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Seventeenth-Century News

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Veronese, *Allegory of Painting, c.* 1560s. Detroit Institute of Arts.
Oil on canvas. 27.9 x 18.4 cm. Gift (1936), Mr and Mrs Edgar Whitcomb, Detroit. Provenance: Raggi-Holford-Whitcomb. See *Paolo Veronese* , ed. Virginia Brilliant, with Frederick Ilchman (Scala, 2012; 288 pages; 177 color ills.), 262.

Veronese, His Seventeenth-Century Legacy. Exhibition Review, with a Gallery of Images. *Paolo Veronese: A Master and His Workshop in Renaissance Venice.* The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida. December 6, 2012- April 14, 2013. Webpage. Curator: Virginia Brilliant, Ringling Museum, with Frederick Ilchman, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Guest Speaker: Peter Humfrey (St Andrews University, Edinburgh, Scotland), Asolo Theatre, Sarasota, December 8, 2012. Companion volume (in lieu of catalogue): *Paolo Veronese*, ed. Virginia Brilliant, with Frederick Ilchman (Scala, 2012; 17 essays). Installation: Matt Lynn, Donn Roll, Carl Lamparter (Signs Now, Bradenton, Florida), *et al.* Photographer: Giovanni Lunardi, Sarasota, FL. Scott Gardiner, Media Director, Ringling Museum.

Review by Maureen E. Mulvihill
Princeton Research Forum, Princeton NJ

POWER IN GREAT NATIONS is never hidden; power is meant to be seen. A first priority in nation-building and urban design is the public display of power. And this is managed visually, in glorious physical objects: dynastic family estates, public museums and libraries, iconic monuments, grand architecture, and so on. These are the symbols of power and cultural capital. When Charles I engaged Peter Paul Rubens in 1635 to design the ceiling paintings of the Banqueting House in Whitehall Palace, Charles was exploiting the medium of the visual arts to assert his own sovereignty and the rising prestige of his nation. Notably, the King did not commission a native English artist for this plum, but rather a distinguished Baroque master beyond his own shores. The King sought reputation and legacy on the world stage through a famous citizen of Flanders (Rubens, ceiling paintings; Rubens in London).

Across time and cultures, the visual arts have served the fame of great nations. In the seventeenth century, it was Italy, Holland, France, and England (rather in that order) which effectively flaunted their commercial and political power through a calculated program of cultural display. This began with commissioned works by the best available masters in architecture, painting, and sculpture, as well as book arts, fabric and tapestry, and (yes) high fashion with its stylish *accoutrement*.

In the annals of art history, the seventeenth century is remarkable for the rise of the professional art connoisseur and his agent (see Edward Chaney). There have always been art collectors, of course, but the informed and discriminating art connoisseur, such as Thomas (Howard), Earl of Arundel, and his buying agent (his "man"), were something of a race apart. Theirs was a serious buying agenda, with enviable resources and access, and (above all else) deep knowledge of the international art markets. One of the busiest art agents of the seventeenth century was Sir Balthazar Gerbier, successful buyer and art advisor to Charles I and principally to George (Villiers), first Duke of Buckingham, the century's most flamboyant collector. During his many art-buying sprees on the Continent, Buckingham was known to say to hosts and potential sellers, "Why, yes, all in this gallery is quite fine. We'll buy the whole room" (Humfrey, Veronese lecture, Asolo Theatre, Sarasota, FL., December 2013; Image 4, below). Gerbier and

others of his talents assisted Stuart royals and nobles in defining the English nation; the art agent anchored and advanced the administrative program as much as any court politician. The agent was the critical pointperson in these transactions, serving as negotiator and commercial interface between buyer and seller. Like the deep-pocketed collector and connoisseur, the art agent was the builder of great collections: his taste and alertness to market changes contributed considerably to collection formation and value, and to the reputation of nations. And like the knowledgeable art connoisseur, the art agent was a relatively new and rising professional in seventeenth-century cultural history.

Art collectors and connoisseurs, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century, were mad for the Old Masters, especially the Baroque painters of Renaissance Venice: Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Bassano, and their lesser contemporaries. Collectors amassed lavish collections of the best paintings by the Italians, favoring the large canvases, such as Titian's *Ecce Homo* (1543), enviably owned by Buckingham, one of twenty Titians in his collection (Lockyer, *Buckingham* [1981], 409). Art galleries, family estates, and salons, especially in London and Paris, proudly displayed works by the Venetian masters. Occupying a special niche was Paolo Caliari, known at Veronese (b. Verona, 1528; d. Venice, 1588; profile; also D. Gisolfii, "Veronese," *Grove Dictionary of Art*, 32: 346-358; ills). Veronese's scenic canvases of biblical, historical, and mythological subjects, and to a lesser extent, his refined portraits of highly-placed Venetian figures (Images 10 and 12, below), were unusual for their thrilling action and energy, spatial composition and imposing scale, color quality and combinations (*colorito*), depiction of fabrics and jewelry, and narrative interpretation —yes, all of that. As one of his contemporaries explained, Veronese was a great observer; he spent many hours in the large public spaces of his great international city where he saw all manner of tourists and visiting traders. The exotic details in most of his compositions derive from those hours. "This is not painting," wrote that contemporary, art historian Marco Boschini, "it is magic, which casts a spell on all who see it" (*La carta del navegar pitoresco*, 1660; *Veronese*, ed. V. Brilliant with F. Ilchman [2012], 66-68, *passim*).

And while Titian was the supreme master among Baroque painters of the Venetian High Renaissance, Veronese distinguished himself

among his rivals by introducing something quite new, even surprising, in his depictions of familiar genre scenes. Surveying his canvases with care (really "looking"), we see occasional touches of wit, irony, and humor. It was his *invenzione* (invention) that caught the eye of seventeenth-century viewers, whose literature, opera, and plays had sharpened their appetite for such things.

Reader, look! In his reflective presentation of the Holy Family (Image 9), Veronese adds a comic element at the top of the scene: a playful, acrobatic angel, swinging from a date palm tree. In his full-length portrait of a wealthy Venetian merchant, Veronese adds a small dog, gazing quizzically at his imperious master (Image 10). In Veronese's festive *Marriage at Cana* (Image 16), a spectacular example of religious genre painting, the master adds to the large crowd of guests a (fictional) quartet of musicians. In the foreground, Veronese presents four master painters of his own circle, each with a musical instrument. The quartet includes Titian, Bassano, Tintorretto, and Veronese himself, clothed in white silk, on viola da gamba. As John Ruskin observed, Veronese jested gently (*The Stones of Venice*, 3 vols., 1851-1853). None of the master's humor and ingenuity would have been lost on the seventeenth century whose aesthetic placed high value on invention in all of the arts. Though not incapable of *gravitas*, even willing to depict horrific action (the stabbing of St Lucy, Image 13), Paolo Veronese was a celebrant at life's feast, the "happiest of painters" (Henry James, *Italian Hours* [1909]; see *Veronese*, ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman [2012], 8).

BUT WHY should seventeenth-century specialists in the present century care about a master painter of sixteenth-century Venice? The answer is simple: the seventeenth century cared (cared rather dearly) about this painter. Specialists examine the culture, morals, and politics of the period to better understand its place in history. Determining what the century prized, offers a reliable gauge on the character, values, and tastes of its leadership and citizens.

Beginning with the Royal Collection of Charles I, Veronese was prized by several of the century's principal collectors and connoisseurs

(Images 17-20). The King's residences, galleries, and private rooms included some of the best art in the world at that time (Rubens, Van Dyck, etc.) and several Veroneses, such as his *Mars and Venus* (*c*1570s), brought to England from Spain in 1623, and now at the National Gallery of Scotland; and *The Finding Of Moses*, now at the Prado (note Veronese's humor, in the demeanor and gestures of the two principal women; likewise, the picture's implicit *sound*: one can almost hear a rapid exchange of words). Charles I's interface on most of these acquisitions was the art agent Gerbier, mentioned above. (F. Haskell, *The King's Pictures* [2013]; book ad.)

George (Villiers), 1st Duke of Buckingham, chief operative at the Court of Charles I and another grand collector of the age, outfitted his many residences, especially York House, with work by most of the Old Masters. The strengths of his collection included Titian (his *Ecce Homo*, as mentioned above), Rubens, and Veronese (some 16 pictures), including the master's *Esther and Ahasver* and *Leda and the Swan*. During the Stuart exile, Buckingham's collection was sold to raise money for munitions. In 1648, his Titian masterpiece was sold to Archduke Leopold of Prague for £5000, a great sum at the time; the same year, 16 large cases of Buckingham's art holdings were shipped to Antwerp. (Burghclere, *Villiers* [1903], 27; Lockyer, *Buckingham* [1981], 409ff; Betcherman, *Apollo* [Oct. 1970], 250-259, ills.)

Thomas (Howard), Earl of Arundel (Image 18), celebrated for refined tastes in art, sculpture, and book-collecting, was also a great admirer of Veronese, owning some 17 paintings. Arundel's wife, Alethea (Howard *née* Talbot), Countess of Arundel, shared his enthusiam in the Italian masters, and the financing and maintenance of Arundel's collection was largely her doing. (Hervey, *The Life…Collections of Thomas Howard*, 256, 490, 560.)

A major art competitor of the Stuart grandees was Louis XIV and his nobles. Louis's collection included one of Veronese's great feast scenes, the *Feast In The House of Simon,* presented in 1664 to France's monarch by the Most Serene Republic of Venice in the spirit of international harmony (*cf.* Images 15, 16). Preserved in the great art collection at Versailles, the picture has received several restorations, dating from 1948 (see Sylvie Beguin's recent book). Louis's younger brother, Philippe I, Duc d'Orléans (Image 20), formed the famous

Orléans Collection (over 500 paintings). The core of the collection was acquired from Queen Christina of Sweden. Veronese and other Baroque masters were well represented; especially prized was Veronese's *Allegory of Wisdom and Strength* (*c*1580), commissioned by Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor (presently, Frick Collection, NY).

Later in the seventeenth century, art collecting in England centered principally around the Royal collection formed by Charles II, being mostly portraiture by Lely, Mignard, Huysmans, Wright, *et al.* (McLeod & Alexander, *Painted Ladies* [2001]). The jewel of Charles II's collection was a set of drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, preserved at Windsor Castle, acquired by purchase or as gifts (Millar, *The Queen's Pictures* [1977], p 69). Charles II's art collection did not continue the high standard and broad European range of his father's trove of rarities, most sold during the English Troubles of the 1640s.

Grand collections were essential in early modernity as a visible assertion of personal and national prestige. While luxury was damned from the pulpit and in the period's religious manuals, conspicuous consumption had become something of a new social standard, even a value for those who could afford it. Ownership of fine things was ennobling and empowering; it defined the owner as an informed citizen of the world, a refined individual of cultivated tastes. It also connected certain strata of collectors with the best of Renaissance Humanism and the Classical past.

PAOLO VERONESE has enjoyed his own renaissance. In 1988, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, put up a comprehensive exhibition on the master. In 2009, the Boston Museum of Fine Art installed a uniquely conceived exhibition on Veronese's rivals in sixteenth-century Venice (brief video by Frederick Ilchman, essential viewing). Building on the recent momentum, The Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, launched in December, 2012 an exquisitely installed exhibition of the master's work, the first comprehensive American show on Veronese since 1988 (Ringling's webpage).

Ringling's *Veronese* was organized by the show's lead curator Virginia Brilliant (Curator, European Art; Image 2), with curatorial part-

ner Frederick Ilchman (Baker Curator of Paintings, Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Image 3). Dr. Brilliant distinguished herself in 2012 as curator of the impressive Rubens show at The Ringling, also reviewed by the present writer. Over three years in preparation, The Ringling Museum's *Veronese* includes several Veronese items from the Museum's own collection of Baroque painting and early-modern printed books (Images 1, 7-11), formed by the Museum's founder, businessman and collector John Ringling of Baraboo, Wisconsin. Loan items contributed to the show came from thirty-two North American institutions, in Austin, Boston, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Hartford (Connecticut), Houston, Kansas City (Missouri), Malibu, NYC, North Carolina, Princeton, San Diego, Seattle, Ottowa (Ontario, Canada), etc. ("Lenders to the Exhibition," *Veronese*, ed. V. Brilliant with F. Ilchman [Scala, 2012], 13; see, below, Images 12-14, loan items.)

The Ringling Museum in beauteous Sarasota, Florida, with its old-world Italian ambience and neighboring communities in Lido, Naples, and Venice, Florida, was the ideal venue for an American show on a Venetian painter. The rather vast Ringling Museum campus includes Ca' d'Zan, John Ringling's residence (a Venetian-style palazzo overlooking Sarasota Bay), now open to the public; and Ringling's eighteenth-century Asolo Theatre, shipped to Sarasota in 1951 from Asolo, Venice, a project coordinated by Ringling's first director, A. Everett ('Chick') Austin, Jr., former Director, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartfortd, CT. Even more apropos, the Museum's founder had special interests in Renaissance art, and Mr Ringling's first Old Master acquisition (*c*1925) was Veronese's *Rest On the Flight to Egypt* (Image 9). In addition to other rarities in Mr. Ringling's collection of paintings, rare books, and prints, his early acquisitions included Veronese's full-length oil of Francesco Franceschini (Image 10).

Thematically organized, the show presents the achievement of Veronese over five beautifully assembled galleries (installation views: Images 5-7). The range of the master's achievement is presented in several mediums: oil paintings, drawings and sketches, prints, books, as well as actual luxury products from Veronese's own city, such as specimens of Venetian fabric and textiles often depicted in the master's paintings. The exhibition comprises 32 oils, 20 drawings, and 15

prints, as well as autograph letters. In the show's collection of essays (in lieu of an exhibition catalogue), the large Veronese workshop of family members, hired painters, local apprentices, studio assistants, and tradesmen, is given worthy attention as a sort of bustling family firm and structured corporation of artisans (see essays by Gisolfi and Gritt). Veronese's workshop also reflected the painter's business acumen, as Frederick Ilchman has emphasized, reminding us that the early artists were their own managers and bookkeepers. If the sons of Paolo Veronese (Carlo and Gabriele) completed an unfinished painting begun by their father, the picture would carry the shop signature: "*haeredes Paoli*" ("inheritors of Paolo"). (Note the inferior drawing and masculine arms in the *Penitent Magdalene*.)

