



EVENTEENTH-



ENTURY



NEWS

FALL - WINTER 2012

Vol. 70

Nos. 3&4

Including

THE NEO-LATIN NEWS Vol. 60, Nos. 3&4

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

VOLUME 70, Nos. 3&4

FALL-WINTER, 2012

An official organ of the Milton Society of America and of the Milton Section of the Modern Language Association, **SCN** is published as a double issue two times each year with the support of the English Department at 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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www-english.tamu.edu/pubs/scn/
journals.tdl.org/scn

ISSN 0037-3028

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

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Alexandra Walsham. *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. xvi + 637 pp. + 52 illus. \$65.00. Review by NICOLLE JORDAN, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI.

Discussions of landscape are notoriously susceptible to conceptual imprecision because of the term's elusive and unstable meaning. The introduction of Alexandra Walsham's *The Reformation of Landscape* promises to be attentive to the dizzying and sometimes contradictory array of meanings that accrue to the term. Thus, she begins by observing the emergence of what we now call landscape from the Dutch vernacular term "landskip," which referred to artistic depictions of natural scenery; "only gradually did it come to be used to denote actual places rather than the subjective simulacra of them that artists produced on canvas and paper" (2). Sensitivity to the subjective nature of landscape is a hallmark of Walsham's method; her book traces how shifting religious beliefs generated corresponding shifts in perception of the physical environment during the early modern period. More specifically, the book focuses on competing interpretations of place that accompany a particularly volatile and controversial phase in British history. Conflicting meaning is thus at the core of her topic; she reckons with contradictory accounts of the same phenomena as well as with the lacuna that puncture the historical record, especially regarding popular perceptions. The widespread illiteracy of the non-elite means that access to their views is restricted to documents that were often hostile or biased toward a particular end, rendering them less than reliable records of popular perception and belief. Though at times Walsham's analysis gives way to plodding recitation of examples of the particular landscape feature under discussion, in general the sheer breadth of primary sources makes for a rich encounter with distant people and their interactions with land and landmarks.

The sanctity of space is a key concept uniting the book's seven chapters. Walsham is interested in how the Reformation initially sought to eradicate Catholic beliefs and practices, and how this phase of the movement had both intended and unintended consequences, notably the persistence of that which was targeted for eradication,

even among Protestants themselves. She often returns to this point, arguing persuasively that Protestant efforts to evacuate sanctity from space and to relocate it in the congregation itself nevertheless failed to eliminate people's seemingly instinctive tendency to invest certain places with spiritual significance. The book's chronological trajectory also proceeds as a tour of various types of sacred space and the rituals that honored them; trees, rock outcroppings, springs and wells figure prominently throughout.

Though purportedly an early modern historical study, Walsham's first and last chapters feature forays into adjacent periods. Thus chapter one, "*Loca Sacra*: Religion and the Landscape before the Reformation," surveys Britain's Neolithic past, and then the Roman conquest, beginning with the arrival of Suetonius Paulinus in AD 61. The book's description of the Roman encounter with the Isles' indigenous peoples presages subsequent emphasis on accommodation and convergence over repression and eradication: "Celtic belief and practice were readily absorbed into the system of pantheistic ritual the Romans imported from the Mediterranean world [...] The idea that nature could be manipulated as an instrument of divination and an aid to prophetic insight was another aspect of Greek and Latin culture which seems to have been compatible with existing pagan assumptions" (22). She then proceeds to the centuries-long phase of Christianization, describing the roles of legendary figures such as St. Patrick in fifth-century Ireland and Augustine in sixth-century England. Throughout, Walsham wrestles with the speculative nature of knowledge about Britain's prehistory, noting the ample evidence of how early Christians sought to assimilate pagan sites within their own ambit, yet also acknowledging that demonization rather than assimilation sometimes occurred. This chapter also sets in motion her plan to cover the entire North Atlantic archipelago: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland consistently figure in her analysis, which often features efforts to distinguish developments in one region from the others—a strategy that proves especially illuminating and indeed necessary in the case of Ireland, where the Reformation's impact was less permanent or pervasive than elsewhere.

The first chapter also charts the types of spaces and landmarks that reappear throughout the study, suggesting the continuity linking

ancient, medieval, and early modern manifestations of the sacred. In the discussion of pilgrimage and miracles, for example, we encounter millstones, saints' gravesites, "wonder-working springs" (51), ancient oak trees, and so forth. The economic role of shrines also emerges in this survey of ancient sacred sites; Walsham records the erection of ecclesiastical buildings and the pensions provided to chaplains who attended them. She notes, too, how the rich patrons of these projects invested in them "in an effort to tap and develop their commercial potential" (55). After tracing an array of cult sites dedicated to patron saints, she observes a complex power dynamic embedded in Britain's emergent geography of shrines, noting that although the cults and chapels linked with numinous sites "augmented and supported the central institutions of 'traditional religion' as revealed to us by revisionism, these places were also a fillip to forms of voluntarism that involved a partial withdrawal from it" (65). Similarly, pilgrimage, like cultish shrines, came to be seen as a potential threat to established religion; some authorities—both secular and ecclesiastical—took measures to counteract the disorderly conduct and financial abuses that afflicted these travels and compromised their pious intentions. Thus emerge early indications of the tension that would build to outright conflict in subsequent years—tension about whether "divine presence was 'contained and enclosed in any one space'" (76). Early dissenting movements such as the Lollards were censured for heresy over precisely this issue, for they dared to complain that purportedly spiritual travels encouraged sinful behavior, not to mention wasting time and resources that could better be devoted to helping the poor. In such antagonism one may glimpse early instances of concerns that led to the Reformation—early traces, that is, of the view that "native faith had been corrupted by the papacy and its agents" (79).

Walsham's second chapter, "Idols in the Landscape: The Impact of the Protestant Reformation," focuses on the iconoclasm that literally transformed the landscape once Protestantism began its "crusade against idolatry." She takes special care to impress upon readers that the Reformation was not a monolithic movement but rather "both a political process and an unruly popular convulsion" (81). She also provides a lucid explanation of the theological differences that propelled the movement, the most relevant ones pertaining to the

relation between the material and spiritual realms. By denying that divinity inhered in any particular space or could be manipulated to gain access to the Almighty, Protestantism leveled a damning blow to the very edifice of the medieval Church, sustained as it was by cathedrals, monasteries, chapels, and shrines that stood as testimony to the opposing principle—that divinity was indeed immanent in sacralized sites. As contempt for idolatry gathered momentum, there also emerged a tendency to conflate it with paganism; one Carmelite monk thus attributed the emergence of cults of a Celtic and Anglo-Saxon provenance to “the vacuum left by Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Diana, and Mars” (86). Inducements to iconoclasm abound in the period, originating in the Bible but then proliferating in Puritan tracts such as William Perkins’ *Warning against the idoltrie of the last times* (1603). One ironic consequence of the extirpation of idolatry was “to displace attention back onto the natural environment,” as if the outdoors were the only space untainted by the buildings now seen as spurs to idolatry: “A distinction had to be made between ‘what is created by God, and that which is made by man to an unholy and Idolatrous use’” (93). Yet, insisting (as some radical Protestants did) that the only way to crush idolatry was to destroy the buildings that housed graven images did not limit the campaign to architectural targets. Instead, the definition of idolatry expanded such that any object or site invested with sacred meaning became suspect for its potential to steer the devout astray: “the natural world itself, metaphorically speaking, [turned] into a minefield littered with explosive devices” (93). In the face of such perceived threats to proper devotion, both the state and vigilant individuals undertook campaigns to destroy all incentives to idolatry. Walsh catalogues the royal program of iconoclasm, from Henry VIII’s concerted campaign against the cult of Thomas Becket to the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547 against “wandering to pilgrimages” and adoring images. Indeed, the licensed destruction carried out in the 1540s-80s seems so systematic and thorough-going that one is surprised to learn that some remote regions, particularly in Ireland, escaped with many sacred buildings intact—for example, in the provinces of Connacht and Luster. After reading about so many sustained and seemingly ubiquitous campaigns, it is surprising to read that “only a small fraction of hallowed places rooted in the natural environment

ever came under the axe.” Walsham thus offers a sobering reminder that almost anything in the landscape might have been targeted for destruction: “removing all potential obstacles to true belief located in fields, caves, and woods, and on moors, mountains, and beaches was never going to be feasible” (111).

In a typical gesture toward even-handedness, Walsham notes that these campaigns of iconoclasm were counter-balanced by efforts to assimilate sacred buildings and monuments within the fold of the reformed Church. Some instances of compromise are almost comical, such as her observation that in Scotland, many market crosses escaped destruction because they served as “convenient venues at which sinners could be ordered to perform the reformed ritual of public repentance” (112-3). The conversion of Catholic iconography into designated sites for penance indicates how much the Reformation functioned as a project of re-signification. Non-experts like myself are hard-pressed to detect a guiding principle (aside from geographical remoteness) that protected some Catholic property and not others. The author goes on to explain that although many Catholic buildings were razed or vandalized, many others were converted for parochial use. Thus, another consequence of the Reformation was to consolidate worship in sanctioned sites and minimize worship at rival sites (e.g., chapels and wayside crosses), “spatially reorienting belief and practice and focusing it more exclusively upon the parish church” (115).

Walsham’s turn to individual acts of iconoclasm compels one to appreciate once more the varied nature of religious reform. Not only were such acts often punished, but they were also loaded with multiplicitous meanings; they could not necessarily be seen as vigilantism given that they often mimicked state-mandated campaigns of destruction. As she charts the desecration of crosses, maypoles, holy trees, and wells, she acknowledges that court records often reveal the perpetrators’ manifest sense of religious zeal; yet, other records describe some acts of destruction as no more than evidence of “riotous behavior” (123). Regardless of the motives behind them, the destruction of sacred buildings and sites no doubt had the intended effect—“the desacralization of the landscape” (123). The economic incentives for desecration are again noteworthy; the author quotes a father who purchased building materials from a dissolved monastery even though

he bore their former inhabitants no ill will: "I did as others did" (124). Such evidence leads her to speculate that perhaps the reform movement's gathering momentum had less to do with popular consensus about such practices than with the fact that participation became the path of least resistance.

For these and similar reasons, unprecedented zeal against idolatry contributed to the outbreak and execution of the Civil Wars. Iconoclasm grew especially rampant in Scotland in the late 1630s and early 1640s, partly in response to efforts to introduce the revised Laudian prayer book. In England, Parliamentary forces ratcheted up the campaign by transferring authority over iconoclasm from the Church to lay representatives of the state; the Commons were thus enlisted in the effort that was also newly authorized to destroy offensive items not only within the walls of but also outside churches. Such expansion of the forces of iconoclasm not only legitimated past acts of desecration (even those unsanctioned by Church authorities), but also, Walsham says, provides "evidence of the agency of ordinary people in cleansing their land of abominable idols" (137). The zeal of the New Model Army extended even beyond church property, when soldiers saw fit to vandalize mysterious geological sites such as "rocking stones" and megaliths in order to put an end to sinful practices they might host. Opportunity, once again, lent force to the movement: the military benefitted from the desecrations by acquiring much-needed materials for fortifications, such as stone and timber. Although similar assaults on the estates of Stuart loyalists may have been opportunistic rather than ideologically driven, Walsham repeatedly underscores the symbolic significance of these efforts to alter the landscape: "Far from random acts of violence, such initiatives were symptomatic of the manner in which the religious and cultural conflicts of the era continued to be played out on the contested face of the landscapes of early modern Britain" (142).

An intriguing twist in the logic of the campaign against idolatry can be found in the Protestant desire to preserve remnants of the destruction as evidence of Reform's triumph over false Christianity. Such moralistic expressions of triumph appear in late eighteenth-century treatises on the picturesque, featuring faddish quests for ruins; thus, William Gilpin savors "the demise of these nurseries of 'bigotry and

indolence” (149). Walsham is particularly persuasive in observing the contradictory resonance of these memorials to iconoclasm: “such acts of destruction unwittingly reproduce the awe they are designed to dispel. Their perpetrators commit and encourage a kind of idolatry themselves. [... Thus,] the sacred was not so much eroded as reconfigured and relocated; the way in which it was present in the world was redefined rather than wholly denied” (150).

Having reached this point in the book, one begins to labor under the absence of a stable definition of landscape that would distinguish it from the other terms with which Walsham alternates: space, place, site, environment, topography, etc. Although her remarks about subjective perception go some distance toward unifying her analysis, the abstract nature of her object of study sometimes leads her argument to drift into obscurity. Indeed, although her introduction acknowledges the power of visuality as seen in the symbols that “encrust” (a preferred term) the land, one is hard pressed to link her conception of landscape to the many others that she acknowledges in opening her book. Having noted a contemporary tendency to treat landscape as a cultural construction rather than “an immobile entity and almost irresistible force” (as had Annalists such as Fernand Braudel) (6), Walsham seems uninterested in explaining how, exactly, the events she recounts contributed to a “way of seeing” (in Denis Cosgrove’s influential formulation of landscape). That is, one wonders why landscape effectively becomes, in this analysis, a firmly external and knowable object rather than the product of a culturally inscribed mode of visuality that trains the viewer to identify certain types of scenery (typically featuring rural land and sparse man-made or modified objects therein) as landscape. In the absence of visual analysis of the many fascinating images reproduced here, or of textual analysis that attends to how writers compose scenes depicting items in the external world so as to make them perceptible to readers who cannot otherwise see them, one wonders whether the book isn’t as much a history of the natural environment under the Reformation. In the end, I am not convinced that landscape is a necessary term for Walsham’s study.

Having reconciled myself to learning other fascinating information, if not necessarily the process by which the Reformation taught people to see the land, I forged ahead through Walsham’s subsequent

five chapters and did indeed considerably increase my understanding of the Reformation. Thus, chapter three, “*Britannia sancta: Catholicism, Counter-Reformation, and the Landscape*,” explores how residual forms of Catholicism persisted, and indeed were strengthened by the spiritual renewal that galvanized Catholics on the continent—some of whom came to the British Isles as missionaries—following the Council of Trent. This renewal had an especially significant impact on the natural environment given that Catholics were denied traditional sites of worship. We learn about the re-assertion of pilgrimage as a valued religious practice, and about illicit worship at once-sacred sites that were re-discovered, renovated or otherwise re-sacralized—often with renewed vigor inspired by the architectural martyrdom that so many sites suffered. In addition to copious examples of holy wells and impromptu halls of worship fashioned from barns and sheepcotes, Walsham recounts myriad missionary activities on the “Isles of Saints”: consecration of fountains; circulation of registers of authenticated miracles worked there; ample publications renewing the cults of sainthood around the likes of St. Columba, St. Brigid, and St. Winefride, among others; and the proliferation of tales of retribution visited upon iconoclasts. Especially fascinating is the account of how Catholics confronted Protestant efforts to write revisionist history about Britain’s ancient Christian past. Reformers such as John Bale and John Foxe propagated myths about early Christian converts such as Joseph of Arimathea (first century AD); their pretext was that these early Christians prove the existence in Britain of a pure and indigenous form of the religion prior to the sinister invasion of papal agents. An equally compelling example of Protestant revisionism is early seventeenth-century Irish Archbishop James Ussher, who “reinterpreted the religion planted by St. Patrick as free of the taint of papistry and repositioned the Protestant Church of which he was primate as its true heir” (208).

Chapter four, “*The Religious Regeneration of the Landscape: Ritual, Rehabilitation, and Renewal*,” studies evidence of regret and nostalgia among Catholics and Protestants alike with regard to decades of iconoclasm that left behind a pervasively scarred landscape. Walsham considers various examples of Protestant dissidents who pursued alternative modes of worship specifically through recourse

to remote spots in nature in order to hear sermons, conduct camp meetings, read illicit vernacular books, or pursue other unorthodox forms of spiritual engagement. The accumulation of examples of spiritual inquiry conducted in the outdoors makes for a compelling case that the Reformation did not, as influential accounts have argued, amount to the secularization of space. In fact, the very illicit activities through which reformers pursued their resistance to the Catholic, and later Anglican, establishment constitute a form of sacralization of the natural world. One meeting of Covenanters in Scotland offers a striking example of the scope and intensity of religious sects that challenged the Stuart regime after the Restoration; 14,000 people purportedly met at one meeting: “Gathering in fields had become a badge of anti-episcopal and anti-Stuart defiance” (242). Walsham makes much of the sanctified nature that recurs in accounts of these gatherings, from detailed descriptions of the setting—“[The site] was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water side [the Whitadder]. On either hand was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with a delightful pasture [...]”—to claims that “the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings, or material temples” (241). It becomes clear that these dissident sects locate the sacred in alternative spaces in the natural world, thus undermining orthodox Protestant principles that reject the spirit’s material presence in the physical environment.

The chapter is thus a meditation on the spectrum of fears about retribution for the violence and destruction committed in the name of Reformation. Some Anglicans feared that they were guilty of sacrilege and saw the Civil Wars as retribution for their ancestors’ sins; some even asked authorities whether they should return inherited property that once belonged to the Church. Puritans, meanwhile, insisted that the sacrilege lay in possessing objects that God would want to be destroyed. Even so, Walsham asserts that “The wave of destruction inaugurated by the Reformation engendered a rhetoric of sentimental lament and rueful regret which fed into and fused with the cult of the picturesque” (325).

Chapter five, “God’s Great Book in Folio: Providence, Science, and the Natural Environment,” further pursues Walsham’s challenge to the secularization thesis, here through an analysis of the rhetoric of

enlightenment and its impact on perceptions of divinity. She argues that debates within natural philosophy always included a spiritual dimension and therefore asserts that emerging science reinforced rather than undermined religious belief in this era. As evidence, she traces patterns of interpreting environmental calamity, noting a shift from seeing the landscape as scarred by God's wrath after the Fall to seeing signs of His benevolence therein. In diverse contexts Walsham offers evidence of how "Protestants believed that in the created world the invisible was made visible," which leads to the conclusion that "like their Catholic predecessors and counterparts, Protestants typically regarded Nature as a secondary source of revelation alongside the Bible" (332, 333). Moments like these, echoing earlier sections that emphasize convergence and compromise over repression and obliteration, stand out as one of Walsham's most insightful claims about the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Reading the Book of Nature alongside the holy book constituted a shared practice for both Catholics and Protestants. Natural catastrophe incited multiple interpretations of the workings of Providence. A litany of examples—from earthquakes, storms, and blood-colored river water to groaning trees, misshapen plants, and off-season blooming—become matters of contestation among reformers seeking to quell superstition but who persist in seeing evidence of divine intervention—and divine instruction—in such aberrations in Nature. The ways in which political partisanship inflected these interpretations of preternatural phenomena also lends complexity to the analysis; Roundheads and Cavaliers proved equally adept at reading such phenomena as signs of God's vengeance upon their enemies and His solidarity with their own cause.

Walsham ranges over Baconian science, the Hartlib Circle, the Royal Society, the Philosophical Society in Oxford, and individuals in Ireland and Scotland who pursued natural philosophy outside official organizations. A recurrent trend within all these contexts is the effort to debunk superstitious claims about legends and miracles associated with saints. Skeptics marshaled the new modes of inductive inquiry, and prioritized observation over inherited tradition, in ways that tended to naturalize phenomena that had heretofore been interpreted as supernatural evidence of God's omnipotence. While acknowledging the profound impact of emergent forms of scientific

inquiry, Walsham cautions against hasty conclusions about increasing secularization. Thus, rather than diminishing people's faith in godly intervention in earthly events, she asserts that "the enormous surge of investigatory endeavor [...] redefined contemporary understanding of the parameters within which the deity intervened in the universe" (368). She brings these debates to bear on her main topic—landscape—in the chapter's final section, "The Sacred Theory of the Earth: Physico-Theology." Here we revisit intriguing conflicts between millenarian visionaries and physico-theologists regarding the causation and significance of the earth's geological construction and evolution. The author explores the influential impact of Bishop Thomas Burnet's *Sacred theory of the earth* (1684), which interpreted irregularities in the earth's surface as evidence of God's punishment for Adam and Eve's disobedience. Debates responding to Burnet continued into the eighteenth century, and among them Walsham detects a willingness to see the earth not as a ruin left by the Fall but rather as a wonder of God's creation that expressed "an emerging awareness of the utility and beauty of geographical features that earlier commentators had dismissed as warts and disfigurements" (389).

Chapter six, "Therapeutic Waters: Religion, Medicine, and the Landscape" explores how spa culture cannot be seen as a simple replacement of spiritual by medicinal practice. Healing through water continued to be seen as a spiritual art, and even when doctors emphasized the chemical properties of the spas, they did not deny the possibility that divine intervention contributed to the healing effects of these places. Thus, the chapter carries on an argument threading throughout the book about modification and syncretism—in this case, in attitudes toward holy wells and springs, and the ways in which Calvinist theology absorbed practices based on miraculous healing so as to rehabilitate the salubrious effects of such places without perpetuating the superstition that, to Reformers, tainted them. Absorption and legitimation of practices and beliefs formerly decried as popular delusion also reappear here; prior to this chapter Walsham paid close attention to divergences between popular and elite patterns of belief, and in the present case she remarks how spas were "an emerging culture of gentility and civility, which the elite embraced along with other aspects of Renaissance self-fashioning" (401). The promise of

profit also drove this trend; she notes how landowners and municipal governors encouraged the rehabilitation of sacred springs as sources of urban renewal but that copy-cat patterns of resurgence and disappearance suggest that not all such sites were able to sustain their appeal. Political conflict also left its imprint upon spa culture. Walsham cites widespread evidence that although anti-popery was often thought to motivate the resurgence of medicinal spas, the case of Bath suggests otherwise. As a Catholic stronghold in the late sixteenth century, this spa served as the site of various seditious activities, including many gatherings devoted to “that ‘hellish design,’ the Gunpowder Plot” (413). Royalist associations with spas like Bath, Tunbridge Wells, and Wellingborough led Parliamentary forces to destroy some such sites. But these acts did not permanently alter Royalist affinity for water cures; witness the claim that Mary of Modena conceived the son of James II as a consequence of her visit to Bath in the 1680s (422). However, interestingly, spa culture did not become the exclusive province of the elite. Walsham offers solid evidence that “such sites constituted a kind of National Health Service,” providing healing to those who could not afford the high expense of doctors and leading to a widespread expectation that “landowners had a moral duty to dispense their waters *gratis*” (449).

