To that end, Laurence Brockliss acknowledges that his study of medicine, religion, and social mobility is a point of origin; he asserts that many questions remain, for example, about the ways in which Irish medical practitioners funded their studies abroad.

Although the topics addressed by *Ireland and Medicine* run the gamut from the doctor-patient relationship to state intervention, notably absent from this volume is a substantive assessment of the roles played by midwives and apothecaries. Andrew Sneddon's cogent analysis of the ways in which questions of authority and institutional control shaped the relationship between physicians and apothecaries illuminates the political dimensions of drug regulation legislation, but focuses less on issues pertaining to apothecaries' access to training opportunities or occupational boundaries. Fleeting references to midwives, moreover, appear throughout the volume, but are largely glossed over in favor of more substantive analyses of physicians, surgeons, and domestic medicine. Perhaps this oversight is due to a dearth of extant source materials, but further study of the roles played by midwives and their interactions with their patients and other practitioners would undoubtedly enrich our understanding of the medical landscape in early modern Ireland.

Inasmuch as midwives and apothecaries remain peripheral figures in *Ireland and Medicine*, Fiona Clark's study of the Irish physician Daniel O'Sullivan and his travels in eighteenth-century Mexico offers

vital insight into the politics of medical authority and the clash between Eurocentric and indigenous approaches to healing in Latin America. Clark's essay offers a fitting conclusion to this volume, because it not only illuminates the ways in which politics, ethnicity, and culture coalesced in early modern medical trials, but also lays the groundwork for further comparative work in the history of early modern medicine that has heretofore been largely overlooked. *Ireland and Medicine* does not purport to be a comprehensive survey and may on some levels, pose more questions than it answers about the nature of occupational boundaries between midwives, apothecaries, and physicians, but it makes a compelling case for the autonomy and vitality of early modern Irish medicine that will undoubtedly be of great interest to British historians in general, and medical historians in particular.

John L. Kessell. *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xii + 225 pp. \$24.95. Review by PATRICIA MARIE GARCÍA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

John L. Kessell's history of seventeenth-century New Mexico examines the relationship between the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish settlers, including government, military, and church officials. Kessell's decision to relate this history through a narrative mode helps elucidate the everyday lives and conflicts among these groups of people. Describing these communities as having coexisted vigorously for over four hundred years, Kessell proposes to present a history of this region that looks beyond stereotypes and myths through his weaving together of analysis and interpretation. Presenting a balanced history of the region is especially challenging, as Kessell notes in his preface, because the existing documentary and archival evidence overwhelmingly provides more of the Spaniards' experiences than that of the Pueblos', much less their story told in their own language. Kessell's attempts to meet this challenge, unfortunately, are not consistent in the text itself.

The introduction, "Conflict and Coexistence," establishes the tone that Kessell strives for in the book. The Spaniards arrived in the Pueblo world, soon to be renamed New Mexico, in 1598. The Pueb-

los, having occupied the area as far back as two thousand years ago, gradually shifted their nomadic existence to a more sedentary one. The Spaniards' hope for both monetary and missionary gains in the region often worked at cross-purposes. The Pueblo Indians responded with both cooperation and defiance, most notably the 1680 Pueblo revolt. Chapter 1, "The Pueblo World," begins with a description of the Pueblo universe centered on corn and the natural world, organized by smaller clans and larger "moities" (11), and alternatively peaceful and warlike. The arrival of the Spanish expedition led by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in the 1540s is told through the eyes of one of his soldiers, Juan Troyano, a method that Kessell will use in later chapters. Troyano's testimony as to the savage treatment of the Pueblo delegation sent as envoys to Coronado's expedition helps explain the Pueblos' uneasiness at the Spaniards' renewed attempts in the 1590s to settle the area under Juan de Oñate. Oñate's first attempts are described in Chapter 2, "Spaniards Come to Stay," including the notorious Acoma battle of 1599. As punishment to the Acomas' attack, Oñate ordered the severing of one foot of each of adult Acoma male prisoners along with bound servitude, a punishment also shared by the women and remaining young men of the tribe. Here, Kessel argues a point that has received criticism among his fellow scholars (as he acknowledges in his footnotes): the documentary records only indicate that such punishments occurred without providing further details, and later records are ambiguous in relating the events as well. However, by suggesting that these amputations may not have occurred, Kessell has forgotten his own caveat from the introduction. Why would official attention be paid in Spanish records to the status of disfigured slaves who had been seen as traitors to the crown? His close reading of the Spanish court documents, while offering important insights into the Pueblo world, cannot replace, nor should it cast doubt upon, the oral history and collective memory of the Pueblo people concerning the Acoma tragedy.

Chapter 3, "A Franciscan City of God on the Rio Grande, 1610s-1640s," discusses the continued evangelization efforts by the Franciscans, including Fray Alonso de Benavides, whose detailed records provide much insight into the lives of the Pueblo Indians with perhaps his own exaggerated accounts of his successes in converting them.

Such inflated reporting, Kessell argues, may be the result of the need to demonstrate their mission's value in order to continue receiving funding from Spain. Such linking of religious and political agendas in the settlement of the New Mexico area was often tenacious. Chapter 4, "A Colony of Cousins, 1630's-1660s," examines this contentious relationship even further as the Franciscan friars exercised their power as agents of the Inquisition in charges brought against various government officials. Kessell also describes the further conversion of the Pueblo Indians to Christianity, one that was challenged by the continued undercover initiation and training of Pueblo children in the native religious practices. Chapter 5, "Troublous Times, 1660s-1670s," recounts the growing unrest among Pueblo Indians against the Spanish government and missionaries, especially in light of the decade's drought and Apache attacks. As many Pueblos, such as don Esteban Clemente, had been baptized or converted to Christianity and thus became Spanish allies, they also renounced their kachina religion. Blaming the rough conditions of the times on this betrayal and a failure of the new religion and government to change such conditions, Clemente and other leaders began small rebellions. Clemente was tried and hanged for his crimes, but other leaders followed. Kessell notes that documentary records of Clemente's plan do not exist in the archives, but argues that such a large plan must have been documented and assumes that they are missing, not that such planning did not occur. A lack of such documentary evidence earlier in his discussion of the Acomas might also merit such a reading.

Chapter 6, "The Pueblos' Holy War, 1680s," describes the Pueblo-Spanish war of this decade, mostly concentrated towards the beginning and end of these ten years. Often, attacks against the Spanish concluded with the destruction of the Spanish mission churches, including the large structure at Pecos. Spanish resettlement of these areas was led by Diego de Vargas who used a mix of military power and diplomacy among Pueblo leaders to restore a delicate co-existence between these groups. De Vargas' resettlement is discussed further in Chapter 7, "Resettlement, 1690s." The final push to restore the Spanish power to Santa Fe and the rest of the provinces involved a revitalized Spanish migration along with continued warfare. After some success,

De Vargas faced his own struggle to maintain power against the newly appointed governor, Pedro Rodríguez Cubero. After imprisonment and return to Mexico, De Vargas was re-appointed governor in 1703 but died soon after from illness after one final campaign against Apache cattle and horse rustlers. The war was seemingly settled, and, as before, the Spanish and Pecos people continued, in Kessell's words, "to live together yet apart" (175).

The epilogue, "A Lifetime Later, 1760," and the "Postscript" recount two later symbolic encounters between the Pecos and the Spaniards. The first is in 1760, when Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral oversaw the confirmation of 192 Pecos Indians. Soon after, a Pecos man named Agustín Guichí created a burlesque of the incident, dressing up comically as the bishop and conducting services. Record recounts that afterwards, Guichí was attacked and killed by a bear, a sign, as the bishop interpreted, of God's anger. The epilogue describes the more recent (1998) sawing off of the right foot of the twelve-foot high bronze statue of Juan de Oñate erected in Alcalde, New Mexico, and the dropping of Oñate's name from the thirty-six foot tall statue *The Equestrian* which stands in El Paso, Texas. This is juxtaposed with the placing of the statue of Po'pay, one of the Pueblo leaders in the Pueblo-Spanish war, in the United States National Statuary Hall in Washington, D.C. Both leaders, Kessell argues, were involved in the dramatic and often cruel bloodshed of the war, and the memorialization should cause a re-examination of these atrocities. Kessell argues that such reflection should be done without assigning blame. Kessell's engaging narrative is, in one sense, an attempt at exactly this type of examination. At times successful yet at others not, Kessell wants to speak for both sides through a reading of the documentary records, forgetting that in such accounts, as Gayatri Spivak reminds us, the subaltern cannot speak but is always spoken for.

Bryan Givens. *Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011. viii + 255 pp. \$48.00. Review by VALERIE HEGSTROM, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

In his preface to *Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal*, Bryan Givens tells us he did not set out to write a book about a middle-class woman from seventeenth-century Portugal. He had planned to study the Inquisition's prosecution of believers in *sebastianismo* during the years that the Spanish Habsburg kings also ruled Portugal (1580-1640); his study would shed light on the "social composition of the *sebastianista* movement" (vii). *Sebastianismo*—the messianic belief that the Portuguese King Sebastian I, who disappeared during an ill-fated invasion of Morocco in 1578, would return to liberate Portugal from its Spanish kings and lead the country to victory and honor—affected the Portuguese sense of national and cultural identity for more than a century in the Early Modern period. The author could not write the book he had planned, because he did not find any evidence of an organized inquisitorial campaign against *sebastianismo*. Instead, *Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal* offers us a fascinating microhistory, the story of an individual woman, her relationship to and understanding of *sebastianismo*, and her contact with the officers of the Inquisition.

The introduction, "A Journey to Another World," describes the author's microhistorical approach, which regards Macedo's pamphlet and the trial record as cultural artifacts, which he reads closely, studying each element to find the clues that will lead his contextualizing research to the origins of the images and beliefs expressed in both records.

The book's first section provides context. The first chapter surveys millenarian legends, including the ideas of Joachim of Fiore, as well as the prophetic *Trovas* of Bandarra, and shows how these worked together with the foundational Portuguese legend of Ourique—in which Dom Afonso Henriques defeated the numerically superior army of the Moors in 1139—to promote the cultural belief in a hidden, promised, desired king who would liberate Portugal from its enemies. The chapter ends focusing on King Sebastian, cultural representations of him as the

“Hidden One,” what he might have believed about his own identity, and the ill-fated Battle of the Three Kings, in which he disappeared. Chapter two, “The Evolution of Sebastianism,” describes the context in which *sebastianismo* developed. After Sebastian vanished without an heir, his elderly, celibate uncle took the throne, but died within two years. The strongest of the pretenders, Philip II of Spain quickly took control and thus began the 60-year reign of the Habsburg (Spanish) Philips in Portugal. Several false “Sebastians” appeared, including the “Prisoner of Venice,” who eventually suffered hanging for treason. This prisoner received special support in Dom João de Castro’s writings. The chapter also delineates the development of *joanismo*, in which João IV, the Braganza king who took Portugal back from Spanish control, appears as the heroic, desired king. *Joanismo*, which waned quickly, had as its most illustrious supporter Padre António Vieira. The author implies that during Vieira’s lifetime, his sermons were “available only to a select group of people” (40). This is a mistake—11 of the 15 volumes of Vieira’s sermons appeared in print before he died—but this does not detract from the argument that “despite [Vieira’s] efforts, *joanismo* essentially died out in the 1660s” (40). *Sebastianismo* spread and the myth expanded to include the “Hidden Isle.” The chapter describes *joanismo* as an elite movement and *sebastianismo* as the movement that caught the popular imagination.