"This exhibition," explained the show's curator Virginia Brilliant, "sheds light on Veronese as a masterful, deeply empathetic storyteller and narrative painter whose works were often iconographically complex and invested with rich layers of meaning.... Yet Veronese is often dismissed [by, e.g., Sir Joshua Reynolds, though himself a collector of Veronese] as a merely decorative painter, more elegant and 'happier' than Titian or Tintoretto. This exhibition hopes to shift that perception" (opening remarks, preview, December 2012).

So let us take a look:

A Gallery of Selected Images now follows, with original captions and caption notes written by the present writer. This assemblage presents images of Veronese; the exhibition's curatorial team and guest speaker; photographs of the show's installation; Veronese's work in various mediums and formats; and images relating to the currency of Veronese in the seventeenth-century book market, print market, and art markets in London and Paris.

A GALLERY OF IMAGES

VERONESE SHOW (2012-2013)
THE JOHN AND MABLE RINGLING MUSEUM
SARASOTA, FLORIDA

Image 1. Paolo Caliari Veronese (1528-1588) by Carlo Ridolfi

Seventeenth-century art historians and book publishers, as well as art collectors and printmakers, were dazzled by Veronese. Above, a copper engraving of the master from ***Delle maraviglie dell' arte*** [***The Marvels of Art***], 2 vols (Venezia, 1648) by art historiographer and painter Carlo Ridolfi (1584-1658). The Ringling Museum's copy of Ridolfi's book (Image 8, below) was included in the Museum's 2012-2013 Veronese show. A self-portrait of a young and handsome Veronese is preserved at The Hermitage, St Petersburg, its Veronese Room (eight works; image here).

Image, Ringling's copy of the *Ridolfi*, The John Ringling Room,
Ringling Art Library, Sarasota, Florida

Image 2. Virginia Brilliant, Curator of the *Veronese* Exhibition
Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida, 2012-2013.
The show's companion volume, *Veronese*, is edited by V. Brilliant, with Frederick Ilchman (Scala, 2012); 17 essays, detailed Checklist of Exhibition, 288 pp, color plates

Image 3 (above, left). Frederick Ilchman, Baker Curator of Paintings
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Consulting curatorial partner of V. Brilliant, *Veronese* show, Ringling, 2012-2013
Veronese, ed Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012)

Image 4 (above, right). Peter B. Humfrey, Art History, St Andrews University
Guest Speaker, 'Grand Collectors…', Asolo Theatre, 8 Dec. 2012, Sarasota, Florida
See Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice* (1995); his review of Ringling's *Veronese*, *Burlington Magazine* (March 2013), pp 204-06, 3 images

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Image 5. Installation Photograph, Entering Gallery 1
The Venetian Staging of The Ringling Museum's *Veronese* Show

The curators and their installation team masterfully installed the show with the 'look' and ambience of sixteenth-century Venetian opulence. Complementing the exhibits was the show's period architecture (columns, archways, statuary, exhibit pedestals), as well as samples of period fabrics, prepared scrim, and beautifully scripted wall graphics. Like seventeenth-century collectors and connoisseurs of Veronese, vistors to Sarasota's recent show were captured by the magic of Renaissance Venice.

Image, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida
Photographer, Giovanni Lunardi, Sarasota, Florida

Image 6. Installation Photograph, Gallery 5
The Ringling Museum's *Veronese* Show

This gallery offers a selection of Veronese's tastes in religious and biblical subjects. Of special interest is the master's large canvas *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (back wall, far right); see Image 9, below. This photograph shows the installation's use of space, lighting, variety of exhibit formats, and a courteous concern for visitors' comfort and viewing.

Image, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida
Photographer, Giovanni Lunardi, Sarasota, Florida

Image 7. Installation Photograph, Case Display
The Currency of Veronese in the Seventeenth-Century Book Market

This case display (5 items), set on a decorative Venetian table, illustrates interest in Veronese among seventeenth-century book publishers. The centerpiece is volume two of Carlo Ridolfi's foundational source on Venetian painters, ***Delle maraviglie dell'arte*** (Venice, 1648; see also Images 1 and 8). Of equal importance is Valentin Lefevre's *Opera Selectoria* (Venice: Jan Van Campen, 1682), a published volume of 53 prints by Lefevre; 30 inspired by Titian, 23 by Veronese; see Image 14, below. For English-language publications on Veronese, Venetian culture, and literary writings inspired by a general vogue in Venetian culture, see *Early English Books Online* and the online *English Short-Title Catalogue*.

Exhibits, Image 7, The Ringling Art Library, Sarasota, Florida
Photographer, Giovanni Lunardi, Sarasota, Florida

Image 8. Title-page, Carlo Ridolfi, *Delle maraviglie dell'arte.* 2 vols. Venice, 1648
The Currency of Veronese in the Seventeenth-Century Book Market

A valued early source on Venetian painters, Ridolfi's *Marvels of Art* presents biographies of the principal artists at work in Venice down to the 1640s. Most of the engraved portraits of the artists are by Girolamo Piccini, after Ridolfi. Ridolfi's biography of Veronese (1646) appears in this important 1648 collection, with a rare early listing of the master's work. (See Google Books for the Ridolfi.) This two-volume collection of biographies replies to Vasari's *Vite* (1550, 1568), strongly biased against Venetian artists. Of equal importance is Valentin Lefevre's *Opera Selectoria* (Venice: Jan Van Campen, 1682), a published collection of 53 prints by Lefevre; 30 inspired by Titian, 23 by Veronese. See Image 14, below.

Image, The Ringling Art Library, The John Ringling Room
The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida. With kind permission
Special thanks to Megan Oliver, Ringling Art Library
And for technical assistance, Bruce Johnson, Veery Books, New York

Image 9. Veronese, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (*c*1572)
Oil on Canvas, 236.2 x 161.3 cm
Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida

A jewel in the crown of The Ringling Collection, Veronese's painting of the Holy Family is one of only two complete Veronese altarpieces in North America, and it was the first Old Master painting acquired in 1925 by collector John Ringling, founder of The Ringling Museum. A familiar genre scene (Matthew 2:14; cf Bartolommeo, *Rest, c*1509, Getty Center), Veronese invigorates the narrative with movement, symbolism, and emotional content, from familial harmony and repose to foreboding (the landscape and sky). The loving care of Joseph, active supplier of nourishment, while Mary herself breast-feeds the infant Jesus, engages the eye; and the amusing detail (top of painting) of an acrobatic angel, gathering fruit from a date palm, depicts the painter's skill in theatrical effects, as well as his humor and invention. This is a dense composition of several figures (the Holy Family, two angels and putti, a donkey, a cow), and the lush tropical setting and activity underscore the picture's theme of continuing life. See V. Brilliant, "The Rest on the Flight into Egypt," *Veronese,* ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012), 166-173, 6 images.

Image, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida

Image 10. Veronese, *Portrait of Francesco Franceschini* (1551)
Canvas, 189.5 by 134.9 cm
Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota. Florida

Painted by Veronese at age 23, the signed and dated *Franceschini* is the master's earliest surviving full-length portrait. The subject is a 28-year-old nobleman from a family of silk traders. The composition is an amusing, if ironic, contrast in scale: the grand columns and imposing physical presence of the subject are juxtaposed with the banality of a small dog which gazes at the subject with some perplexity (and an upturned nose). Veronese's humor was not lost on his contemporaries, not least his delight in small dogs on stately canvases. As art critic John Ruskin observed, the master "jested gracefully and tenderly" (*The Stones of Venice*, 1851-1853). See J. Garton, "The Portraiture of Veronese," *Veronese,* ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012), 120-133, 14 images. Provenance: Holford-Ringling.

Image, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida

Image 11. Veronese, *Sheet of Studies for The Consecration of David, and for Figures and Architecture at Villa Barbaro, Maser* (*c*1558-62)
Pen and brown ink and wash on paper, 21.4 x 31.1 cm
Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida

As all preparatory sketches, this sheet of studies for work in a patron's opulent villa-palazzo, valuably demonstrates Veronese's talent as a skilled draughtsman, his compositional technique and his working methods. As art historians have observed, the preliminaries of Veronese were drawn with impressive rapidity and economy of means. See J. Marciari, "The Drawings of Veronese" and Inge Reist, "The Classical Tradition: Mythology and Allegory," in *Veronese,* ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012). See also G. Gallucci, "An Important New Sheet of Studies," *Master Drawings* 48, 3 (2010), 327-40, ills.

Other sketches by Veronese: *Allegories of Love*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Studies for the Martyrdom of St George*, Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

Image, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida

Image 12. Veronese, *Portrait of a Man* (c1576-1578)
Oil on Canvas. 75 5/8 in. x 52 ¾ in. Gift of J. Paul Getty
Lender, Getty Museum, Malibu, California

The identity of this stylish nobleman has baffled historians for centuries. Might this be Veronese himself (a self-portrait)? As Veronese favored biblical and mythological subjects, and painted few portraits, this large canvas, if not a self-portrait, must have been an important (and lucrative) business transaction. The portrait's setting suggests that the subject was a prominent figure, possibly associated with architecture or sculpture. See J. Garton, "The Portraiture of Veronese," *Veronese,* ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012), 120-133, 14 images.

Image 13. Veronese, *Martyrdom and Last Communion of Saint Lucy* (*c*1585)
Oil on canvas, 140 x 173 cm
Lender, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

The Veronese *St Lucy* is one of the master's most compelling, theatrical works. His depiction of the martyrdom of this virgin martyr of Sicily balances sacred and profane: eternal life (the sacrament of the Eucharist) and violent murder. These themes are joined visually by the assassin's dagger and the Communion wafer entering Lucy's body at (nearly) the same time. Veronese also invests this horrific scene with the composure of the victim whose (blinded) eyes are directed at her 'last Communion'. The startling action of the scene is matched only by its colors and the master's dexterity with fabric and drapery (Lucy's extraordinary skirt: its color, volume, folds). St Lucy, whose grisly tortures included blinding, is the patron saint of eyes; feast day, December 13th. See M. H. Loh, "Veronese's Story of The Eye"; V. Brilliant, "The Bible and the Lives of the Saints"; and R. Duits, "'*Abiti gravi, abiti stravaganti*': Veronese's Creative Approach to Drapery," in *Veronese,* ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012).

Image 14. Currency of Veronese among Seventeenth-Century Printmakers
Print (etching), *The Triumph of Venus,* Plate 1 of 2, by Valentin Lefevre
(Flemish, 1637-1677)
Lefevre, *Opera selectoria* (Venice: Jan Van Campen, 1682)
Lender: Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT

Lefevre's etching, above, was inspired by Veronese's painting of the subject in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Note the amusing detail of the two tumbling angels, top of composition. The print was published in Lefevre's important collection, the *Opera selectoria* (Venice: Jan Van Campen, 1682; 53 plates), included in the Ringling show. This Lefevre print was struck from two plates. Plate 1, above, upper half of etching, 39 x 50.4 cm. Total image: 77 x 50.4 cm. See J. Bober, "Veronese and the Reproductive Print," *Veronese*, ed V. Brilliant, with F. Ilchman (Scala, 2012), 208-221, 17 images.

Image 15. Veronese. *The Last Supper*. Renamed, *Feast in the House of Levi* (1573)
Oil on Canvas. 555 x 1280 cm (18 x 42 feet). Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.
[Not included in the Ringling *Veronese* show, 2012-2013]

But not everyone loved Veronese. The Inquisition judged the master's rendering of the Last Supper heretical in its theatrical mix of sacred and profane. Veronese defended his inclusion of "drunken buffoons, armed Germans, dwarfs, and similar scurrilities" as appropriate, naturalistic details; he also claimed creative freedom for "the poet and the madman." While not altering his *Last Supper*, Veronese renamed it *The Feast in the House of Levi*. One of the largest canvases of the sixteenth century, the painting is a masterpiece of composition; and its robust activity in the engagement of its many figures (observe the busy talking and gesturing) lends a distinct aural quality to the scene: one almost *hears* the sounds of this feast. The picture is also remarkable as an early (recorded) instance of institutional censorship in the visual arts. For the trial transcript, see P. Fehl, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, 58 (1961), 325-354.

Owing to its extraordinary size, this picture could not be shipped as a loan item from Venice, Italy, to Sarasota, Florida, but the curators thoughtfully included in the show a surrogate, being a large photograph of the painting by Thomas Struth in its Venetian setting at the Galleria dell'Accademia, visited by the present writer in the early 1990s for the *Tintoretto* show.

Image 16. Veronese, *The Wedding Feast at Cana in Galilee* (1562-1563). Detail
Oil on canvas. Height, 6.77m.; Width, 9.94m
At The Louvre, Paris, dating from 1798. Inventory #42.
[Not included in the Ringling "Veronese" show, 2012-2013]

Veronese's *Cana*, the most accomplished and theatrical "feast picture" of the Italian High Renaissance, is the master's signature work, displaying his many gifts. Like his *Levi* (Image 15), the *Cana* is a vast irreplaceable canvas, not an item to be loaned and shipped from Europe to the States. The *Cana* was commissioned for the Palladian refectory of the Benedictine monastery at San Georgio Maggiore, Venice. Another of the master's great canvases, the *Cana* combines a biblical genre scene (Christ's first public miracle) with a sumptuous Venetian-style wedding feast. Gesturing to the Divine plenitude of the creation, the picture is remarkable for its density of composition (Vasari saw over 100 figures). It also impresses with its great sweep of movement and activity. Its variety of costume and color is typical of the painter's most ambitious scenes. Especially delightful is Veronese's humor and invention in the addition of an original quartet of musicians (strings & winds), in the foreground, just below the central figures of a haloed Christ and his mother. The master's four players are thought to be Veronese himself (in white, left of center) on viola da gamba, and three of his Venetian contemporaries in art: Titian on bass viol; Tintoretto on violin; and Bassano on flute. (This is why we love Veronese!) As in the master's *Levi* (Image 15), the *Cana* can almost be ***heard*****.** The bride and groom, all but lost in the scene, are seated at the left end of the table. In 1797, Napolean's troops confiscated the painting, rolled it up, and shipped it to Paris. Its recent restoration dates from 1989 to 1992.