Walsham devotes her final chapter, “Invented Traditions: Legend, Custom, and Memory,” to the concept of collective memory and to the book’s overarching argument that Protestantism did as much to perpetuate as to eradicate the vast repertoire of legend and myth about British land and its heritage. Antiquarianism is the primary context through which Walsham pursues this thesis, and she interrogates its guiding assumptions, which are informed by “reformed theology and anti-Catholic commonplaces, [...] a fascination with the classical world [...], an ingrained condescension towards the culture of their social inferiors, and, in the case of Gaelic Ireland and Highland Scotland, by a powerful undercurrent of ethnic and racial prejudice” (473). Like her first chapter, which stretched far back into the pre-history of the Reformation, the last chapter looks well ahead of the Reformation era, observing its legacy in the Victorian age in phenomena such as the widespread fascination with folklore. In the divergent editorial practices of folklorists and antiquarians, Walsham observes

a tendency for some to suppress or downplay what they considered “idle fables,” while others chose to include outlandish tales expressly with the intent to expose and thereby dispel any remnants of “the crafty devices by which the Church of Rome had bamboozled the medieval laity” (479). Once again, irony prevails in the wake of such efforts, for, Walsham argues, attempts to unmask the falsity of Catholic sacred sites had the unwitting effect of re-sacralizing them as sites in which to celebrate Protestantism’s triumph over its “confessional enemies” (482). Similarly, being targeted by Protestant triumphalism did not entirely quell the hagiographical tradition, and Walsham gathers considerable evidence of the continued circulation of tales about, for example, St. Oswald in Shropshire, and Saints Iltud and Baglan in Wales (487). As she traces myriad legends that accumulate to explain the origins of the megaliths known as Hangman’s Stones dotting the British Isles, she detects a recurrent theme of divine wrath for humanity’s transgression. The persistence of narratives of divine justice across both Catholic and Protestant legends further confirms Walsham’s argument for convergence of thought between the two. As she delineates example after example—standing stones supposed to have been “petrified footballers,” punished for playing on the sabbath, and other revelers turned to stone for similar offenses—she persuasively modifies the partial truth that the Reformation entailed a campaign against superstition. The post-Reformation provenance of many tales recounted here reflects “Protestantism’s ability both to accommodate a pre-existing lore of the landscape and, furthermore, to embellish it” (504).

As I have suggested, Walsham is adept at articulating the complex relationship between peoples, land, and customs; yet, her expansive method leads to a loss of specificity in the meaning of the term “landscape.” Despite early recognition of the priority of the visual, the book ultimately reads as an encyclopedic collection of stories that have been told about the land of the British Isles. Her 37-page bibliography of primary sources, featuring over four pages of manuscript sources from twenty-odd regional and national archives (from the Huntington Library in southern California to the Borthwick Institute for Historical Research in York), attests to the enormous amount of research that Walsham conducted and synthesized into this weighty tome. But after

the introduction, her analysis ceases to theorize landscape in a way that interrogates the specific perceptual and subjective processes that contribute to its construction. Nevertheless, we may see the principle of cultural construction at work in the proliferation of tales, legends, myths, hagiographies, memoirs, treatises, court records, and other sources testifying to the competing, yet also mutually reinforcing, narratives that turn the land into a repository of the culture's values and multiplicitous histories. Her book occasionally falters when the litany of examples loses any manifest connection to landscape, particularly because questions of aesthetics rarely factor into her analysis. Granted, specific meanings located in or imposed upon the land are what interest her; the "content" of these places, and not the pleasure derived from looking at them, drives her discussion and leads to a proliferation of detail that is often fascinating but sometimes repetitive. Evincing a fascination with the variety of ways in which people read the landscape as God's artwork, she elucidates how the Reformation affected the topography of the British Isles as well as patterns by which the inhabitants interpreted the land in which they lived. Scholars of religion, antiquarianism, rurality, and related fields will profit from this dense and nuanced book.

Ruth Connolly & Tom Cain. *Lords of Wine & Oile: Community & Conviviality in the Poetry of Robert Herrick*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. ix + 335pp. Review by SIOBHÁN COLLINS, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CORK.

Editors Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly provide an excellent "Introduction" to this outstanding collection of essays by a host of international critics. Cain and Connolly detail the textual and political history of the transmission of Herrick's poems in both their manuscript and print communities, providing new insights along the way. Returning Herrick's poetry to the "socio-literary contexts from which it emerges" (8), they remind the reader of the wide-spread manuscript circulation of his verse during the 1620s, prior to its appearance in Herrick's single major volume of poetry, *Hesperides*, which the author brought to press in the momentous year of 1648. With its 1,400

poems, *Hesperides*, they write, “documents both the destruction of the pre-war Caroline literary culture in which Herrick had been a leading figure, with its coterie sensibility of intimacy, sociability, and exclusivity centered on manuscript exchange, and the construction of a new, print-based royalist culture” (13). According to the editors, the constructed disorder of Herrick’s printed book reflects and promotes the socio-literary ethos and material circumstances of manuscript community and verse miscellanies. Moreover, whilst bearing witness to and negotiating increasingly threatening socio-political contradiction and strife, *Hesperides* also offers a timely resolve by serving as a mnemonic artifact to the poet’s “belief in poetry as the servant of community and conviviality” (23). The editors maintain that an appreciation of “sociability” as a concept central not only to the composition, transmission and reception of Herrick’s verse, but also to his literary influences and relationships, is the most promising critical approach to reading the poet’s work.

Katherine Maus’ opening essay challenges the dismissive legacy of critical approaches to Cavalier poets, which she sees in the continued belittling of Herrick’s works as insignificant and slight in subject and form. Maus chooses to “decouple” the literary observations that focus on Herrick’s concern with “diminutive things” from the reductive conclusions that most often attend them (28). This involves a reimagining of what constitutes literary value and greatness, an approach which also underpins the next two chapters, written by John Creaser and Leah Marcus, respectively. Maus, Creaser and Marcus each dispute the notion that there exists a unifying narrative to *Hesperides* that acts as a framework for reading each poem in the volume. Maus aligns her approach with that of the sympathetic attention given to previously “derogated phenomena” by feminist and queer studies (28), basing her reevaluation in the incongruous juxtaposition of verse in Herrick’s sequencing of *Hesperides*. Herrick, she argues, disrupts linear narrative pattern and momentum in favor of a “flightiness” (30) that hints at his poetic subjectivity and insists upon “the revelations that lie in recreation and play” (38), which historicist modes of reading tend to disparage.

Creaser also decries historicist approaches; his Herrick is a poet for whom playful virtuosity is a communal act that privileges intimate

collaboration with the reader. Reintroducing a new, and welcome, formal engagement with the individual poem, Creaser sees such virtuosity as a mark of genius that evades the overarching historicist agenda of “much recent scholarship.” Creaser is an agile reader; however, his argument that Herrick is not “committed to a given social alignment” seems hardly plausible, and is contested by many of the fine essays in this volume, and challenged most particularly and persuasively in the “Afterword” by Achsah Guibbory. Marcus, too, rejects historicist readings of *Hesperides*. While Creaser sees the aesthetic as the “predominant value” of Herrick’s poems, which reaches inclusively towards a community of diverse readers and conflicting viewpoints, Marcus emphasizes interruptions to conviviality, stating: “Herrick deliberately ... [mingles] beautiful poems with others that are ... coarse and ugly” (69-70). She maintains that Herrick intentionally and with delight disorients his print reader in order to counter any “hegemonic reading,” and understands this as similar to the pleasure postmodernists find in the “dissolution of forms and boundaries” (78, 79) as a result of technological alienation. Marcus takes issue with and offers an extended critique of Guibbory’s finding of a broad project of ceremonialism underlying *Hesperides* in her book, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton* (1998). In her “Afterword,” Guibbory debates the merits of such “anti-historicism” (305), offering a carefully considered response to the pressing question she herself poses: “How are we to conduct literary criticism and scholarship in the twenty-first century?”

The next three chapters, by Michelle O’ Callaghan, Nick McDowell and Line Cottagnies, respectively, focus on socio-literary contexts in their reading of *Hesperides*. O’Callaghan offers a fascinating discussion of how Herrick’s socio-literary communities link with his modes of production—manuscript and print. She argues that Herrick’s affiliation with Jonson, particularly Jonson as scribal coterie poet, pre-1616, is constructed by Herrick through a fiction of literary descent. This affiliation involves a self-fashioning that aims towards future poetic circles, and serves as a vector for continuity and tradition. She reads *Hesperides* as a print memorial to Jonsonian scribal communities, with their “convivial rituals” (102) predicated on social and literary ties between author and reader. McDowell posits Herrick’s connections to a

royalist literary coterie of the 1640s, the “Order of the Black Riband.” This coterie, McDowell informs, politicized and preserved pre-war cultural traditions of patronage, literary sociability and collaboration by linking convivial poetic practices and manuscript circulation with royalism and print. The Order, McDowell suggests, may have offered Herrick material support during his preparation of *Hesperides* for press following his exile from Dean Prior in 1646. In a complementary essay to the two above, Cottagnies argues that in *Hesperides* Herrick, like Katherine Philips, draws on a royalist discourse of friendship, which, conducted through the medium of print, gave to literature a new autonomy, and ascertained the conditions for poetic fame and literary immortality.

Conviviality within exclusive literary communities may be threatened with a dilution and loss of energy in print culture, according to Richard Wistreich, whose informative essay traces two of Herrick’s Charon dialogues through their publication history. With a remarkable appreciation for the complexity of their musical-literary genre, cultural origin and “resilience under transplantation” (155), Wistreich details how Herrick offsets the distancing nature of a wider print audience and ensures the on-going communal dynamism of his song-dialogues by integrating references within the lyrics to their classical lineage and contemporary socio-literary circles. Ghostly classical allusion in Herrick’s poetics is the focus of the next two chapters by Stella Achilleos and Syrithe Pugh, respectively. Achilleos concentrates on the poet’s close literary affinity with the Greek poet, Anacreon, who appears in Herrick’s symposiastic verse, “Besmear’d with Grapes” (192). Achilleos argues that little attention has been given to how the figure of Anacreon is so frequently evoked in *Hesperides* as the convivial verses in which he appears are often trivialized as apolitical, rather than contextualized in light of the period’s controversy surrounding festivities and communal drinking. In “Supping with Ghosts: Imitation and Immortality in Herrick,” Pugh completes the focus on classical allusion in this trio of chapters. Her wonderfully evocative and learned essay illustrates Herrick’s recognition and continuation of the Ovidian theory of poetry as an “on-going conversation between poets living and dead” taking place in the “virtual space of literature” (220-1). Herrick’s many allusions to both classical and near-contemporary

poets are orchestrated around convivial exchange between the living and dead, ensuring the perpetual life of poets within “a cycle of immortalizing imitation” (249).

Significant gaps in Herrick criticism are addressed in the final two chapters: Stacey Jocoy analyses Herrick’s collaboration with musicians, particularly his relationship with the court musician, Henry Lawes, evidence of which she discovers embedded within early modern musical scores, manuscript and print. The relationship with Lawes, Jocoy discovers, reinforces the potency of the cultural politics of Herrick’s lyrics by increasing both their appeal and dissemination. Graham Parry’s chapter aims to make sense of Herrick’s complex and seemingly varied religious identities in *Noble Numbers*, a diverse collection of devotional verse often neglected by critics. Rather than attempting to reconcile the various voices within *Noble Numbers*, Parry finds that they are revealing of the varied religious allegiances and beliefs of post-Reformation England as well as Herrick’s “generosity of spirit” (295): quiet, confessional poems about Herrick’s own private experience jostle with ceremonial verses that address the Christian reader, and ones that extend inclusively across ages and creeds; all carry a central theme, that of God’s ultimate benevolence.

The eleven chapters in this edition, as well as the “Introduction” and “Afterword,” bring to the fore Herrick’s importance as a major seventeenth-century poet. This is an essential read for Herrick scholars, and provides also a detailed bibliography of further reading as well as a useful index. Challenged by the editors to consider how we might read *Hesperides* today “as a book rooted in the cultural history of the lyric poem and in the practices of reading and writing which informs its creation” (23), the critics, as mentioned, employ a range of methodologies which at times support and at times clash with one another. This is a significant edition that offers comprehensive and valuable insights into the poetry of Herrick and its role in early modern literary culture as well as into the theory and practice of literary criticism at this point in time.

Mary Morrissey. *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. xiv + 257 pp. \$110.00. Review by JEANNE SHAMI, UNIVERSITY OF REGINA.

In a series of articles, book chapters, and review essays over the past decade, Mary Morrissey has established herself as the pre-eminent scholar of the Paul's Cross sermons. *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* brings to fruition her reading of hundreds of sermons and her examination of important new primary sources not consulted by earlier scholars (most notably, by Millar MacLure, whose *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* [Toronto, 1958] is the only other monograph on the subject). Since MacLure's study, the study of sermons as cultural historical artefacts of the early modern period has developed in many directions, most significantly in literary studies of particular authors (e.g. John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes) and in literary and historical studies of post-Reformation religious and ecclesiastical politics. The greatest strength of Morrissey's book is its strong commitment to two areas of "disciplinary" focus—historical and literary. The first—the historical—elucidates over time the material conditions associated with the Cross, changes to the Cross and the sermons preached there, and the Cross's place not simply as an institution of the Church of England, but, more particularly, as an institution of the City of London, and a site where the competing claims of the authorities (royal, ecclesiastical, and civic) jostled for pre-eminence. The second—the literary—builds on this profoundly historical foundation and analysis (the monograph's concern with politics, controversy, censorship, and authority), so much so that while attention to language, rhetoric, and texts understood as literary documents is not its primary mode of analysis, the study will be read eagerly by literary scholars, as well as by historians (of religion, of London, of the book, of culture, of politics), and will be useful to them precisely because it is so thoroughly grounded in and shaped by the tools of the historical discipline, while maintaining a strong generic focus that links the historical and literary thrusts of the project.

The first two chapters are excellent examples of sophisticated historical analysis of these materials. Of special importance is the monograph's understanding of the Paul's Cross sermons as occasional

(both when preached and, later, when printed). The first chapter, in particular, makes for compelling reading. The deft assurance with which Morrissey handles the genealogy of Paul's Cross, and her evocation of its physical presence and the audiences it drew, all contribute to a richly detailed and nuanced account of the pulpit's history and its connections to the Corporation of London, the bishop of London, and the royal government. In particular, Morrissey's mining of the records of the Corporation of London provides original scholarship on such matters as the uses to which the pulpit was put, selection of preachers, methods and amounts of payment for preaching services, audiences for sermons, seating arrangements, and the impact of inclement weather on the open-air pulpit. The detail is impressive, as is the degree to which Morrissey has synthesized and extended the boundaries of scholarship on many of these issues.

The second chapter is equally accomplished, drawing together material on conventions of sermon composition (in particular, the relation between sermons as preached and printed), including a wealth of hitherto unpublished archival material. One senses that constraints of space prevented further elaboration and analysis of aspects of sermon composition and the kinds of differences one can note between sermons as preached and as printed, to the extent that these differences can be determined, but the main outlines are firmly drawn. Morrissey has paid close attention—quite rightly—to the differences preachers noted in their introductions to printed works, but comparison of manuscript with printed versions in some cases might provide more concrete examples of the kinds of differences she outlines, and contribute more fully to the book's interdisciplinary analysis.

This study moves logically from a history of the Paul's Cross sermons through an account of the dissemination of these sermons to a discussion of censorship and control of sermons. Chapters four and five shift from these matters to analyze how anti-Catholic and anti-Puritan sermons in particular contributed to the complex identity of the Church of England by the 1630s. The next chapter explores the fascinating topic of how monarchs used this pulpit to project public images, exercising a kind of control here, too, over the identity of the Church of England. Finally, the epilogue charts the fate of Paul's

Cross after it was closed in 1633, and seeks to explain its role in the transition from “public” to “civic” preaching that began in the 1630s.

Morrissey traces the changing fashion for anti-Catholic preaching and anti-Puritan preaching at Paul’s Cross in response to particular historical contexts, occasions, and moments of crisis over the period under examination. The monograph argues that the function of sermons at Paul’s Cross changed over time: from the early years of Elizabeth’s reign when bishops of London used it to reconcile ordinary Londoners to the emerging religious settlement, through the reign of James I by which time confessional lines had hardened and Paul’s Cross was no longer considered useful in converting real recusants; from a time when puritans and bishops were vying for control of the pulpit at key moments of crisis, to the time when Laud’s tenure as bishop of London (supported by a religious and conservative Corporation of London) led to a more consistent, but perhaps less engaging, message from Paul’s Cross. The historical narrative Morrissey constructs shapes the large body of materials under examination, and lays the foundation for examination of the more complex religious and political controversies that went beyond the broad categories of anti-Catholic and anti-Puritan material, thus contributing to the complex religious identity of the English church into the 1620s and 1630s. Morrissey’s published scholarship indicates that she is well aware of these complexities, although one senses that, for the purposes of this book, she had less space to focus on cases that are the exceptions to these general statements, and that complicate the picture of the cultures that developed over time at Paul’s Cross.

In its meticulous attention to the details of its primary sources, and in the scope of its historical reach, this monograph offers a thorough rethinking of Paul’s Cross and the sermons preached there and contributes in significant ways to our understanding not only of these sermons, but of the larger sermon culture of London through the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I when sermons reached their greatest audiences and when the Church of England’s reformed identity was being established. A lively and intelligent account of its subjects, it is essential reading for anyone working on sermons (especially their religious politics), not only those preached at Paul’s

Cross, but those that flourished in the rich sermon culture of post-Reformation Church of England.

Ryan Netzley, *Reading, Desire, and the Eucharist in Early Modern Religious Poetry*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011. 287 pp. \$70.00. Review by NANCY MOHRLOCK BUNKER, MACON STATE COLLEGE.

In Ryan Netzley's fresh perspective on Christian life and devotional verse, Netzley argues that early modern religious lyrics teach about the "appropriate approach to an immanent divinity" and the "manner and practice of desiring God" (3). *Reading, Desire, and the Eucharist in Early Modern Religious Poetry* highlights correspondences between the aspects of seeking God and the comprehension of written texts. The Introduction, "Desiring Sacraments and Reading Real Presence in Seventeenth-Century Religious Poetry," positions The Lord's Supper for investigation because the ceremony itself insists on a "Real Presence in the elements" of the sacraments, and because of the event's ties to "controversies surrounding the operation of metaphor, signification, and words in general" (3). Netzley explores works of George Herbert, Richard Crashaw, John Donne, and John Milton, suggesting that religious desire is not based upon lack or absence. Each poet clearly articulates God's presence within the gift of the Eucharist and affirms that desire for His presence is something one already has. The author also identifies resonances between the Lord's Supper and poetry through discussions of the proper interpretation of signs. An important challenge to the world of literary scholarship courses through each poetic commentary as Netzley argues that neither God's gift of the Eucharist nor the activity of reading are to be engaged as instruments for a purpose. Rather, instructions for loving God, attending to devotional practices, and reframing reading pedagogy, activities engaged for their own sake, belong to a liberating dynamic distinct from the aim of establishing meaning.

In the first chapter, "Take and Taste, Take and Read: Desiring, Reading, and Taking Presence in George Herbert's *The Temple*," Netzley advocates for the poem's instruction regarding the taking of the sacrament, and validates the poet's plain speech for devotion. Ritual and words serve as signs; to that end, communicants and readers must

maintain vigilant attention to acceptance of the present moment. It is important to note that Herbert's *The Temple* invites readers to concentrate on the poem itself, its words on the page, and its immediate meaning rather than to anticipate a "takeaway" from the experience, or to view these activities as "work" (64, 65). The second chapter, "Reading Indistinction: Desire, Indistinguishability, and Metonymic Reading in Richard Crashaw's Religious Lyrics," focuses on the multiple relationships existing between God and his devotees. Refuting Crashaw's detractors, Netzley makes clear that the poet's belief in sacramental desire speaks to a divinity "indistinguishably present in immanent sensations" (67). Explications of "Carmen Del Nostro" and "Steps to the Temple" point out Eucharistic power. Believers accept that the Lord's Supper does what it appears to do. When they desire an already present God and take God's gift, words and signs conflate, exposing both the limits of language (74) and the advantage of metonymy when reading without expectations or aims (105).

"Loving Fear: Affirmative Anxiety in John Donne's Divine Poems," gives this volume's chapter three an expansive view of sacramental desire. In both the *Divine Poems* and the *Holy Sonnets*, Donne rejects the absent God or a relationship of lack, proposing that anxiety and fear are to be sought after as "devotional dispositions" (106). Embracing devotional anxiety and accepting fear are encouraged; in fact, "transcending anxiety is the hallmark of devotion" (115). Even as the Lord's Supper prepares one for an already existing divinity, readers of poetry concentrate on the here and now, a secular devotion that requires attention to the present moment.

"Desiring What has Already Happened: Reading Prolepsis and Immanence in John Milton's Early Poems and *Paradise Regained*" both posits "positive sacramental desire as a principle of reading strategy," and presents the activities of desire and reading as "analogous" (149). Netzley argues that devotees and readers need not search for more, new, or different meaning in their religious or reading practices because Milton's poetry shows how to take in what is already there. Such behavioral and reading pedagogy trains readers to be "virtuous and loving" (150) as they value the present and reading for its own sake. In his discussion of the sacraments in *Paradise Lost* and the *Christian Doctrine*, Netzley reads Milton's certain belief in the sign as an "imperative to

testify our faith and obedience with sincerity and gratitude” (157). Through the Eucharist, we accept God’s presence in the moment and “desire a state of affairs that has already been received” (165). *Paradise Regained*, with its critique on purposiveness, asserts that all too often Christ’s followers concentrate on a goal or aim. Milton points out the flaw in such reading and treats such ends as false devotion.