In the second section, the book tells the stories of Maria’s visions and her trial. Chapter three introduces a middle-aged, middle class, literate, and pious woman who claimed to have visions she dictated to her husband, Feliciano Machado. Two copies of the manuscript pamphlet survive among the papers relating to Maria’s inquisitorial case. The bulk of the chapter consists of an adequate English translation of the pamphlet. (Some passages in the manuscript are impossible to decipher or ambiguous. Clarifying words appear in brackets.) The translation makes Maria’s story available for the first time to an audience who cannot read Portuguese. She tells of nighttime visits from enchanted, shape-shifting Moors who take her to dig for gold or carry water and introduce her to their king. Following her account, Feliciano adds more details he remembers from her stories. For example, he names the king as Sebastian, now married with children. He also describes more

details about the “Hidden Isle” and about the king’s future return to Lisbon. Chapter four details “The Trial of Maria de Macedo,” including the denunciation of Maria by a familiar of the Inquisition and prominent *joanista*, the appointment of three experienced inquisitors, the examination of the first witnesses, the imprisonment of Maria, the several interrogations of Maria and her unwillingness to deny her account, the other witnesses examined, the eventual appointment of defense counsel, and the different recommendations made by the inquisitors to the General Council. In the end, Maria was tortured and she confessed that she had fabricated her stories. She appeared in an *auto da fé*, but the sentences of public whipping and exile in Angola were commuted. Maria, now a poverty-stricken widow, returned home to care for her four children and passed out of history.

The author analyzes Maria’s story in the book’s third section. The fifth chapter studies the use of time in Maria’s visions and shows that the images in her visions shift meanings over time. As family members or neighbors suggest possibilities to her, Maria imposes these new interpretations on her visions. Her initial beliefs involve enchanted Moors; many years pass before she begins to believe in King Sebastian and the Hidden Isle as well. In chapter six, “A Glimpse of Paradise,” the author carefully traces the images in Maria’s view of utopia to their antecedents in folktales and other sources. Enchanted Moors, the sharing food, magical palaces, magic doors, St. John’s Eve, red caps, blond hair, zoomorphia, great wealth, and supernatural lizards are all elements of folk tales and Maria’s visions. Intriguing connections and shifts exist between the Prisoner of Venice in Dom João de Castro’s writings and Maria de Macedo’s descriptions of King Sebastian on the Hidden Isle, and the author convincingly argues that Castro is the most likely indirect source of Maria’s beliefs about Sebastian’s identifying characteristics. Maria’s notions of the Hidden Isle may grow out of the legends of the land of Cockaigne, the Joachimite vision of the Third Age, or biblical stories of the Garden of Eden. The prophets and kings who associate with Sebastian in Maria’s visions all serve to legitimate and connect him with millenarism. The author ties Maria’s spiritual practices to the values of a cloistered, contemplative life and her *sebastianismo* to a withdrawal into political fantasy. Chapter 7,

“Utopia’s Judges,” studies what the record reveals about the mindset of the inquisitors and their subculture. They valued legalism, well-ordered procedures, and canon law. The account of their interrogations of Maria reveals as much about their own cultural understanding as about hers. For example, the inquisitors read as heretical some of the details of her vision that Maria took as clear evidence of King Sebastian’s devotion to Christian principles and doctrine. They saw such details as flaws in Maria’s story, which led them to conclude that she was not telling the truth. This left only two possibilities in their minds: the devil’s deception, or fraud. Eventually they rejected the possibility of a pact with the devil and chose fraud as her crime by elimination. They never obtained any evidence of lying, except her confession under torture. The chapter makes explicit the gendered and class-conscious nature of Maria’s prosecution, pointing out the Early Modern suspicion of visionary women and the inquisitors’ sense of their authority in the trial.

The book’s conclusion summarizes the composite nature of Maria de Macedo’s vision and delineates the ways in which the vision and the trial can help us understand what *sebastianismo* meant to the culture of seventeenth-century Portugal. In an important appendix, the author provides his transcription of the Portuguese text of Maria’s pamphlet, thus making it more widely available to scholars of Portuguese history and literature.

Givens might have helped his non-Portuguese readers by including translations of Portuguese book titles, and his reader may stumble over a few proofreading errors, but *Judging Maria de Macedo* offers its readers a serious study in English of the development and evolution of *sebastianismo*. It provides an understanding of how *sebastianismo* played in popular culture among the middle class in Early Modern Portugal on one hand, and on the other how the tensions, values, and personalities of the inquisitorial subculture affected their reading of *sebastianistas*. Additionally, this book delivers the first full-blown close reading and microhistory of Macedo’s visions and trial, and in so doing introduces us to a unique female voice, a previously unknown and unpublished non-elite woman writer. In this very important way, Maria de Macedo’s visions are a revelation.

Mark Stoyle. *The Black Legend of Prince Rupert's Dog: Witchcraft and Propaganda during the English Civil War*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2011. 240 pp. + 17 illus. Review by MELINDA S. ZOOK, PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

This book really is about a dog. It is a compendium of everything there is to know about Prince Rupert's white poodle, Boy, which does not actually amount to a whole lot, or as the author himself admits, could have been "written on the back of a beer mat" (163). But, of course, this book is about much more than just the dog and even his famous master. Mark Stoyle takes as his task an examination of the legends that grew up around Prince Rupert and his dog, particularly Boy's association with the occult in both Royalist and Parliamentarian propaganda. He argues two major propositions both of which are well supported and convincing. Firstly, Stoyle shows that a focused analysis of the pamphlet literature concerning Boy reveals that Cavalier hacks were initially responsible for the image of Boy as an occult phenomenon. This is not new, as Stoyle admits. Dianne Purkiss, among others, has suggested as much. But Stoyle's analysis of the polemics surrounding Boy, as well as his laser-like focus on everything about the Prince and his dog, certainly cements the case. His other argument is much larger, more interesting, and more difficult to prove. Stoyle contends that the Naseby massacre of Royalist women, who were believed by their Parliamentarian killers to be Irish witches, as well as the numerous witch-hunts that erupted toward the end of the Civil War, need to be understood within the context of the polemical discussions of Rupert's witch-dog. The renewed discussion of witches, the occult, and animal familiars within the press exacerbated an already tense atmosphere, helping witch hunting to become more of a reality.

Stoyle begins by meticulously recording every bit of evidence surrounding the growth of Prince Rupert's black legend. How the Prince himself became known as "shot-free" (bullet proof); how he acquired his famous poodle, which in seventeenth-century England was considered a rather "exotic specimen" (25), and how Rupert was very quickly perceived by parliamentarians as a rash and brutal soldier of fortune. The dog's reputation for insidious supernatural powers started as something of a lark, a Cavalier joke on the credulity of their

Puritan opponents. Written in the guise of a letter to parliamentarians by a spy within the Royalist camp, *Observations upon Prince Rupert's White Dog, Called Boy* (1643), by one T.B., begins the myth of Boy as a devil dog. Prince Rupert's dog can prophesize, change shape, go invisible, speak numerous languages, and, like the Prince himself, is immune to harm. Further, the dog and the Prince "lye perpetually in one bed, sometimes the Prince upon the Dog, and sometimes the Dog upon the Prince" (59). What is fairly obvious is that this pamphlet is a Royalist satire on puritanical superstition and ignorance. Interestingly enough, as Stoyle points out, many of the devil dog's powers, such as shape shifting and magical invulnerability, were fairly rare within English witchcraft literature prior to 1643. This is also true of the allegations of demonic sex between the dog and Rupert. But after the publication of *Observations* and the deluge of other tracts centered on demonic dogs, as well as Prince Rupert's supposed "malignant she-monkey," all of these attributes of the witch's familiar became part of witchcraft lore. Thus what Stoyle is arguing is fairly significant. What started as a Royalist prank re-energizes the whole witchcraft debate, providing, as the author himself puts it, "an intellectual atmosphere in which the subject witchcraft could be discussed..." (118).

Witchcraft, however, was not merely discussed after 1643. Between 1645 and 1647 England witnessed a fairly significant outbreak of witchcraft hunts, imprisonments, trials and executions. In June 1645 the first incident of a renewed witchcraft hysteria occurred at Naseby when hundreds of Royalist camp women trying to flee the field were slaughtered or mutilated by Parliamentarian soldiers under the impression that the women were Irish or witches or both. From there we find even more tragic episodes of witchcraft hunts, usually led by Puritans in Parliamentarian strongholds: 14 witches hanged at Chelmsford in Essex; 20 executed in Norfolk; 18 in Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk. And in all of these trials, historians (such as Alan Macfarlane) have noted several new features: the witches' confessions are more keenly sexualized than in previous trials and their familiars play more prominent roles. So it is that Stoyle can argue that the propaganda about Boy as a witch dog during the wars reinvigorated witchcraft anxieties. If he is right, what began as Cavalier ruse concluded in crimes against women.

Stoyle is certainly aware of just how hard it is to make any definitive connection between the polemics about Boy and the witchcraft craze at the end of the Civil War. Insofar as it comes to witchcraft, this book is suggestive more than anything else, but Stoyle's research is as impeccable as it is exhaustive. All of which makes this an important book for anyone interested in the power of early modern print culture, the English Civil War, and witchcraft, to say nothing of those devotees of Prince Rupert and his famous dog.

Galina Yermolenko, ed. *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2010; pp. xvi + 318. \$114.95 cloth. Review by BINDU MALIECKAL, SAINT ANSELM COLLEGE.

In the popular imagination, the Ottoman harem, or any harem for that matter, is depicted as an exotic and orientalized realm where women are beautiful, mysterious, and experts in the art of seduction. Fortunately, recent scholarship has not succumbed to such objectification, especially since the 1993 publication of Leslie Pierce's groundbreaking *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, in which Pierce painstakingly pieces together the impressive lives of Ottoman women within and beyond the seraglio. Far from being voiceless victims, Ottoman women were indeed, as eighteenth-century Englishwoman Mary Wortley Montagu pronounced, during her travels in Turkey, "the only free people in the empire." As Pierce elucidates in her book, if an Ottoman woman gained the Sultan's favor and bore his successor, she could become the "valide sultan," a position of great authority and influence in the harem and at court. During the early modern period, a series of successive valide sultans, by virtue of not being native Turks, seemed predisposed to forging Ottoman relations with the West. These women included Hurrem (also called Roxelana or Roxolana), wife of Suleyman I (r.1520-1566); Nurbanu, wife of Selim II (r.1566-1574); and Safiye, valide sultan of Murad III (r.1574-1595). Of these three women, Hurrem in particular captured the European imagination and is mentioned in numerous texts, although, arguably, Nurbanu and Safiye's interventions led to more

significant benefits for the Ottomans as well as Europeans. Nurbanu was responsible for Venice's special access at the Ottoman court (she herself being either a Venetian or Cypriot), and Safiye carried on a personal correspondence with England's Queen Elizabeth I, at one point sending Elizabeth a Turkish dress and image of herself, with Elizabeth requesting cosmetics in exchange. Bernadette Andrea's 2007 monograph, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature*, is an excellent follow-up to Pierce in its development of the Anglo-Ottoman relationship, especially in terms of women's agency.