Some of the Grand Collectors of Veronese, Seventeenth-Century London and Paris

The Royal Collection of Charles I of England
The Arundel House Collection, formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel
The York House Collection, formed by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham
The Orléans Collection, formed by Philippe, Duke of Orléans
(most of the early grand collections were dispersed: changing times, changing tastes)

Image 17. Charles I by Van Dyck

Image 18. Lord Arundel by Mytens

Image 19. Duke of Buckingham by Rubens

Image 20. Duke of Orléans by Mignard

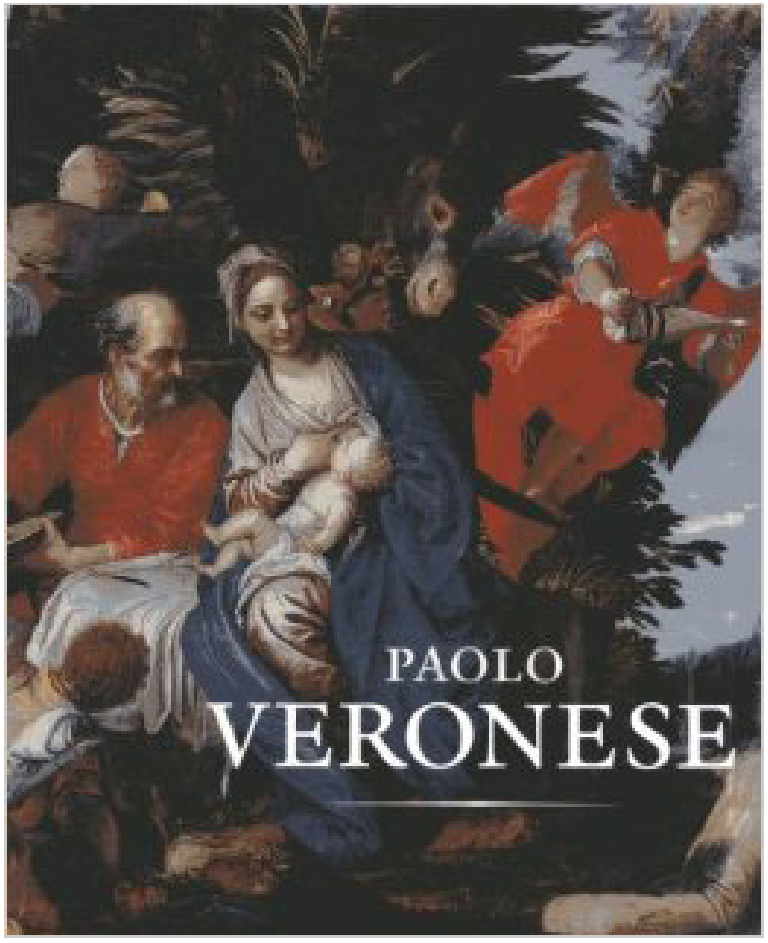

Image 21. Companion volume, in lieu of exhibition catalogue: *Paolo Veronese*, ed. Virginia Brilliant, with Frederick Ilchman. Scala, 2012. Cloth. 288 pp. Ills. Index. Jacket. 17 essays. Checklist of the Exhibition, 262-270. Chronology of the life and career of Veronese, compiled by John Garton, 271-272. Dimensions: 11.4 x 10.4 x 1.2" Book ad.

This essay is dedicated to the memory of

Peter Tasch (1934-2010),
co-founder and co-editor, *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats*

and

John T. Shawcross (1924–2011),
distinguished scholar of seventeenth-century English literature

The author also wishes to acknowledge
the career and contribution of

Robert J. Barry, Jr.,
valued bookseller, agent, and appraiser,
C A Stonehill Inc, New Haven CT

Reid Barbour. *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. xiv + 534 pp. + 20 b/w illus. $125.00. Review by RICHARD TODD, UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN.

Ever since his death on 19 October 1682 O.S., by some accounts his seventy-seventh birthday, Sir Thomas Browne's life has been a source of fascination. The neat enclosure suggested by the birth-death cycle was sometimes endorsed by its subject (Browne was certainly attracted to the *Ouroboros*, that is, the hermetic figure of the serpent eating its own tail), but at other times not (Browne was known to have been vague about his birth-date, at least once giving it as 19 October [5] rather than November and regarding himself as a Scorpio). The life (like those of other comparable early modern and, indeed, medieval figures) has been scrutinised for the extent to which Browne's travels were indeed those of actuality (he seems not to have left England after 1637, settling in Norwich).

Although conventional wisdom has it that little is known of Browne's earliest life, Barbour is alert to what he calls the "evocative clues" Browne left as to the way in which the events surrounding it shaped him. Browne was born either immediately before or immediately after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The discovery and neutralization of this event, which if successful would have reduced not only the House of Lords but by some accounts two-thirds of contemporary London to rubble, was an event of tremendous ideological resonance right through the eighteenth century, and it and its savage reprisals are still marked in atavistic and even provocative form in parts of England today. It is characteristic of Reid Barbour's mindset to note that 5 November 1605 was also the date of publication of Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.

Barbour unearths more of Browne's early life than had previously generally been known. While Browne's schooling at Westminster is well-attested, though what is less known is that he also, in later life, recalled a visit to Lewes, Sussex, evidently before he had been breeched (he was still "butt in coats"). The significance of Lewes lies in its being the location of his maternal grandparents' residence. From the very beginning, then, it is clear that if more direct factual material is lost or simply not forthcoming, Barbour proves himself a biographer who

turns documentary lack to advantage in pressing home the potential relevance of details that might have escaped a less observant chronicler.

Barbour works like this throughout this absorbing book. There must always be some biographical speculation relating to the earlier part of Browne's life, but Browne has added more than his fair share to the existing documentary record. He can claim credit for announcing the discovery in 2007 of Browne's Leiden *stelling* or "postulate" that concluded his brief study for his MD degree there (1633-4). Such postulates still survive as appendices to doctoral dissertations in The Netherlands today: in the seventeenth century they formed the focus of the defense. In 2007, Barbour, rooting around in the Bodleian library, discovered that Browne's postulate had been on smallpox, a much-feared disease both on account (justly) of its capacity to hideously disfigure the face as well as of its stigmatized but incorrectly supposed relationship to syphilis, "the great pox" (202). Smallpox was not to be successfully treated until Edward Jenner (1749-1823) inductively pioneered the technique of vaccination at the end of the eighteenth century by examining (or as we might now say "interrogating") the folk-lore that milkmaids were pretty: in fact, their faces were likely to be much less disfigured than those of their unfortunate contemporaries because not only had they contracted the much less devastating "cowpox" but (crucially) this gave them natural immunity to the severer disease.

Where little is known for certain about Browne's own life and indeed those of his nearest family, Barbour provides a richly described and impressively researched blend of mid-Stuart scientific thought and practice, as well as the period's social history, drawing into his account those aspects of Browne that are better known from the period after the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the Restoration. One might quibble with Barbour's use of "interregnum" to describe the period 1649-60 on the grounds that, (a) though commonly to be found, it presupposes an uncompromisingly Royalist standpoint, and (b) strictly speaking, the only true seventeenth-century "interregnum" in the sense of a formal "power vacuum" occurred during the confusingly anarchic few weeks between 23 December 1688, with the deposition and flight to France of James VII & II Stuart and the installation of William of Orange and James's daughter Mary Stuart as joint sovereigns (William

I of Scotland and III of England and Mary II), and 13 February 1689 (both dates O.S.).

But this kind of objection is more than offset by Barbour's apparently effortless ability to cross-reference items current in Browne's early life, but not necessarily used by him until work written and/or published much later. Barbour's memorially retentive control of his material is quite exceptional. Praise, having duly been acknowledged for Barbour's contriving to cross-reference in this way, in the body of the text rather than in digressive footnotes, must be offset by the admission that this ability can cut both ways. Thus, many notes remain, whose content could without loss have been incorporated into Barbour's text; and there is at times, particularly in the book's first half, a sense that the intellectual background is overwhelming the biographical foreground. Still, Barbour's style throughout is pleasantly distinctive, and he usefully contextualizes Browne's foreign travels (Montpellier, Padua, and Leiden) during 1631 through 1634. Even so, there is a lot of undigested material and lack of follow-through in parts of this account. One would have liked to learn more, for example, of "the tensions between [Padovan] students and Jews" (173), especially given the existence of Jewish ghettoes in many (but not all) of the European cities Browne visited.

Despite minor reservations such as this, there is much to admire and even praise. A particularly interesting passage on pp. 102-3 magisterially charts (almost in passing) the evolution from a humoral into what might be termed a modern understanding of medicine. It is at this kind of felicitous grasp of a complex subject that Barbour excels.

The seeming uneventfulness of the later part of Browne's life would appear to be counterpointed in the apparently haphazard manner in which his knighthood was conferred. That knighthood was (or is believed to have been) first destined for Norwich's mayor, Thomas Thacker. On declining it, Thacker is said to have pressed the case for its bestowal on Browne. In keeping with his remarkable learning, Barbour (404 n 26) cites recent scholarship (1998-99) that refutes this early nineteenth-century orthodoxy.

Right from the start Barbour enters Browne's world of words in portraying that life as a "miracle," a "fable" or "peece of Poetry." From 1637, after travels that took him away from England—to Montpellier,

Padua and Leiden—Browne settled in Norwich and made his inner world his own. Yet at times, even during these travels, Barbour's reader may get the sense that context (the rich intellectual and cultural background he is describing) is overwhelming text (a focus on Browne's life). One feels this particularly, perhaps, in the account of pre-Lenten Carnival at Padua, a sense enhanced by the claim that it was a phenomenon over which "Browne's fellow English travellers often registered their bemusement" (178). Barbour cites many of Browne's quirky observations (such as the direction in which an elephant farts, 438) but leaves his reader unenlightened as to whether insatiable curiosity and amusement are in any way linked, and, for this reviewer, Barbour's impassiveness to potentially humorous, almost Rabelaisian, aspect of his subject is one minor drawback of this insatiable study.

One does not have to proceed far into Barbour's monograph to encounter some errors that really should have been weeded out at copy-editing stage. There are three early examples, within a few pages of each other: a Malapropism for "Wykehamist" (Barbour has "Wyckamite," 37); an incorrect notation of pre-decimal £/s/d coinage, a notation lost only in February 1971 and thus available to living memory, let alone to current early modern scholarship (see e.g. Barbour's puzzling "£5.667½d": should this not rather read £5,667/0/0½d [32]?); and the bestowal of a superfluous ordinal number on the only post-Conquest English king named Stephen, r. 1135-54 (known in more revisionist circles as "Etienne de Blois"): 38 and not indexed. Another little clutch of irritation occurs on pages 171 ("Ave Marie [*sic*] bells") and 173, in a disquisition on Jewish burials in Padua, where we learn that the students' attempt at pilfering Jewish corpses for anatomization was foiled by "citizens appalled at the sacrilege," a significant and well-noted point, but characteristically observed rather than followed through (that is, the *reasons* for such a response need specifying as opposed to noting the response itself).

In its entirety the index is not as comprehensive as the study itself. There are some mistakes in the Dutch, which are better left to another forum. And the term "side-kick," which Barbour anachronistically uses to describe "intellectual companion" or, really, "admirer," several times throughout, can tend to irritate.

Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist. *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. xi +259 + 23 illus. $114.95. Review by WILLIAM E. ENGEL, SEWANEE: THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

One of the most productive trends in early modern scholarship of the last decade has been a deliberate turn toward memory. The editors of *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England*, cognizant of this movement, dutifully survey the terrain from Yates to Carruthers and then cover the range of newer approaches in books by, among others, Hiscock, Sullivan, and Engel, and in important collections of essays, most notably, *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture* by Beecher and Williams, and *Forgetting in Early Modern English Literature and Culture: Lethe's Legacies* by Ivic and Williams. In this regard, the first chapter is a faithful introduction to the volume; the editors deftly navigate a course through a sea of studies concerned with the place of ecclesiastical practices and theatre in constructing and revising notions of national and civic memory and identity. Moreover they use Duke Humfrey's tomb, coupled with key writings about it, as an exemplary case study that sets the tone for the essays that follow, each considering different forms of remembrance of the dead which emerged out of the Reformation.

Gordon and Rist, especially in the light of their notable work previously undertaken on commemorative structures and social history in early modern Britain, are singularly well suited to undertake this project on the cultural enactments of remembrance—both as editors and contributors. Andrew Gordon, for example, offers a triumphant final essay on the liminal figures of the ghost and the fool, as regards comic remembrance and reformation practices; and Thomas Rist's double-edged essay on Herbert's "Poetic Materials" stands as a magisterial centerpiece to this volume, which showcases the diverse spectrum of remembrance practices at work in the shadow of the English Reformation. And yet, much to the credit of the critically reflective stance assumed by all of the contributors, each essay takes into account the problems attending the term "Reformation," acknowledging that remembrance in the seventeenth century was never a neutral activity. By providing different perspectives on the manner and extent to which

religious engagement was involved, this collection brings to light some very specific ways that a variety of cultural productions are rooted in the arts of remembrance.