The conclusion, “Reading is Love,” crystallizes Netzley’s perspective on desire: it is neither an agenda nor a program. “A focus on religion follows the same pattern as a focus on reading,” the author maintains, and agreeing with his pedagogical thrust places sacramental devotion and reading practice into a particular alliance—one in which religious verse and its reader focus on a thing for its own sake. *Reading, Desire, and the Eucharist in Early Modern Religious Poetry* brings insightful perspective to the complexities within early modern verse, and will appeal to scholars of poetry, religion, and critical theory.

Patricia Phillippy, ed. and Jaime Goodrich, trans. *The Writings of an English Sappho*. Toronto: Iter Inc., 2011. xvi + 514 pp. + 16 illus. \$37.00 Review by KAREN RABER, UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

The Toronto series “The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe” has made available a wide and useful variety of texts by early modern women writers, and this edition of Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell’s writings is another welcome addition to the list. Patricia Phillippy’s organization of the volume allows an overview of Russell’s productive life, and her inclusion of numerous images, along with a selection of documents written not by Russell, but by those with whom she was in correspondence, adds new dimensions to the usual character of a “collected works” edition. Indeed, since Russell made writing epitaphs and creating monuments to her family a kind of genre in itself, leaving out the images of the tombs she designed would deny readers an important context. And because Phillippy has also chosen to reproduce bills for celebrations, plans for funerals, even drawings of dinner table arrangements, the volume gives material evidence for the strategies and courtly knowledge Russell brought to the events of her life.

Elizabeth Cooke was born one of the five learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke in 1540; that the sisters were given a thorough classical education is evidenced by Elizabeth's numerous poems, epitaphs and inscriptions in Latin and Greek, ably translated for the volume by Jaime Goodrich. Her close ties to the Cecils and the Bacons put her for a time at the center of power in Elizabeth's court. In 1558 she married Thomas Hoby, who died while the couple was in Paris in 1566, leaving Elizabeth pregnant with their fourth child, and responsible for the transportation of his body back to England: what must have been a traumatic situation gave rise to Russell's first efforts at memorializing family with the construction of an elaborate tomb, inscribed with two of her own epitaphs. Phillippy notes that Russell's design of funerary monuments was "innovative and highly personal," not to mention a departure from Protestant suspicion of visual images (12). Her later work on such monuments for her own daughters, for neighbors and friends, and for her parents' tomb, constitutes a whole genre of artistic creation through which women could participate in cultural production. Her verses for Thomas Hoby, for instance, emphasize her role as mother to his children, their union as one flesh in marriage, and her struggles to accept his death, all acceptable versions of female mourning, but Phillippy points out that this is nonetheless an opportunity to turn dutiful celebration of a spouse into an act self-portraiture. Russell outlived her second husband John Russell as well, giving him a splendid London funeral and a tomb that "sacrifice[d] intimacy for grandeur" (173) to confirm the family's status. Along with her siblings, she created a monument to her father and mother that "makes it clear that Anthony Cooke's intellectual legacy was carried on not by his sons, but by his daughters" (160), yet affirms the daughters as following their mother's pattern by representing them as her identical copies in their clothing and posture.

Russell's exploitation of ceremonial occasions was not limited to funerals, however: Russell hosted Queen Elizabeth on three separate occasions, first upon her first husband's death and many years later when as a widow for the second time, she was faced with the need to secure her children's future with little money. Both visits were to Russell's estate at Bisham; the second, in 1592, occasioned Russell's efforts at a pastoral entertainment, included in the volume's second

section. After periods of preferment and then relative distance from the Queen, she also secured Elizabeth's attendance at the wedding of her daughter Anne to Henry Herbert at Blackfriars in 1600. The queen's procession is recorded in Robert Peake's famous painting, *The Procession to Blackfriars*, much analyzed by art historians and critics, which testifies to the political uses the queen had for the procession, but also to the prominence at court Russell had gained for her daughter and herself in yet another "managed performance" (273). Indeed, Russell was a tireless dynastic laborer, fighting (mostly successfully) to retain control over her children after Hoby's death, and working tirelessly to ensure her daughters' bright futures. This intersection of mothering with political scheming was derailed in the case of her son, Thomas Posthumous, with whom and about whom her correspondence is quite grumpy. Her eldest son by Thomas Hoby made a good marriage and career, but her eldest Russell daughter, Bess, died shortly after Anne's glorious wedding, occasioning a beautiful, but very personal and private memorial.

Phillippy claims one of her goals is to dispel the image of Russell as a "curmudgeon," engaged in continual wrangling over court and family matters, and indeed she is successful in doing so, showing Russell as a complex and sometimes contradictory personality in the Elizabethan court. Russell's writings convey subtle courtiership, stubborn persistence in pursuing her interests, a wife's love and duty to each of her spouses, evidence of motherly indulgence as well as of motherly irritation and nagging, and a record of attention to the most minute details of her property and prestige. The volume is divided into four sections, reflecting the changes in Russell's life—her first marriage to Hoby, her second to Russell, her years negotiating at court, and finally her years as Dowager; perhaps the flattest of these sections is the last, since it is entirely taken up with her translation of Bishop John Ponet's treatise on the Eucharist, *A Way of Reconciliation of a Good and Learned Man*. Phillippy notes that the translation was probably accomplished early in Russell's life, but that she chose to publish it in 1605 as a response to Catholic attacks on the Elizabethan settlement following the queen's death, but also "from her sense of her own mortality and her effort to create a permanent monument to herself and her accomplishments" (319). Fittingly, the volume ends

with one final monument, her own tomb, planned and largely created by her before her death, which offers an elaborate set of images that Phillippy claims celebrate Russell's independence and focus on female community (445). Whether this made her, as Phillippy also suggests in her introduction, someone who "advance[d] . . . women's rights and roles" (4) is perhaps a subject for further debate, but this volume ensures that the debate is made more easily possible for future scholars and students.

Gregory Machacek. *Milton and Homer: "Written to Aftertimes."* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2011. ix + 194 pp. \$58.00. Review by ANTHONY WELCH, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE.

Milton's editors and other scholarly source hunters have been mining his classical allusions since the late seventeenth century, when Patrick Hume compiled his vast *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1695). Readers might expect a new book about Milton and Homer to break little new ground. But Gregory Machacek's book surprises with the inventiveness and clarity of its thinking about Miltonic allusion and early modern canon making. The project of *Milton and Homer* is less to identify new source passages for *Paradise Lost* than to challenge our assumptions about literary imitation itself.

Milton and Homer makes three broad claims about the study of literary allusion and influence. First, Machacek argues that Milton scholars tend to focus too narrowly on spotting local verbal echoes of earlier writings in his poetry. "Homer" was not just a patchwork of source passages to be redeployed elsewhere, and the poets who set out to imitate him did not limit themselves to appropriating isolated phrases or episodes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Second, the traditionally diachronic practice of allusion study—the effort to link, say, a passage from the *Iliad* to a cognate passage in *Paradise Lost* across an abyss of historical time—needs to catch up with the synchronic approach of recent cultural studies. For Machacek, "Milton alludes not to Homer, but to mid-seventeenth-century Homer," a figure read and valued in historically specific terms (53). Any study of Homer's influence on the poet must therefore reconstruct how early modern

readers understood the Homeric poems. Finally, Machacek claims that Milton viewed Homer as a model of the canonical author, whose works “provided Milton guidance in how he might himself create an enduring work of literature” (7).

All three claims are valuable, and Machacek develops them with a clear-eyed vigor that makes his broad theoretical interventions the strongest parts of the book. After an opening chapter that cuts through the sloppy terminology and muddled thinking that has long impaired the study of relationships between literary texts—including some careful parsing of key terms like *allusion*, *intertextuality*, *echo*, and *source*—five more chapters attempt to bring these theoretical observations to bear on *Paradise Lost* (the only work by Milton that the book examines at length). Chapter 2 focuses on Milton’s war in heaven, which has troubled readers since the seventeenth century. For Machacek, the episode is best understood not in terms of literary genre (as, for example, a miniature mock epic), but rather “rhetorically,” as a moral exemplum that offers up models of vice and virtue for the reader (57). Chapter 3 explores how Milton uses Homeric phraseology to create an epic style. Rejecting the “hermeneutic bias” of Miltonists who focus only on “meaningful” allusions (81), Machacek draws attention to the poet’s handling of Homer’s formulaic phrases—of the “rosy-fingered dawn” variety—that have no intrinsic, substantive meaning in themselves but, when taken together, give Milton’s language its traditional epic texture.

Chapters 4 and 5 place *Paradise Lost* in the vanguard of two trends that shaped the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reception of Homer’s epics. Machacek suggests that Milton embraced an emerging view of Homer as an “original” poet, in the modern, post-Enlightenment sense of the term, even as he balanced this new approach against an older, more conservative outlook on literary origin and originality. Similarly, Machacek argues that *Paradise Lost* cultivated a new model of the Longinian sublime, drawing especially on Longinus’s comments on the Homeric poems. This model, associating the sublime with “the transcendental experience of art and nature” rather than merely “the elevated *diction* ... appropriate for the most serious poetic topics” (123), anticipated a critical trend that was to flower after Milton’s death in the writings of Boileau and his followers.

Turning to the issue of literary canon making, the book's final chapter asks why Milton chose to tell the story of the Fall as an epic poem, leaving behind the sketches for a biblical drama on this theme that he had undertaken in the 1640s. In Machacek's view, after Parliament ordered the closing of the public theaters and Milton's ambition for a state-sponsored moral drama failed to materialize, Milton seized on a different public institution to preserve his work for posterity: the nation's schools and universities, which might adopt a learned epic for use in the classroom. Machacek surveys some didactic elements in *Paradise Lost* in light of Milton's *Of Education*, Cowley's *Davideis*, and the early school textbooks of the educational reformer Comenius.

Milton and Homer prosecutes these lines of argument with clarity and vigor. Readers will find much to agree with, and Machacek's wide-ranging approach will make this book of interest to Miltonists and non-Miltonists alike. Those who assent to Machacek's broad claims might nonetheless quibble with some of his specific observations about *Paradise Lost*. Milton's vivid description of the angel Raphael's voice in PL 8.1-3, for instance, closely imitates Apollonius's *Argonautica* 1.512-16 rather than Machacek's proposed source, *Iliad* 2.41 (86). Citing the famous description of Mulciber's fall—"From morn / To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve, / A summer's day" (PL 1.742-44)—Machacek curiously traces the passage not to the celebrated fall of Hephaestus in *Iliad* 1.591-94, but instead to *Odyssey* 7.288, where Odysseus describes his long slumber after he has washed ashore in Phaeacia. Elsewhere, Machacek occasionally weakens strong arguments with strained examples. In chapter 4, he argues that Milton pointedly alludes to Homeric passages that Longinus had quoted in *On the Sublime*. Citing Longinus on Ajax's speech in *Iliad* 17.646-47, Machacek goes on to suggest that Milton models a phrase by Moloch on a *different* speech by Ajax (PL 2.95-97; *Iliad* 15.509-13) (131). These local details aside, in a book tightly focused on *Paradise Lost*, one might also have wished for a fuller account of Machacek's "mid-seventeenth-century Homer," with more recourse to the editions, translations, travesties, commentaries, paratexts, and literary allusions that shaped the ancient poet's legacy during the years when Milton composed his epic. But *Milton and Homer* is not so much a specialist archival study as a series of case studies in critical methodology, one

that takes a consistently fresh perspective on the problems of literary allusion and influence that have long vexed Milton scholarship.

Stephen Rose. *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. x + 237 pp. + 6 illus. \$ 90.00. Review by MARKUS RATHEY, YALE UNIVERSITY.

Stephen Rose's excellent book explores the image and the social status of musicians in Germany from the second half of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. Though written by a musicologist, Rose's accessible prose makes this book a valuable resource for social and literary historians of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries alike. His main sources are novels featuring musicians as major characters, and non-fictional, autobiographical accounts of musicians. The authors Rose chooses were all practicing musicians: Johann Kuhnau, Johann Beer, Wolfgang Caspar Printz. While Johann Kuhnau's *Musicalischer Quacksalber* is probably known to some readers today, the other sources are only familiar to specialists and it is the merit of the book that Rose made the content of them accessible to both musicologists and literary scholars. Readers less familiar with baroque literature will welcome the introductory chapter on the literary contexts of the novels and their place within the book market of the early modern period, the reading habits during that era, and the relationship to the German novel in the seventeenth century, especially in the aftermath of Grimmelshausen's successful work *Simplicius Simplicissimus*.

Grimmelshausen's direct influence can be seen in the novels discussed in Rose's second chapter, focusing on the musician as a picaresque outcast, the traveling musician ready for adventures in exotic locations as well as in the less exotic Germany of the seventeenth century. The focus is often on the extraordinary, including the allure and sexual energy of castrato singers, but the reader also learns about the tensions between courtly and rural musical cultures, as well as music for public houses, and the church. Rose's analysis of these texts is successful in keeping a balance between paraphrasing the texts for what they are, satirical distortions of the musical life in seventeenth-

century Germany, and analyzing the novels on the background of historical sources of the musical culture. It becomes clear that basic conflicts found in these stories, like the one between educated court musicians and rural fiddlers, were sprung from some kind of truth, even if they are hyperbolic in nature for heightened comedic effect,

Rose presents the two archetypal visions of musicians as the picaresque outsider and the honorable practitioner through his analysis of the novels by Printz and Beer who further the equation by adding the geographic division between court and town. Printz champions the virtuous town musician in contrast with the arrogant, hypocritical life of the courtly musician. This same approach is simply reversed in the novels by Beer; not surprisingly, as Beer was employed by a court, while Printz primarily worked for city and church.

The conflict between different groups of musicians is also at the heart of a chapter on “musical fools and virtuosos” as tensions rose in the seventeenth century between town musicians who were organized in guild-like structures (which by association guaranteed a certain caliber of musicianship as well as social status) and musicians who did not have these privileges. Rose reconstructs how the conflict between the official town musicians and other musicians was reflected in novels. Rose argues convincingly that the tensions between status and abilities were not specific to musicians but represented a widely discussed problem in the general intellectual discourse in the time around 1700. A central source for Rose’s argument is Johann Kuhnau’s *Musicalischer Quacksalber* (1701), probably still the best known music novel from the German baroque. It was Kuhnau’s goal to write an entertaining novel but also to educate readers without musical training to judge the quality performers and composers with “knowledgeable ears.” In so far, the book is not only intended for entertainment but as a pedagogical work as well which fits neatly into the developing culture of amateur musicians who enjoyed music-making at home.

The fifth chapter shifts the focus from the analysis of the musician to the function of musical metaphors in baroque novels. It is only loosely connected to the previous chapters and feels a bit isolated. The analysis leads Rose to a critical reassessment of musical symbolism and the use of musical allegories in compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach. While Rose’s point has some merits, his treatment is

too superficial and would deserve a more extended analysis in a larger context. More convincing in this chapter is an interesting interpretation of Johann Beer's *Bellum Musicum*, a battle between old and new music, published in 1701.

The final chapter returns to the image of the musician found in literature but in a new genre particular to the early eighteenth century, the German musical autobiography, specifically the collection of biographies in Johann Mattheson's *Musicalische Ehrenpforte* from 1740. Rose interprets these autobiographies as a form of constructive story-telling and compares them with the fictional novels from the seventeenth century. He concludes that it is Mattheson's goal to paint a positive and favorable image of the musician as the self-taught musical genius, which is significantly different from the picaresque characters found in novels from the previous century.

Even though the title suggests it, Rose's book is not about Johann Sebastian Bach. The analysis of the fifth chapter leads Rose to a critical reassessment of musical symbolism and the use of musical allegories in compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach. While Rose's point has some merits, his treatment is too superficial and would deserve a more extended analysis in a larger context. References to Bach's life appear quite frequently in his descriptions but they are mostly an afterthought and this book would be just as valuable without these occasional references. This truly excellent and well written book is a useful source for the cultural context in which Bach grew up but readers should not expect an extensive treatment of Bach's self-image or his biography.

Rose's book is entertaining and erudite: however, the selection of material cannot support his thesis that the view of the musician in printed accounts changed from the struggle for status, education, and musical quality into an attempt to depict musicians as autonomous objects who cultivated their own God-given skills. While the novels from the seventeenth century are only of limited value as historical sources for the musical life of the time (as Rose correctly shows, they can only confirm what we know from more reliable sources but cannot take at face value), the novels Rose analyses are a very reliable source for cultural attitude toward musicians in the decades around 1700. The potential readership obviously appreciated the satirical depictions of musicians as fools, picaros, or honorable craftsmen. The problem

is that this shift proposed by Rose is directly parallel with a change of genre. The novels discussed in the first part of the book were purely intended for entertainment with no ulterior pedagogical agendas, while the biographies in Mattheson's *Ehrenpforte* intend to report the real life of a serious musician. I would suggest reading the two parts of the book as more or less independent studies of aspects of the view of musicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that do not necessarily reflect a historical development.

Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin, eds. *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800*. Farnham, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. ix + 247 pp. + 1 illus. \$104.95. Review by IRVING A. KELTER, UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS, HOUSTON.

We all have secrets. Individuals, institutions and nations may survive, and even thrive, because of their secrets. This collection of essays, based on a 2008 conference held at the University of Cambridge, delves into the literature of secrets in early modern Europe. As the editors assert in their introduction, the essays demonstrate “the centrality of secrets in various arenas of early modern European knowledge” (5).

The collection is divided into four parts, beginning with a part on defining secrets. Here William Eamon, master of secret lore, discourses on issues such as the nature of the authors of these books of secrets, the nature of the audiences for these works and modern historians' reading of them. He also points out that these books indicate “something important ... about changes in the moral economy of early modern science” (44). What Eamon is referring to is the movement away from secrecy to openness which he discerns among some within the early modern esoteric tradition. The second essay in this part is by Pamela Smith, who focuses on books of secrets and craft knowledge. She argues that books of secrets were books containing the “experiential knowledge of craftspeople and practitioners” (49).

Part Two deals with secrecy and openness in England. Ayesha Mukherjee treats of the Elizabethan scientific thinker Sir Hugh Platt and his critique of secrecy. She also looks at the relationship of his revelation of the secrets of nature to the English economic world and

his own personal fortunes, or lack thereof. Michael Hunter offers us yet another perceptive study of Robert Boyle whom he shows to have been both a proponent of openness and secrecy in the world of science. The third study in this section is by Michelle DiMeo who contends that the London-based Hartlib circle was not totally in favor of openness and against secrecy in natural philosophy and medicine.

Part Three moves into the dangerous world of illicit secrets. Tara Nummedal peers into the career of Anna Zieglerin and her holy alchemy at the court of Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in the 1570s. Tessa Storey also looks at a woman, the early seventeenth-century Roman widow Maddalena who was put on trial for making a rare poison. Storey uses this trial as a jumping off point into the worlds of the making of secrets and remedies and Italian books of secrets.

The last part of this volume deals with secrets and health. Montserrat Cabré gives us a learned discourse on beauty secrets in early modern Iberia, something that is still of tremendous import today. Sandra Cavallo analyzes, as she sees it, the revival of regimens of preventive medicine in terms of the secrets of healthy living. Finally, Lisa Wynne Smith examines Vivant-Augustin Ganiere, an eighteenth-century French physician and his investigation of the secrets of nature and morality. She contends that he believed he could understand not only Nature's secrets but also "the secrets of social order concealed within his patients' illnesses and characters" (230).

This review cannot reveal the full richness of this collection. The authors all appear to be masters of their subjects and, indeed, some of them are already known as among the greatest living experts in their respective fields. The essays rest on solid research into the relevant early modern printed and/or manuscript literature, as well as into the works of other modern historians. The notes to the essays are excellent.

If you are interested in any way in the world of early modern European science and the crucial matters of secrecy and books of secrets you should examine this collection.

H. Floris Cohen. *How Modern Science Came into the World. Four Civilizations, One 17th-Century Breakthrough*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010. xl + 784 pp. + 53 illus. €65.00. Review by DARIN HAYTON, HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

In his most recent book, H. Floris Cohen claims to have solved the problem of the Scientific Revolution by answering three smaller questions: Why did modern science emerge in Europe? Why did it emerge in the period between Nicolaus Copernicus and Isaac Newton? And why has science continued in an unbroken sequence of growth since then? Resisting current scholarly trends that tend toward microhistories or tightly focused, empirically grounded histories, Cohen offers a big-picture that spans two millennia, four civilizations, and presents a causal explanation for the rise of modern science. This magisterial book, weighing in at more than 800 pages complete with a “Users’ Guide” in the prologue, reflects Cohen’s immense learning and careful thought.

Cohen’s general thesis is that the potential for the scientific revolution existed in Greek antiquity but was not realized until the seventeenth century when two traditions came together with a third to produce what we call modern science. Two traditions in classical antiquity existed side by side but did not interact: Athens and Alexandria. The Athens tradition reflected the speculative natural philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. The Alexandrian tradition was based in mixed and pure mathematics such as mechanics, astronomy, and conic sections. The first 150 pages recount the failures of Athens, Alexandria, early medieval China, early medieval Islam, and medieval and Renaissance Europe to realize the potential scientific revolution latent in these intellectual traditions. Each cultural transplantation produced an initial flourishing of intellectual activity and innovation that was slowly replaced by a reversion to traditional authorities. Creative exploration of the new insights dwindled as scholars returned to canonical topics and arguments. Finally in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe a series of cultural transformations occurred that paved the way for a proper scientific revolution. Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei helped establish a realist mathematics in

which mathematical analyses revealed something real about the natural world. Following closely on this realist mathematics was the revival and subsequent development of ancient atomism. René Descartes's and Isaac Beeckman's mechanical-corpuscular natural philosophies represent this second transformation. The third transformation occurred when William Harvey, William Gilbert, Jean Baptiste van Helmont, and like-minded experimentalists turned to the natural world to find new facts.