Hurrem may have not been as involved in diplomacy as Nurbanu and Safiye, but she was certainly politically astute—for instance, she was thought to have masterminded the death of Suleyman's oldest son Mustapha to make way for her own offspring—not to mention that Hurrem was an inspiration for writers of both fiction and non-fiction, these writers having heard news of Hurrem's manipulations, Suleyman's partiality towards her, and the seeming incongruity of a “white,” Christian-born woman's elite presence in the lands of the “infidel” Turk. *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*, edited by Galina Yermolenko, is much-needed and much-appreciated, since, given Hurrem's stature in European discourses, the book bestows Hurrem with the attention she deserves and does so in a complete way, presenting various perspectives on Roxolana: the volume contains scholarly essays, primary texts, illustrations, detailed appendices, and an extensive bibliography. Students in university-level courses that focus on the representation of the Ottomans and gender politics in the early modern world will find *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture* very useful and even necessary for future research and analysis of the figure of Roxolana.

Indeed, Yermolenko positions her subject as “Roxolana” versus “Hurrem,” the former moniker indicative of the stories that mythologize her (“Roxolana” suggests her apparent red hair and supposedly “Ruthenian” background) versus the reality that defines her through the latter name, granted upon entrance into the Ottoman harem and complementing her conversion to Islam. As the contributions to the collection prove, Roxolana was a preoccupation of early modern to modern authors, her form appearing in diverse genres (drama, his-

tory, opera) and multiple languages (Spanish, French, Italian, Latin, German, Ukrainian). Part I of *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture* consists of “Critical Essays” by Galina Yermolenko, Claire Jowitt, Judy Hayden, Beate Allert, Oleksander Halenko, Maryna Romanets, and Özlem Özgüt Yazıcıoğlu. Historical overview and literary analysis from English, German, Ukrainian, and Turkish approaches are covered. The interdisciplinarity of the essays taken as a whole allow for a comprehensive view of Roxolana because she was not simply an Ottoman phenomenon. Her reputation extended beyond the Golden Horn and the Black Sea and well into Christian Europe. Each essay is impressive in its source material and argument. Part II of the collection, titled “Translations,” includes excerpts of Lope de Vega’s *The Holy League* (1603), Gonzalo de Illescas’s *The Second Part of the Pontifical and Catholic History* (1606), Jean Desmares’s *Roxelana* (1643), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s *Giangir; or the Rejected Throne* (1748), and Denys Sichynsky’s *Roksoliana; Historical Opera in Three Acts with a Prologue* (1911). One of the most valuable aspects of *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture* is its inclusion of these works, translated into English, most for the first time, as well as the helpful “Plot Summaries” of these and other relevant texts that may be found in Appendix I.

One last note of praise for *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*: the volume includes a number of telling illustrations relevant to Roxolana. While Theodore de Bry’s engraving, *Rossa Solymanni Vxor*, and its reproduction in Richard Knolles’ *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) are well-known to early modernists who specialize in English narratives about the Ottomans, the image, when viewed alongside the other illustrations offered in *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*, indicates an essential shift in Roxolana’s historical significance with the emergence of new, some might say post-colonial, states in the wake of the fragmentation of the former USSR. *Roksolana*, by an anonymous, late eighteenth-century/early nineteenth-century Ukrainian painter, and two twentieth-century works—*Roxolana is Coming Home*, a bronze sculpture by Roman Romanovych (which stands in Rohatyn, Ukraine); and *Roksolana*, by Volodymyr Kostyrko—are examples of the Roxolana-fever that

has gripped present-day Ukraine or as Yermolenko notes, “Roxolana’s name is connected with the fate of Ukraine, because it offers redemption of the tragic past . . .” While similar processes of reclamation are playing out elsewhere—consider fourteenth-century conqueror Timur’s elevation to “father of the nation” in Uzbekistan (with accompanying bronze statue in Tashkent)—Roxolana’s popularity differs in that it has never waned, even as Roxolana’s renown evolves from Ottoman sultana to Ukrainian ideal.



Rubens, *Flight of Lot and His Family from Sodom.*

Oil on Canvas, c1613. 220.3cm x 243.8cm

Permanent Collection, 1936. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida. SN218

Exhibition Review, with Images. Peter Paul Rubens: Impressions of a Master

The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. Sarasota, Florida. February 17–June 3, 2012

Organized by the Ringling Museum, Florida, and the Royal Museum of Fine Art, Antwerp

Curator: Virginia Brilliant, Associate Curator of European Art, Ringling Museum

Curatorial Liaison in Antwerp: Nico Van Hout, Royal Museum of Fine Art

In lieu of printed exhibition catalogue: [Triumph & Taste](#) by Virginia Brilliant (2011)

[Exhibition Web site](#)

[Rubens Symposium](#), March 30-31, 2012. Johnson-Blalock Center, Ringling Museum

Exhibition Design & Installation: Matthew Harmon, Don Roll & preparators, Ringling Museum

Didactic Exhibits: Virginia Brilliant, curator; Education Department, Ringling Museum; Joseph

Loccisano, Gallery Manager, State College of Florida, Manatee-Sarasota

Photography: Giovanni Lunardi, Sarasota, Florida

Public Relations: Scott Gardiner, Ringling Museum of Art

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By Maureen E. Mulvihill
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Have we in 2012 taken the full measure of Peter Paul Rubens? Evidently not. Almost four centuries since his death in 1640, this Flemish master of the Baroque continues to inspire lavish exhibitions, most recently at the [Museo del Prado, Madrid \(2011\)](#) and now at the crown jewel of Florida art venues: [The Ringling Museum](#) in glamorous Sarasota. Dazzling generations of scholars, collectors, librarians, and museum curators with his lush sensuality, not to mention his broad influence in printmaking, the book arts, connoisseurship, statecraft, and (yes) intellectual property protection, this prince of painters recently [fetched about \\$4.6M](#) at The European Fine Art Fair (Maastricht, Netherlands) in March 2012.

Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen 1577-Antwerp 1640; Image 1, Gallery of Images, below), was a great deal more than a successful career painter of the Dutch Golden Age: this was one of the most accomplished public figures of the seventeenth century. Trained in the classical curriculum, Rubens was a living example of Humanist ideals, and his large corpus of commissioned work draws upon biblical, historical, and mythological themes (Image 2), as well as the critical political setting of his day, a setting which benefitted handsomely from Rubens's diplomatic skills. Rubens's own [muse and chief influence](#) was Titian; he also learned by studying Michelangelo, Raphael, Rembrandt, Tintoretto, and other masters. Rubens himself influenced the work of Van Dyck, his most successful student (and sometime collaborator), as well as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough in England; and, in France, Watteau and Delacroix who famously judged Rubens "the Homer of painting". Renoir and Jackson Pollock were also admirers.

Rubens's career tactics are of special interest. He made none of his own prints, but rather employed skilled printmakers, such as engravers Paulus Pontius (Image 1) and Lucas Vorsterman I (Image 3), and woodcutter Christoffel Jegher, to advance his reputation by producing prints of his canvases (he often worked collaboratively, correcting and improving first results). Rubens also intersected with the book mar-

ket, most notably the respected publishing house of [Plantin-Moretus](#) (Antwerp), by producing printers' devices and elaborate title-pages (see *Porta*, Image 6). Presciently, Rubens sought to protect his work by establishing a copyright for his popular prints, both in Holland and outside of the Netherlands, in England, France, and Spain, where his work was also esteemed. This is a feature of Rubens's career which merits more attention from historians of copyright and early Intellectual Property law.

Diplomacy and statecraft were also among the master's gifts. Working mostly as an envoy (operative, really) for Philip IV of Spain, Rubens's intersections with Europe's power brokers is the subject of an important new book by [Mark Lamster](#) of Brooklyn, who shows that Rubens was a key player in England's peace treaty with Spain. Acknowledging his role in the negotiations, Charles I conferred a knighthood upon Rubens in March of 1630; he also was knighted by Philip IV. In addition to Rubens's political affairs in London, he had a busy art schedule as painter of the [ceiling canvases](#) of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, and also advancing the (visual) propaganda campaign of the Stuart court with a series of glorious power images ([George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham](#)). Students of his biography say that Rubens was a dedicated husband and father, and a devout Roman Catholic who was given major commissions from almost every Catholic country in Europe. In a century of remarkable people ~ Aphra Behn, Comenius, Descartes, Dryden, Henrietta Maria, Huygens, Louis XIV, Marie de' Medici, John Milton, Pascal, Purcell, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Anna Maria Van Schurman, Vermeer, and others ~ Rubens stands apart.

The 2012 Rubens show at the Ringling Museum in Sarasota is a sweeping and creative display of some 100 exhibits in four large adjoining galleries. Foremost, there are selections from Rubens's great paintings (Ringling's permanent collection includes five Rubens canvases; see [Triumph & Taste](#) by Dr Virginia Brilliant, the show's curator, on the history of the Rubens paintings at Ringling). And then the show's prints. Supplying visual balance to the grand canvases are some 50 prints of Rubens's work (engravings, woodcuts), mostly loan

items from The Royal Museum of Fine Art, Antwerp. As Brilliant explained to this writer:

The show came together in a slightly curious way, which had an impact on our choices. The prints from Antwerp were actually those that formed the core of an exhibition which The Royal Museum of Antwerp did with the art museum in Montreal, around the year 2000; and Antwerp offered us, in Sarasota, those prints for an exhibition here at the Ringling. At that time, I realized that the Ringling has a large collection of prints after Rubens, as well, that no one every really sees. Plus, Ringling owns several paintings. So I decided to take Antwerp's works (the prints they offered) and ours, and also asked them for several more prints that correspond to Rubens's paintings, and that's how the show came together. It was an organic process, working with what was offered and what we had, rather than a concept that I originated and developed and then sought specific loans for; in the end, I was just striving to give an overview of Rubens's artistic *oeuvre*.

The show is suitably subtitled *Impressions of a Master*, for this is a display of Rubens's physical and material impressions, with painterly tools, on the surface of a stretched canvas. But the show suggests other impressions. There are those made on paper by the skilled printmakers of Rubens's canvases. And, not least, there are the viewers' impressions: responses to what they see in the gallery, all that they take in.

In addition to the welcome variety of content in the show, its installation merits special applause. First, its physical setting. Visitors are put at ease in this modern reconstruction of a seventeenth-century world owing to several features: the large size of the show's four adjoining galleries (the largest gallery is, well, rubenesque: 1650 square feet); the uncrowded spacing of the exhibits; the comfortable walking surface (low-stress bamboo flooring); low-glare overhead track lighting; and the cool temperature setting throughout the galleries. And then the many creative additions to the show's design, such as the large hanging opaque banners (scrims) throughout the exhibition space, each banner illustrated with an image from the paintings (Image 4). And a particularly fine touch is a decorative baroque-style wall vignette,

drawn from a scrolling motif in one of the show's prints (Image 5).