And so, appropriately, the Eucharist, seen as a touchstone for the arts of remembrance, is reflected in the structure of the book, beginning with an examination by Lucy Wooding of the relation between the Eucharist and other forms of remembrance associated with, and made manifest through, social and community practices of the period. Other essays in this part, likewise concerning "Materials of Remembrance," tease out remembrance, in terms of materialized theological engagement, by scrutinizing the place of the secular in early modern society. Robert Tittler focuses on portraiture; Tara Hamling on monumental fixtures and furnishings in domestic interiors, making good use of eight extremely well-chosen illustrations, including Izaak Walton's cupboard in a riveting account of his favored strategies for material remembrance (70); and Oliver Harris casts an attentive antiquarian eye on the appropriations of ancestry in stone and parchment.

The second part, on "Textual Rites," begins with Thomas Rist's excursus on Herbert as the preeminent poet of "churchly monuments," or, as he frames it more in line with the thematic concerns of this volume, "Christian-material remembrance" in English literature. His close readings of "The Altar" and "Easter Wings" in particular raise key questions that challenge the reader of Herbert's poetry to "think carefully about what 'being metaphorical' really means" (121). This essay foregrounds the monumental materials of religion (as they were found in seventeenth-century churches), even as it presents, in clear terms, the conflict over whether the place of such material in religion should be metaphorical, real, or both simultaneously. Three other essays round out this section: Tom Healy on the considerable impact of Foxe's anxiously revised *Acts and Monuments* over four editions; Gerard Kilroy on the memory of the poet and first Jesuit martyr, Edmund Campion (including the 1584 plate showing two bound priests made to watch him being tortured on the rack), argues convincingly that the Elizabethan theatre of punishment played to a much wider and more discriminating audience than merely its Catholic opponents; and Marie-Louise Coolahan on literalized memorialization and the posthumous construction of female authorship as a form of life-writing,

where "acts of copying and circulation themselves are performances of remembrance" (176).

The third and final part of the volume focuses on "Theatres of Remembrance," launched by Philip Schwyzer's treatment of Shakespeare's arts of reenactment, focusing primarily on Henry at Blackfriars and Richard at Rougemont. Janette Dillon's subtle treatment of "Scenic Memory," although concerned initially with reading scenic moments in relation to earlier "stage-pictures" (where iconicity may be absent or less explicitly evoked), raises larger questions beyond what certain tableaux and their re-arrangement and displacement in various plays might have conjured up in the audience's mind. Put simply: What, in the context of the Reformation, was collective memory? Drawing on the foundational theories of Aby Warburg and Maurice Halbwachs, as well as on the more recent work of Yael Zerubavel, this essay persuasively contends that a staged moral image, such as Avarice personified, in effect is recreated and reinvented over time to become subject to conflict and excess. For an audience that has moved "from a unitary Christianity to become part of a church bitterly divided against itself, the icon no longer speaks with a single voice" (199). Rory Loughnane's essay on artificial figures and the staging of remembrance in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* considers, among other things, the practicality of whether wax figures (of the Duchess's husband and children) were constructed and presented on stage—probably not, given the unnecessary expense this would have incurred (226). What is of greater interest here, though, is his incisive treatment of the bewildering suspension of disbelief required of the audience while watching the players of those roles pretend to be artificial figures. Loughnane perspicaciously sees this as an innovation on Webster's part: to draw together two familiar practices of meta-theatre; namely, the display of suddenly revealed or misrecognized dead bodies and the dramatized practice of remembrance. Meticulously and judiciously examined here, the allusive and illusive qualities of Webster's staging of this pivotal scene "offers a paradigm of theatre as remembrance of the dead" (212). And, finally, as already mentioned, Andrew Gordon's essay on the comic afterlife and the afterlife of comedy brings the collection to a satisfying conclusion. Especially noteworthy is the attention given to the famous Elizabethan clown and fool Richard Tarlton, whose death

"would cast a long shadow over the comic culture of the age" (231). The collection thus comes full circle with Gordon's subtle treatment of how comic remembrance of the dead encompasses a wider frame of reference than the shifting ground of doctrine, especially as regards the belief in Purgatory.

An eight-page bibliography covers the main secondary sources quoted throughout, and a five-page index supplies the names and topics of greatest interest to most readers, given the ample range of themes covered. But what makes this book truly valuable to students, teachers, and researchers of English literature and cultural studies is the high quality of the essays, each in its own right as well as when seen collectively as constituting a coherent area of inquiry involving material, textual and theatrical instantiations of the arts of remembrance. Insofar as each essay represents the highest caliber of responsible scholarly endeavor and presents hard-won and compelling research findings, this book is a significant contribution to the fertile and ever-widening field of early modern memory studies.

Pete Langman, ed. *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011. xv + 229 pp. + 71 illus. $99.95. Review by TODD SAMUELSON, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book gathers a selection of essays that examine the responses of writers, printers, and various readerships to the policies of a king who positioned himself as the primary source of both earthly and textual authority. Pete Langman's introduction suggests (indirectly) that the approach of the collection may follow Francis Bacon in selecting disjunction and aphoristic openness—in Bacon's words, "fragments of knowledge" rather than "methodical delivery" (7)—as the means of conducting the critical discussion. In this volume, Langman suggests, we will read at "the margins, where negotiations and transactions took place." While this collection of essays, like any proceedings (originating in a conference at Queen Mary, University of London in 2007), may not achieve a unity of argument or equality of interest to any individual reader, its efforts at foregrounding the pressures and processes by which written work

was produced and circulated—particularly in its remarkable final essay—render it a valuable contribution to literary and textual scholars.

Graham Rees, Director of the King's Printer Project, opens the collection with his article tracing the lucrative Bible monopoly owned by the King's Printer before and during the publication of the Authorized Version. Rees' detailing of the various versions and formats of Bible editions shows the prodigious value of the market, and prompt him to chart the overall value of the trade. His cautious but convincing estimates of edition size and collective price ultimately lead him to follow Peter Blayney in estimating the profits yielded to the King's Printer by the publication of Bibles, which Rees suggests was essentially a "licence to print money" (28). Two articles which explore other aspects of religious publication follow Rees' essay. Natalie Mears determines that the purchase and use of compulsory prayer books—supplemental services in response to recent events, such as political unrest or natural disaster—were adopted more at the level of "widespread observance" than of "universal compliance" (43), partially due to the demands their purchase made upon a parish's finances. Sharon Arnoult charts the ways in which acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer by the laity was shaped by a generational shift under James (and the church leadership which had been raised on familiarity with its service). She argues that the external performances instilled by these rituals provided significant staging for the reign of Charles I, who would join with Archbishop Laud in attempting "to fundamentally reshape religious belief and attitude through an innovative performance" of the BCP (55).

Cyndia Susan Clegg follows the publication of her three monographs on press censorship in early modern England with a graceful rebuttal of the "widely held conviction that print and parliamentary politics did not much mingle until the 1640s" (57). While many of the publications she examines provide indirect attempts to influence public opinion and parliamentary policy, she notes that many others engage with controversy in a more direct fashion. The topic of censorship applied to theological texts follows, as Andreas Pečar presents a case study of George Hakewill, who served both as royal chaplain and Prince Charles' tutor. Hakewill's attempts to publish his denouncement of the Spanish Match couched in exegesis of the Old

Testament was considered unobjectionable in one instance, but led to his punishment when voiced in a more direct rhetorical fashion.

In the second half of the collection, Jane Rickard explores the careful deployments John Donne and James I made of their preferred methods of publication, manuscript circulation and carefully-overseen printing, respectively. Her argument is attentive to the limits of control which each author was able to place on his writing through its manner of distribution. James' engagement with the populace through print exposed him, in many cases, to the dangers of a public negotiation which he may not have sought, having (as Donne notes in the dedication to *Pseudo-Martyr)* "vouchsafed to descend to a conuersation with your Subiects, by way of your Bookes" (97). In a chapter which expands elements of his introduction, Pete Langman compares the rhetorics of the dedications Francis Bacon drafted to James for his *Instauratio magna*—one published within the volume as well as a manuscript letter delivered with the king's copy. The modulation of his arguments for patronage in these two versions, carefully parsed by Langman, present Bacon's negotiations for support and claims for posterity in both public and private spheres. David R. Lawrence charts the publication by the King's Printers of a drill manual near the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, with particular focus on the privately printed manuals produced by English soldiers who had fought in the Low Countries and brought "Dutch innovations in infantry practice" (117) back to England.

Though it shares little in methodology with the other essays in the collection, the approach that Randall McLeod follows in the intriguing epilogue, "Hammered," provides an apt and expansive conclusion to the earlier articles. McLeod, writing in the pseudonymous guise of R. M^{ac}Geddon (alternately, Armaq Eden), provides a primer in analytical bibliography as he descries examples of marks left in books but generally remaining unseen. These remnants, visible only through close attention and raking light, are the results of bearing type protected from inking by a frisket, or the distension of printed sheets which are subsequently beaten into a solid text block. The significance of these markings—which McLeod refers to as "deformation in information" (141) and as "topography, not just typography" (151)—extends past its implications regarding printroom practices and the dating of

texts. The examination provides a strong case for the primacy of the material object of the book in the scholarly enterprise, but is more than a simple justification for McLeod's (exhaustive) attentiveness to the barely-visible elements of print history (although, as McLeod might note, type itself—both as a matrix newly struck by its punch, and as individual sorts taken from a case and placed into a line—also requires justification).

Written in his characteristically dense and allusive style, McLeod offers a meditation upon the meaning of materiality, rather than a simple report of his findings in various archives. A brief example of his knotty wordplay can be seen in this description of printing during the handpress period. Rather than a predictable mechanical process, we find that

> it turns complex and messy as soon as we consider side-deffects: for the application of force in the press not only in*forms* the paper, but also *in*forms it—by which I mean that it *embosses* it. . . . (140)

While it is true that this essay is hardly Jacobean in its focus—McLeod turns from Aldine incunabula to Estienne's *Biblia Hebraica* before engaging volumes by John Donne and Joshua Sylvester on his way to post-handpress printing—this essay achieves its own interrogation of textual practices. In particular, book historians will find the pages detailing the use of the beating hammer in pressing a printed text block to fill a significant gap in the standard source on handpress-period printing, Philip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972). Not only does McLeod supply relevant passages from nineteenth-century binders' manuals, but his close analysis of case studies (welts from the pitted face of a hammer, or glazing of the paper's surface, charted to show how gatherings were selected, struck, and turned) show, with a high degree of specificity, how the practice was affected. Though I found its final pages dealing with poor printing in the twenty-first century less germane, this masterful essay expands the scope of the collection and will retain its significance to book historians and bibliographers, as well as others interested in the printed books of the Jacobean period.

Diana G. Barnes. *Epistolary Community in Print, 1580-1664*. Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. xii + 250 pp. + 11 illus. $99.95. Review by RACHAEL SCARBOROUGH KING, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

Diana G. Barnes' new book offers a survey of the printed letter from the late sixteenth century to the Restoration, highlighting a variety of the ways authors used the epistolary genre to literary, political, and personal ends. *Epistolary Community in Print, 1580-1664* focuses on the "familiar letter," a "sociable form that speaks for the group rather than the individual" and "was ideally suited to dialogue about what binds individuals in a community" (Barnes 1). Barnes is interested in how writers took advantage of the print medium to visualize new forms of community in the early modern period, and in how the particular characteristics of the letter lent themselves to that endeavor. In this era of social and political change, she argues, the printed letter played a key part in forging a more expansive view of who could participate in public debates. As letter-writing manuals and other forms of printed letters disseminated a definition of the genre as one that almost anyone could master through diligent application, readers received a more "porous" sense of the community of the learned (2).

Even as Barnes focuses on the subgenre of the familiar letter, she untangles a skein of epistolary sources for this emerging vernacular form. In the sixteenth century, the influence of the recovery of Cicero's letters began to shift letter writing away from adherence to the *ars dictaminis*, the medieval rhetorical structure with oratory-based rules, and toward letters of friendship that were less restrictive and more interpersonal (6-8). In the late fourteenth century, Petrarch had prepared his letters for publication using a Ciceronian model, and "[f]ollowing Petrarch, humanists classicized epistolarity via the ideal of the Ciceronian familiar letter (the letters of Seneca, Quintillian [*sic*] and Peter Abelard were also important)" (7). Erasmus' influential description of the letter in his *De conscribiendis epistolis*, while rejecting some elements of Ciceronian epistolarity, "maintained the ideal of a community held together by letters in spite of physical or temporal distance" (7). And alongside the development of letter

writing as oriented toward masculine friendship bonds, Ovid's verse epistles provided a structure for love letters and letters of complaint; they served to introduce feminine epistolary voices into print (8-9). The adaptation of Ovidian poetics to the English context injected feminine epistolary discourse into questions of rationality, citizenship, and sovereignty (9).

Barnes' strongest chapter—on Parliament's 1645 publication of *The Kings Cabinet Opened*, a collection of Charles I's intercepted letters—draws together these strands to look at the overlapping masculine-feminine and public-private dimensions of seventeenth-century letter writing. Chapter Four, "Epistolary Battles in the English Civil War: *The Kings Cabinet Opened* (1645)," demonstrates the ways in which Parliament used not only the content of the confiscated missives, but also the form of the letter genre, to turn the public against the king. Because readers were already accustomed to printed letters, they were trained in how to interpret such publications. When the king entered into a familiar, Ciceronian epistolary relationship with his wife, the unpopular Roman Catholic Henrietta Maria, he violated masculine norms (121-2). The letters' parliamentarian editors also left some passages in cipher to emphasize the secrecy and duplicity of the office of the monarch. In the pamphlet, Barnes writes, "The King is identified with secret language, deception and sin, whereas Parliament is associated with plain prose, God and truth: secret letters are counterpoised with the openness of pamphlets" (113). By printing the letters, Parliament invited readers to participate in the cycle of exchange and deliberation that was essential to the letter-writing process.

But even as Barnes argues that *The Kings Cabinet Opened* was important because it revealed the king's private relationships and contradictory public statements, she notes that the correspondents themselves never considered their epistles to be purely private. In the letters, Charles and Henrietta Maria discuss their awareness of the potential for interception (124), and the fact that they wrote in cipher is evidence of this fear. "The royal letters are self-censored texts written under the threat of exposure" (122), demonstrating a continuity between manuscript letter and printed pamphlet. As Barnes notes, "print is not an innocent conduit of data," and the letters' remediation did not transparently unlock the king's secrets (117). Rather, the editors

took advantage of the established conventions of the printed letter to sway public opinion in specific ways.