For Cohen, these three transformations were necessary but not sufficient for the Scientific Revolution. Only after the boundaries separating the various traditions had dissolved could an additional three transformations occur. Descartes, Christiaan Huygens, and Isaac Newton were largely responsible for the fourth transformation that used geometry to understand corpuscular motion. The fifth transformation combined corpuscular motion, ideas about active principles, and Baconian experimentalism. This "Baconian Brew" was largely an English phenomenon, centered in London and the work of Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke. Finally, the Newtonian synthesis ties these threads together in the last cultural transformation that produced modern science.

Cohen's narrative is wide ranging and layered. He rejects mono-causal explanations for the rise of modern science, refuses to identify a single, revolutionary moment, and emphasizes the contingency in seventeenth-century science that produced the Newtonian synthesis. He does, however, recognize Newton as "a *sans pareil* genius" whose solution to "the force knot" ushered in modern science. In the latter 600 pages we encounter many of the names associated with the Scientific Revolution, and we see them making their standard contributions. In Cohen's account, the Scientific Revolution remains largely an intellectual development. References to people and places function to locate those intellectual developments in time and space more than they serve to introduce the social, political, religious, or economic contexts. This assessment is meant to characterize rather than criticize Cohen's book, which will appeal to readers looking for a rich intellectual history of the Scientific Revolution but will not satisfy readers looking for a more social history.

Although Cohen underscores the contingency that ultimately resulted in Newton's synthesis, he is not advancing a historicist argument. He does not seek to understand what scholars in the ancient world, medieval China, medieval Islam, or medieval Europe were trying to do when they investigated the natural world using the tools they had developed. Instead, he treats science as perennial project aimed at articulating a mathematical-physical theory of the natural world. Consequently, Cohen's book is structured around a genealogical narrative that identifies the key characteristics of modern science and searches back in time to find their immature antecedents. Each of his cultures—Athens, Alexandria, medieval China, medieval Islam, and medieval Europe—perhaps tried but ultimately failed to cultivate the seeds of science. It is legitimate to ask: To what extent were these different cultures interested in the same intellectual activity that ultimately developed in the seventeenth century? Can we assume that when an ancient Greek observed the stars, a Muslim scholar mapped the constellations, a Chinese scholar recorded sun spots, and a medieval European scholar witnessed a comet they were all engaged in a similar project to understand that natural world? A corollary is: To what extent were scholars in the seventeenth century merely reviving or extending the intellectual traditions they inherited? In other words, how and why did the sets of questions, the resources used to answer those questions, and the criteria by which the answers were assessed change in each period and culture?

My reservations notwithstanding, Cohen's *How Modern Science Came into the World* is an impressive work of scholarship that does not shy away from offering a big-picture, comparative narrative. It is not for the uninitiated or the feint of heart. Readers need to possess considerable knowledge to understand Cohen's argument and to appreciate how it reinforces or conflicts with other scholarship. Cohen's book can augment more narrow histories of the Scientific Revolution but should not be read in place of them.

Lloyd Bonfield. *Devising, Dying and Dispute: Probate Litigation in Early Modern England*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012. xvi + 290. \$119.95. Review by GREG KNEIDEL, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT.

Any monograph that casts light into the shadowy corners of early modern law is to be welcomed, especially one that is accessible to a non-specialist audience for whom most of early modern law is shadowy corners. Lloyd Bonfield's *Devising, Dying and Dispute* is just such a monograph. Bonfield takes as his object of study nearly two hundred causes (or cases) related to wills probated (that is, proved valid or deemed invalid) between 1660 and 1700 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the preeminent court for this kind of litigation in England at the time. Unlike some other historical studies, Bonfield's is not so much concerned with the contents of these wills (that is, with who got what and why) as it is with the legal practices of making, remaking, probating, and administering them (this focus is indicated by the nominal solidity of "dispute" in Bonfield's grammatically non-parallel title). These practices constitute what Bonfield calls "the culture of will-making" in early modern England. His most basic claim is that this culture tolerated and in some ways even encouraged a much higher degree of flexibility and uncertainty with regards to will-making than we would be comfortable with today: wills, for example, did not have to be registered, nuncupative (or oral) wills were recognized, and, more generally, courts made every attempt to discover and enforce what they felt to be the true final intentions of the dying testator, no matter how imperfectly or obscurely these final intentions were expressed in writing (another point Bonfield makes is that almost all testators during the period were dying and not infrequently *in extremis*: to write one's last will and testament and to devise one's estate while in good health was thought to promote a premature demise, though at whose hands it is not always clear).

Bonfield situates this brief episode in the history of will-making within three larger narratives about the emergence of modern Anglo-American legal practice: the transition from a feudal to an individualistic or Lockean conception of property ownership, from a mystical to a rational or scientific understanding of mental disease (important for judging the competence of testators and witnesses), and lastly—given

that the 1677 Statute of Frauds was adopted roughly in the middle of this episode and is still treated as a benchmark in the growth of legal formalism—from a flexible and oral legal culture to a formal and written one. Individual chapters approach these connected historical narratives from different directions: after a short Introduction, Chapter One discusses who made wills and what other roles (executor/executrix, witness, beneficiary, administrator/administratrix, attorney, scrivener, disputant) were available in the drama of probate litigation. Chapter Two examines the history and peculiarity of the ecclesiastic jurisdiction over testamentary causes in England, even after the Civil War. Chapter Three is effectively an introduction to and summary of Chapters Four through Seven, in which Bonfield takes up in absorbing detail the specific grounds for disputing the validity of wills: Chapter Four treats the problem of establishing the testator's soundness of mind and freedom from undue influence at the time of the will's making; Chapter Five considers the contested validity of and legal procedures surrounding nuncupative wills; Chapter Six addresses flaws, irregularities, or imperfections in the execution of written wills; and Chapter Seven enumerates the various problems raised by draft, revoked, or multiple wills. Using the same body of evidence but shifting more toward the social history to be gleaned from these probate disputes, Bonfield also discusses in three final chapters the laxity of England's marriage-formation law (Chapter Eight), allegations of abuse and the darker side of family relations in the period (Chapter Nine), and the participation of women in early modern probate litigation (Chapter Ten). As an appendix, Bonfield offers "A primer on probate jurisdiction in early modern England" that is designed specifically for non-specialist readers and that defines basic terms and describes standard procedures.

The primary strength of Bonfield's study is his ability to piece together the human drama recorded in the archival documents associated with each probate case and to link these fragmentary dramas to what was ultimately a fairly slender body of legal theory on the topic. Point by point and term by term, he patiently tests whether general statements of principle found in tracts such as Henry Swinburne's *A Brief Treatise of Teastaments and Last Wills* (1590) and John Brydall's *Non Compos Mentis* (1700) were applied and honored in practice. The principle weakness of *Devising, Dying and Dispute* (aside from some

spotty copy-editing) is one that Bonfield himself readily acknowledges (see 257-58): his evidence yields up a wealth of information about these legal disputes but not the reasoning of the judges who decided them. Numerous kinds of legal documents chart the progress of these cases through the courts but while the final verdicts, at least in cases that were pursued to completion, are recorded, they are never explained. Thus Bonfield can only infer from the arguments made by the various interested parties what they thought the judges wanted to hear. Bonfield concludes, quite reasonably if somewhat unsatisfactorily, that the probate courts, given great discretionary leeway in the period's culture of will-making, simply must have ruled in favor of those litigants who were, with the help of their witnesses and attorneys, best able to craft persuasive narratives about testators, their will-making, and their dying intentions (see esp 106-07, 128-29, 154-55, and 175-76). But we never hear the judges say just that. The effect is a bit like seeing four acts of a Shakespeare play and then simply being told who marries whom (or who kills whom) at the end. It is the Duke's final speech—the one explaining why things happened the way you thought that they would probably happen—that you really want to hear.

Conrad Russell, *King James VI and I and his English Parliaments*. Edited by Richard Cust and Andrew Thrush. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. x + 195 pp. \$99.00. Review by JASON PEACEY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON.

The late Conrad Russell—affectionately known as 'the earl'—was a towering, provocative and extraordinary presence within early Stuart studies, and this book contains probably his final contribution to a field that he did so much to shape. It is based upon, but not confined to, the Trevelyan lectures that he delivered at Cambridge University in 1995, the six instalments of which are supplemented by four other chapters which were subsequently drafted as part of a planned monograph. Thus, while the book has been edited from an unfinished typescript by two former PhD students, it reflects Russell's own plan, and represents a project that he evidently hoped would sit alongside two earlier volumes covering a later period: *Parliaments and English Politics*,

1621-1629 (1979) and *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (1991). Like them it is based on a detailed narrative of Westminster politics, analysis of which is supplemented by an introduction, three thematic chapters (on Anglo-Scottish union, religion and political ideas, and royal finances), as well as a brief concluding assessment of 'What was new in the 1620s?' Like them it is profoundly rich and erudite, and it is hard not to 'hear' the great man's voice in some of the more gnomic statements and cryptic references. And like them, it might be thought of as offering the kind of 'revisionist' analysis with which Russell became synonymous. However, there are grounds for arguing that this book actually contains important surprises for anyone who expects to find a straightforward re-statement of familiar Russellian ideas, and that herein lies a fairly significant problem.

Of course, it would be foolish to overplay the idea that there are discrepancies between the story told here and the one that marked Russell's earlier work. This is very clearly a work of 'high' revisionism, in both form and substance. It is grounded in, and dominated by, a densely reconstructed *narrative*, and one that largely ignores the world beyond the palace of Westminster, and its argument very often involves matter-of-fact, even trenchant, challenges to the idea that the period represented a 'high road' to civil war, involving worsening constitutional crisis and an increasingly hostile 'opposition'. Sometimes this is probably a bit crude, as with the rather too abrupt dismissal of the idea that Parliament's 'Apology' of 1604 was a significant constitutional document. More often, however, it reveals typically Russellian acuity and subtlety, and time and again the analysis involves precise dissection of the kind of evidence that might be thought to support an older 'whiggish' narrative. In noting, for example, Sir Robert Wingfield's idea that the Commons should produce a collection of grievances in 1606, he admits that this was innovative, but also points out that the plan emerged *after* much-needed funds had been granted to the king, and that the aim was to secure a hearing rather than to demand an answer. Similarly, he is at pains to point out that legislative activity tended to be inversely proportional to constitutional 'conflict', and uses this to suggest that political tension ebbed and flowed rather than simply mounted over time. And emphasis is repeatedly placed on the idea that the king was astute—and 'arbitrary only when frightened'

(85)—while his critics behaved irrationally and naively, and were frequently ‘not in the real world’ (76).

However, what will perhaps be more surprising is the degree to which Russell also acknowledges the significance of division, and division involving fundamental theoretical and constitutional issues. Most obviously this means recognising that the question of ‘union’ with Scotland stirred up big issues relating to the nature and definition of a state, and of authority within it, and here Russell recognises that the king opened ‘a Pandora’s box’ (66). Here, indeed, was ‘a major constitutional issue’, and one on which there was profound disagreement ‘on basic constitutional principles’, and on ‘big theoretical questions’ (72). Likewise, Russell also acknowledges that by denying Parliament the right to even discuss matters of property and taxation in relation to impositions (1610), the king provoked ‘a state of fundamental constitutional alarm’ (82). Peppered throughout the analysis, moreover, are references to the fact that the period witnessed ‘intense constitutional alarm’ (94), and a ‘dialogue of the deaf’ (95), and that there was a very real sense in which a ‘consent gap’ became ‘a chasm’ (89). There is also evidence that Russell here places much greater emphasis than was once the case on the importance of ‘godly’ MPs. At one point he even notes that such men may have been few in number, but they were nevertheless ‘formidable for their dedication and their organisation’ (57). Of course, such statements are frequently subjected to important caveats. Tension over how to interpret the Gunpowder Plot is both acknowledged *and* used to demonstrate how king and parliament drew closer together. Moments of tension are shown to have been followed by periods of harmony. And James is described as having the tactical ability to get out of tricky situations, not least by means of an occasional ‘judo fall’ on the Commons (84). These caveats sometimes serve as a reminder that Russellian logic—with its almost wilful desire to contradict received wisdom, and to wriggle away from conclusions about political and religious division—could be infuriating as well as brilliant. Nevertheless, there seems to be a fairly real sense that this book reveals a more or less significant shift in Russell’s thinking.

That it only ‘seems’ to signal such a shift is part of the problem, however, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that this is a prob-

lematic book, in more than one sense. First, it repeatedly sees Russell drawing upon modern parallels and his own parliamentary experience. This might be considered appropriate, given that a fairly considerable part of his later life was spent in the House of Lords rather than in libraries and record offices, but is nevertheless striking. Russell himself acknowledges that this might be considered troubling, but his efforts to defend the practice—by accusing Geoffrey Elton of ostrich-like tendencies in denying the relevance of modern comparisons—represents an unconvincing response to those who will accuse an arch revisionist of committing the sin of anachronism. Secondly, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Russell is determined to under-emphasise the change in his ideas. Thus, while many will welcome the way in which he has conceded territory to his critics, they may also wonder whether enough has been done to make this clear. What makes this book feel so disappointing is that, by making the argument so dense, by offering so little help to readers who are not already specialists, and by studiously avoiding direct historiographical engagement, it is likely to find only a very limited audience.

Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess, eds. *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011. xiv + 335 pp. + 2 illustrations. \$115.00. Review by CHRIS R. LANGLEY, UNIVERSITY OF YORK.

The fourteen essays produced in this volume revolve around the premise made by John Morrill in 1983 that the English Civil War was the last war of religion, rather than the first modern revolution. Although Morrill claims that this was nothing more than a “throw-away” line aimed at undermining prevalent Marxist readings of the mid-seventeenth century, he is right to suggest that it has become the “load-bearing wall” of this present volume (307). The contributors successfully illustrate how far studies of the mid-seventeenth century have developed over the last quarter-century, throwing light on those areas where politics and religion met. The essays presented engage with what Glenn Burgess calls “one of the most stubborn of historiographi-

cal puzzles" (xiii) with exceptional clarity, showing the intricate and shifting ways in which religion and politics interacted.

A number of the volume's authors show how the boundaries between religious and secular matters constantly blurred in this period. John Coffey displays that while deploying language associated with Roman images of slavery and redemption, Parliamentarians regularly invoked references to the Book of Exodus. The experience of warfare, and victory in the case of the Parliamentarians, was simultaneously couched in classical and religious imagery. Charles Prior's essay earlier in the volume, shows how the application of the ecclesiastical Canons of 1640 raised issues of sovereignty as opponents disapproved of the Canons being given force of law without Parliamentary consent. Prior concludes by stressing that as the Royal Supremacy in the English Church had blurred the distinctions between ecclesiastical and secular matters, the Reformation was "a fundamental driver of political thought." The political machinations of the mid-seventeenth century provided the context for this relationship to be challenged.

A number of notable contributions illustrate that the idea of a religious war was largely unacceptable to contemporaries looking at the conflict through the just war tradition. Here we again see the blurring of secular and spiritual concerns. Glenn Burgess illustrates in his essay that religious wars were perceived as unjust and motivated by excessive zeal. He notes how Royalist polemicists portrayed Parliament's war as one of "fanaticism ... while portraying the king as the defender of order and decency" (178). Rachel Foxley observes in her excellent piece that even Cromwell, the supposed "prime exemplar" of religious motivation, "held out against the notion that resistance on grounds of religion could be legitimate" (214). While this is startling, Foxley continues her analysis to suggest that those who were deeply spiritual were likely to assess how their "secular struggle would serve the cause of religion," rather than the other way round (218). This shows the idea of appearing legitimate and spiritually moderate was essential in prosecuting political aims in the mid-seventeenth century.

One of the volume's most notable achievements is in its reconsidering of the idea of anti-popery, or the fear of internal and foreign Catholic conspiracy. Michael Braddick suggests that anti-Popery was a negotiated concept, "only fixed in its meaning at the most abstract

level”, with “its meaning and value ... dynamic and shifting” (132). Furthermore, Braddick suggests that we should see opposition to Catholicism as the counterpoint to “the attendant threat” of excessive, Puritan, zeal (131). The contribution of Jeffrey Collins, though focusing on post Restoration events, shows how anti-Catholic polemic post-1660 had to deal with English Catholics who had openly negotiated with the republican regime. Such negotiation caused considerable tensions amongst the Catholic community itself (289). These contributions depict Catholicism as a variable concept, not universally deployed as a negative stereotype, but negotiated in different polemical contexts.

Morrill’s closing appraisal of the volume provides a significant review of the preceding articles, as well as showing the reader how his own thinking has developed over the years. Morrill is quick to point out that, while his own research has come to focus on a more inclusive British and Irish model of the Civil Wars, the editors of this volume “retreated to England in giving a title to this book” (322). This is indeed disappointing, but by sticking to the volume’s brief, the contributors allude to the impact of religious thinking elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, particularly the Kirk in Scotland, on the religious situation in England. While this partly vindicates Morrill’s argument for a more integrative, pan-British (and Irish), approach to the history of this period, it also raises questions over the possibility of presenting the histories of England, Scotland and Ireland as a cohesive whole, without one territory taking over.

This volume underlines the expertise and vigour Professor John Morrill has offered early-modern studies in the last five decades; his ability to stimulate and participate in lively discussions of the period. The breadth of the contributions in this collection need to be seen alongside the recent *festschrift* presented to Morrill by Michael Braddick and David L. Smith (*The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland*). Both works provide a rich resource in assessing the intersection between politics and religion in this period, in addition to displaying very clearly the complexities of religious and political identities during the British Civil Wars.

Lotte van de Pol. *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 269 p. + 11 illus. \$55.00. Review by LAURA CRUZ, WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY.

The historiography of women in early modern Europe often exhibits a curious vacillation between depicting women through some form of proto-feminist lens to showing them as simply minor characters, a phenomenon often derisively referred to as “add women and stir.” One of the most remarkable elements of Lotte van de Pol’s slender volume is that it does neither of these, while still displaying a kind of empathy for her subjects that is not over- or under-shadowed by the social position of women and/or prostitutes in this century. In her introduction, Van de Pol acknowledges that prostitution enjoys a special legal protection in the present-day Netherlands but otherwise sets aside modern judgments in favor of a rich appreciation of a historical subculture that bears little, if any, relationship to the heavily toured red light district of Amsterdam today.

Subculture is an appropriate word for, as the title suggests, van de Pol embeds her history of the (mostly) women who practiced the oldest profession deeply within the context of early modern Dutch society. In other words, she does not contrast the prostitutes of the past with the prostitutes of today, but she does compare their situation to their contemporaries such as the image of the upstanding Dutch burgher. The world of prostitution was an integral part of urban life in the early modern Netherlands, though they the authorities were often uneasy with its public face. As van de Pol demonstrates, the local officials often vacillated between implicit tolerance and repression over the two hundred year period she examines. On one hand, the famous music houses were popular and drew a considerable number of tourists, from whose accounts van der Pol draws upon extensively. On the other hand, they created public nuisances in the form of noise, fighting, and, particularly in the eyes of the Calvinist church, immoral temptation. These sorts of transgressions often landed prostitutes and brothel-keepers in trouble with the law, and van der Pol also draws heavily on legal documents, especially Confession Books, to reconstruct conflicts between the worlds of the burgher and the

whore. As a side note, if convicted, prostitutes were often sentenced to spend time in the *Spinhuis*, a redemptive work house for women, that, somewhat ironically, also served as a popular tourist attraction.

Criminal records in the early modern period are notoriously difficult sources with which to work, and the portrayal here is, as the author herself acknowledges, incomplete and weighted towards the eighteenth century when source material is more abundant. For example, higher-end prostitutes who, in today's terms, might be described as courtesans or kept women appear rarely in the records and the focus of the study is on more public types of prostitutes, such as streetwalkers or those associated with brothels and music houses, who were more likely to appear in criminal records. Van de Pol fills the gaps by examining the semiotics of early modern prostitution through literary and artistic sources, including several popular pamphlets bearing such colorful titles (translated) as *The London Jilt: or, the Politick Whore* and *The Outspoken Damsel, or Hypocrisy Unmasked*. The contrast between the values of those who inhabited the world of prostitution and the upright citizen come through most clearly in these moral fables and scandalous stories, even in those that on the surface appear to be sympathetic or first-hand accounts.

The world she so thickly describes is indeed fascinating, as the music halls and brothels are replete with distinctive rituals, such as showing bare bottoms or "slicing of the chops"; language, colorful names for whorehouses such as *The Godless Church* and *The Porcelain Cellar*; customs, such as 'going halves' (splitting the cost of room and board with a bawd, or brother keeper) and values, including clear concepts of honor and dishonor. The latter may seem surprising, given the choice of profession. Various terms for prostitute, such as poxy whore or beast of lightning, were considered slanderous terms and neighbors fought to keep brothels out of their community, but within the confines of the subculture, an honor system prevailed. For example, prostitutes prided themselves on not stealing from clients, and brothel-keepers considered it an insult when accused of duping unsuspecting women into the trade. Like the burghers above them in the social hierarchy, those involved in prostitution believed in the importance of upholding financial obligations and contracts.

Speaking of such agreements, van der Pol also describes the business of prostitution, including not only the costs for services rendered, but also the distribution of profits, bribes, wages, and fines. In many cases, the working women were close to indentured servants, paying off large debts to *bawds* or brothel keepers for the fine clothing, food, and wine that contributed to the experience for visitors. The average prostitute in early modern Amsterdam did not become rich from her trade, though she might be able to do well relative to other opportunities for women at the bottom of the social ladder. Indeed, the profits from the trade as a whole were sufficiently large to keep a significant number of people employed and, in several cases highlighted in the book, to inspire corruption on the part of local officials.