Complementing the show's beautiful installation is its didactic orientation, and here we have an instance of a cultural institution serving its community as resource and teacher. This goal is achieved in the show in a variety of ways. The Ringling created a receptive mood for the exhibition by organizing a two-day **Rubens Symposium** on Rubens's *Triumph of the Eucharist* series (March 30-31, 2012; Johnson-Blalock Center, Ringling Museum). This forum included presentations by respected art historians from the States and Europe, most notably Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC). The didactic spirit of the show is also prominent in the galleries' handsome white letterpress wall text. Stepping into Gallery 1, for example, visitors are captured by Rubens's huge canvas, *The Flight of Lot*, surrounded by an appropriate selection of prints and smaller pieces; but the eye also notices the wall text throughout Gallery 1 and the adjoining spaces (Images 4, 5). The wall text serves as old-style exhibit labels, identifying the exhibit items and supplying background information on Rubens's life, career, and collaborations; it also requires that visitors to the show be readers as well as viewers. But the most compelling didactic touch in the show are two floor-to-ceiling freestanding pillars, or columns: "From Painting to Print: The Artists' Process" and "Printmaking Process: Can You See The Difference?" These two large displays were a three-way collaboration of the show's curator, the Museum's Education Department, and Joseph Loccisano (Bradenton, Florida), Gallery Manager, State College of Florida, Manatee-Sarasota. Loccisano, who supplied information and materials for the didactic exhibit in Gallery 4 (Image 6), had this to say:

Ringling engaged me to assist in this challenging project of the didactic exhibits, and I welcomed the opportunity to work with them. They wanted to make Rubens's work, as it is reproduced or replicated in the printmaking medium, accessible to viewers of the show. So in the "Printmaking Process" column (or pillar) in Gallery 4 [Image 6], I actually created and displayed three different kinds of prints from a Rubens image of St Catherine: an etching, an engraving, and a woodcut. Each of these prints, in three different mediums, looks very different; and each is displayed, with an explana-

tory text, on its own dedicated surface of the column. To my Modernist eye, those three images of Catherine which I produced look more like Lucian Freud, or Francis Bacon, or even Schmitt-Rotluff, a German Expressionist – why, ol’ Rubens would have fired me as a printmaker of his work! But no matter, it’s the different look of his *Catherine* in each of the three mediums which I needed to achieve and display to gallery visitors. I supplied and also showed in this exhibit the actual materials used in these three different processes: the copper plate, the engraver’s steel burin or cutting tool, and the woodblock, though I used a linoleum plate in lieu of a woodblock. So these two unusual didactic displays in the show instruct gallery visitors, using both text and image, in the process of printmaking. They are taken through the process, step-by-step. These “didactics” were considerably challenging, for all of us, but so worthwhile. I am proud to have contributed to this special show on a great, great artist of yore.

One of the final exhibits is a freestanding multimedia didactic display consisting of two components: a glass-encased copy of Gevaerts’s *Pompa introitus honori Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum Infantis* (oversize folio, Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus, 1635, 1641 ed.; the prints inspired by Rubens’s stage set designs); and a touch-screen computer kiosk, placed under the glass case, enabling viewers to (digitally) page through this large folio. Thus, the show’s ‘digital *Pompa*’ (Image 7).

In an exhibition which took great pains to show the cultural and political interconnections in Rubens’s world, it is regrettable that little attention was given to the master’s diplomatic work with and for the Stuart administration in London (this could have been managed in the show’s background information, displayed on the show’s wall text). Also, visitors would have appreciated (even expected, in a show of such scale) a printed exhibition catalogue, or certainly an exhibition brochure (or pamphlet) made available to them as they stepped into Gallery 1.

Here, now, is a look at the Ringling *Rubens*, and its splendid installation:

**A Gallery of Selected Images from the 2012 Rubens Show,
Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida**



**Image 1. Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen 1577 - Antwerp 1640).
Self-portrait**

Engraving, Paulus Pontius (Antwerp, 1603-1658). 360mm x 263mm
Royal Museum of Fine Art, Antwerp



Image 2. Workshop of Rubens. *Danaë and the Shower of Gold*

Oil on canvas. 80 1/4" x 69 1/4" x 3 1/2". SN220

The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art.

Bequest of John Ringling, 1936.



Image 3. Lucas Vosterman I (Zaltbommel 1595-Antwerp 1675)

The Return from Egypt, 1620. Engraving, after Peter Paul Rubens.

42cm x 31cm

On loan from The Royal Museum of Fine Art, Antwerp



Image 4. Installation: Detail of Gallery 1

A view capturing the installation's impressive space, as well as its lighting, walking surface, and variety of exhibits. The creative accent of an oversize opaque banner, or scrim, depicting an image from Rubens's work, is used throughout the show's four adjoining galleries.

Giovanni Lunardi, photographer, Sarasota, Florida.



Image 5. Installation: Detail of Gallery 1

A view capturing the prominence of white letterpress wall text throughout the show. Note also the large white baroque-style motif, a contemporary design from the show's print offerings. This motif is used as a creative wall accent, and show logo, throughout the installation.

Giovanni Lunardi, photographer, Sarasota, Florida.



**Image 6. Freestanding Didactic Exhibit (images and text):
“Printmaking Process”**

Two of these custom-made displays are in the show, with the goal of making Rubens's work accessible to modern viewers. The exhibit above, in Gallery 4, displays information and materials supplied by Joseph Loccisano (Bradenton, Florida; Gallery Manager, State College of Florida, Manatee-Sarasota).

Giovanni Lunardi, photographer, Sarasota, FL.



**Image 7. Freestanding Didactic & Multimedia Exhibit:
The Show's 'Digital *Pompa*'**

This touch-screen computer kiosk enables viewers to digitally page through the exhibit's displayed book (prints inspired by Rubens's stage set designs): *Pompa introitus honori Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum Infantis* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus, 1635; 1641 ed.).

Giovanni Lunardi, photographer, Sarasota, Florida

This essay is dedicated to the memory of ***Elizabeth Stone***
(d. 2010), librarian,
Language & Literature Division, Brooklyn Public Library,
Grand Army Plaza,
Park Slope, Brooklyn, New York. She is sadly missed.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Vol. 60, Nos. 1 & 2. Jointly with SCN. NLN is the official publication of the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies. 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.

◆ *Petrarca lettore di Suetonio*. By Monica Berté. Peculiares, testi e studi. Messina: Università degli Studi di Messina, Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, 2011. LXXXII + 292 pp. Right now in Neo-Latin studies, as in other field, marginalia are ‘hot’. There are entire sessions devoted to annotation at meetings like the Renaissance Society of America and the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies, and we also have a growing number of special issues of journals devoted to the subject (e.g., “Annotations manuscrites dans les livres da la Renaissance,” *Bulletin du bibliophile* 2010, issue 2), books on marginalia (e.g., William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2007)), even databases devoted to recapturing what readers wrote in their books (see William Weaver’s *Glossa Rhetorica*, accessible at https://www.zotero.org/groups/glossa_rhetorica). This interest in marginalia is being nurtured in Italy by a growing number of very able researchers, mostly younger, who are turning their attention to collecting, deciphering, and publishing the marginal comments of humanist scholars. Work has progressed more rapidly on some authors than others—Poliziano in particular has been well served in this area—but Petrarch, obviously, is of particular importance here, both for his seminal role in the development of humanistic culture and for the massive numbers of marginalia he

left behind. It is to him that Monica Berté has turned in this volume.

Petrarch owned three manuscripts of Suetonius: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5802 (Q), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 337 (T), and Oxford, Exeter College, 186 (Ex). Q does not have marginalia of Petrarch's in the Suetonius section, but T has about forty notes, which show a similar although not identical approach to what is found in Ex. The Exeter manuscript is where the action is, with 1,357 annotations spread over every page, in several layers that reveal a repeated return to the text by a mature scholar who was able to appreciate the treasure trove of information it contains. In the margins of his text we can watch Petrarch following the same person through different sections, attempting complicated genealogical reconstructions, emending difficult passages, comparing Suetonius with other authors, and bringing in numismatic and antiquarian knowledge to help interpret what is going on. Not surprisingly the chapters on Caesar and Augustus receive the greatest attention, but other emperors are also studied in detail. There are extensive cross-references to other authors, especially to Pliny and Cicero but to a good number of other historians as well, as we would expect. Most of the annotations involve correcting the text, which went on with considerable skill given that Petrarch had access to a manuscript from both branches of the textual tradition and understood well the opportunity this presented him.

These points are developed at length in the introduction, which concludes with an interesting section tracing the connections between Petrarch's marginal comments and his references to Suetonius in his later writings. Most of the book is devoted to a transcription of the marginalia, which are keyed to the 1993 Teubner edition of Suetonius. No one should underestimate the amount of work that went into this, for while Petrarch's notes are by no means as difficult to decipher as, for example, Casaubon's (see the next review), making sense of them is a different story. Here Berté provides a commentary to the commentary, often offering a full page of explanation for two lines of notes. Books like this are difficult to use without good indices, and I am pleased to note that this one has five carefully prepared indices, of passages in Petrarch, passages in Suetonius, manuscripts cited, plates, and names.

This volume joins the edition of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus, Adam-Hercules*, ed. by C. Malta (2008), in the series Peculiares. This series in turn is one of ten sponsored by the Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici at the Università degli Studi di Messina, under the general direction of Vincenzo Fera. We owe Berté our thanks for executing well a difficult project, and Fera for making possible the publication of literally dozens of volumes in the field of Neo-Latin studies. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ “*I have always loved the holy tongue*”: Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a *Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*. By Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, with Alastair Hamilton. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011. xii + 380 pp., 43 black and white plates. As a serious scholar committed to a sober Protestantism, Isaac Casaubon is not the most flamboyant of Renaissance humanists: he was never attacked and scarred by agents of the Medici, nor was his Latin style critiqued by the imaginary servants of his scholarly enemy. But thanks to the eloquent Victorian biography of Mark Pattison and its fictional offspring, George Eliot’s Mr. Casaubon, this humanist’s path from a series of modest professorships in Geneva and Montpellier to the royal library in Paris and a final home at James I’s court has been well documented. It is generally known that much more material remains to be mined, since Casaubon left mountains of marginalia in his books and reams of journal notes, but Pattison has not been alone in finding these writings largely undecipherable. What is more, many scholars today are no more sympathetic to Casaubon’s interest in the church fathers and other late antique writers—an interest derived from his religious convictions—than Pattison was. Grafton and Weinberg began here, as one must, but have approached their subject with a determination to decipher the undecipherable and to meet Casaubon on his own terms. As a result of their work, the old Casaubon, who used a brilliant command of the historical development of Greek to show that the dialogues ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus were written not in early Egyptian hieroglyphs but in Greek under the Roman Empire, remains intact. But we also meet for the first time a new Casaubon, the pious philologist who used the same scholarly

techniques on Hebrew texts as he did on Greek and Latin ones.