The book's first three chapters set the stage for this argument by exploring the development of the printed letter in the first English letter-writing manual, Angel Day's *The English Secretary* (1586); in an Anglicization of Ovid's *Heroides*, Michael Drayton's *England's Heroicall Epistles* (1597); and in a translation of a French volume of women's letters, Jacques du Bosque's *The Secretary of Ladies* (1638). These works are representative of a process by which a wider ranger of people gained discursive citizenship through the authority conferred by epistolary agency. Speaking of Drayton, for example, Barnes notes that he uses epistolary conventions to "present the author as a participant in a conversation rather than a singular authoritative voice," and in doing so he "establishes terms for the new kind of relationship between author and reader necessitated by print" (57-58). Likewise, the letters in *The Secretary of Ladies* posit a "non-familial relationship of choice based on shared values," revealing how epistolary community can upset traditional hierarchical or lineage structures (85). Throughout, Barnes is interested in documenting the new kinds of literary exchange and interaction entailed in the movement of familiar letters from manuscript to print.

While Barnes' book presents a wealth of information about the early printed letter—establishing a genealogy starting well before the form with which scholars are most familiar, the epistolary novel—*Epistolary Community in Print* occasionally suffers from a lack of clarity about its object of inquiry. Barnes takes as her focus the familiar letter, but does not fully define this term for the reader. In fact, much of her discussion of the genre of the letter focuses on its rhetorical and humanistic forms, which could be seen as precursors to the vernacular personal letter but are not identical with it. This means that she glosses over some of the crucial differences between a work like Day's manual, directed toward clerks needing to acquire epistolary skills, and Margaret Cavendish's elite *Sociable Letters* and *Philosophical Letters*, the focus of her final chapter (1664). Likewise, Barnes' understanding of "community," ostensibly the subject of the work, is under-theorized. Does her argument work against an Andersonian understanding of national communities, or is she pushing

his argument 200 years earlier? Did the kinds of communities she identifies already exist in manuscript epistolary circles, or were they connate with print? The work would be richer if it directly addressed such questions, which have been at the forefront of literary study for decades, rather than implicitly adding to the debate.

Epistolary Community in Print, 1580-1664 provides a welcome extension of the history of the letter in print, and it should prove useful to scholars of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century politics, literacy, and poetry, as well as to those working on the more familiar field of eighteenth-century letter writing. The work ably establishes the importance of a number of non-canonical texts to a larger understanding of the literature and culture of the late Elizabethan period through the Restoration.

Gary A. Schmidt. *Renaissance Hybrids: Culture and Genre in Early Modern England*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013. vii + 246 pp. + 3 illus. $109.95. Review by ADAM SWANN, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

The connotations of the term "hybrid" have shifted over the past five centuries, moving from an "early incarnation in Renaissance concepts of boundary violation and the nineteenth century discourse of racial ethnography" to a current "largely celebratory" status in "contemporary theoretical parlance" (226-227). Gary A. Schmidt's *Renaissance Hybrids* investigates three different yet interrelated manifestations of hybridity in the English Renaissance: firstly, the "increasing presence of hybrid creatures such as satyrs, centaurs, giants and changelings" in literature and iconography; secondly, the upsurge of "*generic* hybridity" evident in the prevalence of satires, tragicomedies, and problem plays; and finally, the use of such hybridity to "mediate between competing forms of political organisation, … manag[e] social dissent, … [and] reconceptualis[e] the history of England itself" (1).

Schmidt begins with a discussion of various theories of hybridity, ranging across structuralism, anthropology, and contemporary cultural theory to provide a sound underpinning for his subsequent arguments. He cites Roger Ascham's warnings in *The Scholemaster*

against travel to Italy as representative of the normative Renaissance attitude to hybridity: "to travel abroad is to open oneself up, literally, to impregnation (and bastardisation) by the Other. The English, in such encounters, will inevitably wind up passive, weak, feminised victims of the strident, masculinised vices of Rome" (41). But while Schmidt recognises that, in the Renaissance, hybridity tended to be associated with evil (226), we can nonetheless find antecedents in the period for the postmodern concept of hybridity, which emphasises "the fertile potentials of marginality, border crossing, and cross-cultural interaction" (227).

Renaissance Hybrids finds just such an antecedent in Edmund Spenser. This may seem an unlikely choice, since, as Andrew Hadfield's *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (2012) reminds us, Spenser believed "savage methods" were necessary for England "to maintain its hold over Ireland" (Hadfield 164). Schmidt astutely recognises "it would be a mistake … to refashion Spenser—the man who witnessed, with questionable complicity, the massacre of three hundred Irish and Spanish soldiers, women, and children at Smerwick in 1580—as a kind of postmodern *avant a letter*, one whose work fully articulated a liberal proto-hermeneutics of hybridity and cultural intermingling" (20). With this caveat noted, Schmidt proceeds to demonstrate that Spenser indeed "imagined hybrids as essential to the progress of the nation" (226).

In much the same way as Milton would in his *History of Britain*, Spenser interrogated "encomiastic myths," recognising their pragmatic value while "rejecting as hyperbolic any account that trumpeted England's purity and heroic virtue at the expense of the complexity, mixture, and incongruity he knew to be features of the land in the present day" (53). Schmidt's analysis of the *Faerie Queene* reveals Spenser's "obsessi[on]" with "the image of hybrid bodies with divided allegiances as ongoing actors in the negotiation of cultural identity" (55). For Schmidt, Orgoglio represents the pride that underlies English sixteenth-century nationalism, and Redcrosse's battle against the giant is "not only an episode of self-mastery but also a re-enactment of the original colonisation of Brutus" (63).

In one of the most assured sections of the book, Schmidt traces Guyon's approach to the Bower of Bliss, and finds that for Spenser

"Guyon-qua-discoverer must reject, as objective correlatives for the true Britain, *both* the images of a desert wilderness *and* that of a superficially paradisal island" (73). The monstrously hybrid mermaids and harpies that Guyon encounters on the sea "embod[y] the longstanding connection between hybridity, degeneration, and the undomesticated energies of the semi- or sub-human world," and this confusion is reflected by the "'desert" blanketed by a "grosse fog'" (74). The Bower of Bliss, by contrast, represents an "'over-wrought' art that leads men astray," and Schmidt explains Guyon's uncharacteristic destruction of the Bower by suggesting that, "steering the middle path between the barbarous, monstrous figures of British prehistory and the refined, artful culture of 'gentle bloud,' Guyon's recourse is to *destroy* all paths that lead to either of these two 'extremes'" (75).

While Guyon sought to destroy these two extremes, Renaissance tragicomedy attempted to "span both sides of this divide—representing absolutist ideology while giving credence to parliamentary concerns—without simply excluding one of them" (182). Jacobean tragicomedy "steer[ed] the middle path" rather more delicately than Guyon, and Schmidt suggests this hybrid genre arose in part due to James's difficulties early in his reign. The genre "now seemed ideal for dramatizing the desired progression from calamity ("tragedy") to a felicitous resolution ("comedy")" (16), and Schmidt notes the religious connotations of this by reminding us that "the king himself had explicitly encouraged that his survival in 1605 be seen as a dramatization of *felix culpa*, whereby earthly discord could be read as part of a providential plan" (189). Valerie Forman's *Tragicomic Redemptions: Global Economics and the Early Modern English Stage* (2008) also read the genre in soteriological terms, arguing that "tragicomedy finds its narrative and structural basis in Christian redemption (the *felix culpa*), in which the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve produces the coming and sacrifice of Christ" (Forman 7). It is regrettable that Schmidt makes no mention of Forman's work, as it would have provided a fruitful opportunity to develop contemporary readings of Jacobean tragicomedy.

Marston's *The Malcontent* has generated polarised critical reactions; Leonard Tennenhouse argues that the play exhibits clear "pro-court, absolutist elements," while for Albert Tricomi, it reflects the "larger

trend toward anticourt drama in Jacobean England" (191, 190). Schmidt, appropriately enough, steers a middle path between Tennenhouse and Tricomi, proposing that Marston uses *The Malcontent*'s split protagonist to create a dialectic which balances both "the impulse toward resolution and reconciliation via a benevolent monarch, … [and] a fully articulated and well realised expression of the forces that resist synthesis" (191). Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* takes Marston's dialectic and uses it to enact "not the fusion but the *severance* of the king's two bodies" (203). The play charts Arbaces' struggles against the rule of the body natural, and Schmidt observes that the "body politic thrives in spite of [Arbaces], … so long as judicious nobles and lords are there to pick up the slack" (203, 199). When there is a danger of the body politic being corrupted by the king's intemperance, a new hybrid can be formed with the "person of loyal retainers and viceregents," demonstrating that "the state as an independent entity … can function indefinitely *without* the true monarch in place" (203, 199).

The chapter on Jacobean tragicomedy, while certainly engaging, attempts to cover too much ground and leaves the reader somewhat dissatisfied with the cursory treatment of some texts. Schmidt's arguments are at their most compelling in the sections on Spenser, where theoretically informed close readings are given ample space to develop. On the whole, however, Schmidt's book offers an illuminating exploration of the multifarious manifestations of hybridism in the English Renaissance.

The Complete Works of John Milton, Volume Three: The Shorter Poems. Edited by Barbara Kiefer Lewalski and Estelle Haan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. clxxvi + 632 pp. + 8 illus. $250. "Temporarily unavailable," according to the publisher. Review by STEPHEN M. BUHLER, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA-LINCOLN.

Walter Alexander Raleigh once referred in passing to *Paradise Lost* as "a monument to dead ideas"; the third volume of Oxford University Press's new *Complete Works of John Milton* might well serve as a *memento mori* to a model of academic publishing. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski and

Estelle Haan's edition of Milton's *Shorter Poems* was recalled shortly after publication due to what the press described as "textual errors" and as of this writing has not yet been reissued. The problems with the volume go beyond mistakes in transcription, but certainly an attempt at "a definitive scholarly edition" should have avoided those, at least.

There are some considerable strengths to this edition, which one hopes will remain in the reissued volume. There are three introductions: "Occasions and Circumstances," in which Professor Lewalski provides an overview to all the poems; "The Vernacular Poems and Their Genres," in which Lewalski considers the English works; and "The *Poemata*," which Professor Haan primarily devotes to the more numerous Latin compositions. While all three essays have their uses, the more comprehensive approach in "Occasions" would have been profitably extended to the closer examination of the works presented in the subsequent essays. "Occasions" conveys a sense of Milton as, appropriately enough for a *Complete Works* edition, a complete poet: the chapter demonstrates how the productions in different languages nevertheless suggest a single writer's artistic and intellectual development. For example, the section on the pivotal years of 1629 and 1630, as Milton was transitioning from undergraduate status at Cambridge, is beautifully concise and suggestive as it traces connections between and among such works as the *Elegia quinta* ("On the Arrival of Spring"), the *Elegia sexta* (to Charles Diodati), the Nativity Ode, and the poet's Italian exercises in Petrarchan form and sensibility. Moving from that unified perspective to the more exclusive viewpoints adopted in the following essays feels unnecessarily limiting, and even disjointed. One is compelled to shift back and forth between the second and third introductions in order to sustain and enrich the emerging portrait at which the "Occasions" essay hints.

This is important in the wake of Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns's 2008 biography, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought*. However problematic their individual readings and larger arguments can be, Campbell and Corns take pains to integrate fully the non-English poems into their presentation of Milton. In "Occasions," Lewalski offers an alternative presentation, but is content to acknowledge differences in interpretation without offering explicit arguments against Campbell and Corns, who are also the General Editors for the Oxford

Complete Works. Lewalski notes, at one point, their dismissal of any element of ecclesiastical critique in *Elegia quarta* (to Thomas Young) and, at another, their skepticism toward larger claims of political import even to Milton's 1645 *Poems*, but declines to engage directly with their reasoning. The chapters on the Vernacular Poems and the *Poemata* ignore Campbell and Corns's claims entirely. Haan's careful readings of the Latin works, however, regularly undercut their tendency to see Milton's use of Latin as a marker for cultural conservatism; she rightly points to the republican and radical associations that could also accrue to the language.

Yet more careful readings are relegated to the notes—"Commentaries," here—for individual poems, which are not easy to negotiate. The notes appear toward the back of the volume, without any page numbers referring back to the poems. Along the way, there are some splendid insights, which include finding an echo—with a possibly martial resonance—of Ovid's *Fasti* 5 in *A Mask*, when the Lady largely repeats herself with "Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud . . . I did not err, there does a sable cloud. . . ." In the absence of any detailed table of contents or index of first lines (both of which were once a hallmark of Oxford editions), it takes some investigative effort to work from a given poem's entry in the General Index in search of the edited text, its explanatory notes, and important textual variants in manuscript versions. The potential wealth of information offered by combining so many variants in a single volume also is diminished by unwieldy sequencing, which separates different versions and makes direct comparisons challenging at best. The eventual electronic version will simplify such matters (some other volumes in the new *Complete Works* are already available electronically), but surely the print version could have been designed for greater utility. The reproduction of Henry Lawes's settings for the songs in *A Mask* presents another unfortunate case: they are ably edited, transcribed, and introduced by John Cunningham, but the choice of format partly dictated by the size of the volume's pages has prompted the use of a minuscule, nearly unreadable font size for Milton's words as set and sometimes adapted by Lawes.