It is tempting to say that this book is not new, as an earlier version (based on a dissertation) was published in Dutch in 1996. That being said, in many ways it is a new work because the author chose not simply to translate the original text, but rather to transform it into a more streamlined narrative, presumably to increase its appeal to a broader trans-Atlantic audience. The transformation was indeed successful and the tighter narrative should make the historical world of these prostitutes more accessible to a larger audience, including non-academics, without sacrificing rigor or relevance in the scholarly world. The translation work, by Liz Waters, is exceptionally fluid as she is able to capture the author's voice in a manner that reads as both authentic and engaging. The author uses that voice not simply to speak for these women who are so often elusive in historical sources, but also for the role of historian as voyeur (in the sense of observer) rather than judge.

J. L. Price. *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. London: Reaktion Press, 2011. 286 pp. + 32 illus. \$39.95. Review by LAURA CRUZ, WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY.

In 1974, J.L. Price published the now seminal work, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth Century*, which provided an interpretation of the art of the Dutch golden age through the lens of social history. By bridging the gaps between art history and

history, the book served a significant role in expanding conversations about the distinctive culture that arose during the Dutch golden age. In many ways, the current title serves as a bookend to that work, showing how the author's thinking on the integration of social history into the grand narrative of Dutch history has evolved and deepened over the course of a lengthy academic career.

The book is neither a monograph nor a research study. Rather, Price himself calls it "an extended essay" (7). Indeed, the essay format is evident throughout, with only a handful of footnotes and only scattered mentions of other works or authors in the fields. While he clearly draws inspiration from dozens, perhaps hundreds, of ideas drawn from his extensive knowledge of historiography, Price's approach is to synthesize and to place primacy on the narrative vision. That vision comes through in the vivid and compelling prose. The progenitors of the essay form saw it as means to display the finest literary writing, and while the modern essay has become more of a framework than an artistic vehicle, *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* is an essay that breathes refreshing literary flair into historical writing. Turns of phrase such as "a respectable haven for [those groups] repelled by the cramped orthodoxy of the official church" (72) and "the glories of the Golden Age left an ambivalent legacy" (251) are triumphs not just of historical understanding, but also of excellent prose.

The prose styling also begs the question of audience. The book begins with an overview of Dutch history during the Golden Age (Chapter 1, Context) that an expert in the field can easily skip, but provides a level playing field for non-specialists to be able to appreciate the subtleties of the portrayal that follows. As a synthesis, the book provides one of the few overviews of the Golden Age that is both current and comprehensive (and published in English, it should be added). More broadly, the book uses the Dutch Golden Age as a case study for the significance and perspective that only a deep social understanding of the past can provide. These contributions, coupled with high readability, make *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* an excellent gateway book for historians new to social history (e.g. graduate students), working historians new to Dutch history, and general audiences captivated by the artistic achievements of the period. The

question becomes what the work offers to the more academic conversations about Dutch history.

Another essential function of the essay, according to master stylists such as Montaigne, is to focus thought in order to make a compelling argument. In *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, Price does this not from the more conventional angle of original research, but rather draws upon penetrating insight drawn from a lifetime of thinking about the subject matter to make a claim for a semi-radical reinterpretation of the meaning of the period. Much of Dutch historiography has been characterized by the precocious modernity thesis, and scholars and politicians alike have frequently mined its rich history to highlight its distinctive and innovative features (albeit usually for different reasons). Such a portrayal, Price argues, belies the complexity of social forces that underpinned Dutch society. He comments on painting, that “much has been side-lined or forgotten merely because of a failure to fit with preconceptions of what was best or most typical of the age” (109), could also be extended to fit the period as a whole. Historians have touted, for example, the precocious ending of witch trials in the Netherlands, but in doing so, they neglected the continuing reality of the magical universe for most Dutch people. Analysis of economic success has trumped an understanding of the moral unease with which most Dutch people approached capitalism and urbanization. The art of Rembrandt and Vermeer continues to be celebrated for its virtuosity, but at the expense of the majority of painters whose work has been lost or overlooked.

While Price does not deny the precocious and innovative forces present in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, he argues instead that the Dutch Golden Age was one beset by an essential tension between the forces of tradition and innovation, old and new, past and the future, or medieval and modern views of the world. Scientific reasoning routinely confronted religious dogma; tolerance clashed with conservatism and censorship; and all of these debates took place in public places, in the pamphlet literature, in university classrooms, in cafes and living rooms, and in town squares. It was this tension, argues Price, which gave the Golden Age its distinctive dynamism and color. When that essential tension was resolved in the eighteenth century, the distinctiveness of Dutch culture faded, innovation became

mediocrity, and leadership became complacency. In some ways, this claim for distinctiveness presents an oxymoron. The clash between tradition and innovation was one that characterized most of early modern Europe, not just the Netherlands. While this draws the Dutch experience more deeply into the broader European continuum, at the same time it tarnishes the luster of the Golden Age, formerly a shining light in a sea of crises.

A final characteristic of the essay is it reflects the individual point of view of the author. As a capstone to a noteworthy academic career, *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* provides insight into the mind of a single scholar. As such, it represents not only an accomplishment in historical writing, but also serves as a richly empathetic paean to the people and an age that captured his attention, admiration, and affection for over forty years. Throughout the book, Price frequently invokes painting as an implicit allegory for many things, including the writing of history. That allegory could be extended to the book itself. It is an essay, but also presents a highly personal portrait of an age that should be interpreted with the same challenges and constraints with which one should approach the derivation of meaning from older paintings. As Price himself states, "this piece of Dutch history still lives and is still capable of giving pleasure, though we can never be sure that what we see and experience now is either what the artist intended or what contemporaries perceived" (261).

Warren Johnston. *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England*. Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2011, xxii + 290, £99.00. Review by MARTYN BENNETT, NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY.

Radical religion and attendant hopes for the apocalypse in the years preceding and even more so during the British and Irish Civil Wars and Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century have been long examined and explored by a range of authors and through a series of perspective lenses, on both sides of the Atlantic, including Christopher Hill but more recently by Reay and Macgregor and Jim Holstun amongst many others. The restoration has acted conversely as a great

barrier in many ways. We all probably recognise that regardless of its self-aggrandising retrograde epithet, the return of the Stuarts did not, because it could not, set the clock back to 1636. True some elements of the days before the Scots turned on Charles I had returned: Charles II had not taken advantage of the single thing which the revolutions had delivered of which his grandfather would have approved: the one-nation state was dismantled and replaced with the three kingdom monarchy and their three parliaments. In theory the church and kirk were restored and in time the kirk would see itself under an attack which must have seemed resonant of the 1630s only this time without the sympathy of a good proportion of the English onlookers. Much republic virtue was retained: the excise tax and higher taxes in general were too tempting to discard; the Navigation Act was too useful. In a similar vein the religious clock could not be turned back. Radical ideas and thoughts could not be eradicated once conjured and the apocalypse was not returned to the very real, but vaguely distant, prospect of Anglican theology. Warren Johnston demonstrates this fact in a truly valuable book.

Revelation Restored sets out to prove that apocalyptic vision continued after 1660 to carry that belief in the immediacy of the end of days which marked out the observations of the civil wars. If the wars which tore Britain and Ireland apart in the middle of the centuries had not proved to be the harbinger of the second coming then the political turmoil of the 1660s and the remaining decades of the century might just so. It was not only the militant tendency of the Fifth Monarchist movement which rejected the restoration, Baptists and Quakers saw the monarchy as termites and insects crawling out of the ground; it is almost back to the imagery of the dog returning to its own vomit prevalent three decades earlier when Charles I was seen as back-sliding towards Catholicism. The restored monarch and his adherents would, commentators predicted, soon be swept away. King Charles was particularly subjected to bile, compared for his licentiousness to Babylonian King Belshazzar and thus taking the readers straight back into the realms of the Book of Daniel so beloved by the pre-restoration world of the apocalypse. Old interpretations were resurrected or in the case of *The Panther-Prophesy* brought into the light of day following a ten year hiatus in its production. Originally

created as a critique of the Protectorate, in 1662 it predicted the collapse of the monarchy, which is clearly associated with the fall of the four monarchies and Babylon. However, as with the pre restoration years there was no homogeneous approach to the apocalypse and it was not only because they feared the consequences of the crackdown on radicalism following the Fifth Monarchists' seizure of St Paul's Cathedral. There were some who had never believed in initiating the apocalypse and condemned rebellion. On the other hand Quakers, including Hester Biddle, were interpreting the violence aimed at themselves as being a harbinger of the imminence of the apocalypse.

Apocalyptic writings moved on as the restoration appeared to be an actual and lasting fact rather than an immediate harbinger of the end of the earthly world, and so signs and wonders were associated with the changing politics of the 60s and 70s such as the Popish Plot. With the notion of a Romish plot to reincorporate England into the Catholic Church naturally had commentators referring to the four monarchies and the need to escape Babylon. The potential for a catholic monarchy naturally also raised its head and the Exclusion Crisis raised real fears of the resurrection of a Babylonian exile for the godly protestants in England.

In the final years of the century there were many political twists and turns from which authors attempted to divine the likelihood of a sudden apocalypse or the millennium's imminence: the succession of James II; Monmouth's rebellion and of course the Glorious Revolution and even for some far sighted observers, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is clear, Johnston points out, that rather than appearing as a strange anachronism stranded half a century out of its proper time, Mason's commune at Stony Stratford was emblematic of a continuing tradition of the politics and religious vicissitudes of the later seventeenth century for apocalyptic interpretation. Johnston provides us in the well written and engaging book, which comes with a useful brief handlist of apocalyptic biblical references, proof that history is not only written by the winners, but by the disappointed too. The Restoration was deeply flawed and limited in scope and it could not stop the continued development of political and religious radicalism. That people constantly hoped for the second coming and looked for it in the political events of their time demonstrates the

continued optimism that Christ was going to return and institute a better world is amply demonstrated in this detailed and worthy study.

Steve Pincus. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, 2011. xiii + 647 pp. \$25.00 pbk. Review by NEWTON KEY, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

In 1989, Margaret Thatcher used a bicentennial of the French Revolution to contrast it unfavorably with England's anti-revolution of 1688. Steve Pincus, however, in his massive study of the revolutionary decade, 1685-1696, rejects any notion of a quiet revolution rooted in tradition, a notion he ascribes to Thomas Babington Macaulay's interpretation which dominated virtually all future explanations of 1688-89 (from popular ideas of English exceptionalism to Marxist, Whig, or revisionist arguments). Unlike revisionist critiques of Macaulay's Whig interpretation of history, however, Pincus happily models revolution. Whereas Macaulay's 1688 is bloodless, Protestant, its consensual nature reflective of English character, and propelled by religion and dynastic not social conflict, Pincus's 1688 is violent, its protagonists advance competing, secular views of government and political economy, divisive, and includes a popular, social revolution. In this, 1688 presaged modern revolutions that succeeded it and did not mirror previous religious or baronial wars. Moreover, Pincus suggests that the revolution arose from two divergent roads to the modern state: one bureaucratic and centralized, the other committed to the free market and individual rights.

Eighteenth century "establishment" voices first minimized revolutionary changes and later voices buried the modernity of 1688. (So many historians are blamed for furthering this conspiracy that there is a certain dark humor to be had from Pincus's willingness to take on and smite scholars of all viewpoints, as being "wrong," "flawed," "fundamentally mistaken" (3, 94, 90, etc.). Opposition Whigs, however, continued to laud 1688 as a "salutiferous" violent, popular revolution (William Pulteney, quoted, 17). Edmund Burke, horrified by the shock of the news in the wake of 1789, constructed a vision of 1688-89 as a Restoration which dominated interpretations through

to Macaulay. In an admirably succinct chapter on social science theorizing on revolutions Pincus clearly lays out his guiding postulate: “[s]tate modernization ... is a necessary *prerequisite* for revolution” (33, 37, etc.). Graduate exam preparations begin here. The introductory chapters on previous interpretations divorce antiquity too readily from revolutionary thought (see Janelle Greenberg, *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution*, 2006). And the theoretical discussion at times reads like a late-twentieth-century debate in Harvard Square: a modification of Theda Skocpol here; a correction of Jeff Goodwin there; ultimately, a rethinking of Barrington Moore, Jr.’s *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1967).

1688’s core ten chapters divide into three sections: pre-revolution, revolution, and post-revolution (Pincus convincingly argues that we cannot evaluate the Revolution solely by examining the ideas and actions found in those few, key months of late 1688 and early 1689 alone). The first section begins with an exhilarating walk through “English Society in 1685,” which differs from that of Macaulay in that it is dominated by trade, manufacturing, and cities, not landed society. Pincus’s paean late-seventeenth-century England as an urban, “capitalist society” (59) *tout court* is oddly Whiggish: a literate, well-insured populace is housed in brick dwellings and walking well-lit streets. We must turn elsewhere (e.g., Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, 2008) to find the costs paid by people on the margins for all this rapid, metropolitan expansion. In considering English politics at the accession of James, Pincus does a balancing act between asserting that “anti-Catholic sentiment” or “identity politics” had limited impact (99), while at the same time noting how Monmouth’s supporters came to him with banners “painted with Bibles” (108), and that his rising in the Summer of 1685 failed in large part because it was the last of the wars of religion. That is, England was ripe for a modern, secular revolution throughout the 1680s, but not until 1688 would it actually have one.

Much of the pre-revolution section attempts to debunk the revisionist view of James as a ruler focused on religious toleration and not absolutist. A chapter considering “Catholic Modernity” under James criticizes without fully disproving the revisionist “Anglican revolution” argument advanced by Mark Goldie. Neither James’s

government nor his Anglican opponents were guided primarily by religious ideology; instead, Pincus argues that one must look beyond the “narrowly British context” (122) to see that James’s policies were simply one path to a centralized, statist modernity and Gallican as much as Catholic. Gallican refusal to countenance subjects questioning a monarch’s decision does help explain James’s unpolitick response to the Seven Bishops better than, say, a steadfast commitment to religious toleration. One brief chapter describes how James put this theory of a Gallican, modern monarchy into practice by focusing on modernization attempts in the military and government at the center and in the localities. The story—quartering troops, remodeling corporations, insisting on ideological purity in churches and universities—is familiar; the main difference being that Pincus emphasizes that this was all in the service of “re-Catholicization” (178), not toleration. A chapter on “resistance to Catholic modernity” discounts the patina of “long-held anti-Catholic prejudices,” and emphasizes instead “secular and legal” justifications (197). Thus, the opposition developed a Whig sense of modernity, few attempted to return to a conservative past, and few Whigs or Dissenters collaborated with James’s regime. (While generally convincing, this account does accept too readily what Whigs and Dissenters later claimed they did or did not do during James’s reign; as such it is susceptible to the Mandy Rice-Davies retort: “they would say that, wouldn’t they?”)

Most exciting is the brief middle section on the revolution itself, divided into chapters on the revolution as popular, violent, and divisive, respectively. Historians from both the right and the left have repeatedly told the story that 1688-89 was at best a revolt of the landowning/propertied classes not the populace; that the “Bloodless Revolution” was exactly that; that the “Sensible Revolution” was consensual and not divisive, unlike later revolutions which resulted in civil war. *1688* clearly demonstrates that other groups besides landed aristocrats were present at the Revolution. Pincus marshals evidence of widespread revolutionary sentiment: from contemporary reports of “a universal defection ... of nobility, gentry, and commonalty” (235), to “broad popular support” (244) for the Anglo-Dutch force as it made its slow march to London, to the Irish Fright of December 1688. Perhaps it is too much to hope that such evidence of lower and

middling sort involvement would also show that these players were driven by secular and civil rights concerns and not religion as had been Monmouth's maids of Taunton. The Irish Fright and anti-Catholic violence certainly help dispel the idea of a quiet revolution; but they also echo the pre-modern xenophobia of Evil May Day of 1517, as much as they bear "a striking resemblance to the French Great Fear of 1789" (247). While Pincus has to admit that both Whigs and Tories helped oust James, he argues that they had divided again even before the exiled King sailed across the Channel. The Declaration of Rights resulted from "tactical compromise, not ideological consensus" (293). Jacobite criticisms and conspiracies help exemplify a political nation divided not brought together by revolution.

The longest chapter is found in the "revolutionary transformation" section. A chapter on the consequences for foreign policy, takes its theme from a contemporary comment that debate was "whether we enter into a close correspondency with France or Holland" (Roger Morrice quoted, 316). Pincus draws upon his own work on universal monarchy (*Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668*, 1996, and numerous articles). Hollandophobia or Francophobia could be and often was expressed in confessional terms; but Pincus quotes many contemporaries who framed the revolution and resulting Nine Years' War in terms of politics and trade: "not a war of religion" (Sir William Dutton Colt, quoted 342), but "to oppose ... universal monarchy" (John Petter, quoted 343). Pincus argues that the revolutionaries were nationalists ("We are Englishmen," the Edinburgh-born Bishop Gilbert Burnet somewhat surprisingly announced in 1689, quoted 348); at the same time he sees their purview beyond the boundaries of the nation, as his extensive account of the impact of Robert Molesworth's *Account of Denmark* (1693) reveals. (Pincus's claim that "Whig scholars wrote English foreign policy ... out of the history ... of 1688-89" [477], appears overblown; even the classic *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714* by George Norman Clark, 1934, 1956, highlights the international context.) Pincus elsewhere has done much to re-examine late-Stuart political economy, and his long chapter on how the revolution transformed political economy debates crucially adds to the historiography. Commercial and imperial questions called for modern answers, not

a Machiavellian recourse-to-antiquity moment. When he asserts that James II “embraced a Tory rather than a Whig political economy” (372), however, the argument becomes somewhat circular. The Williamite revolution and the modern future was anti-monopolist. A glaring exception was the East India Company which, like a modern oil company, weathered many changes in government. A revolutionary transformation of the Church is claimed based on a prosopographical examination of William and Mary’s episcopal appointments for the first four years of their reign: not “moderate Tory” (411, 423, etc.), but “Whiggish” (423) “Low Churchmen” (433-4, etc.).

A final, substantive chapter analyzes the 1696 Association Rolls and the Allegiance Controversy between 1689 and 1694 to show how the revolution “had produced a transformed and vastly expanded political nation” (437n.). Politics had become post-confessional. Political culture had experienced “a revolutionary change” (471). The conclusion admirably ties together the implications of the book’s various arguments for a social revolution in the 1680s. It even entertains a useful counterfactual—what would England at the turn of the century have looked like if James’s Weberian bureaucratic, “Catholic modernizing regime” (484) had resisted the Williamite descent?

The strength of this work—two clear paths to modernity—is also a fault. Many individuals and even groups resist such polar identities. Country Tories, for example, developed during the 1690s out of a group of committed Whigs under Charles II and James II. Rather than their world view shifting 180 degrees, it is at least as likely that the situation had changed under William. And argument clarity sometimes comes at the expense of the narrative. For the latter, one might profitably turn to W.A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries* (1989), Tim Harris, *Revolution* (2006), or two breezy, but effective popular narratives—Patrick Dillon, *The Last Revolution* (2006) and Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution* (2007). Also, Harris, Dillon, and Vallance share in large part Pincus’s view that 1688 was violent, popular, and divisive. This very long book again and again repeats its main argument and corollaries. The length might explain why the index ignores provincial cities, counties, and any except the most obvious personages. But I would be reluctant to lose some 130 pages of notes which read as an alternate history of print and political culture. And

for all its heft, the book is well illustrated—contemporary medallions and coins heading each chapter, playing cards retelling the story of the 1680s—and clear descriptions accompany the images. Scholars working on the meaning of modernity in late-Stuart Britain and beyond must read this book. Lengthy critiques of the work have been released (we especially await Scott Sowerby's book on the religious politics of James II's reign), which question Pincus's ascription of groupings based on inferred motives, his downplaying of confessional politics, and on his use of quotes for proof without due context. and others. But at least one group of graduate students have appreciated *1688's* clear, at times dogmatic, arguments, which help situate existing scholarship and will likely spark future work on the Revolutionary era.

Brenda M. Pask with Margaret Harvey, eds. *The Letters of George Davenport 1651-1677*. Rochester, NY: The Surtees Society Publication by The Boydell Press, 2011. xv + 296 pp. + 1 illus. \$90.00. KAY J. BLALOCK, ST. LOUIS COMMUNITY COLLEGE.

Letters, especially in an age in which text messages, emails, memos, and other forms of quick, easy, got-to-have-it-today communication, offer a more personal touch at a time when social media is actually not that social. Letter writing is an art, a decorative mirror into the past. Reading a letter allows one to identify with the writer on a more intimate level; it offers a conversational communication between two individuals and can provide the reader with a picture of everyday life during the letter writer's era as well as an insight into the thoughts and character of the one speaking through the written word. Brenda Pask and Margaret Harvey's edited collection introduces the reader to George Davenport, not just the man of note, the bibliophile, the caretaker of Bishop Cosin's library, but the personal man, described in his memorial as an intelligent, charitable, caring individual to members of his parish, friends, and family.

The editors place the personal man within the context of England's political turmoil and religious troubles of the 1640s through the post-Restoration period of the 1660s. *The Letters of George Davenport 1651-1677* includes 148 epistles written, mainly to his former tutor

at Cambridge, Dr. William Sancroft, from the time of Davenport's Episcopal ordination until a few months before his unexpected death at the age of forty-six. Though the letters, in and of themselves, are well-written and interesting, it is the edited collection with its twenty-nine page introduction that contributes to this book's value as a resource for scholars as well as an enlightening read for the less academically inclined seeking to find a personal image of a well-known man through his own words.

Davenport's words, his letters, describe everyday events, duties, professional and personal, to which he attends for both Sancroft and Crosin, greetings and advice to family and friends, as well as their children, and occasional thoughts on the political and religious situation during the years covered by the collection. The book's introduction, in its overview of the writings, provides a direction, of sorts, indicating which numbered letters in the collection contain what information. Much of the content of the letters suggest a humble, though rich, life filled with numerous building projects and attention to the "glebe land of the parish," untilled by previous holders, including Sancroft, which provides a portion of Davenport's living. Attention to these agricultural details can be found in letter 121 and the inventory of 1677 (Appendix III) after his death. Though his "living" comes from his duties as rector at Houghton-le-Spring in Durham, Davenport appears to find satisfaction and success as a farmer too.