To be sure, Casaubon taught Hebrew but briefly, did not publish in the standard Christian Hebraist genres, and has not played a significant role in modern accounts of these subjects. But as Grafton and Weinberg show, Casaubon's interest in Hebrew was longstanding and serious. He owned Hebrew prayerbooks, which he cared enough about to read and annotate, and his diary, notebooks, and letters are awash with references to Hebrew texts. There were limits to his expertise, but he quickly left behind any attraction to mysticism and magic in favor of the same philological rigor he applied to Greek and Latin classics. He read widely, applying Hebrew sources to questions as diverse as whether satire is really a form of poetry and whether Jesus had really conferred supreme power on Peter. His curiosity extended to Johann Buxtorf's guide to Jewish life and Azariah de' Rossi's account of Alexandrian Judaism, which he read as sources for writings of his own like the *Exercitationes* on the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Cesare Baronio, whose scholarship, Casaubon argued, was wrong on such fundamental points as whether all four gospels agreed on the chronology of the Crucifixion. Jewish sources were necessary, Casaubon believed, to show that the early church was not already Catholic in its fundamental character, but retained many Jewish customs that needed to be understood so that Protestants could return to a pure form of Christianity. Since Jewish books and those who wrote them were means to an end, there were sometimes limits to the sympathies with which Casaubon approached both, but his interactions with individuals like Jacob Barnet at Oxford show that shared scholarship could develop into a perception of a shared humanity that was capable of crossing one of the great divides in Renaissance culture.

In the end there were also limits to Casaubon's accomplishments in Hebraic studies: he was often content with easier intermediary sources rather than more difficult originals, and he did not accomplish as much in this field as, say, Scaliger. Yet if Scaliger proved the better scholar, Casaubon attained a warmer appreciation for the Jewish tradition. This appreciation enveloped his scholarship throughout his life, and Grafton and Weinberg deserve our thanks for clarifying this aspect of Casaubon's humanistic studies. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ Justus Lipsius' 'Concerning Constancy'. Ed. and trans. by Robert V. Young. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 389. Tempe, Arizona: ACMRS, 2011. Justus Lipsius's philosophical dialogue *De constantia libri duo, qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis*, first published by Plantin in 1584, is one of the key texts in Northern European humanism. Putting forward the virtue of constancy as a remedy for the religious and political turmoil of his time, Lipsius attempted to reconcile Senecan Stoicism with Christianity and thus inspired the late Renaissance philosophical movement that came to be known as Neostoicism. His work was an immediate success: not only did Lipsius's treatise *On constancy* go through numerous editions, but it was quickly translated into the major European languages. Within a year of its original publication in Latin, *De constantia* was available in both Dutch and French, thanks to Jan Moretus and Clovis or Louis Hesteau, seigneur de Nuysement. These editions were followed by translations into English by Sir John Stradling (1594), German by Andreas Viritius (1599), Polish by Janus Piotrowicz (1600), and Castilian by Juan Baptista de Mesa (1616). Whereas some of these translations survived into the twentieth century (Stradling's English version was reprinted by Rudolf Kirk in 1939 and lightly revised by John Sellars in 2006, while Viritius's German translation was reissued by Leonard Forster in 1965), over the past few decades Lipsius's *De constantia* has once again been translated into a wide range of languages, namely Dutch by Piet Schrijvers (1983), German by Florian Neumann (1998) and Karl Beuth (2006), and recently Spanish by Manuel Mañas Núñez (2010).

The most recent addition to this list is a bilingual edition by Robert V. Young (2011), a professor of English at North Carolina State University, who already provided English translations of Lipsius's *Epistolica institutio* (1996) and three chapters of his *Manuductio ad Stoicam philosophiam* for the *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts* (ed. Jill Kraye), vol. 1: *Moral Philosophy* (1997). Yet Young's latest publication, presented to the public as "the first English translation and new edition of *Concerning Constancy* since the seventeenth century," is in fact neither of these. First, Young has failed to take into account John Sellars' 2006 revision of Stradling's translation, which

offers such a readable text that one can wonder whether a new version was really needed. Second, Young does not offer a critical edition of *De constantia*. His Latin text is that of the 1605 Antwerp edition, the last one published during Lipsius's lifetime, and although Young has examined other editions, he has chosen to point out only the most important revisions. In order to meet the modern reader's wishes, a division into paragraphs and quotation marks has been added, abbreviations have been expanded, and Renaissance Greek ligatures have been transcribed into the classical characters currently in use. However, the 1605 spelling and punctuation have been preserved, resulting, for example, in an outdated alternation of i/j and u/v.

Having examined the Latin text of some ten chapters at the opening and ending of both books, I stumbled upon some typographical errors, the first one of which unfortunately already occurs at the beginning of the very first chapter of the first book (16, line 2: *delexi* for *deflexi*), while at the end of chapter four, Young has *iudicum* instead of *iudicium* (28, line 18). These are of course minor points, which do not detract from the overall quality of the transcription. More serious are the many inaccuracies found in Greek quotations, especially with regard to accentuation, but also spelling mistakes, showing all too clearly that Young did not have his edition proofread. I list some examples, confining myself to those cases in which Young's text obviously deviates from that of the Antwerp 1605 edition. On p. 18 (quoting from Aristotle), Young reads νέπτερα instead of νέρτερα. Similarly on p. 18 (quoting from Homer), he reads ἔλος instead of ἔλκος and ἄρηται instead of ἄρηται. On p. 20 (quoting from Diogenes Laertius), Young has λόγου and βρόχου instead of λόγῳ and βρόχῳ. On p. 46 (quoting from Euripides), he reads γάρ instead of γὰρ. Other mistakes concerning accentuation, aspiration and the use of iota subscript occur on pages 60 (where Young has ἀσθενείας instead of ἀσθενείας), 74 (ποδὶ instead of ποδῖ), 76 (προνόιᾳ instead of προνόιᾳ and ὅπλον instead of ὅπλον), 152 (σιγᾶ instead of σιγῆ), and 202 (κὰν instead of κἄν, though the 1605 edition has κἄν). On p. 60 (quoting from pseudo-Aristotle), Young reads ὄσου instead of ὄσον; on p. 62 (quoting from Pindar), ἔργον instead of ἔργων; on p. 76 (quoting from the *Corpus Hermeticum*), αὐτελῆς instead of αὐτοτελῆς and ὑπηρετοῦτιν instead of ὑπηρετοῦσιν; on p. 78 (quot-

ing from pseudo-Aristotle), συμβεβηκότος instead of συμβεβηκότα and ἀνάγκης instead of ἀνάγκη; on p. 112 (quoting from Homer), Ζεφυρίν instead of Ζεφυρίη; on p. 164 (quoting from Diogenes Laertius), διανοούμενος instead of διανοούμενος; and on p. 202 (quoting from Euripides), τὰ instead of τῶν θεῶν.

As for the facing-page English text, admittedly the most important part of his work, Young's translation is in itself meritorious and, above all, faithful to Lipsius's phrasing and reasoning. However, the translator occasionally stumbles, failing to interpret or render Lipsius's ideas properly. A few examples may suffice. In the first chapter of the first book (18–19), Lipsius's interlocutor Carolus Langius advises him not to flee his country, but his emotions (*non patria fugienda, sed affectus*), for “the mind must so be strengthened and shaped that quiet may be ours amid tumults and peace amid warfare.” On which Lipsius: *Ego satis iuueniliter, Imo deserenda illa, Langi,’ inquam, ‘certe enim audita mala leuius ad animum accident quam visa.’* This phrase is rendered by Young as “Quite like a youth, indeed ignoring those words, I said: ‘Still, Langius, evils heard about surely strike the mind more lightly than those actually witnessed,’” as if *imo deserenda illa* were not part of the quotation, as if *deserenda* were a participle instead of a gerundive, and as if *illa* does not refer to *patria*, as is obvious from the parallel construction. Stradling/Sellars (2006) did render the phrase correctly: “To this I, rashly enough, replied: ‘But surely I will forsake my country.’” There is another passage in the following chapter where their translation seems more appropriate than Young's: Lipsius's phrase *ut quod res est serio dicam* (22–23) does not so much mean “speaking seriously now, as the matter requires,” but rather “to tell you the truth (*id quod res est*, a typical example of Lipsian *brevitas*) plainly.” And in the second chapter of the second book, Stradling/Sellars' rendering of the phrase *nec abiuit ab hoc meliorum iudicio vulgus* (108–9) as “neither have the common people dissented from the judgment of the better sort” is preferable to Young's “and the better part of the common people has not departed from this opinion.”

In addition to the Latin and English texts, Young provides a succinct commentary, “intended,” so he states on p. xxviii, “to enhance the reader's comprehension and appreciation both by identifying the learned author's numerous references to classical literature and by

setting the work in the context of sixteenth-century history and the humanist movement.” His notes do live up to expectations, offering necessary background information, accurate classical testimonies, and an account of Lipsius’s own marginal notes; occasionally they also point out puns in the Latin text that were lost in translation, and as such they are most welcome to the modern reader.

Further editorial material comprises a short introduction to Lipsius’s *De constantia*, touching upon its genesis, contents, significance and reception, as well as a list for further reading in English and a functional index of proper names and places.

In sum, I would say that a new contribution to the field of Lipsian studies such as Young’s, opening up the famous humanist’s philosophical legacy to a broader readership, is to be applauded. Though his edition of *De constantia* would have benefited from thorough revision, I consider Young’s translation and the accompanying notes a valuable instrument for both students and scholars, provided that they use both Latin and English texts in a critical manner. (Marijke Crab, KU Leuven / Ph.D. Fellow of the Research Foundation–Flanders (FWO))

◆ *George Buchanan, Poet and Dramatist*. Ed. by Philip Ford and Roger P. H. Green. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales; Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co. 2009. xxxiii + 322 pp. George Buchanan’s quincentenary in 2006 occasioned many symposia and exhibits, including performances of his dramatic works and poems. This collection distills the manifold receptions of Buchanan from his own time to the present, with particularly fresh appraisals of his dramaturgy. Sections on the “secular” poems, the Psalm paraphrases, the dramas, and the works in performance present illuminating appraisals, well researched and current in bibliographical resources. The collection exemplifies the recent revival of Buchanan studies after a long dormant period that followed his 1906 commemoration and notes the influence of a decline in Latin studies upon this unwelcome loss. In their Introduction Philip Ford and Roger Green survey Buchanan’s Neo-Latin literary accomplishments, an oeuvre that had established him by the time of his death as a premier figure in European humanism as well as in Scottish letters and learning. His Psalm paraphrases, alongside

Erasmus's 1516 Greek-Latin edition of the New Testament, became staples of the humanist-Protestant partnerships that were especially prominent in France and Scotland. When he turned to drama, while at the Collège de Guyenne, it was at first as a requirement that each teacher produce a Latin translation of a Greek drama for student performance. In *Jepthes* he took up the theme of corrupt priests; in *Baptistes*, the tyrant. Erasmus's *Iphigenia* and *Hecuba* translations (1506) provide a touchstone for examining Buchanan's style, inclusion of political and Biblical allusions, and what Jean-Frédéric Chevalier terms a "poetics of borrowing," while remaining controversial as well as renowned. Ford and Green note that like his later Psalm paraphrases, possibly as prototypes for them, the choruses in Buchanan's dramas employ a "religious lyrical expression." The three chapters on Buchanan's dramas further explore debates concerning allegory and satire, and allusions to Biblical, classical, and contemporary religious themes: Iphigenia about corrupt priests sanctioning human sacrifice, Baptists understood as a reference to Henry VIII's treatment of Thomas More.