Again, an electronic version can redress such challenges. An electronic version, however, cannot automatically correct mistakes

in transcription, which is the primary reason for the volume having been recalled by Oxford University Press. Many of the problems center on the Trinity and Bridgewater manuscripts' versions of *A Mask* and apparently stem from reliance on optical recognition software that proved to be unequal to the task of transcribing Milton's hand and especially his revisions. Reviewers in other publications have catalogued several of the mistakes made, so I will point out just one other: the disappearance of a stage direction that appears in the Trinity Manuscript. As the Lady's two Brothers conclude their discussion of Chastity's power, the Attendant Spirit (ready to enter in the guise of the shepherd Thyrsis) calls from offstage. Milton, it seems, briefly considered having the sound cue occur at the start of the Younger Brother's tribute to "divine philosophie," but deemed it too much of a distraction and crossed out a prompt indicating a "Hallow within"—meaning the Spirit halloos or hollers. The cue instead comes a few lines later, as the Elder Brother makes clear while interrupting his sibling's short panegyric: "List, list, I heare / Some farre-of hallow breake the silent aire." My own transcription admittedly oversimplifies the maze of words, cancellations, and interpolated letters found on the manuscript. Even so, the added phrase "hallow farre of" is clearly visible on the manuscript and on facsimiles; other transcribers in the past, including Harris Fletcher and S. E. Sprott, include at least a version of the prompt. This added indication that Milton remained mindful of the practicalities of masque performance never appears in the first impression of the Oxford edition.

The successful launch of the new Cambridge edition of Ben Jonson's works—in both print and electronic formats—strongly suggests that this model of scholarly editing is, in the immortal words of *Spamalot*, "not dead yet." Still, the economic pressures that undoubtedly contributed to the problems with the Oxford Milton's Volume III and the economic consequences deriving from its recall and republication just as strongly suggest that the model is, in another immortal phrase, not at all well. The situation, however, calls for greater diligence rather than less, and the need for diligence is not an entirely new development. Raleigh's "monument to dead ideas" phrase became infamous because it was wrenched from its original context. As John Leonard has recently reminded us in *Faithful Labourers*, his magisterial study

of Milton's critical reception, Raleigh was defending *Paradise Lost*, not (as has been said too often) dismissing it. Arguing against those who would relegate Milton's epic to a narrowly defined "religious" category, Raleigh asserts its expansive and enduring greatness: the poem "*is not the less an eternal monument* because it is a monument to dead ideas." (The emphases are mine.) Greater care with text, context, and presentation would go far to ensure that not only the life-blood of a master spirit and that of his interpreters, but also the medium—print—in which they labored will indeed be preserved and stored up for future readers. I look forward to the second impression.

Eric B. Song. *Dominion Undeserved: Milton and the Perils of Creation*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013. ix + 215 pp. $49.95. Review by KATHRYN R. MCPHERSON, UTAH VALLEY UNIVERSITY.

In *Dominion Undeserved*, Eric B. Song crafts a brief, elegant, and theoretically informed argument about the ways in which all forms of creativity, including the building of nations, literary works, and concepts of new worlds, "must be carved out of and guarded against an original unruliness" (2). Weighing Milton's prose works, such as letters and major published and unpublished prose tracts, against selections of poetry, including early poems, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, Song asserts that Milton arises as "a great poet of multiple perspectives, of the *either/or/or*" rather than more simplistic binaries (3), but also that "co-existing perspectives are not mere equivalents" (4). Song's analysis remains unafraid of ascribing to Milton gendered and politicized notions that may bother some Milton apologists.

Relying in part on Julia Kristeva's concept of abjection, Song defines how Milton shares her concerns with disrupted identities and systems due to culturally bound concepts of purity, the maternal body, and prohibited foods; Kristeva's definition of Christian concepts of sin as "signified abjection" (6) enables Song to make an argument that connects Milton's depictions of chaos, language, the body, gender, and national identity. Milton's God, the Son, Adam, Eve, Samson, and other poetic voices all participate in processes of abjection that lead

to questions about how they earn the sovereignty they assert, assume, or abandon. Song also explicitly states that his outlook is "primarily historicist" (15), and his analyses frequently reach back to texts from the Middle Ages to help situate Milton's ideologies of creativity, gender, and national identity, including post-colonial theory. Song concludes his exploration with a brief but fascinating discussion of how Oludah Equiano's citations from *Paradise Lost* show the robust artistic, historical, and ideological functions of Milton's great works.

In exploring the many manifestations of Milton's encounters with conflicted forms of identity (gender, artistic, national, spiritual) and creativity, Song's book addresses a series of seemingly disparate topics. Chapter 1 discusses "allusions to the barbarism of the so-called Eastern Tartars" (4) and the ways that these unruly and ambitious peoples, who were strongly connected with infernal, excremental residues, conflict with "divinely sanctioned expansionism," (14) particularly regarding the Irish. Song believes that geopolitics affect Milton's cosmology and that the pressing issue of *Paradise Lost*'s theodicy also informs questions about the relationship between East and West, barbarous and civilized.

Chapter 2 reveals "Milton's engagements with country house poetry and accounts of the New World," focusing particularly on Eden's fall as a critique of dominion (4). Song claims that Milton's depiction of Eden in *Paradise Lost* can be seen as a rebuttal of Ben Jonson's harmonious Penshurst because he describes "the happy rural seat [of Eden] through a global lens" (46) in order to show how Adam "loses the rural seat of his global empire by failing to maintain control over his wife" (47). Satan's view of Eden reinforces the concept of Eden as a colony and, thus, involves postlapsarian concerns about estate management and dominating behaviors such as surveillance (56), voyeurism (59), and patriarchal succession (65).

Chapter 3 wrestles with "Milton's half-articulated thoughts about Anglo-Irish affairs after the Restoration" and how, although he wants "colonial cooperation," he cannot surrender English superiority (15). Much of this sharply focused argument, one that includes thoughts on the "hubbub" of native language, as well as serpents both literal and figurative, relies on a reading of Eve's moments of creation, which Song interprets as a trope that figured "Ireland as a potential paradise that has been spoiled, and Ireland as a woman, either treacherously

seductive or humbled and fertile" (76). Song reads the disjunction and eventual reunion of Adam and Eve as one of Milton's ways of understanding "the need for a politics of grace that would replaced lapsed dominion with mutual cooperation" (77) in a post-Civil War nation.

Finally, Chapter 4 returns to theories of abjection and reads *Paradise Regained* against *Samson Agonistes* to raise "questions about how the Son of God seeks to overcome the politics of undeserved dominion" (4). Above all, Song wants to delineate how "Milton's Anglocentrism is located within an international matrix" in hopes of revealing the poet's quest for an "elusive universality" (14). Song shows how the discord in *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Regained* undermine the gracious work of *Paradise Lost*, particularly through focusing on Kristeva's concepts of abjection and Derrida's ideas about archive, or "how the body governs the transmission of cultural knowledge" (115). The heroes of both 1671 poems experience both bodily and typological struggles, rooted in "bodily purity, gendered and sexual identity, [and] familiar versus public knowledge" (142) to teach readers the "limits of Pauline universalism" (144).

On the whole, Song's short book succeeds in weaving together many diverse strands of thought into an innovative reading of Milton's prose and poetry. A sharp, close reading of the texts is never overshadowed by reliance on contemporary critical theory, and the author frequently acknowledges the dangers of what he calls "willfull practice[s]" (76) of reading seventeenth-century literature through modern historical and critical modes. Occasionally, the rapid progression of the argument leaves a reader wishing for more robust bridges between ideas, as when Song's second chapter leaps from Eve's creation at the smooth lake to the temptation in Book 9 to her connections with the unruly Irish. These occasional lapses, though, do not diminish the sensitive and insightful book that this accomplished young scholar has produced.

Philip Major. *Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013. 198 pp. $99.95. Review by CHRISTOPHER D'ADDARIO, GETTYSBURG COLLEGE.

Considering Edward Said's oft-cited pronouncement that exile is "strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience," it is somewhat surprising that the study of early modern displacements, particularly those occasioned by the upheavals in mid-seventeenth-century England, has only very recently flourished. One of the scholars most fruitfully and diligently working in the past few years to improve our understanding of the psychological and literary effects of defeat, banishment and dislocation in early modern England has been Philip Major. His new book, *Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration*, is the enlightening and meticulous culmination of this work. In it, Major explores the manifold ways in which both defeated Royalists and fleeing regicides attempted, through their writing, to come to terms with the abrupt loss of their political and military hopes. Across four detailed chapters, Major analyzes the commentaries, letters, diaries, funerary rites, and poems of writers on both sides of the political divide; indeed, the impressive range of materials that Major examines in order to fill out our understanding of the experience of exile in the seventeenth century is one of his study's major strengths. While some might balk at the fluidity with which Major defines exile—the book includes studies of Royalists banished from London as well as those banished to the Continent, for example—this fluidity, in my mind, becomes an advantage as he is able to impress upon us the full scale and variety of written reactions to the wide-ranging displacements of this century. Helpfully, Major is careful to remain attuned to the complex particulars of each exile, never imposing an artificial unity on these writings through the imposition of a rigid schema.

Nonetheless, Major does identify recurring concerns across these individual experiences, and the book begins with an introduction that addresses some of these concerns, including the compensatory and poignant nature of exilic writing, as well as the ways that it serves both private and public objectives, and, thus, both psychological and political purposes. A brief case study of William Cavendish in the introduction elaborates on these themes, revealing the uses and limits

of stoicism and nonchalance to a wealthy Royalist experiencing the relative exigencies of existence on the Continent in the 1640s and 50s. In this opening chapter, Major also extensively situates his study amidst prior work on Royalists during the Interregnum, Puritans in the New World, and, more broadly, critical and historical studies of early modern ideology and literary form. For readers knowledgeable with the landscape of seventeenth-century studies, this section may cover familiar, and, at times, well-trodden ground, but it does allow Major to delineate clearly his additions and revisions to the critical consensus.

The first chapter focuses on the first exile of Edward Hyde and particularly the contemplations on the Psalms that he composed primarily during his time in Jersey and Madrid. Major argues that Hyde's contemplations allowed him to regain some sense of control over his life while in exile, providing a ritualistic consistency and sense of imagined community. In this way, his contemplations served a similar function as other paraliturgical Royalist texts of the mid-century, such as the *Eikon Basilike*. Major also provides a nuanced reading of the politics of these reflections, arguing that their emphasis on the contemplative helped Hyde to chart a middle ground between the "excessive clericalism of the Laudian church" (40), and by extension its Catholicizing supporters around Henrietta Maria at the Louvre, and the overt enthusiasms of Puritan reformers back in the homeland.

Chapter 2 contains a fascinating study of the funerary practices and writings of Royalists exiled to the continent. In this thoroughly researched chapter, Major details the difficulties attendant upon the rituals of mourning for those in exile, such as the distance from deceased loved ones and the fragility of Anglican practices in Catholic cities, as well as the poetry that emerges from these difficulties. There are several striking moments detailed by Major here, including the exiled Secretary of State Edward Nicholas in 1657 purchasing a mourning suit to commemorate his mother's death back in England. Major also astutely explores the pressures put on the exiles' Anglican identity as they attempted to practice mourning often, as in Antwerp, amidst the rhythms, sights and sounds of a distinctly Catholic city. At the end of the chapter, he links these experiential pressures on identity to the anti-Catholic and anti-Puritan sentiments in Robert Herrick's

poetry of mourning.

In the next chapter, the book moves us to the English homeland and to those Royalists who were either banished from or confined to London in the aftermath of the king's defeat. Major analyzes these internal exiles through a series of close readings of poems by Alexander Brome, John Berkenhead, Mildmay Fane and the anonymous author of *The Delinquents Pasport* (1658), as well as letters between Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham. The chapter, as a whole, provides important nuance to familiar cavalier tropes, illustrating how easily, under the pressures of displacement, patience could become paralysis, friendship could become a source of pain as well as solace, and compromise could become a necessity despite a desire to turn inward.

The book closes by crossing the Atlantic and the political and historical divide to examine the Restoration exile of two regicides, William Goffe and Edward Whalley, who fled to New England after Charles II's return. The chapter details especially the spiritual struggles evinced in Goffe's letters and diary as he sought to understand the place of the godly after the defeat of the Good Old Cause. The picture he gives here of the early colonists' relationships to the homeland is not entirely drawn, which leads Major to overstate, at times, the extent to which the early New England inhabitants embraced their new home. Nonetheless, the chapter nicely shows the many parallels between the exilic experiences of Royalists and Parliamentarians, even as it distinguishes the regicides' escape to the friendlier religious environments of New England from the Anglican Royalists' uncomfortable existence in Catholic Europe.

With the inclusion of exiles across the standard climacterics (especially 1660) and ideologies of the period, Major's book makes an important contribution to the reclamation of the seventeenth century as a discrete period, apart from the "early modern" or the "long eighteenth century," a period characterized by the upheavals of the civil war and its lasting effects through the Restoration. The richness of the case studies throughout provides us with a compelling and careful picture of writing impacted by these upheavals, writing that sought to create an imaginative space for acceptance and resistance, grief and stoicism, politics and providence. In addition, Major often insightfully relates these writings to the more canonical works of Lovelace,

Vaughan, Cowley or Bradstreet. The book is not without its flaws, however minor. Major does tend to ask unhelpful or unanswerable questions of his texts, for example, whether geographic exiles experienced the themes of cavalier displacement more deeply than those left in England, or else whether there is a poetics and politics of internal exile in this period (an odd question to ask in a chapter of that title). Thankfully, Major often leaves these questions once he enters into his nuanced analyses of these complex and various reactions to the experience of defeat.

Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration is an impressive study of the exiles that numerous Englishmen and women underwent, one that scholars of the seventeenth century will find valuable for its close and nuanced investigation of lesser-studied texts and authors. In it, Philip Major has gone a long way toward filling the gaps in the literary historical record, gaps that are often occasioned by defeat and banishment.

Alice Dailey. *The English Martyr from Reformation to Revolution.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012. xv + 332 pp. $38.00. Review by JONATHAN WRIGHT, DURHAM UNIVERSITY.