In mid-November 1669, Davenport writes, "I have now sown all my winter-corn, 38 good acres upon Howden Hill ... I have about 20 more there for sowing in the spring. Where furze [sic] did grow, now ploughs do go. The oldest man in the parish never saw it so before" (217). At his death, his "cropp of corn" and "the barne" (which includes oxen, swine, a Bull, horses) account for approximately sixteen percent and twenty-eight percent of his worth, respectively. Only the books in his library come close to being comparative in monetary value (approximately twenty-three percent of total assets). Davenport does not hoard his money and the letters and his will (Appendix II) show evidence of his funding of building projects, his philanthropy, and recognition of those who mattered to him in various capacities throughout his life. He writes in letter 126 of the "bowling green" he is constructing, with his own funds, upon the request of some local

gentlemen, and how the money generated from this endeavor will go to the Hospital; Davenport had built the south wing of the Hospital, on the rectory property, which came to be known as “Davenport’s End” (18). With this project (the bowling green), he indicates:

I have told them I am content to do it at myne [sic] own charge, provided they will submitt [sic] to these conditions, to pay 4d for every oath / sworn in it by them \ & a tenth part of their clean winnings (for who knows some may play the fool & lose 10£) & this they promise. If I do this, the Hospitall [sic] people shall have the keeping of it, & all advantage for their further maintenance which may do them some good. So God bless us in all our honest endeavours (225).

Over fifteen letters focus on the time and money Davenport spends refurbishing the rectory. Others mention the raising of funds and direction of building projects elsewhere. Much time, energy, or money find their way to the benefit of friends and family, or the family of Cosin (over twenty-two letters) in which Davenport intercedes for his sponsor with the latter’s brother-in-law, son, and daughters.

Family and friends form a tight network in which Davenport finds support for his livelihood and to which he often offers advice and counsel. He met Cosin as a young man, and succeeded his tutor and mentor, Sancroft through most of his career, first as Bishop Cosin’s domestic chaplain in 1662 and eventually as rector at Houghton-le-Spring in 1665. His last surviving letter seeks a better appointment for a nephew who he believes had been “grievously wronged” at university. He minces no words in writing about those responsible: “the whore & her mother ... did both acquit him and ... another scholar took the child and kept it” (252) evidences his nephew’s innocence in the matter, as far as this uncle is concerned.

Righting wrongs may have been a natural instinct for the good churchman, yet it appears he has a sense of humor, particularly when it comes to his own life. In responding to a letter, perhaps congratulating him on his wedding, Davenport tells his friend and mentor Sancroft:

Sir, Mine and my wife’s true love to you remembered ...
But why should you be amused at my marrying a Lady. A man may affect a Lady as well as a woman of worse qual-

ity, & love where there is money as well as where there is none ... [and in a postscript] ... I perceive I have not told you the womans [sic] name, which thing is enough with some to say matrimony makes men mad. But I had rather acknowledg[e] my error than write this over again. Know ye therefore, in all earnestness, that I am neither marryd [sic] nor about to marry: but verily think I am as / good as\ marryed [sic] that is, better than married. How these reports are raised about me I cannot imagine. Almost every week I am likened ... to one body or other, widows old & young, maidens rich & poor, fair & foul (155-55).

No wife, in evidence, it would seem. His will provides for only his “kinswoman Mistress Mary Hales.” His sister-in-law receives his diamond ring. Relatives, friends, the poor, and those who have served him in some capacity during his life are recipients of other personal effects or monetary portions.

Buried on the property on which he spent most of his later years, the grounds of the rectory, beneath a memorial in which those he touched during his life testified to his charitable nature, George Davenport takes his final rest. Yet, he lives on in his letters, which chronicle one man’s everyday life in a small corner of England, within the broader context of the country as a whole. The political and religious transformation of the late seventeenth century and the occasional intellectual musings of an educated, well-connected cleric are offered to the reader in this well-structured collection, *The Letters of George Davenport 1651-1677*.

Federico Barbierato. *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop. Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice*. London: Ashgate, 2012. xxxiii + 396 pp. \$124.95. Review by R. BURR LITCHFIELD, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

This erudite and detailed book is a discussion of popular anti-religious opinion in Venice in the years 1640-1740, the period of the early Enlightenment. It is based on records of the local inquisition. The Venetian Republic declared against irreligion and blasphemy,

and condemned Protestantism in the 1560s, but the main agent of investigation was the ecclesiastical inquisition. The Church in Venice maintained some independence from Rome, but it enforced the decrees of the Council of Trent and individuals supporting claims of Venetian independence (as in works of Paolo Sarpi) sometimes fell under suspicion. All kinds of licentiousness were sought out: claims of the mortality of the soul, of the absolute freedom of natural instincts (including sex), of denial of the existence of hell and punishment after death, of the universal nature of moral codes, of miracles, and the concept that religion was a man-made product used for political ends. Anti-religious opinion was not new in sixteenth-century Venice, but it heightened with the emergence of Protestantism, progressing from discussion of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anti-Baptism at the start of the period, to Quietism, libertinism and outright atheism later. This subject, with the exception of Carlo Ginsburg's study of Menocchio in Friuli (*The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* [1976, Eng. tr. 1980]) has been limited mostly to isolated intellectuals, giving the impression that the phenomenon was sporadic and socially limited. This was not true of Venice.

The book is organized topically rather than chronologically, beginning with discussion of sites in the city where subversive groups were found: reading groups, assemblies (including performances of the *Commedia dell'Arte*), inns, shops of copyists, gazetteers, booksellers, barber shops, coffee houses (new in the 1660s), foreign embassies, churches and convents, the ghetto, the University of Padova. Given the heterogeneous nature of the population, the constant passage of individuals from Venice's mainland and over-seas empire, and the many foreign visitors, the inquisition had a difficult task. We are not told precisely how it operated. The tribunal met twice a week, operated partly through informers, and its sentences could range from warnings to imprisonment. We are not told precisely the number of cases, but judging from the many examples cited they were numerous and the author asserts that through time more and more individuals became involved. Here we have Placido Gaeta in 1668, a blind beggar from Messina, who was reported to espouse the transmigration of souls: "there is no hell ... no purgatory ... there is no fire and ... sometimes God sends souls into streets, brothels, and the bellies of animals" (70).

Political developments evoked comment during the Turkish wars of the seventeenth century and others after. Around 1650 Francesco Mattei, former chancellor of the Patriarch of Venice, had stated “that God ‘doesn’t look after us any more ... by praying to Mohammed the Turks obtain victories against the Christians, and every day the rest of us pray the litanies, the body of Christ is displayed ... the defeats continue ... the devil works more miracles than God” (162). Convents were not exempt. In 1701, Sister Cecilia Serati, a Venetian nun from Ferrara, confessed. “Since her childhood ... she had denied the immortality of the soul, the presence of God in the Eucharist, and the remission of sins ... and she had ‘allowed people made invisible during the night by the work of the devil to enter the cloistered area, with whom I’ve been having impure relations for about twelve years” (286-287). Later in the eighteenth century we hear of the trial of a priest, Giuseppe Zanchi, who was reported by a coffee-house keeper in 1761. He “rejected almost everything concerned with religion and supported sexual libertinism....’ By abandoning his wife when he was fed up with her, the husband could go and take another wife, and the same way the wife ... without committing a sin” (187). One of his associates was Giacomo Casanova. But when the inquisition set out to find Casanova he was found to have left Venetian territory.

Prohibited books were objects of interest: a vernacular translation of Lucretius’ atomistic *De rerum natura* (the Latin original was thought ‘safe’), the notoriously homoerotic *Alcibiade fanciullo a scola* (written by a Venetian but published in Amsterdam), and Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire* among others. Barbierato’s book concludes with the case of Bortolo Zorzi and the group of “free metaphysicians” that met in his hat shop in the 1730s. He was accused by a priest in 1739, thought to be a Free Mason (although Masonry had not yet arrived in Venice), and sentenced to four years in prison. In an appendix we find a list of the 71 suspicious books confiscated from Zorzi’s library. The author supplies no conclusion to his work, but we might surmise that if popular libertine opinion had progressed elsewhere as far as it had in Venice during this period there was ample foundation for acceptance of the later high Enlightenment.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky. *The Cossack Age, 1654-1657*. Translated by Marta Daria Olynyk. Vol. 9, Book 2, Part 2 of *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Yaroslav Fedoruk, Consulting Editor and Frank Sysyn, Series Editor. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press: 2010. lxxxiii + 480 pp. Review by CAROL B. STEVENS, COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

The volume under review is the final part of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Its publication marks the completed translation of the central, seventeenth-century part of the series (vols.7-9). The focus of this, the final, volume is the foreign policy of Hetman Khmelnytsky's Ukraine, after the conclusion of the Pereiaslav Agreement with Muscovy in 1654 until the Khmelnytsky's death in 1657. During this period, Muscovy failed adequately to support its Ukrainian Cossack allies as they were attacked from west and south. Khmelnytsky, over this period of less than three years, attempted first to consolidate an alternative alliance with Sweden, then to undermine negotiations between Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and finally to create new alliances for Ukraine—with Sweden again, with Transylvania, and negotiations with the Ottoman Porte. At the same time, he tried to expand the Ukraine he controlled to include western Ukraine and parts of Belarus. Three long chapters cover this material, each distinguished and enriched by extensive quotation from documents from Transylvania and Hungary, as well as the Commonwealth, the Empire, and Muscovy. Of particular interest is the discussion of Khmelnytsky's alliance with Sweden in 1655, an alliance that foundered explicitly on Sweden's eagerness to establish a protectorate over Royal Poland (at the cost of restoring Poland's eastern limit). As a result, Khmelnytsky was forced to withdraw from western Ukraine, an event that contributed to subsequent Ukrainian-Muscovite tensions over Ukraine's desired expansion into conquered parts of Belarus'. Despite the political focus of most of this volume, Hrushevsky does not neglect to note that the events of 1655-56 were broadly destructive to ordinary Ukrainians, whose flight into neighboring Muscovy had already begun—an indication that the "Ruin" of Ukraine and its massive dispersal of Ukrainian populations was already underway at this early date.

Throughout the work, Hrushevky's positivism and his conviction of the need for careful and skeptical examination of documentary evidence are clear. For example, on the question of Ukraine's role in the Muscovite-Commonwealth negotiations in 1656, Hrushevsky brought to bear an amazing diversity of materials not only from the two principal parties, but also from Imperial and Cossack sources. This second half of the second part of volume 9 of Hrushevsky's work is throughout a resource- and detail-rich source.

Hrushevsky was the pre-eminent historian of the Ukrainian national school, skillfully documenting the early modern Ukrainian struggle for its national interests during the last years of the Russian Empire and the early Soviet Union. As Serhii Plokhii has written elsewhere, Hrushevsky was predominantly a populist—seeing the Cossack revolution of the 1640s as a national struggle and Khmelnytsky himself as a somewhat negative figure, who neglected the interests of the ordinary Cossack in favor of the officer class of which he was a part. But Hrushevsky was also a romantic nationalist, who could see Khmelnytsky as a Ukrainian hero. This ambivalence is clearly on display in Hrushevsky's controversial final chapter in this volume ("Some General Observations"), where he offers an overall assessment of the Khmelnytsky era: "Khmelnytsky was a great man, but his greatness did not lie in either political construction or state-building.... He built up his rule ... at the cost of terrible sacrifices on the part of the masses" (425). It is a judgment that more recent historiography has generally not shared.

This English version is a translation of a reprint edition of Hrushevsky's magisterial work published in Ukrainian in New York in 1954-58. The editors and the Peter Jacyk Center at the University of Alberta have maintained the same high quality of previous volumes. The translation, undertaken by Marta Daria Olynyk, is highly readable, and the principles by which it was undertaken carefully and helpfully explained. Glossary and maps are helpfully added; Hrushevsky's citations have largely been identified and assembled as a bibliography. And, as has become characteristic in these volumes, the volume editors have helpfully undertaken to locate Hrushevsky in modern debates. Yaroslav Fedoruk's introductory essay offers a dense and careful update, examining new assessments and newly available

data on such debates as Khmelnitsky's relationship with the Porte in the 1650s and the probability that he then sought a protectorate from the Ottomans. Frank Sysyn examines Hrushevsky's evaluation of Khmelnitsky within a broader contemporary context, principally his debate with the statist historian, Viacheslav Lypynsky.

This detailed account (400 + pages) of three to four key years of Ukrainian history potentially occupies a very interesting position as an historical work. Hrushevsky is undeniably a Rankean. Neither the style of his analysis nor his approach corresponds well with current professional scholarship. Nonetheless, in the detail and particularly in the breadth of its source material, this work remains nearly incomparable—and not solely because many of the sources that it uses and quotes have since been destroyed. *Ipsa facto*, that is, it holds very considerable interest for professional historians of Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire who routinely deal with the results of the particular development of the historical profession in their regions. But this volume and its immediate predecessors (vols 7-9) also offer an authoritative account of the development of the Ukrainian people in the early modern period—a reasoned argument supported by documentary evidence about the historical origins of one of Europe's post-Soviet nation-states. Hrushevsky was no stranger to the intersection of popular politics and academic history. His work continues to offer the possibility of a modern contribution to that very debate.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Vol. 60, Nos. 3 & 4. 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.

◆ *Bessarion Scholasticus: A Study of Cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library.* By John Monfasani. Byzantios: Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization, 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011. XIV + 306 pp. 65 euros. Bessarion first made a name for himself as a spokesman for the Greek side at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-39. He became a cardinal in the western church and was a serious candidate for the papacy more than once. Bessarion amassed an enormous library that was especially famous for its collection of Greek manuscripts, then left it to the Republic of Venice with the intention of making it the core of what is now the Biblioteca Marciana. He patronized humanist scholars and writers and was himself Italy's leading Platonist before Marsilio Ficino, with his *In calumniatores Platonis* being an important text in the Renaissance Plato-Aristotle controversy. He died in 1472, well known and well respected.

This is the Bessarion we all think we know, but the Bessarion who emerges from the pages of *Bessarion Scholasticus* stubbornly refuses to be constrained within these limits. For one thing, his collection indeed contained about 660 Greek manuscripts and incunables, making it second only to the holdings of the Vatican Library, but it also contained about 500 books in Latin. These manuscripts and incunables obviously merit study as well. One would think they would confirm Bessarion's role as a patron of humanism, but this is emphatically not the case,

for the books show that he had no interest in collecting humanist writings beyond an occasional translation from the Greek—medieval texts outnumber humanist/classical ones by a ratio of almost 14 to 1. He did own a good classical Latin library, divided between patristic and pagan authors. The 49 patristic volumes included almost every important Latin Church Father, with Augustine dominating. Bessarion also owned 73 volumes of pagan classical authors, with almost every significant writer being present except for those to which we could expect a cleric to object on moral grounds. The collection was idiosyncratic, with Cicero being well represented but few poets beyond Horace, Ovid, and Virgil. Now, one might think that the presence of almost as many Latin manuscripts and incunables as Greek ones could be explained by the fact that Bessarion spent decades in Italy. To a certain extent this is true: he was an admirer of Thomas Aquinas before he ever came to Italy, which led to an interest in scholasticism, which in turn led Bessarion to amass a large collection of Latin manuscripts of scholastic and pre-scholastic authors that he evidently felt he could use at least for reference in his new western environment. He maintained close relationships with a good number of scholastic scholars, but again, his collection of books is idiosyncratic, in the sense that although many volumes were present in philosophy, theology, science, and law, many key texts were also absent. The only author about whom this library would allow a reader to obtain a comprehensive understanding was Thomas Aquinas, but again, things are not quite what we might expect. The kinds of works Bessarion produced during his first years required a good knowledge of Thomas, but at this point his Latin was still developing, so his Thomism was primarily of the Byzantine variety. After he had mastered Latin, Bessarion's theological writings depended less on Thomas, so he used him less at a time when he could understand him better.

The argument summarized above comes from the three actual chapters of *Bessarion Scholasticus*. The remaining two-thirds of the book consists of the appendices, twelve of them, that provide the data on which the conclusions rest. Appendices I, III, IV, and V list

authors from various categories whose books are found in Bessarion's library, while Appendix II presents a text from Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. gr. 148 (=488) in which Bessarion lists the differences between Thomists and Scotists. Appendix VI lists the identifiable members of Bessarion's household before 1450, while the last six appendices offer texts of five prefaces and a letter written to Bessarion. As the nature of the appendices suggests, the strength of this book lies in its skilled, careful use of empirical data—manuscript descriptions, book lists, key texts—from which persuasive conclusions can be drawn. In this case, the conclusions are not quite what we would have expected, but the result is a fuller, more accurate picture of a figure whose importance to Quattrocento Latin and Greek scholarship cannot be overstated. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Marsilio Ficino: Lettere II: Epistolarum familiarium liber II.* Edited by Sebastiano Gentile. Florence: Olschki, 2010. xc + 186 pages. The second book of Ficino's collected *Letters* is different from the other eleven books, and much weightier in content. It consists not really of letters but of nine philosophical treatises, some just a few pages long and variously addressed to specific dedicatees. The whole book, however, is dedicated to Duke Federico of Urbino, whom Ficino addresses in the opening preface; and this would date its contents to 1482 or thereabouts. The preface asserts that the collection consists of letters pertaining before all else to "Platonic theology": they are "divine letters" that must be duly separated from the human ones. Their titles are as follows: 1) Five questions concerning the mind. The first question: whether the mind's motion is directed towards some certain end or not; the second, whether the end of mind's motion is motion or rest; the third, whether mind is a particular something or a universal; the fourth, whether it can attain its chosen end at some time; the fifth, whether after it has attained its end, it may at some point fall away from it. (These questions are addressed to Ficino's fellow philosophers.) 2) On the intellect being above the sense, the intelligible above the sensible, other minds above our minds, and incorporeal forms above corporeal forms. (The addressees are the same.) 3) Elements are moved in a moving way, the celestial spheres are moved in an unmoving way, souls rest in a moving way, angels rest

in an unchanging way, God is rest itself. (These letters are addressed to Giovan Francesco Ippoliti, Count of Gazoldo.) 4) Corporeal form is divided and moved by another. Rational soul is not divided but is moved of itself. Angel is neither divided nor moved, but is filled by another. God is one simple and measureless plenitude. (Addressed to Mikos Bathory, bishop of Vacs, and to Francesco Bandini.) 5) Marsilio Ficino the Florentine's compendium of Platonic Theology. The ascent from corporeal substance to incorporeal substance—that is, to souls, angels, and God. (Dedicated again to fellow philosophers.) 6) Marsilio Ficino the Florentine to Giovanni Cavalcanti his singular friend: on the rapture of Paul to the third heaven and on the rational soul's immortality. 7) Marsilio Ficino the Florentine's introduction to Platonic Theology dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, the saviour of the fatherland. The three levels of Platonic contemplation. 8) On the comparable nature of love and friendship. 9) Marsilio Ficino the Florentine's treatise on light consists of in the world's body, in the soul, in the angels, and in God. (Dedicated to Febo [Capella] the Venetian, the distinguished orator.)

The most substantial of these are numbers 1, 5, 6, 7 (1 has been translated into English by Josephine L. Burroughs and 7 by James Hankins and myself); there are also some German and Italian translations of some of the treatises. We should note that number 8 is also found in Ficino's sixth book of *Letters* and only appears in the list of nine in the *editio princeps* of 1495.

This important collection of *opuscula theologica* has now been scrupulously examined and edited by the leading authority on Ficino's *Letters*, Sebastiano Gentile. Building on the labors of Paul Oskar Kristeller and notably the entry in the *Supplementum Ficinianum*, 1: xciv-xcviii, but completely superseding earlier work, this edition will surely become the standard text for decades to come, barring the discovery of any more authoritative manuscripts. It contains a full collation, identification of sources (many of them newly tracked down), a flurry of useful indices, including a concordance with the corrupt but standard Basel edition of 1576, and an appendix containing Ficino's own vernacular versions of the items in number 6 above: that is, his dedicatory letter to Bernardo del Nero, his proem to Cavalcanti, and

the text itself of the *Dialogo intra san Pagolo et l'anima*. These date from *ca.* 1476.

Most significantly Gentile has written a detailed scholarly introduction to the complicated story of the nine texts, their variants, and their associations, on the model of the careful textual work he has already expended on the first book of *Letters* (which appeared in 1990). We are indebted once again to his philological dedication and expertise, and we can look forward to his work on the remaining ten books of Ficino's correspondence. A monumental undertaking! (Michael J. B. Allen, UCLA)

◆ *The Correspondence of Erasmus, Letters 1926 to 2081*. Translated by Charles Fantazzi, annotated by James M. Estes. Collected Works of Erasmus, 14. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2011. xxiv + 503 pp. \$175. *Controversies*. Edited by James D. Tracy and Manfred Hoffmann. Collected Works of Erasmus, 78. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2011. xxii + 498 pp. \$165. These two volumes mark the 2011 contributions to Collected Works of Erasmus, one of the most distinguished scholarly series of our time. The first volume contains 158 letters from the year 1528, 104 written by Erasmus and 53 addressed to him. The predominant theme is that of controversy between Erasmus and his opponents, making this a good volume to appear along with the other one. One group of letters concerns his feud with Heinrich Eppendorf, who may have been a provincial German of little consequence but who nevertheless proved a considerable aggravation during this period. Another controversy arose over an offhand remark in *Ciceronianus* that declared the greatest of the French humanists, Guillaume Budé, to be an inferior stylist to the Paris publisher and bookseller Josse Bade; this, too, took time to fix. More serious were the efforts of Erasmus's conservative Catholic critics to convict him of heresy for providing the foundation on which Luther built. The attacks in Spain came to an interim conclusion that seemed favorable to Erasmus, but Erasmus's young friend Louis de Berquin was found guilty of heresy in Paris and executed, while Alberto Pio launched a series of increasingly effective attacks from the same place. Erasmus was forced during this period to relocate, and part of his correspondence reveals that at the

same time as he was being attacked from various parts of Europe, a good many friends in high places remained. Some of the letters, as one might expect, were purely personal; the most interesting group involved Erasmus Schets, his banker in Antwerp, who managed his affairs in England and the Low Countries so effectively that Erasmus was able to live off the income provided there.