Philip Ford presents the ample range of Buchanan's styles, genres, versification, and uses of allegory and satire as a significant advance in extant rhetoric and poetics, which he taught far more by practice than by precept. Ford notes in particular Buchanan's innovative uses of *ethos* in developing characters and *pathos* in the choruses, turned to modern religious and political themes. Jamie Reid Baxter's essay on performances of Buchanan's dramas reprises four centuries of debate about the degree and specificity of their political allegory, or alternately their more general treatment of humanist themes: "the difficulties of conforming oneself to the demands of the moral law when a tyrant rules, the priesthood adapts, and the non-evil prudential elements of society beg for compromise." The satirical *Franzicianus* got Buchanan jailed in Lisbon by the Inquisition, at which time he claimed that in *Baptistes* he had done as good a job as the material allowed in portraying the plight of Thomas More. During the Lisbon incarceration (1550-52) he occupied himself by completing the Psalm paraphrases that established him in the top ranks of the Neo-Latin humanist literati. *De jure regni apud Scotos* (1579), his dialogue on politics dedicated to young James VI, brought him further acclaim in human-

ist circles as various forms of republicanism and limited monarchy merged across Protestant Europe. John McQueen's essay provides a lucid account of Buchanan's emerging political thought between the composition of his paraphrase of Psalm 104, published four years before Queen Mary's return to Scotland, and *De jure*'s context. McQueen observes that Buchanan's reputation often suffered from reading back into his earlier works a political and theological radicalism that branded him as dangerous.

Robert Crawford's excellent concluding chapter considers the rise, fall, and recuperation of Buchanan's reputation across four centuries, beginning with an immediate decline within England under James VI, James I of England. Buchanan was regarded as guilty by association of fostering republicanism and even regicide. Though he remained known, his political works along with Milton's were burned at Oxford and Cambridge following the restoration. Within Scotland, however, and in America, the memory was less suppressed, a history that until recently has not been traced as well as it should have been. English versions of *Jephtha* were popular in the schools and theatres of eighteenth-century Scotland; Hugh Blair included Buchanan alongside Ossian in his lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres as a native son, historian, and exemplary stylist. English editions of *De jure* appeared in America as early as 1766. Andrew Steuart (d. 1769), of Scotch-Irish origins, also published a number of poems and pamphlets in the Philadelphia area, including Benjamin Franklin's *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation* (1764) and a number of post-Stamp Act invectives against taxation without representation.

One of the many intriguing questions provisioned by these essays is the influence of Buchanan on political thought and letters among the generation that he taught, including not only James I of England, but also Montaigne, his student at Guyenne. The biting satire of *Franciscianus*, as well as of many of Buchanan's epigrams, would have been familiar models to students who composed Latin elegies and epigrams as a daily classroom exercise. In "Brasilia," discussed in Philip Ford's essay, Buchanan expresses his opposition to Portuguese colonialism: "Africa is deserted, the needy soldiery is begging, without fighting the fleeing Moors have safe cities. Dusky Brazil receives the disgusting colonists, and he who previously had ploughed boys

is ploughing fields. He who removes his estates from the soldiers is handing them over to perverts.” Buchanan’s imagery and vocabulary are evocative of Catullus; his topic, Brazil’s encounter with “disgusting” colonists. Writing in the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres (1572) that took the life of Buchanan’s colleague Peter Ramus, Montaigne draws together several instances of cannibalism to ask who is the more civilized: the American Tupis tribe who sent a delegation to Rouen in 1562, or members of the French Catholic faction who had sold the limbs of Huguenots for food in Paris and Lyons after the riots. “I am not sorry that we notice the barbarous horror of their acts; but I am heartily sorry that, judging their faults rightly, we should be so blind to our own. Not only is the Christian as bad as the cannibal; the cannibal is also as good as the Christian.” We can only wonder what influence Buchanan’s styles and themes may have had upon numerous early vernacular writers as they moved from the settings of the colleges to the tending of their communities.

The range of contributors to this collection, from several different fields and from a number of different national backgrounds, provides ample material for further conjecture on these and other points. The joint publication in Britain and America is welcome, as it will help span the transatlantic divide that often obstructs our knowledge of scholarship past and present. Charles Arrowood’s edition of *De jure* (1949), published in America, for example, deserves a place alongside the other earlier sources cited, such as Sharrat and Walsh’s important edition of the tragedies. (Jan Swearingen, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Poeticae institutiones libri tres / Institutes of Poetics in Three Books.* By Gerardus Joannes Vossius. Ed., trans., and commentary by Jan Bloemendaal, in collaboration with Edwin Rabbie. 2 vols. Mittellateinische Studien & Texte, 41. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010. xiv + 2190 pp. The volumes under review here give new meaning to the phrase ‘weighty tomes’: I set them on my scale, and together they weigh in at over eight pounds. I suspect this is not the best way to assess scholarly achievement, but it does tell us something.

These two volumes contain an edition and translation of three works, all originally published in 1647. The focus of attention is

Vossius's *Poeticae institutiones*, a major work that marks the end of the humanistic defense of poetry tradition that goes back to fifteenth-century Italy. The text is accompanied by two apparatuses, one identifying quotations and the other reprinting Vossius's marginalia from the original edition of the work. There is also an extensive commentary, devoted primarily to the identification of Vossius's sources, along with three indices: the one Vossius himself originally prepared, an *index locorum*, and an *index nominum*. *De artis poeticae natura ac constitutione* is a general introduction to poetics, while *De imitatione cum oratoria tum praeципue poetica deque recitatione veterum* discusses the best classical authors to follow and how texts were read in antiquity; both are presented as lengthy appendices, with the text accompanied by a translation alone. Given the size of the works in question, especially the *Poeticae institutiones*, these volumes represent an enormous amount of work on Bloemendaal's part.

And the result is worth the effort. To be sure, the taste for the humanistic defense of poetry eventually passed—Coleridge wrote, “I looked thro’ this book with some attention, April 21, 1803—, and seldom indeed have I read a more thoroughly worthless one” (qtd. on p. 1)—but the *Poeticae institutiones* remains the culmination of decades of work by dozens of literary theorists, a monument indeed in the history of criticism. The author, who held professorships in Leiden and Amsterdam, was a polymath rather than a theoretical innovator, so his defense of poetry is primarily a collection and systematization of what others had written before him. His major source was Aristotle’s *Poetics*, from which he took *mimesis* and other key concepts that he extended to genres other than tragedy, but he also drew heavily from Horace’s *Ars poetica* and its moralizing environment, so that imitation is defined in the end as a representation of morally good or evil actions. Diomedes’ *Ars grammatica* gave Vossius his division of poetry into three types according to the role of the author and his characters, while the work called *Excerpta de comoedia* or *De fabula*, by either Donatus or Euanthius, offered a framework for the discussion of comedy that was missing in Aristotle. Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Poetices libri septem* made its way into the *Poeticae institutiones* as well, as did Ioannes Antonius Viperanus’s *De poetica*. The great danger in an approach so eclectic as this is that a guiding unity will fail to emerge.

Occasionally one gets this impression in reading Vossius, but in fact he also disagreed with his sources and did have his eye on two key unifying themes, the Aristotelian idea that poetry is a form of representation and the Horatian concept that poetry should teach and delight. This allows him to cover an enormous amount of ground, including the common part of the *ars poetica* (book 1) followed by a classification of poetry and its genres (books 2 and 3). This allowed the *Poeticae institutiones* to play an important part in the development of Dutch drama, especially through the works of Joost van den Vodel, and French literary theory, through such writers as François Hédelin d'Aubignac, before Romanticism killed neo-classical criticism like this.

I suspect that the sheer size of these books will tempt at least someone to use them as a doorstop. But this would be a mistake. It may be too much to ask most people to go from cover to cover, but every reader of this journal will be interested in Vossius's thoughts on something. And now, thanks to the labors of Bloemendaal and of Brill, a major outlet for Neo-Latin studies, all of us have access again to this important work of literary criticism. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Neo-Latin Drama: Forms, Functions, Receptions*. Ed. by Jan Bloemendaal and Philip Ford. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008. 190 pp. Over the last decade, Neo-Latin drama has finally received the attention it has long deserved, thanks to both its institutional ubiquity and its formative contribution to the careers of many early modern authors. Joining Jonathan Walker and Paul Streufert's *Early Modern Academic Drama* (Ashgate, 2009) and the forthcoming *Neo-Latin Drama in Europe*, edited by Bloemendaal and Howard Norland, Bloemendaal and Ford have collected nine essays (five English, three French and one German) that draw mainly on papers presented at the Thirteenth Congress of the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies (Budapest, 2006), in two panel sessions on George Buchanan and Reception. *Neo-Latin Drama* presents various critical approaches, some historicist, others more formalist, and most chapters offer critical readings of the plays they treat. Intertextual engagement with ancient dramatists, particularly Terence and Seneca, is often considered,

although these essays are not just ‘allusion-spotting’ influence studies but choose instead to position the plays within their ideological, institutional, and social contexts.

The essays mainly focus on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plays, so inevitably the ideological threads of politics and religion run throughout and become interwoven. Jean-Frédéric Chevalier discusses the French Jesuit Nicolas Caussin’s 1620 tragedies, for instance, arguing that through his biblical tragedies Caussin (Louis XIII’s future confessor) offers a didactic perspective on the potential pitfalls of absolutist monarchy, “lorsqu’il met en scène le châtiment de la démesure des rois criminels dans la Bible” (78). Other essays on Jesuit drama take more of a formalist approach: Fidel Rädle’s essay on the German Jesuit Georg Bernardts’ work takes a more formalist approach, concluding finally that the function of comedy in Bernardts’ plays is “unambiguous” (“eindeutig,” p. 131): “sie dämpft das Pathos und sie relativiert die erdrücken Ansprüche, die auf den religiös in die Pflicht genommenen und durch äußere Katastrophen verängstigten Menschen lastete” (131). The diversity of Jesuit Latin drama is well exemplified by these two studies, and the divergence between these two dramatists’ careers—both Jesuits but operating within markedly different circumstances of composition—is striking.

Drama by reformers—or, in the case of John Foxe, soon-to-be reformers—is thought-provokingly documented here too. Howard Norland discusses Foxe’s *Titus et Gesippus* (1544), possibly performed at one of the Oxford colleges (no definite evidence exists), debating whether the play should be read as “an unsuccessful bid for a ‘Christianised Terence’ or a dramatic exemplum of true friendship” (102). Juliette A. Groenland writes of Daniel Heinsius’s 1602 tragedy about William of Orange (*Auriacus sive Libertas saucia*), which she argues “pointed the way for historical drama in the Netherlands” (30). Other essays examine plays penned by dramatists on either side of the Reformation divide. Jan Bloemendal considers Jesuit plays such as Jacob Bidermann’s *Cenodoxus* (1609), staged first at Augsburg, then at Munich, alongside reformed ‘prodigal son’ plays such as Gnapheus’s influential *Acolastus* (1529), making the pertinent though often-overlooked point that “Protestants and Roman Catholics performed and watched the same dramas” (9). Michiel Verweij also considers both

sides of the post-Reformation ideological ravine, considering the plays of Cornelius Schonaeus within the Catholic, then Calvinist context of Haarlem. Gnaphaeus comes up again in Verena E. M. Demoed's chapter on his less well-known play *Morosophus* (1541), which Demoed compares to Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*.