Early in her book, Alice Dailey announces that "martyrdom is not a death but a story that gets written about a death" (2). This, one imagines, would have come as a surprise to those who perished for their religious beliefs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but behind the bold statement there is a sound point: the perception of martyrdom is hugely influenced by how it is reported. A more sober summation might have been that martyrology is not the same thing as the actual event of martyrdom. Or, as Dailey puts it, that "martyrology mediates historical events through literary form" (5).

The main task of this impressive volume is to trace the continuities and discrepancies between medieval and early-modern conceptions of martyrdom: to examine how "the unruly exigencies of history" (2) influenced, disrupted and transformed the genre of martyrology. Dailey begins with an insightful summary of the medieval inheritance, focusing on two main sources: the hugely influential *Golden Legend*

of Jacobus de Voragine and English passion plays.

The tropes of the *Golden Legend* are conspicuous and consistent: they include bloodthirsty persecutors, martyrs who are immune to pain and suffering, and martyrs who are unusually truculent and argumentative. Speech acts are also of great importance (verbal confession of belief is regarded as crucial) and, rather more controversially, the notion of actively seeking out martyrdom is not seen as illicit. It would have been beneficial to see Dailey exploring this last point in greater detail since a standard theological theme (ever since Augustine and the Donatists) was that trying too hard to get caught or secure death for the faith could be a hallmark of suicidal pseudo-martyrdom.

The themes of the passion plays are strikingly different. Christ, of course, was regarded as the model of all subsequent Christian martyrdom and, in the plays, he is "passive, suffering and largely silent" (11). He suffers pain and, unlike the heroes of the Golden Legend, he makes few verbal contributions. There are 2,151 lines in the five York trial and crucifixion plays but only thirty-one of them are given to Christ and, even here, he tends to be enigmatic and evasive.

The remainder of the book looks at how these two streams of influence developed in post-Reformation martyrology. In the works of John Foxe, Dailey identifies many continuities, despite the great man's explicit disavowal of the earlier tradition. Many of Foxe's martyrs exhibit joy and merriment at the prospect of death, the persecutors are every bit as fanatical and brutal as their medieval forebears, verbal confession is still key, and, crucially, the miraculous elements do not disappear. Foxe certainly adjusted the criteria for including miracles, demanding a higher level of historical proof, but the trope remains. Dailey makes the excellent point that this is not necessarily a cause of tension. Modern historians have tended to be uncomfortable with the miraculous in Foxe: it seems to dent his reputation as a forerunner of later historiographical skepticism. But this, perhaps, is a symptom of our attempt to claim Foxe as an exemplar of a new early-modern model of historical writing. There is a risk of anachronism, here, and Foxe and his readers all believed in a cosmos in the miraculous was exceptional but unexceptionable.

Next, Dailey turns to Elizabethan Catholic martyrology and she identifies a major stumbling block. As is well known, the Elizabethan

regime constantly insisted that it was prosecuting Catholic priests for treason rather than persecuting them for their beliefs. This was always a matter of debate, but it played havoc with attempts to write conventional accounts of martyrdom. Apologists for men such as Edmund Campion had no choice but to rebut the charge of treason and this took up valuable space and energy. There was an inevitable "discrepancy between the treason proceeding and its potential for martyrological recuperation" (2). Old paradigms did not apply or had to be shoehorned into a new model. How, for example, could martyr's miracles be inserted into what was essentially a legalistic debate? The result was a "representational crisis" (135). Equally disruptive was the debate about the legitimacy of secrecy and equivocation under examination, which came to a head in the trials of Robert Southwell and Henry Garnet. Again, an old theme, frank confession, was hard to sustain and this necessarily altered, even impeded, the production of conventional martyrology.

One solution, the topic of the final sections of the book, was to adopt a new model of martyrdom: one that turned to the inner man or woman and "radical subjectivity." Dailey explores this through an examination of *Eikon Basilike* and Milton's ferocious response in *Eikonoklastes*.

This is an impressive contribution to an ever-expanding area of study and it tells us a great deal about the constant, often confusing interplay between historical events and literary production. One particularly intriguing idea is how the behaviour of potential martyrs was directly influenced by the realisation that their deeds and deaths were likely to become the stuff of written accounts. Did they consciously strive to fit the prevailing models of martyrdom? One has the feeling that most of them probably had more urgent matters on their minds. Pain tends to trump musings about posterity.

Matthew Neufield. *The Civil Wars After 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013. xiv + 284 + 5 illus. $99.00. Review by TY M. REESE, THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

While it is clear that the British Civil Wars have not been forgotten, the place of the conflict's public memory within the settlement period and beyond has not been fully and directly studied. Neufield addresses this by producing an engaging work that convincingly argues that the public memory of the Civil War in the post-1660 period was less about the war itself and rather more about creating distance from the Puritan vision that played such an important role in what occurred. For the restored regime, public memory was more about the present and future than the past.

Neufield utilizes a narrowly defined analysis of how a small political nation used its changing memory of the Civil Wars to remove itself from the Puritan inclination that caused all of the troubles. For the regime, public memory helped them create a "politically and religiously exclusive Restoration" settlement (2). The work utilizes six chronologically defined chapters to explore how public memory and its use evolved the further that the political nation got from the actual events. This allows Neufield to explore how, over time, the political nation utilized these memories to suppress Puritanism and what it represented through the Civil Wars and to work to return England to an idealized pre-Civil War past. The work begins by demonstrating how, in the immediate Restoration period, the political nation utilized state-sanctioned histories to illustrate how the Puritans challenged the structures of English society, especially church and state, and why they must be re-established. Early on, Neufield clarifies that he is not exploring a unified movement, although in many works such as this it becomes easy for the reader to imply that a majority consensus existed, but rather the different ways the political nation utilized public memory. In the 1660s, the official histories were not chronicles of events, rather they explored the Puritan challenge and its widespread and disruptive consequences. The newly restored monarchy used public memory in this early period to justify its return and to remind people what occurred when challenged. The other sources

that Neufield relies upon for this early period were the petitions of Civil War soldiers. These petitions related past experiences to current circumstances and played a role in legitimizing the Restoration. As Neufield moves away from the immediate settlement to the end of the reign of Charles II, he returns to historical writing and shows how writers used the past to shape the future. Especially important here was the possibility that the Duke of York might become king. In this period, writing on the Civil Wars flourished, particularly those that strived to construct a Whiggish narrative. This occurred through the loosening of pre-publication censorship that allowed for this increase in volume while demonstrating the growing distance between the past and the present. All of this leads to the publication of John Walker's *The Suffering of the Clergy* in 1714. Here, Neufield argues that this work demonstrated the struggle between Anglicanism and Puritanism, especially through victimization, while reinforcing the importance of the Restoration's religious settlement. The work concludes with an examination of the sermons delivered on publicly important days, especially those of May 29th. Many of these sermons reinforced the importance of the Anglican settlement and utilized "divine intervention" (14) to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Restoration.

Throughout the work, Neufield pays particular attention to the creation of an Anglican public memory that justified the settlement through an early vilification of the Puritans and that then established the legitimacy of the regime as it moved forward. While, early on, Neufield defines his political nation as being very small, there exists a tension through the use of the term public memory as the sources utilized do not always seem very public. At times, it is not clear whether these sources are more important, through the creative process and what they represented or through the role in creating public memory; the readers of these works is never really clear. While ex-soldiers from both sides created petitions, and it is important that Neufield stresses that these are the most unique sources that he utilizes, the public did not read them. Neither did the public, defined in a broad sense, read the histories and other sources that define this examination of public memory. At times, this public memory was more clearly an attempt by the restored regime, and its high church supporters, to justify their position of power. This is but a minor squabble with a work that does

demonstrate how, after the Civil Wars, a small group within England utilized public memory, and their control over it, to define the present and future. It provides great insight into the strategies used by the regime, which in the distant past was overthrown, to overcome challenges while developing opportunities within a post-war England.

Stephen Taylor and Grant Tapsell, eds. *The Nature of English Revolution Revisited: Essays in Honour of John Morrill*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2013. xi + 298 pp. $115. Review by MARC SCHWARZ, UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The appearance of a set of essays in honor of Professor John Morrill is both highly appropriate and very welcome. Morrill is one of the foremost contemporary historians of early modern England whose work has spanned local history, studies of Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution, and considerations of the Revolution within the context of the British Isles as the "War of Three Kingdoms." To say that his contribution has been highly influential is hardly an exaggeration.

These essays span the period from the reign of Charles I through the Restoration, and they provide a number of insights. The first is by Professor Tim Harris and deals with the ways in which Charles tried to keep in touch with his subjects and explain his policies. Harris points out that, unlike modern perceptions, he was extremely active, but, before the civil war, these efforts were fruitless until he received the help of men like Hyde and Falkland, who portrayed him as a constitutional and moderate monarch.

In other essays, Tim Wales describes the social responsibilities displayed toward the poor by local communities during the revolution, and Ethan Shagan intriguingly reveals the efforts of political and religious groups to portray themselves as moderates rather than extremists. This seems to be the pattern in most crises and it is useful to see it applied to the English revolutionary period. There is also a valuable discussion by Philip Baker on the Levellers and the franchise demonstrating that the civilian Levellers favored a franchise restricted to those with property and, more importantly, that they based these views on their experience with the voting as practiced among local

governments in London.

Moreover, in a very penetrating essay, John Walter discusses the body language that reflected the lack of deference paid to figures of authority and status during this period. I think this an extremely important point, as it struck at the very heart of traditional English society. Turning one's back or refusing to doff one's cap were tremendously symbolic actions. Walter does an excellent job in calling attention to this relatively unexplored subject. One is reminded of the story that King Charles II took his hat off in a conversation with the Quaker, William Penn, saying that someone had to doff their hat in the presence of a king.

In addition, Blair Worden provides a very significant study in textual analysis in a fine discussion of the making of the Instrument Government. Using a variety of different versions of the Instrument and a timeline, he is able to explain how the finished product emerged. Noting the contentious issues of religion, the army and the protector's role vis-à-vis parliament, he weaves an impressive account of the negotiations, alterations and delays that took place. Coming, as it did, on the heels of the expulsion of the Barebones Assembly, the framers had to try to cushion the shock of this new political arrangement. Cromwell hoped it might allay opposition, but it was quickly apparent that the experiment was a failure. The inability to bridle parliamentary excess, as seen in the James Naylor case, exposed the need for a second house and the "Humble Petition and Advice" put paid to the Instrument. Worden does a fine job of bringing us close to the evolution of the Instrument, the failure of which was apparent before it was presented.

An essay on "wit" and "style" in Restoration controversy argues that this development may have led to the skepticism of the Enlightenment. In addition, Grant Tapsell studies the relations between the Irish, Scottish and English churches after 1600 and finds that there was no effort to replicate the state of affairs under Charles I when the English church sought more influence and control over its British counterparts.

Finally, an article by Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor offers a very detailed and revisionary discussion of the restoration of the Church of England after 1660. After thorough research, they reach

some significant conclusions. The first is that the requirements, such as the acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer and the necessity of episcopal ordination, were imposed upon clergy before the Act of Uniformity of became law in 1662, with the penalty for refusing being ejection from livings or denial of institution. At the same time, however, the bishops who were handling the subscriptions were mainly moderate ones who acted with restraint. Second, they note that, even after the passage of the Act in 1662, the orthodox bishops and church hierarchy left the job of enforcing the Act to the more lenient prelates so that a number of ministers, who otherwise would have been removed, were able to stay. Such conclusions, as they point out, require a reconsideration of the Restoration clergy.

On the whole, this is a very useful collection which introduces some of the new trends in the examination of the English Revolution. The essays are well researched and a number will have a major impact on seventeenth-century studies. There are other topics which could have profitably been included, such as the outbreak of the Revolution, the New Model Army and the religious contentions that divided England and Scotland. In addition, a compilation of Professor Morrill's distinguished body of work would have been appropriate. That being said, this collection of essays is a fitting tribute to an outstanding historian.

Jennifer C. Vaught. *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2012. xi + 195 pp. + 10 illus. $104.95. Review by KEVIN LAAM, OAKLAND UNIVERSITY.

Jennifer C. Vaught's *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England* is a knowledgeable, if somewhat underrealized, analysis of literary appropriations of carnival and festive rituals in early modern England. Vaught sets out to contest the ideological rigidity of prior studies on the subject, namely their tendency to understand carnival as the province of either the common folk or the cultural elite. She maintains that "festivity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was neither the jurisdiction of high nor low constituents but was ideologically malleable and accessible to everyone" (8). The strength

of Vaught's self-described "folkloric" approach is that it enables her to uncover the expressive versatility as well as the local diversity of the carnivalesque mode in and beyond the early modern period.

In Chapter One, Vaught considers the prevalence of clowns, tricksters, cross-dressers, masquers, and other carnivalesque figures in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, and in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. According to Vaught, Faustus is rendered as a "grotesque imperialist" whose insatiable greed and hedonistic appetites mirror the excesses of English imperialism, while Barabas and Shylock represent "alien scapegoats" whose mistreatment under entrenched social, political, and economic institutions is exposed by the plays' strategic invocation of carnival and festive contexts. Vaught proceeds to explore how the legacy of carnivalesque figures endured in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century puppet productions of these plays, with a particular focus on adaptations of the Faust legend. She concludes that, in these productions, puppetry "functioned as a distant reminder of subversive protest among the lower ranks but ultimately as a tool for the upper and middle ranks to amass capital" (55).

Chapter Two examines how Spenser assimilates wide-ranging carnivalesque materials to his Protestant, republican beliefs in *The Shepheardes Calendar* and *The Faerie Queene*. In contrast to Marlowe and Shakespeare, in whose works Vaught detects radical egalitarian sympathies, Spenser's republicanism is steeped in ambivalence. For example, in her reading of Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*, Vaught notes that the tortured denizens of the house of the Mammon resemble "laborers at the heart of an exploitative, nascent capitalistic economy, which Spenser critiques in terms of its dehumanizing price" (78). However, the diverse throng grasping at the figure of Ambition in the same room also suggests that "avarice infects all ranks and ignites destructive, selfish desires for advancement among elite and popular groups" (78). Other carnivalesque episodes in *The Faerie Queene*—the Masque of Cupid in Book Three, the "May-game" ritual in Book Five, Serena's brush with gluttonous cannibals in Book Six—paint a similarly varied picture, leading Vaught to conclude that "Spenser's meditations on republicanism and liberty in connection to carnival vacillate from whole-hearted support, to skeptical ambivalence, to

deep-seated anxiety" (90).