The other volume presents six short works that emerged from Erasmus's approval of some of Luther's ideas and his efforts to negotiate the troubled religious waters of early sixteenth-century Europe. *The Sponge of Erasmus against Aspersions of Hutten* was his response to Ulrich von Hutten's *Expostulatio*, which accused him of being a coward and a traitor who was unwilling to stand behind what he knew to be true Christian doctrine. *An Admonition against Lying and Slander* was directed against Heinrich Eppendorf, whom Erasmus blamed for encouraging Hutten to write the *Expostulatio*. *The Uncovering of Deceptions* clarified what was for Erasmus a key distinction, between the Swiss reformers whose understanding of the Eucharist was wrong and whose tactics were deceptive and the Lutherans whose teaching he conflated with that of the Catholic church in this area. The *Epistle against the False Evangelicals* and the *Letter to the Brethren of Lower Germany* continued the same line of attack, isolating the Swiss and South German Reformers as proponents of ideas with which no reconciliation was possible. *Against a Most Slanderous Letter of Martin Luther* is not the full-scale assault we might expect, but a mild response that rested in Erasmus's hope that reconciliation might still be possible, at least with Luther and his followers. From our perspective this might appear naïve, but these six works suggest that without the benefit of hindsight, Erasmus deserves credit for seeking grounds for theological compromise when possible at a time when many preferred unrestrained conflict.

Both volumes are prepared to the usual high standards of this series, leading us to wait with some impatience for the 2012 installment. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *The Correspondence of Wolfgang Capito*. Vol. II: 1524-1531. By Wolfgang Capito. Edited and translated by Erika Rummel, with Milton Kooistra. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

“There are an infinite number of things going on, and they are changing by the hour,” is an apprehension shared by the reformer Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541) in 1525 with his colleague from Constance Ambrosius Blaurer, as presented by Erika Rummel’s monumental second volume of her planned trilogy of the Strasbourg ex-humanist’s complete correspondence, the first part of which appeared in 2005. The above sentence, here uttered by Capito with some disquiet during the fateful and mercurial events of peasant unrest in Alsace (with which Capito was associated at least in the minds of his detractors), can also serve as both an introduction and a leitmotif to Rummel’s present epistolary effort. While the first volume’s themes were formative in nature—a young humanist Erasmian advisor to the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz slowly losing and finding himself on the canvass of spreading confessional and doctrinal skirmishes of the budding Reformation—this second volume’s horizons are more broad and open-ended, illuminative of both the man who seems to have accepted his role as one of those “whom God has sent to defend the Word!” and of his efforts to foster the victorious Reformation’s blossoming in his adopted Strasbourg, with all the vicissitudes such an avocation entailed.

Rummel’s carefully collected letters, some fully translated, others offered in summarized or adumbrated form, elicit at once a vast and also a minute vision of the reformer, his concerns, and his times: the period covered—1524-1531—presents Capito and Capito’s city almost as mirror images, each affecting the other through the critical years of the Reformation’s development. This includes Capito’s official stepping out as a confirmed church reformer in 1524, his provostship of the collegiate church of St. Thomas, his election as a parish priest of Young St. Peter’s, and his subsequent high-profile activities in defense of reforming principles that included numerous disputations, missives, and controversies with the Catholic party. All this eventually ended, in 1530, with the Reformation victory that saw the city council abolish the mass and take over education and the dispensation of benefices. On a more personal level, the collected letters show a man often at odds with himself, dealing with individuals like Erasmus Gerber, a leader of the Alsatian peasant uprising, the Anabaptists, ‘radical’ preachers like Caspar Schwenckfeld, or the con man, Hans Schütz,

and then having to account for his actions to the wider community. Equally, if not more, important are the many missives shedding light on the inner conflict in the reformers' own camp: the Eucharistic controversy features especially prominently in Capito's letters to Lutheran reformers, and his acceptance of the Zwinglian position—more or less—is preserved in both personal and official correspondence. Finally Capito's resistance to the Lutheran Augsburg Confession, and his attempts, together with Martin Bucer, to create a competing Tetrapolitan Confession (promoted by Strasbourg, Lindau, Constance, and Memmingen) are also covered.

Rummel's opus, meticulously researched, edited, and contextualized like her earlier work on Erasmus, is clearly manufactured for the experts or for those interested in major themes as well as minutiae of the early phases of the German and Swiss Reformation. Like the previous volume, Volume II continues to bring to the forefront a major figure of the urban reformation that, so far, lacked—except for Olivier Millet's 1982 finding list—an adequate modern in-depth compilation of epistolary documents. As such it is an eminently welcome and completely necessary addition to our knowledge base. All in all, the present collection contains more than five hundred translated letters and pamphlets, or their summaries, to and from Capito, over sixty of which appear here for the first time. Obviously necessitated by the requirements of space and time, there seem to be a few too many summaries. Most of those letters, however, are already available in other compilations, and their complete inclusion might have ballooned this volume way past its already-prodigious five hundred fifty pages. The author, to her credit, contextualizes each and every entry in both head- and footnotes, adding all the previous publication data, manuscript locations, and biographies of writers or addressees. The work concludes with an appendix that includes a few more documents relating to Capito's provostship at St. Thomas and his disagreements with the Catholic party, among other things. (Władysław Roczniak, Bronx Community College)

◆ *The Tipperary Hero: Dermot O'Meara's Ormonius (1615)*. Edited and translated by David Edwards and Keith Sidwell. *Officina Neolatina: Selected Writings from the Neo-Latin World*, 1. Turnhout:

Brepols, 2011. 798 pp. 100 euros. As anyone interested in the Neo-Latin epic knows, significant obstacles exist for the modern reader who wants to study this genre. More than a hundred poems survive, but only a few—Petrarch's *Africa*, Vida's *Christiad*, and a couple of others—are known to anyone other than a specialist. Most works do not exist in modern editions, their very length discourages many readers from tackling them, and changes in taste have made most of them appear now to be little more than servile attempts to flatter the rich and powerful of the day.

Edwards and Sidwell have produced here an exemplary edition and translation that does as much as anyone can to shine a positive light on the Neo-Latin epic. The poem is a five-book hexameter text that celebrates the military achievements of Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond, the great Irish nobleman, as recorded by Dermot O'Meara and published by Thomas Snodham in London in 1615. Butler was born in Ireland but sent to England for his education and fought for decades to secure English rule over Ireland. His position was a complicated one: he certainly worked to advance English interests, but he did so without forgetting where he was from and without forgetting the interests of his family, which did not always coincide with either group. Militarily he never suffered defeat, but in his final years it became clear that his contribution to the English victories in the north had not been acknowledged and the death of Elizabeth I had changed the political situation to his disadvantage. "Accordingly," as Edwards and Sidwell note, "the key task of *Ormonius* was a relatively simple one: to persuade its readers of the Earl of Ormond's place in history" (18). To do this Butler turned to literature. Latin was not only the international language capable of spreading his story to the ends of civilization, but also the language that bridged the linguistic gap between Gaelic and English. O'Meara used the Neo-Latin genre that celebrated a powerful individual during his lifetime, drawing heavily from classical epic, especially Virgil, Silius Italicus, and Claudian, which provided both textual models and the divine machinery that provided ideological support for Butler's cause. The poem also drew from the Irish tradition, through the *cathréim* (or battle career) and *Aisling* (dream). Structurally and linguistically *Ormonius* is a more-than-competent example of its genre, but in the end it did not succeed

because circumstances forced it to be rushed to the printer before it was properly finished. The leader of the rebellions in the north, Tyrone, figures in the story, but the poem fails to deliver a proper climax, a clear statement of Butler's central role in defeating someone who even in 1615 cast a long shadow over Irish life. This structural flaw, added to the evolution of Anglo-Irish politics, has meant that the poem has attracted little attention since the eighteenth century.

Edwards and Sidwell have done all one could ask to rescue the poem from oblivion. There is a lengthy introduction that explains the political situation and the literary aspects of *Ormonius*, from which it becomes clear that praising a great warrior in fluent Latin is what we should expect from O'Meara. Sidwell's elegant translation makes the poem accessible to a wide group of modern readers, and the extensive notes, which are as long as the text with translation, confirm the seriousness of the project. There are no fewer than six indices—of authors, grammatical points, meter, Latin names, notable words, and English-language material—which will make the book usable to readers with specialized interests. In the end the absence of a suitable climax will ensure that *Ormonius* never challenges the *Aeneid* in the canon of great literature, but given the vexed and complicated relationship between the English and Irish during this period, the poem deserves to be read. Brepols has produced an elegant edition at a fair price, and I should note as well that this is the first volume in what has clearly been designed as a new series for Neo-Latin texts. I look forward to seeing the volumes that will follow. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Das lateinische Gedicht des Franz Xaver Trips über den Gülich-Aufstand in Köln.* Edited, with translation and notes, by Uta Schmidt-Clausen. *Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies*, 16. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag 2010. 296 pp. In the volume under review, Uta Schmidt-Clausen offers the first sizable introduction, translation and notes on the *Quinquennalis seditio atque rebellis Ubiorum status* by the German Jesuit writer Franz Xaver Trips (1630-1696). However, she does not give the critical edition of the full poem, but only of the first of the book's three parts (about a fifth of the total 7300 verses), which were published posthumously

in 1704. The text as edited consists of 38 elegies, polemically treating the civil uprising in the free imperial city of Cologne in the years from 1680-86 under the lead of the merchant Nikolaus Gülich. Schmidt-Clausen examines the work both as historiographical document and as elegiac composition in order to make it accessible to both regional historians and historians of Neo-Latin literature.

After some well researched introductory words on the author, the historical context, and the complex genesis of the text with its different phases of revision and attenuation, the second chapter is dedicated to the author's poetic intention. Schmidt-Clausen's approach is that of historiography in verse with a didactic warning to the reader (*ad cautelam*). This didactic notion of ancient historiography (esp. Sallust) is then sensibly tied to the tradition of instructive literature of the seventeenth century. Also Schmidt-Clausen does not miss out on highlighting Trips' proximity to Ovid—both wrote elegies through nature and talent (*metrum nolo metrumque loquor*, p. 20)—but she sticks to the bare intertextual surface.

By contextualising the poem in a third step, Schmidt-Clausen manages to prove convincingly on the basis of the poem's historical excursus that the history of Cologne used by Trips is nothing but a reconstruction. He abuses the truth by completely ignoring the early medieval kingships and the archepiscopal control over Cologne, presenting the entire first millennium of the city's history as the Golden Age of patrician reign (which is only true for the city for one century, 1288-1396), in order to express his deep suspicion towards the people and support for the idealised elite. This perception of revolt as a *scelus* also refers back to the ancient conception of history according to Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Unfortunately, here again Schmidt-Clausen does not fully open the door to a comparative intertextual study, even though the idea of the Sallustian Catiline suggests itself when she presents Trips' own opinion on Gülich, in his mind a usurper and affect-driven demagogue.

The last chapter of the monographic part of the work takes a deeper look at the highly elaborate compositional techniques of Trips' text. This includes the massive number of chronograms in the headings and paragraph summaries, the striking Ciceronian dialogues, the gnomic element (*loci communes*), the (not always familiar) rhetorical vocabu-

lary, and the variety of styles that pour into the text, such as the elegy, the satire, the comedy, the invective, or the *admonitio*.

According to the editor's own precept of providing a "user-friendly and enjoyable read" (17), the translation of the text is probably the highlight of the whole edition. Despite Schmidt-Clausen's decision to remain *ad verbum*, and although the paratactic syntax and the rhetorical pomp do not offer too easy a reading, the German translation is simple but elegant, modern but still Baroque with a sensible punctuation. The Latin text is reliable and accompanied by a useful critical apparatus, which attests to accurate collation and which also cites sources.

The notes, however, that should actually be designed in order to help explain the text, strike me as something of a missed opportunity. Not only are they limited in content, but also highly selective (mostly dissolving chronograms and clarifying personal names of councillors and bureaucrats), completely ignoring contemporary political allusions as well as the few Greek verse insertions. Anything but persuasive is Schmidt-Clausen's unwillingness to explicate the contemporary names of institutions and authorities in public life that would be crucial for the understanding of a political treatise; she only points to a volume of articles.

These quibbles aside, Schmidt-Clausen has undoubtedly produced a valuable edition on a historically significant and hitherto-neglected text for a broad audience (which is why certain things have to remain on a general level). Author and text are properly contextualised in the introductory chapters, even though one misses a few more words on the Neo-Latin tradition of the poem, as well as some more thoughts on the political momentum in it—after all, the poem was intended as a contribution to Baroque state theory. In sum, it is a solid work with a pleasurable translation that stirs the craving for further editing on the second and third part of the text. (Isabella Walser, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Freiburg)

◆ *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus. Napoleon Bonaparte in lateinischen Dichtungen vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts.* Vol. I: *Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Konsulat Bonapartes (1790-1804)*. Edited, with translation and commentary, by Hermann

Krüssel. *Noctes Neolatinae*, 15. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Olms, 2011. XII + 552 pages. This edition is the first of three planned volumes in the series *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus*, in which Krüssel is providing the first printed collection, edition, translation, and commentary of almost 200 Neo-Latin poems on Napoleon Bonaparte. Over many years the editor collected panegyric poems for as well as invectives against Napoleon, from the beginning of his career until decades beyond his death—literary works that have so far been neglected both by historians and philologists. Although there are recent studies on the reception of the outstanding historical figure Napoleon and his deeds in contemporary art and literature, scarcely any academic research has been done on Neo-Latin texts about him and his time. With his project, Krüssel intends to fill this research gap and offer new material for further studies.

In this first volume, Krüssel introduces about sixty poems from the beginning of the French Revolution to the end of Napoleon's consulate with his coronation in 1804. Because of Napoleon's importance for the history of Europe, the book becomes interesting not only for Neo-Latin scholars, but for a somewhat wider public—from both inside and outside academia. Therefore, Krüssel first of all gives the reader an introduction into the role of Neo-Latin literature in the early modern world. He then proceeds with an historical overview and an introduction into panegyric and other forms of ruler cult. In the preface, the editor explicitly emphasizes strong parallels between the time of the French Revolution and the late Roman Republic on the one hand and the life and career of Napoleon Bonaparte and Octavian/Augustus on the other. This comparison continues through the whole volume, sometimes seeming somewhat farfetched, especially when Krüssel tries to make Napoleon's and Augustus' biographies correspond and mentions, for example, that both Bonaparte and Octavian were 35 years old when they were honoured with their new names, Napoleon and Augustus.

In fifty-eight chapters, grouped by theme, Krüssel presents various occasional poems on Bonaparte, including odes, epigrams, and elegies. Not only Neo-Latin poems found their way into the volume, but Krüssel also includes some vernacular pieces, such as the German *Ode auf Buonaparte* (152-54). The main topics of both the vernacular

and the Neo-Latin works are victory and defeat, freedom and glory. The editor collected the texts, most of them from printed versions as opposed to manuscripts, from archives in Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands and England, many of them unknown, some even by forgotten authors. Therefore he presents us with a complete edition of the selected poems, each with an introduction, the Latin text, a German translation, and explanatory notes. All of the translations are metrical (see Krüssel's plea for metrical translations in *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 9 (2007), pp. 409-18) and accurate, and in the introductory words and the commentaries the reader is able to find valuable information about the authors, their work, and the historical context.

Krüssel does not claim to be providing a complete edition of all the Neo-Latin poems on Napoleon Bonaparte or even to be giving an extensive commentary to each of the texts. With these first fruits of his work he does, however, provide us with an overview of the vast Neo-Latin poetry on Napoleon and rescues numerous and various literary texts from oblivion. Thus the first volume of the series represents a successful first step towards filling a large research gap in the field of Neo-Latin literature and offers a substantial basis for promising further studies on one of the most influential historical figures of early modern times. (Johanna Luggin, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck)

◆ *Vie solitaire, vie civile. L'humanisme de Pétrarque à Alberti.* Actes du XLVII^e Colloque International d'Études Humanistes, Tours, 28 Juin-2 Juillet 2004. Edited by Frank La Brasca and Christian Trottmann. Travaux du Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours, le savoir de Mantice, 20. Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2011. 638 pp. 123 euros. The essays in this collection represent the proceedings of one of a series of congresses that are held regularly by the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours. Taking advantage of the fact that Leon Battista Alberti was born a hundred years after Petrarch, the organizers selected a topic that was important to both of these humanists, the relationship between private and civic life, and set up a congress designed to pull together these intellectual strands. The published volume has been seven years in the making, but it was worth the wait. After Christian Trottmann's introduction,

there are three major sections, each divided into subsections. Part I, 'Pétrarque et les retentissements humanistes de la vie solitaire,' has six papers in the subsection 'Vie solitaire, *otium* et littérature'—Ugo Dotti, "Valchiusa: il primato della coscienza e il mito della vita solitaria"; Francesco Tateo, "Lozio dei laici e la vita solitaria dei religiosi"; Alain Michel, "Pétrarque: quelques jalons pour un *De otio poetarum*"; Silvia Fabrizio-Costa, "Marthe la négligée: quelques réflexions sur saint Augustin et Pétrarque"; Maria Cecilia Bertolani, "Petarca: vita litteraria e vita contemplativa"; and Jean-Claude Margolin, "Contemplation et vie solitaire chez François Pétrarque et Charles de Bovelles—and four in the subsection 'Le poète face à la politique et aux sciences de son temps'—Rebecca Lenoir, "Marchand de mots dans la cité"; Antoine de Rosny, "L'héritage de l'idée imperiale dans la pensée politico-religieuse de Pétrarque"; Thierry Sol, "Responsable mais pas coupable: le rôle de César dans le déclenchement de la guerre civile selon Pétrarque"; and François Fabre, "Pétrarque face aux sciences." Part II, 'Vie active et vie contemplative: un modèle de pensée et son impact sur les sciences et les arts,' is divided as follows: 'Vertus et connaissance: articulations philosophiques des genres de vies,' containing Manfred Lentzen, "Le virtù, 'vita activa'-'vita contemplativa' e il concetto di nobiltà nelle opere di Cristoforo Landino," Graziella Federici Vescovini, "La médecine comme modèle philosophique d'une vie saine dans le corps et dans l'esprit selon Pierre d'Abano," and Luca Salza, "Les fureurs de Giordano Bruno: contemplation ou *praxis*?"; 'Représentations artistiques et représentations éthiques ou spirituelles,' containing Céline Billot-Villandrau, "Les vertus des tombeaux italiens: figures de la vie active et de la vie contemplative? (XIV^e siècle début du XVI^e siècle)," Stevano Borsi, "Il meraviglioso palazzo di Madonna Intelligenza," Isabelle Bouvrande, "Évocation de la vie active et contemplative chez Raphaël et Titien vers 1520?" and Luc Bergmans, "Vouloir voir. *Vita activa* et *vita contemplativa* dans les panneaux extérieurs du Retable de Gand"; and 'Religieux et laïcs en quête d'un équilibre entre vie active et vie contemplative,' containing Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, "*Vita activa-vita contemplativa* entre mystique brabançonne et *Devotio moderna* chez Jean Gielemans (†1487): la figure du saint cuisinier," Nathalie Nabert, "*Quies mentis* et vie contemplative selon Lansperge," Marie-Luce Demonet, "Trois vies de Rabelais: franciscain, bénédictin,

médecin,” and Alain Legros, “Montaigne, Pétrarque, les moines et la retraite à trente-huit ans.” The final section, ‘Alberti et l’humanisme florentin,’ contains two subsections. The first, ‘L’humanisme d’Alberti: vie civile et contemplation,’ offers the following essays: Michael Paoli, “Solitude et engagement civique dans le *Theogenius* d’Alberti,” Francesco Furlan, “‘Io uomo ingegnosissimo trovai nuove e non prima scritte amicizie’ (*De familia*, IV 1369-1370): ritorno sul libro *De amicitia*,” Pierre Caye, “Architecture, technique et politique: du stoïcisme de Leon Battista Alberti au néo-platonisme de Daniele Barbaro,” Elisabetta Di Stefano, “Leon Battista Alberti e l’estetica della contemplazione,” and Philippe Guérin, “Momus sur son rocher: enquête sur la cause des tempêtes.” The last subsection, ‘L’humanisme florentin et les genres de vie,’ contains seven papers: “Pierre Magnard, “*Ora et labora*,” Rinaldo Rinaldi, “*Tabula o Navicula?* Su alcune figure umanistiche della *Institutio vitae*,” Paolo Viti, “Leonardo Bruni e la vita civile,” Maria Teresa Ricci, “Vie solitaire et vie civile chez Poggio Bracciolini *De avaritia*, *De vera nobilitate*, *Contra hypocritas*,” Laurent Gerbier, “La critique machiavélienne de l’*otium*,” Stéphane Toussaint, “Sul mito della mano in Bruno e Ficino,” and Cesare Vasoli, “L’esempio della vita speculativa nelle *Camaldulenses Disputationes* di Cristoforo Landino: Paolo Dal Pozzo Toscanelli.” (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *La battaglia nel Rinascimento meridionale*. Edited by Giancarlo Abbamonte, Joana Barreto, Teresa D’Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, and Francesco Senatore. I libri di Viella, 126. Rome: Viella, 2011. 564 pages. 58 euros. This essay collection begins from an interesting premise, that conflict begins and ends with words, and that war has always been represented through both the figural and verbal arts, in literary, historical, and artistic forms. This interest in the words and images of war led the directors of this research project to invite more than thirty scholars, from various countries and academic disciplines, to analyze the representations of battles, both real and imaginary, that took place in southern Italy between the Trecento and the Cinquecento. This area was chosen not only because the outcome of these battles was important for Europe as a whole, but also because the project directors had a suspicion that the efforts to

represent these battles generated new figurative and verbal languages of war that continued to be used in the decades that followed.