Those interested in George Buchanan will find much of value in this collection. Two essays by Giacomo Cardinali and Carine Ferradou consider Buchanan the dramatist. Cardinali investigates the impact of Buchanan's tragedies on late sixteenth-century Francophone playwrights, comparing his influence with that of his contemporary Marc-Antoine de Muret and concluding that Buchanan unveiled to these French playwrights "la vitalité, l'efficacité et, surtout la théâtralité de l'ancien genre littéraire" (53). Ferradou looks at Buchanan's influence within reformed lands on English writers such as Daniel Rogers and Thomas Randolph, examining Buchanan's privileged status as James VI and I's tutor: she argues that Catholics and Protestants alike read Buchanan's works and "à leur tour prirent position sur des questions essentielles de la philosophie politique" (76). All in all, then, this book offers a series of specific case studies of individual plays rather than a panoramic overview of neo-Latin drama, but as an account of the broad cultural impact of Neo-Latin plays within a pan-European context, this is a valuable and timely publication. (Sarah Knight, University of Leicester)

◆ *La Chaîne d'Or des Poètes: présence de Macrobius dans l'Europe humaniste.* By Stéphanie Lecompte. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2009. 486 pp. This book offers a comprehensive and illuminating treatment of the reception and use of Macrobius by scholars in the early modern period. This discussion is framed by Lecompte with the "Macrobian paradox," that is, Macrobius's liminal status as a classical source who is also not a classical source, since, like so many medieval commentators, he is valued primary for his information about other, more important classical authors. In the Renaissance this led Macrobius to be criticized by some as a second-rate author, a mere encyclopedist, even a plagiarist, to be read for his invaluable content, but grudgingly. Defenders might recommend the quality of Macrobius's Latin, the generic moral edification of his anecdotes, even the value of the

Saturnalia as a Roman model of the philosophical symposium, which good humanists should aim to reenact. Yet since numerous apparent lacunas and faults in the writing opened Macrobius to stylistic criticism, for many the only reason to read him remained the information about others which he transmits.

Lecompte highlights how Macrobius's defenders, including François Dubois and Pontano, paint him as a rescuer and preserver of earlier authors, to be compared less to ancients than to contemporary philologists, commentators, and interpreters; Pontano names Pico, Poliziano, Turnebus, Ermolao Barbaro and Joseph Scaliger. If the humanists' laborious rescue of the treasures of antiquity was to be styled heroic, humanists must grant the title 'hero' to Macrobius as well, for his preservation of Cicero and Plato. This Macrobius is less than a sage but more than an encyclopedist, commendable for his astute digestion and clear explication of the challenging ideas of his predecessors. Such a Macrobius prefigures the humanists, who longed to argue that there is true philosophical merit in explicating others' work. Reading him thus, Lecompte argues, Dubois and others saw Macrobius as an antique justification for their activities, proving that the ancients would have accepted their humanist successors as true peers and not called them mere imitators, their commentaries no more meretricious than the mindless labors of a scribe.

Early sections of the book review debates over manuscript transmission and provide updated information on the thirty-three editions printed from 1472 to 1597, which prove Macrobius's steady and substantial circulation. His print history follows the familiar path of print production, migrating north from Italy to Paris and Lyons, with expensive folios giving way to more affordable 8° and 16° editions, dominated from 1538 by Gryphius's editions of Rabelais' version of the text. Selected editions and their paratexts are examined individually, with substantial primary source extracts, the greatest attention going to Pontano's heavily-annotated edition of 1597. From the *editio princeps*, the *Saturnalia* and *Commentarii* were printed together, but Lecompte also touches on the (mis)fortunes of Macrobius's grammatical treatise, printed in 1588 as *De verbo* and in Pontano's 1597 *opera*, but generally defined by its absence in manuscript and print.

In seeking Macrobius's effects on humanist writing, Lecompte focuses on the importance of fable and allegory. Seeking to justify Cicero's use of fable, Macrobius produced a defense of fable and taxonomic language for discussing it, useful to humanists seeking to defend the value of poetry, and especially the dream as an allegorical genre. Lecompte demonstrates the presence of Macrobius in the comments on Virgil of Cristoforo Landino and treats the later examples of Caelius Rhodiginus's defense of poetry in his *Lectionum antiquarum* and Lambertus Hortensius Montfort's Neoplatonic interpretation of Virgil. Both of these texts, along with Dubois' 1524 defense of Macrobius, are included in French and Latin in the appendices. Macrobius's Neoplatonic metaphysics is not unique in antique sources, nor is his praise of fable as a philosophical tool, nor his praise of Virgil, but Lecompte argues that the conjunction of the three in one work fed Renaissance attempts to connect Virgil to Neoplatonism and to give the poet divine status and his works authority as instructive philosophical and theological fables. Macrobius, and his Renaissance interpreters more so, thus assigned the poet a divine status combining and exceeding the offices of orator and philosopher. (Ada Palmer, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Annotated Lists and Guides*. Ed. by Virginia Brown (editor in chief), James Hankins and Robert A. Kaster (associate editors). Vol. 9. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011. xxvi + 280 pp. Readers of this journal are doubtless familiar with *CTC*, a series which began in 1960 under the leadership of the late Paul Oskar Kristeller with the intention to “list and describe the Latin translations of ancient Greek authors and the Latin commentaries on ancient Latin (and Greek) authors up to the year 1600” (xiii). In his preface to that first volume, Professor Kristeller noted that generalizations about the ‘classical tradition’ would benefit greatly from documentary precision, from a precise knowledge of what each postclassical generation knew about each author from Greco-Roman antiquity, as measured by the surviving evidence from manuscripts and early printed books. A few areas in

which the amount of material is overwhelming are left out—commentaries on Aristotle; on medical, legal, and canonistic works; on the Bible; and on medieval Latin authors—as are scattered, anonymous glosses and miscellaneous observations on various ancient writers. Each article on a relevant classical author, however, contains a wealth of information, beginning with a chronological list of translations and / or commentaries, then offering for each item in the list the name of the author, the circumstances of composition, a list of copies (in manuscript and early printed editions, with bibliography), a list of relevant scholarly literature, a brief *incipit* and *excipit* of the dedication, preface, introduction, and main text, and a short biographical note on the translator or commentator.

This, the ninth volume in the series, contains the following articles: “Epictetus,” by Gerard J. Boter; “Gregorius Turonensis,” by John J. Contreni; “Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus,” by Lucia A. Ciapponi; and “Sextus Propertius,” by Douglas F. S. Thompson. In addition volume 9 offers Addenda et Corrigenda on four authors: “Pseudo-Cebes,” by Gerard J. Boter; “Pomponius Mela,” by Mary Ella Milham; “Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus,” by Frances Muecke; and “C. Julius Solinus,” by Mary Ella Milham.

The articles here maintain the usual impeccable standards we have all come to expect from the series. It is worth noting that the editors and authors of this series labor under considerable handicaps: it is more difficult than one might imagine to attain completeness and accuracy on even a so-called minor author, and it is a well-known fact among contributors that tenure committees and administrators in a position to evaluate faculty tend to under-value both the amount of work that goes into one of these articles and the achievement that successful completion represents. For these reasons considerable time often elapses between volumes. I am pleased to report, however, that volume 10 is about to go to press and volume 11 is already blocked out, although all the articles are not yet in. The pace has picked up for a variety of reasons, one of which is that the series has a new managing editor, Greti Dinkova-Bruun, who has been working diligently to find contributors for unassigned articles and to get the commissioned pieces finished. (It is said that Greti can clear the reading room at the Vatican more quickly than a fire alarm, as contributors with overdue

(*CTC* pieces head for the doors when they see her enter.) On a more serious note, it would also be appropriate to note that this volume appeared after the untimely death of Virginia Brown, who did so much for the project. The future looks bright for the *CTC*, due in large part to her wise guiding hand.

◆ *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*. By Giovanni Boccaccio. Ed. and trans. by Jon Solomon. Vol. 1, Books 1-5. I Tatti Renaissance Library, 46. xxxviii + 888 pp. *Letters to Friends*. By Bartolomeo Fonzio. Ed. by Alessandro Daneloni, trans. by Martin Davies. I Tatti Renaissance Library, 47. xviii + 234 pp. *Modern Poets*. By Lilio Gregorio Giraldi. Ed. and trans. by John N. Grant. I Tatti Renaissance Library, 48. xxxvi + 364 pp. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. This is the latest installment of books from the I Tatti Renaissance Library, which has established itself in just a few short years as the major venue for the publication of primary texts in Neo-Latin studies.

Boccaccio's *Genealogia* is the most important handbook on mythology for the early Renaissance, consisting of 723 chapters from over 200 Greek, Roman, medieval, and Trecento sources on approximately 950 Greco-Roman mythological individuals. The last two books, which originally circulated separately from the first thirteen, contain a defense of poetry, but the two parts are related, in that the argument that pagan poetry reveals divinely inspired truths through allegorical exegesis justifies the extensive discussion that precedes it. The mythological material unfolds like Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Book of Matthew, moving in direct descent from progenitor to progeny, with occasional detours along the way. Boccaccio found his material in a series of sources beginning with Homer, whose citation here in Greek marks a signal achievement for Italian humanism, and extending through Boccaccio's contemporary Leontius Pilatus, who helped him in his Greek studies. Other Greek sources include Theodotius and the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, while the Latin writers on whom Boccaccio primarily relied are Ovid, Vergil, Statius, and Cicero, although the late antique and early medieval mythological compilations, of course, were very important as well. Dating from the earliest days of Renaissance culture,

Boccaccio's scholarship does not always meet the standards established by his successors: his quotations are occasionally imprecise, some of his etymologies are wrong, his research was not exhaustive, and the value of his analyses varies, especially given that later scholars came to lack his enthusiasm for allegory and euhemerism. Nevertheless he deserves credit for the range of his reading and the care with which he develops his arguments, along with such scholarly innovations as a table of contents, genealogical trees, and marginal lists of the sources he consulted. His contemporaries recognized his achievement, as we can see by the number of manuscripts (over a hundred) and early printed editions, along with the French translation by Laurent de Premierfait and the Italian one by Giuseppe Betussi. The works of Giraldi, Cartari, and Conti eclipsed the *Genealogie*, but Milton still put Boccaccio's Demogorgon (the putative father of all the ancient gods) into his Hell and Shelley includes this same figure, who in fact was an invention of Boccaccio's, as a character in *Prometheus Unbound*.

Unlike Boccaccio, Bartolomeo Fonzio is no longer as widely known as he should be, but he taught the humanities for many years at the Florentine Studio, at a time when only Poliziano outshone him as a scholar. Fonzio published a good many books still worth reading, ranging from introductory lectures for his classes to polished works of history, poetics, and verse. His most important book is undoubtedly the letter collection presented here, which contains sixty letters covering almost fifty years. Like most humanist letter collections, this one is a work of literature, not a work of pure biography, one that creates the image its author wanted others to have, not necessarily the one that actual life events should engender. In these letters we can watch the scholar mature from a tentative young man, frustrated in his search for a stable position from which to conduct his studies, to an accomplished humanist who could write Battista Guarini as an equal. Letter 1.24 documents the rupture with Poliziano which led to Fonzio's temporary exile, while other letters aimed to secure his good reputation by recording such activities as the assistance he provided to Mathias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, in serving as a consultant for his book-buying. He participated fully in the religious and political events of his day, interacting with Savonarola and writing a long letter (3.9) on the conflict between Pope Julius II and Louis XII, king of

France. But the letters are most valuable for their insight into the life and mind of an accomplished humanist, committed to the morality, learning, and relationships of the republic of letters.