Not all the essays draw directly from Neo-Latin sources, but a dozen do. In “Bartolomeo Facio and His Classical Patterns in War Narrations,” Giancarlo Abbamonte shows how Facio’s *Rerum gestarum Alphonsi regis libri decem* describes contemporary events in the Kingdom of Naples in Ciceronian and Virgilian terms. Similarly Claudio Buongiovanni uses his essay, “Paradigms of Classical Historiography in Some Military Allocutions of Giovanni Pontano’s *De bello Neapolitano*,” to examine Pontano’s battle speeches in relation to classical precedent as well as contemporary historiography. Guido Cappelli’s “The Defeat of Sarno in the Aragonese Political Thought” uses a variety of texts written by contemporary humanists to show how a key military defeat was transformed into useful political propaganda. In “‘Antevenire’ the Battle in Giovanni Pontano’s Letters,” Ferdinando Cascone shows how three letters about Charles VIII’s lightning Italian war confirm Pontano’s importance both as a courtier and as a letter writer. Teresa D’Urso’s “Classical Triumphs in the Illuminated Manuscripts from the Reigns of Ferrante and Alfonso II of Naples” shows how triumphal processions in the *all’antica* style confirm the importance of humanists in Neapolitan court politics. Bianca de Divitiis uses descriptions of war in an unusually imaginative way, as sources for antiquarian and architectural culture, in “War Accounts as a Source for Architectural History.” In “The Storming of Marseille in 1423: Pellegrino, Facio, Panormita and the Encomiastic Historiography,” F. Delle Donne shows how the representations of one key battle resulted in a fusion of Italian and Iberian traditions, leading to a new, influential theorization. Marc Deramaix returns to Pontano in “*Bellum vocum and voces belli: The Aesthetic of Battle in Pontano’s Actius*” in a surprising context, arguing that the lexicon of battle and Pontano’s memories of war structured the acoustical shape of his hexameter verses. G. Germano stays with Pontano in “Reality and Classical Suggestions in Pontano’s Narration of the Troia Battle (18th August 1462),” suggesting that the author universalizes the battle near Troia by describing it in terms derived from classical historiography. A. Iacono’s “Epic and Encomiastic Strategy in Porcellio de’ Pandoni’s *De proelio apud Troiam*,” in turn, focuses on an unpublished poem

that turns out to be a representative example of panegyric epic in the Virgilian tradition. A. Miranda's "A 'New Old Battle': Troia, the 18th August 1462. Reconstruction and Analysis of the Military Events" is an exhaustive study of this same battle, which caused representational problems because it was a pitched battle at a time when this was rare. Finally, in "The Condottiere's Praise: Prospero Colonna in Pietro Gravina's Epigrams," J. Nassichuk shows how Gravina drew from a variety of military figures in Livy to represent Colonna, whose shifts between hesitation and enterprising aggression on the battlefield made him difficult to describe.

The essays in this volume confirm a number of recent scholarly trends: a shift from representational strategies tied to the Crusades to Neapolitan chivalric images of the Trecento, for example, and a confirmation of the importance of the war of succession of Ferrante (1459-1465) and of Pontano as a writer of wide influence. The essays also draw attention to little known works and suggest some new lines of inquiry: surprising are the use of Virgil as a model in various media, the oscillation between real and imaginary battles, and the transposition of battles in heraldic emblems or Latin prose. The volume as a whole is noteworthy in several respects. For one thing, the essays are of a consistently solid quality. Most of the essays are in Italian, but there is an English abstract for each one. There are useful indices of sources and names, not always found in books like this, and I have to note that only 17 months elapsed between the conference that initiated the research project and the publication of the proceedings, which must be a record of sorts. The editors and the authors are to be commended for producing an excellent, thought-provoking book. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters*. Edited by Maria Berbara and Karl A. E. Enenkel. *Intersections*, 21. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012. xx + 476 pp. 136 euros. Outside of Portugal, most people know something about Portuguese humanism: there was an important university with a humanist culture at Coimbra, perhaps, or the humanist Aquiles Estaço played a significant role in the Renaissance reception of Statius. But beyond this, not much. In part this is due to the fact that Portuguese scholars writing on Portuguese

humanism generally do so in a language that is not easy for foreigners to understand, in books that are often difficult for them to obtain. Part of the problem, however, is also that much work on even the most basic level remains to be done: the libraries in Oxford alone contain more than a thousand works written by Portuguese intellectuals, and many of these have not been read by anyone for centuries. In this state of affairs, the time is not right for a broad synthesis, but a volume like this one is very valuable in suggesting directions for further research.

Half the essays are contained in the first section, entitled ‘The Exchange of Knowledge between Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters.’ Here Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, in “Le voyage épigraphique de Mariangelo Accursio au Portugal,” shows how a visit by an Italian intellectual could stimulate the study of Roman inscriptions in Portugal, while Riccarda Musser’s “Building up Networks of Knowledge: Printing and Collecting Books in the Age of Humanism in the University City of Coimbra” examines the role of private libraries in linking Portuguese humanists with their counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Rather surprisingly, Catarina Barceló Fouto shows in “Diogo de Teive’s *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* and the Reception of Erasmus’ Works in Portugal” that the Inquisition did not seriously inhibit access to Erasmus’ works and that his ideas were taken seriously even by those who disagreed with him. In “Die humanistische Kultur Coimbras als Wiege des emblematischen Kommentars: Sebastian Stockhamers Alciato-Kommentar für João Meneses Sottomayor (1552), with an English Summary,” Karl Enenkel comes to another unexpected conclusion, that a German scholar who stayed in Coimbra for some three decades should be considered the inventor of the ‘scholarly emblem commentary’ genre. Jens Baumgarten, in “The Theological Debate on Images between Italy and Portugal: Bartholomew of Braga and Antônio Vieira,” shows that the use of images not only played an important role in the debates with the Protestants, but also in missionary politics.

In “The Circulation and Reception of Portuguese Books in the 17th-/18th-Century Jesuit Mission of China, Mainly in Three Bishop’s Collections (Diogo Valente, Polycarpo de Sousa and Alexandre de Gouveia),” Noël Golvers demonstrates how Jesuit missionaries influenced the cultural and scientific exchanges between Europe and

China. Finally Liam Brockey, in “An Imperial Republic: Manuel Severim de Faria Surveys the Globe, 1608-1655,” shows how one man in a provincial city could cultivate an intellectual network that helped Portugal re-establish its Empire after it regained independence in 1640.

Part II, “Portuguese Literature and the Republic of Letters,” contains three essays. In “António Ferreira’s *Castro*: Tragedy at the Cross-Roads,” Thomas Earle focuses on the only vernacular tragedy to have come down to us from sixteenth-century Portugal, one that contains a dense web of allusions to both ancient Roman and contemporary literary sources. Tobias Leuker’s “Die *Sylvae aliquot* des Aquiles Estaço und ihr Schlussgedicht, das *Genethliacon Domini*” stresses Estaço’s creativity in imitating Statius, while Alejandra Guzmán Almagro uses “A Portuguese Contribution to 16th Century Roman Antiquarianism: The Case of Aquiles Estaço (1524-1581)” to focus on his antiquarian interests, as reflected both in his published works and in his manuscript annotations as preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome. Part III is devoted to “The Discoveries and the Production of Knowledge.” In “*Experiência a madre das cousas*—on the ‘Revolution of Experience’ in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Maritime Discoveries and Its Foundational Role in the Emergence of the Scientific Worldview,” Onésimo T. Almeida demonstrates how in the face of Portuguese exploration, experience replaced the authority of Aristotle’s works as the touchstone of truth. A similar tension is found in “The Conimbricenses: The Last Scholastics, the First Moderns or Something in between? The Impact of Geographical Discoveries on Late 16th-Century Jesuit Aristotelianism,” where Cristóvão S. Marinho shows that in trying to make sense of the early Renaissance geographical discoveries, the scholars of Coimbra did not rely on categories like ‘modern’ and ‘scholastic’. Marília dos Santos Lopes, in “From Discovery to Knowledge: Portuguese Maritime Navigation and German Humanism,” explores how the Portuguese discoveries stimulated a new approach to experience and authority in Germany, while in “Prism of Empire: The Shifting Image of Ethiopia in Renaissance Portugal (1500-1570),” Giuseppe Marcocci shows how Ethiopia stood as a prism through which contrasting views of Portugal’s empire were refracted.

As the essays in this volume show, much has been done in the area of Portuguese humanism, but much more still remains to be done. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*. General editor, Astrid Steiner-Weber; edited by Alejandro Coroleu, Domenico Defilippis, Roger Green, Fidel Rädle, Valery Rees, Dirk Sacré, Marjorie Woods, and Christine Wulf. *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini*, 14. 2 vols. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012. xxxii + 1228 pages. 269 euros. These two volumes contain the written versions of the papers delivered at the 2009 meeting of the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies in Uppsala, Sweden. The first volume opens with the plenary papers: Alejandro Coroleu, “Humanismo italiano, imprenta y educación en Cataluña (1480-1530)”; Domenico Defilippis, “Modelli e forme del genere corografico tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento”; Brenda M. Hosington, “‘The well-wrought verses of an unknown bard’: Renaissance Englishwomen’s Latin Poetry of Praise and Lament”; Dirk Sacré, “Le tremblement de terre de Messine en Sicile et Reggio de Calabre (1908) et la poésie néo-latine”; and Kristi Viiding, “*Res magni taedii, gloriae nullius*—zu Komposition, Funktion und Verwendung handschriftlicher Sentenzen- und Sprichwörter-sammlungen.” The remaining essays began life as ‘Communications,’ regular congress papers: Ádám Ábrahám, “The Image of Attila in Hungarian Historiography of the 17th and 18th Centuries”; Lorenzo Amato, “Francesco Albertini e l’*Opusculum de mirabilibus urbis Romae*: modelli e fonti”; Trine Arlund Hass, “Structural Imitation and Genre Conventions in Neo-Latin Bucolic Poetry”; Patrick Baker, “*De viris illustribus* and the Self-Conception of Italian Humanism in the 15th Century”; Pieta van Beek, “*Habent sua fata libelli*: The Adventures and Influence of Anna Maria van Schurman’s Work in Scandinavia”; Enikő Békés, “Medical Astrology in Galeotto Marzio’s Treatise Dedicated to Lorenzo il Magnifico”; Maria Berggren, “Useful Phrases and Scientific Terms: Examples from Emanuel Swedenborg’s Notebooks”; Mélanie Bost-Fievet, “L’imagerie printanière dans les *Epithalamia* et les *Lyrice* de Jean Salmon Macrin. Le poète et ses modèles entre *locus amoenus* et *saeculum aureum*”; Laurence Boulègue,

“La *Digressio* sur le *De anima* III de Jean-François Pic de la Mirandole. Une contribution paradoxale à la tradition péripatéticienne”; Ludwig Braun, “Rezeption als Grenzfall: Innovation oder Plagiat?”; Elwira Buszewicz, “The *Imitatio antiquorum*: A Key to Discovering Meanings. Sigismund III in Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski’s Laudatory Ode (Lyr II 22)”; Sarah Charbonnier, “Le poète vu par le peintre, le peintre vu par le poète à la cour de Léon X: réception et innovation”; Jean-Louis Charlet, “Littérature et philologie dans les lettres philologiques de Niccolò Perotti”; John Considine, “Claudius Salmasius and the Deadness of Neo-Latin”; Claudia Corfiati, “Il principe e la fortuna: note sul *De varietate fortunae* di Tristano Caracciolo”; Mark Crane, “Agrippa the Lutheran, Luther the Sceptic: A Paris Theologian’s Condemnation of Agrippa’s *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*”; Elena Dahlberg, “Reusing Horace”; Rachel Darmon, “Georgius Pictorius à la recherche d’un langage mythographique”; Judith Deitch, “The Constellated *Axiochus* and the *mouvance* of the Printed Text”; Denis L. Drysdall, “The Two Versions of Erasmus’s *Apologia de In principio erat sermo* and the Role of Edward Lee”; Agnieszka Dziuba, “*De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* as the First Renaissance Polish Chronicle”; Josef Eskhult, “Views on Language History around 1700: Reception and Innovation”; Susanna Gambino Longo, “Le mythe de la folie de Lucrèce: des biographes humanistes aux théories de l’inspiration”; Donald Gilman, “The Reality of Paradox: Fantasy, Rhetoric, and Thomas More’s *Utopia*”; Elisabet Göransson, “Defining a Subgenre: Aspects of Imitation and Intertextuality in the Correspondence of Learned Women in Early Modern Times”; Felipe González Vega, “*Praeclara virorum arma cano*: ficción de la Victoria y de la derrota en la épica del Renacimiento (Juan de Vilches, *Bernardina* I)”; Roger P. H. Green, “On Not Being Buchanan: Arthur Johnston’s *Magnum opus*”; Lucia Gualdo Rosa, “Carlo Marsuppini, segretario apostolico”; László Havas, “Des *Admonitions* de saint Étienne de Hongrie au *Tractatus de potestate*, rédigé par François Rákóczi II”; Gerhard K. Holk, “Pietro Martire d’Anghiera the First Anthropologist of America: Exceptional Observations in His First *Decade de orbe novo*”; Antonio Iurilli, “Raccontare il viaggio in Latino alle soglie della modernità. L’*Iter Italicum Patavinum* di Domenico Cotugno”; Marijke Janssens, “‘Pulcherrime coeptum opus absolve’: The *Monita*

et exempla politica (1605), Justus Lipsius's Last Words on Politics"; Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, "Leonard Cox and the Erasmian Circles of Early Sixteenth-Century England"; Erika Juríková, "Significance of Latin Book Production of Academic Press of University of Trnava and for Development of Science in the Territory of Today's Slovakia"; Katharina Kagerer, "Der Jesuitendichter Jacob Balde zwischen Historiographie und Poesie"; Craig Kallendorf, "Commentaries, Commonplaces, and Neo-Latin Studies"; Katarína Karabová, "The Reception of Classical Literature in the Literary Production of the Universitas Tyrnaviensis"; Sari Kivistö, "Illegal Jesting: Two Latin Dissertations on Playful Marriage Vows and Other Sources of Seventeenth-Century Lawsuits"; Jozef Kordoš, "*Tyrnavia crescens*—A Rhetorical Exercise or an Artwork of Imitation?"; Martin Korenjak, "Giovanni Battista Graser *De praestantia logicae*. Ein aufklärerisches Lehrgedicht an Maria Theresia"; Hans Lamers, "A Byzantine Poet in Italian Exile: Manilius Cabacius Rallus's Self-Presentation in the Context of Leo X's Philhellenism"; István Dávid Lázár, "Petrarca e la tirannide"; Anna Maria Leisgang-Bruckmüller, "'*Quosve tandem . . .*':—Jesuitsche Rhetoriklehre und eine anklagende Götterversammlung in einer Promotionsschrift des Jahres 1684"; Bo Lindberg, "Tacitism in Theory and Practice"; María Leticia López Serratos, "La influencia de Rodolfo Agricola en el *Tractatus de locis dialecticis* de Fray Alonso de la Veracruz"; Coen Maas, "Reception of Livy and Representation of Politics in the Works of Marcantonio Sabellico and Reynier Snoy"; Ida Gilda Mastrorosa, "Cassiodoro, Biondo Flavio e la 'memoria' dell'Italia teodericiana"; Ágnes Máté, "Enea Silvio Piccolomini e due volgarizzatori dell'*Historia de duobus amantibus*"; Dustin Mengelkoch, "A History of the Swedes: Grotius, Procopius, Isidore and Paul the Deacon"; Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, "In the Wake of Plutarch: Antique Tradition in Neo-Latin Heraldic Work"; David Money, "De criticis atque poetis musae neo-Latinae in nostro aevo"; Clemens Müller, "Humanismus vs. Scholastik: Joachim Vadians Promotion zum *doctor medicinae* an der Universität Wien"; Clare M. Murphy, "Thomas More to Maarten van Dorp: Tradition and Humanism"; Ilona M. Nagy, "Das neulateinische Nachleben einer mittelalterlichen muttersprachlichen Legende: Die ungarischsprachige Margit-Legende in der Margit-Biographie Ferraris"; Henk J. M. Nellen, "Hugo Grotius and the Right

to Wage War”; Carolus Augustus Neuhausen, “Schiller excellens ille Germanorum poeta Latinitate vestitus”; Florentina Nicolae, “The Influence of the Romanian Language in *Vita Constantini Cantemyrii, cognomento Senis, Moldaviae Principis*”; Isabella Nuovo, “Leonello d’Este e l’Alberti. Il sistema delle dediche”; Janika Päll, “The Practice of *chreia* at the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690-1710) in Dorpat (Tartu)”; Klára Pajorin, “János Vitéz ed Enea Silvio Piccolomini alla nascita della retorica umanistica in Ungheria”; Jan Papy, “Lipsian Style and Swedish 18th-Century Politics? Nicolaus Laurentii Sörström’s *Dissertatio de laconismo Lipsiano* (Uppsala, 1739)”; Joaquín Pascual Barea, “Antiguos y modernos en los *De arte oratoria . . . libri quinque* (1596) y en otros tratados de Bartolomé Bravo”; Gábor Petneházi, “Erasmus machiavellizzato? Il dialogo de Farkas Kovacsóczy”; Sigurður Pétursson, “Arngrímur Jónsson and His *Album amicorum*”; Lee Piepho, “International Protestantism, Print, and Commemorative Anthologies on the Death of Prince Henry”; Otto Plassmann, “Chronograms and Other Pastimes”; Carolina Ponce Hernández, “Segundos principios y segundas intenciones en Fray Alonso de la Veracruz”; Sandra Proveni, “La poésie héroïque neo-latine en France pendant les premières guerres d’Italie”; Stella P. Revard, “Courting the Star: Pontano’s and Sidney’s *Stella*”; Franz Römer, “*Cui bono?*—Eine von Linné inspirierte Dissertation über den Nutzen der Naturwissenschaften und parallele Reflexionen eines österreichischen Physikers”; Giovanni Rossi, “La *Sphaera civitatis* (1588) di John Case: tradizione aristotelica e riflessione politica nell’Inghilterra di fine Cinquecento”; Maria Teresa Santamaría Hernández, “La elección del léxico técnico en la *Syruporum universa ratio* de Miguel Servet: entre la necesidad y la imitación”; Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, “Commonplace Books in Seventeenth-Century Sweden”; Florian Schaffenrath, “Das Höllenfahrtsepos *De Christi ab inferis reditu* (1805) des Nikodemus Musnicki SJ”; Albert Schirrmeister, “Freiheit und Sitten der Schweizer: Politische Semantik in Schriften Joachim Vadians”; Sonja M. Schreiner, “Von Uppsala nach Graz. Linnés *Amoenitates academicae* in einer österreichischen Auswahledition”; Margherita Sciancalepore, “Il carteggio tra Pontano e il Panormita”; Nicol Sipekiová, “Three Virtues of Latin Language in *Syntaxis ornata*—Purity, Elegance and Richness”; Peter Sjökvist, “*Natura hoc debuit uni*—Latin Texts on Medals Celebrating the March

of the Swedish King Charles X Gustavus on the Frozen Danish Straits of the Little Belt and the Great Belt in 1658”; Minna Skaft Jensen, “Interpretation of Neo-Latin Poetry: Some Questions”; Anna Skolimowska, “The Culture Code of the Bible in the Latin texts of Ioannes Dantiscus (1485-1548)”; Daniel Škoviera, “Die prosimetrische Promotionsschrift *Stoa vetus et nova*”; Violet Soen, “Challenges to Clemency: Seneca, Lipsius and the Dutch Revolt”; Carl P. E. Springer, “Death and Life after Death in Martin Luther’s Latin Elegies”; Lav Subaric, “*Iason Maynus Orator*: The Life and Orations of an Italian Law Professor”; György Szabados, “The Annals as a Genre of Hungarian Jesuit Historiography in the 17th-18th Centuries: From the State History to the History of the State”; László Szörényi, “Tradizione e rinnovamento nella poesia di Pál Makó”; Ibolya Tar, “Die Racacinus-Elegie von Janus Pannonius”; Nikolaus Thurn, “Nathan Chyrtaeus’ Rezeption volkssprachlicher Formen und Inhalte: Humanistische Rätselgedichte”; Stefan Tilg, “Anton Wilhelm Ertl’s *Austriana Regina Arabiae* (1687): A Little-Known Latin Novel”; Nienke Tjoelker, “John Lynch’s *Alithinologia* (1664): Ciceronian Disputation and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern Period”; Gilbert Tournoy, “The *Institutio principis Christiani* of Erasmus and Its First French Translation in Print”; Grażyna Urban-Godziek, “*De consolatione somni*. Three Ways of Conquering Love’s Torments Inspired by Boethius and Petrarch: Giovanni Pontano, Janus Secundus, Jan Kochanowski”; Marta Vaculínová, “Gustav II Adolph, King of Sweden, in the Latin Poetry of the Czech Humanists”; Sebastiano Valerio, “Il *De principe* of Aulo Giano Anisio”; Juan J. Valverde Abril, “Fray Luis de Granada, la *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* y Erasmo”; László Veszprémy, “Telling and Retelling of Early History between the Middle Ages and the 18th Century: The Hungarian Raids. The Cases of the Battles of Pressburg (907) and Lechfeld (955)”; Joseph Wallace, “Astrology and Politics in John Selden’s Edition of the *Marmora Arundelliana*”; and Christine Wulf, “Bürgerlicher Späthumanismus in Inschriften.”

The theme of this congress was ‘Litteras et artes nobis traditas excolere—Reception and Innovation,’ and a good number of the essays in the volumes reflect this interest. What is striking here is both the number of essays—this is the largest set of proceedings of any IANLS congress to date—and the variety of subjects they treat, sug-

gesting that Neo-Latin as a field is indeed flourishing. This is the first of the proceedings to have been published by Brill, and it is hoped that the change in publishers will result in more rapid publication and wider dissemination. The fifteenth congress of the IANLS was held in August in Münster, and plans for the sixteenth (to be held in Vienna in August, 2015) are already underway. The proceedings for these congresses will be somewhat shorter, but they will remain the best single indicator of where the field is going at a given moment. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)