The third book in this group is Giraldi's *Modern Poets*. The author was born in Ferrara in 1479 but moved around a good deal after his schooling under Battista Guarino, living at various times in Naples, Mirandola, Milan, Modena, and Rome before returning to his native city, where he began, rather belatedly, to publish the many books he had been working on for the first fifty years of his life. His travels undoubtedly provided him with source material, both through books and personal relationships, for his literary history. *Modern Poets* suffers from all the defects of its form, the humanist dialogue that in fact functions as a lecture rather than the seminar one might expect as the author holds forth with few, if any, interruptions. Giraldi admits freely that his main goal is thoroughness, but this means that in many places the book resembles a list more than a work of literary criticism. To be sure, there are exceptions, as when Giraldi offers more extended praise of Marco Girolamo Vida and Gianfrancesco Pico, or condemnation of poets like Panormita. His main desideratum seems to be a polished style, which he aimed at himself and in general achieved, although his Latin prose is a bit idiosyncratic. Nevertheless he had a strikingly wide knowledge of the literary production of his day, and his work merits study now for this reason.

At this point, the I Tatti Renaissance Library is closing in on its fiftieth volume, a remarkable achievement for a period of just a few years. The presiding spirit behind this endeavor is the indefatigable James Hankins, the general editor, who has read carefully every line in every volume, improving a good many of them along the way. Just a few weeks ago, Professor Hankins received the Paul Oskar Kristeller Lifetime Achievement Award from the Renaissance Society of America, in part in recognition of his work on this series. POK, as he is often called, is surely smiling, from wherever his spirit now resides.

◆ *The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World: Linguistic Identity and Nationalism 1350-1800*. Ed. by Alejandro Coroleu, Carlo Caruso, and Andrew Laird. *Renaissanceforum: Tidsskrift for renaissanceforskning* 8

(2012). http://www.renaissanceforum.dk/rf_8_2012.htm. The essays collected here derive from a conference held at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Casa Convalescència, on May 5-6, 2010, devoted to the way in which Latin helped shape identity, both linguistic and national, in the early modern period. In “Humanist Latin and Italian Identity: *Sum vero Italus natione et Romanus civis esse glorior*,” Marianne Pade argues that by making language a central aspect of the Golden Age myth, which in their interpretation regards Italy and not other parts of the Latin West, Italian humanists succeed in making humanist Latin an essential part of Italian cultural identity. Felipe González Vega considers both historiographical theory and the function of allusion in Antonio de Nebrija’s *Divinatio in scribenda historia*, concluding in his “Latín, nacionalismo y arte alusiva en la historiografía de Antonio de Nebrija” that Nebrija’s priority is not truth with regard to the achievements of the Catholic monarchy, but the production of a deliberately subjective propaganda for the empire. In “*Quondam quanta fuit Hispania ipsa saxa doceant: falsi epigrafici e identità nella Spagna del XVI secolo*,” Joan Carbonell Manils, Helena Gimeno Pascual, and Gerard González Germain analyze a set of five false inscriptions related to the war between the Romans and Viriathus which were circulated between 1513 and 1516 by Agostino Nettucci (a poorly known humanist). This episode gives us an insight into the *modus operandi* employed by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century forgers and their motives for carrying out these forgeries. Focusing on analysis of expressions of *amor patriae* in the learned prefaces of Henri Estienne (*Henricus Stephanus secundus*), David Cowling argues in “Constructions of Nationhood in the Latin Writings of Henri Estienne” that writings in Latin should be included in the narrative of “literary nation-building” in early modern France. In “National Identity and Political Intentionality in Sixteenth-Century Hispanic Historiography: From Tarafa’s *Las Espanas* to Santa Cruz’s *La España*,” Eulàlia Miralles shows that Alonso de Santa Cruz’s translation manipulates and twists the sense of Tarafa’s *De origine*, perhaps reflecting a reaction against the *Anales* of Jerónimo Zurita led by Santa Cruz himself. Geoffrey Eatough offers the first of three papers on the British Isles in “William Camden’s *Insula Romana*,” arguing that the *Britannia* sometimes uses the Roman past to deconstruct the prejudices and assumptions

of the present, but at other times reinforces them. In “Old English or Gael? Personal, Cultural and Political Identity in Dermot O’Meara’s *Ormonius*,” Keith Sidwell shows how the hero of *Ormonius*, the tenth Earl of Ormond, Thomas Butler, negotiates, sometimes subtly, sometimes rather bluntly, serious problems of identity, personal, cultural and political (national), caused by the peculiar circumstances of being Irish when Ireland was under English domination. Nienke Tjoelker pursues similar themes in “Irishness and Literary Persona in the Debate between John Lynch and O’Ferrall,” focusing on an ardent Gaelic supporter of Rinuccini (O’Ferrall) and an Old English cleric who supported the faction trying to achieve a peace agreement with the English as soon as possible (Lynch). In “Latin and Political Propaganda in Early Modern Catalunya: The Case of the *Guerra dels segadors*,” Alejandro Coroleu uses three tracts written during the so-called Catalan Revolt or Guerra dels Segadors (Reapers’ War, 1640-1652) to show how Latin assisted Catalan scholars and politicians in attempting to offset the arguments employed by their political counterparts. Sílvia Canalda i Llobet and Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas’ “Lengua, identidad y religión en el arte catalán de los siglos XVI a XVIII” argues that within early modern Catalan art, the choice of Latin or of the vernacular has important linguistic and identity-related ramifications. Andrew Laird’s “Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit Construction of a Mexican Legacy” concludes the volume. In this essay, Laird demonstrates that Jesuit authors in New Spain wrote in Latin because they wanted to construct a legacy for Mexico to match the monumental representation of Iberia’s august Greco-Roman past and of the Spanish Golden Age in the *Bibliotheca Hispana nova* and the *Bibliotheca Hispana retus* which the Sevillian scholar Nicolás Antonio had compiled in Latin in the mid-1600s.

This is a nice collection of essays on an important topic in Neo-Latin studies. Some are more broadly focused than others, but all of them have something to say and the papers stay on-topic more than some essay collections that have recently appeared. It is also worth noting that these essays appear as a special issue of an electronic journal. This is the first electronic publication that has been reviewed

in *Neo-Latin News*, but for a field in which the potential readership remains limited, the emergence of publishing options like this should be embraced warmly by all Neo-Latinists. This collection shows that quality standards can be maintained in the newer media, which allows the open dissemination of good scholarship that cannot always be published in formats that depend on a more traditional economic model. Expect more such reviews in future issues. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Vestigia Vergiliana: Vergil-Rezeption in der Neuzeit*. Ed. by Thorsten Burkard, Markus Schauer, and Claudia Wiener, with the assistance of Eltje Böttcher. Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft, Beihefte, Neue Folge, 3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010. X + 473 pp. The essays in this collection, which are devoted to identifying and analyzing ‘traces’ of Virgil’s work in modern literature, constitute a Festschrift for Werner Suerbaum, who has written many books and articles in this area, most recently the magisterial *Handbuch der illustrierten Vergil-Ausgaben 1502-1840. Geschichte, Typologie, Zyklen und kommentierter Katalog der Holzschnitte und Kupferstiche zur Aeneis in Alten Drucken* (Hildesheim, 2008). The following essays are included: Mario Geymonat, “Tiroler Wein an der Tafel von Vergil und Augustus”; Nikolaus Thurn, “Heros Aeneas und Iuno, die Hera. Der Wandel des Heldenbegriffes von der Antike zur Neuzeit”; Thorsten Burkard, “Kannte der Humanismus ‘den anderen Vergil? Zur *two voices*-Theorie in der lateinischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit”; Gerhard Binder, “Goldene Zeiten: Immer wieder wird ein Messias geboren Beispiele neuzeitlicher Aneignung der 4. Ekloge Vergils”; Claudia Wiener, “Die *Aeneas*-Rolle des elegischen Helden. Epische Inszenierung und dichterisches Selbstverständnis in Celtis’ *Amores*”; Reinholt F. Glei, “Das leere Grab und die Macht der Bilder. Vergilrezeption in der *Christias* des Marco Girolamo Vida”; Stefan Feddern, “Die Rezeption der vergilischen Seesturmschilderung (Aen. 1,34-156) in Camões’ Epos *Os Lusíadas* (6,6-91)”; Alexander Cyron, “Melchior Barlaeus, 5. Ekloge *Pharmaceutria*. Text—Übersetzung—antike Vorbilder”; Maria Mateo Decabo, “Hardys *Didon se sacrificavit*. Ein ‘Kommentar’ zum vierten Buch der *Aeneis*?”; Eckard Lefèvre, “Jakob Balde und der *Rex Poetarum* Vergil—von der *Pudicitia*

vindicata zur Expeditio Polemico-Poëtica. Ein Überblick"; Lothar Mundt, "Simon Dach als neulateinischer Bukoliker. Seine Eklogen zum Weihnachts- und Osterfest (1651/1652)"; Markus Schauer, "Vulcanus und Constantia als Waffenschmiede—die Schildbeschreibungen in Vergils *Aeneis* und Ubertino Carraras *Columbus*"; Rudolf Rieks, "Zu Voltaires Vergilrezeption in der *Henriade*"; Hans Jürgen Tschiedel, "Die *Dido* der Charlotte von Stein"; Andreas Patzer, "Ah Virgil, Virgil!—der Speichelrecker des julischen Hauses. Die literarische Bedeutung des Lateinischen in Thomas Manns *Zauberberg*"; Renate Piecha, "Wo Britting irrte, oder: Wie die Presse Vergil am Verstummen hindert"; Silke Anzinger, "Von Troja nach Gondor. Tolkiens 'The Lord of the Rings' als Epos in vergilischer Tradition"; Siegmar Döpp, "Te, Palinure, petens. Vergilrezeption in Palinurus' *The Unquiet Grave*"; and Frank Wittchow, "Aeneas ohen Sendung? Cormac McCarthy's *The Road*." The volume concludes with a bibliography of Suerbaum's publications from 1993 to 2009 and two indices, one of names and one of passages cited.

Not everything in this volume pertains to Neo-Latin literature: several essays, for example, cover Virgil's influence on post-sixteenth-century vernacular literature, in France (Binder, Decabo, Rieks), Germany (Tschiedel, Patzer, Binder), Poland (Binder), Portugal (Federn), and Anglophone countries (Anzinger, Döpp, Wittchow). Many of the articles, however, follow Virgilian traces in Neo-Latin literature, in epic (Thurn, Burkard, Binder, Glei, Schauer), bucolic (Cyron, Mundt, Lefèvre), lyric (Wiener, Lefèvre), and other forms of writing (Lefèvre, Burkard). Some of the essays introduce us to little-known figures who merit further study, but canonical authors are, present, too, in essays on Sannazaro, Celtis, Vida, and Balde. The volume is rather German in several respects, with some of the essays (e.g. Burkard's) reflecting hostility to approaches that have not caught on with German scholars and a few others tilted noticeably toward secondary scholarship in German, but these are minor quibbles at most. This is a worthy tribute to its honoree, a good collection that belongs on the shelf of everyone with a serious interest in the classical tradition in Neo-Latin poetry. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)