In Chapter Three, Vaught examines how Dekker, Shakespeare, and Jonson enlisted carnival materials to comment on the new commercial realities of early modern England, where emerging market economies opened up increased avenues for social advancement. In addition to observing the numerous festive and holiday motifs that populate Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Vaught points to the rise and fall of the plays' upwardly mobile aspirants—Hammon and Malvolio, respectively—as evidence of "the imagined pleasures and perils of social mobility in a carnivalesque space and time" (100). Vaught then analyzes how *The Winter's Tale* expresses nostalgia for the rural, seasonal pastimes of the pre-mercantile era. This analysis includes an illuminating discussion of the cultural ramifications of the middle and upper class vogue for ornamental clocks and watches, which "carried with them greater enforcement of rank, gender, and occupational differences than did more neutral, cosmological and seasonal temporal markers" (115). *Bartholomew Fair*, according to Vaught, likewise uses its festival setting (the feast of St. Bartholomew) to lament the replacement of communal festivities by an individualistic market economy.

The book's fourth and final chapter, "The Decline of Carnivalesque Egalitarianism," will be of greatest interest to seventeenth-century specialists. Focusing on Milton's Ludlow Masque and Herrick's *Hesperides*, Vaught argues that the Caroline age witnessed the gradual waning of egalitarian influence in literary representations of carnival. According to Vaught, Milton's masque adapts popular as well as elite festive rituals both to promote Puritan values of temperance and moderation and to protest the tyrannical impulses of Charles I. By contrast, Herrick uses these materials in *Hesperides* for conservative, normative purposes. "In Herrick's book of poems," writes Vaught, "he imaginatively revives these customs so that they become occasions for unifying the lower and upper ranks against the mounting power of middle-ranking Puritans, who had historically opposed and in effect outlawed feast-day rituals" (137). The second half of Chapter Four investigates carnivalesque appropriations of Spenser and Milton in nineteenth-century America, in particular the post-Civil War South. In Vaught's analysis, these appropriations were largely devoid of egali-

tarian import and often used toward racist ends. In the parades staged by Mistick Krewe of Comus, a New Orleans Mardi Gras organization, the masque's multi-ethnic namesake is reimagined an unambiguously English trickster icon; Milton's republican sympathies, in turn, are replaced by nostalgia for aristocratic hierarchy. Vaught concludes that the Mistick Krewe of Comus, the Twelfth Night Revelers, and other Mardi Gras krewes "equipped themselves with satirical parades, exclusive balls, and canonical Renaissance texts in order to attack those who threatened to topple their hierarchical pyramid in post-war Louisiana" (167).

While Vaught rightly notes the dearth of scholarship on carnivalesque non-dramatic literature, her study ventures only slightly into this corpus of texts. It would have been useful to devote a chapter to, say, Jonson's court masques, particularly as they anticipate the spectacular festivities of the Mardi Gras organizations. Indeed, the transhistorical, crosscultural analysis that Vaught provides in the final chapter is the most compelling aspect of the book, and it deserves to be treated at greater length. Throughout her analysis, Vaught glances at connections between the early modern carnivalesque and its nineteenth-century American counterpart. These connections are as informative as they are fascinating, yet the book abruptly ends without pulling these loose threads together, thus obscuring the problematic association of Herrick's "conservative monarchism" with the reactionary politics of the Mardi Gras krewes. Beyond the emergence of these ideologies as the byproducts of civil wars, without further context, it is unclear how either is implicated in "the decline of carnivalesque egalitarianism." In fact, Vaught's Herrick seems to have more in common with Milton. While she states that their political appropriations of the carnivalesque "differ dramatically" (133), her more intriguing observation is what they have in common: a desire to protect the festive customs of old from Puritan reform.

In the end, Vaught is less interested in producing a coherent narrative of republican egalitarianism than in unsettling the divide between high and low culture. In this respect, the book succeeds splendidly. Vaught has produced a study of considerable scope and ambition, and her readings of the texts collectively illustrate the profound extent to which carnival themes and motifs permeated the literature and culture

of early modern England. More importantly, by extending her focus to the nineteenth-century American South, she shows how the legacy of the carnivalesque persists in unexpected and troubling ways.

Katherine Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. x + 174 pp. + 40 illus. $99.95. Review by PHILIP S. PALMER, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST.

Enhanced by forty reproductions of early modern printed images, Katherine Acheson's *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature* explores the rich modes of representation embodied in seventeenth-century illustrations and diagrams, texts that "contributed to frameworks of thought" in early modern England (7). Acheson began her research with "a survey of all illustrated works contained in EEBO up to 1640, and selected genres up to 1680" (5), yet limits herself in the book to a small sample of representative genres that rely on visual rhetoric: guides to military tactics and gardening, biblical genealogies, painting and drawing manuals, and illustrated works of natural history. The common thread connecting these genres is a focus on "diagrams and illustrations of a technical nature," which, according to Acheson, "insinuated ways of thinking in their audiences" (2) that could be applied to non-technical texts such as poems and early novels. Through a series of compelling literary close readings—structured around the touchstone concepts of "Space," "Truth," "Art," and "Nature"—Acheson proceeds to interpret these visual genres in relation to canonical texts by Marvell, Milton, and Behn.

The main contribution of *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature* lies in its illuminating corrective to the common critical neglect of diagrams and other non-linear, non-perspectival, non-narrative printed images in the study of early modern visual culture: "Why have diagrams been neglected"? (2), Acheson asks. One of her main points about this neglected corner of visual culture studies is that a diagram is not simply an "illustration." Rather, these images have a distinct function as expressions of visual rhetoric, which "allow[s] us to interpret visual phenomena as visual phenomena, rather than as versions of things that could be as well or even better said in

words" (4). Following Gunther Kress and Tho van Leeuwen, Acheson discusses the "modalities" and "coding orientations" afforded readers by seventeenth-century visual texts, orientations explored in further detail in each of her four chapters.

Chapter One (or "Space")—"'The discription of the worlde': Military, Horticultural, and Technical Illustration and Andrew Marvell's Gardens"—investigates the visual confluence of early modern horticultural and tactical diagrams and locates in their rhetoric two distinct coding orientations ("analytical" and "naturalistic"). Analytical representation is "non-naturalistic" and "convey[s] geographical space as it is experienced" (16), while naturalistic representation follows artistic convention and aspires to realism. Acheson cites examples of horticultural and tactical manuals that blend the two orientations, and in the poetry of Andrew Marvell locates a corollary not only to this mixture of orientations but also to the visual convergence of military and horticultural genres, specifically the perplexing image of the militarized garden in *Upon Appleton House*. She explores the image through the concept of "vigilance" while also connecting the term to ideas of "space as 'dominion' … land as it is measured, occupied, put to use" (44). Rather than creating an oppositional or incongruous effect, then, "[t]he intimate relationship between the military and the horticultural in *Upon Appleton House* defines the land with which the poem is concerned, and is the foundation upon which its meaning, power, and effect are built" (45). Ultimately, for Acheson, there is a striking confluence between "the strange points of view, combination of coding orientations, and flattened time and space that are the hallmarks of these illustrations" and "the most Marvellian qualities of Marvell's poetry" (50).

"Truth" is the guiding concept for Chapter Two, titled "The 'Way of Dichotomy': Dichotomous Tables and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*." Focusing on the biblical genealogies of John Speed and other biblical tree diagrams, Acheson argues that the visual genre of the dichotomous table was a "powerful form of information design[,] … a type of method" (51) and "means of enacting Protestantism" (60). She sets up her turn to *Paradise Lost* by noting how "Milton wrote poetry and prose for audiences that were deeply familiar with the form" (52) of the dichotomous table, and she structures the chapter

around what she sees as its three distinct narrative functions: cause and effect, wholes and parts, narrative and plot. According to the first function, Adam is the cause of Christ, and Christ is the summation and effect of Adam and all other preceding pieces of the genealogical diagram. Reading Satan's propensity for paradoxical logic against this providential cause and effect function, Acheson describes how satanic oxymorons represent a "desire to corrupt not only the specific cause and effect relationships asserted by God, but the possibility of knowing cause and effect at all" (63). In her section on the second function ("wholes and parts"), Acheson draws upon Edward Tufte's idea of the "parsimonious" tree diagram to trace how the "Genealogy of Good" in *Paradise Lost* sits in relation to its demonic double, "[t]he perversity of the Satanic family tree" (67) represented by Sin and Death. But for Adam and Eve, genealogy is also a source of restoration—"[r]estoring themselves as parts of the genealogical whole outlined in Speed" (72). "[G]enealogy," as Acheson writes, "is the *method* of providence" (ibid.). The third and last function, narrative and plot, represents the tension between the meandering tales characteristic of romance and the linear, teleological plots of divine providence and epic. Even if "God … finds narrative annoying" (74), Adam and Eve have no other choice but to learn through narrative, for "[a]s yet they are unaware of its [narrative's] relationship to plot, particularly the providential plot authored by God" (76). The chapter is valuable in part because Acheson reminds us "how important the tables were as a method of Protestantism, and how the poem articulates with complexity what they convey with simplicity" (79).

The third chapter—on "Art"—turns to manuals of drawing and painting instruction. "'Speculatory Ingenuity': Painting, Writing, and Andrew Marvell's 'Last Instructions to a Painter'" traces how the fashionable arts of painting and drawing manuals in the seventeenth century were the natural "result of manual dexterity enabled and extended by precision instruments common to mathematics, navigation, mensuration, military strategy, architecture, empirical science—and drawing" (101). Acheson calls attention to the many affinities between drawing and writing manuals in the period, while also making the crucial point that writing was being outstripped by drawing and painting in terms of its fashionability/modernity in the

seventeenth century. In her analysis of "Last Instructions to a Painter," Acheson situates Marvell's poem within the "centuries-long *paragon*e [between writing and art, in which] writing was falling behind" (92); it is her reading that the poem represents "Marvell's aggressive critique of a world in which representation is held to be more truthful, more transparent, more generous and more valuable the more it is mediated by supplementary technology" (93). As Acheson writes of Marvell's "advice to the painter" poems more generally, "painting's dependence on technology, and its association with the Dutch, are aligned with its inferior representational capacity, and derided in the effort to assert the superiority of poetry" (120).

Acheson's fourth and final chapter ("Nature")—titled "'Surveying Nature, with too nice a view': Naturalistic, Realistic, Anatomical, and Allegorical Animals in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*"—discusses the seventeenth-century visual culture of natural history and comparative anatomy, particularly as it relates to the tension between realistic and naturalistic representation of animals. Characteristic of the "realist" method in these texts would be images modeled on dead specimens; the chief site of the "naturalist" method, on the other hand, was often the text itself. Building on Brian Ogilvie's point about the complementary function of text and image in works of natural history, Acheson notes how "[t]he image … specifies the *real* animal … [and] the text … specifies the *natural* animal, the animal as part of a large, complex system of interlocking parts" (135). Linking these images to her touchstone literary text of the chapter, Acheson notes how "the natural historical mode … emerges as the most stable, truthful narrative perspective available to Behn, her narrator, and her eponymous hero" (129). Acheson connects to her reading of *Oroonoko* a little-discussed set of English verses written by Behn to accompany the fables in Francis Barlow's illustrated polyglot Aesop (1687, second ed.), wherein "[t]he allegorical mode … provides yet another way of seeing animals, one which is distinctly at odds with the priorities of Barlow's illustrations, and which contradicts the natural historical and the dissectional views of animals that also feature in *Oroonoko*" (146).

Ultimately for Acheson, Behn's appropriation of visual rhetoric "expand[s] our sense of her extraordinary absorption of the genres of her era" and demonstrates the "exceptional attention she paid to

the ways in which information and knowledge were constituted and communicated in her culture" (151-52). Her thoughts on Behn are characteristic of the interesting connections she establishes between diagrams and literature throughout the book: as she argues in conclusion, "reflections of the 'brainwork' fostered by non-narrative and diagrammatic images contribute to the distinctiveness we enjoy in the work of each of these writers" (152). Acheson's exciting book offers similarly distinct readings of these writers and the complex visual culture in which they participated.

Christina H. Lee. Ed. *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. 226 pp. $119.95. Review by PRAMOD K. NAYAR, THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD, INDIA.

Christina Lee, in her introduction to the volume, claims: "toward the end of the sixteenth century, any literate European with a curious mind would have been aware of … the geographical and cultural differences among the territories in the subcontinent, the Southeastern islands, and East Asia" (3). It is this claim—of the irreducible transnational interests, from trade to art to intellectual history—of Early Modern Europe that the volume sets out to validate.

Section 1, "Imagining the Far East from Europe," has essays focused on cartography and literature, domains in which the imaginary geography of China and the Far East was constructed. Ricardo Padrón, in his essay, examines Spanish maps from the sixteenth century. Proceeding from the assumption that it was "possible for mapmakers to slice up the world differently, according to the interests of the kings they served" (21), Padrón shows how "east of…" and "west of…" were descriptors that centered Europe. Further, the mapmakers constructed a marvellous or fantastic geography of the world, potentially full of surprising wealth for Europeans. Padrón also shows how the continent of America had to be brought into the cartographer's fold as a part of the "West."

Christina Lee's essay deals with Luis Barahona de Soto's long poem "The Tears of Angelica" (1586). Lee notes how the poem represents Asia as a conglomerate of kingdoms, with China as its commercial-cultural

center and its civilizing force. But for Lee, what is interesting about Barahona's poem is that, in it, China comes to symbolize "a wealthier and more exotic version of a Western European power" (62).

Section 2, "Discovering the Far East," opens with Liam Brockey's essay on the Iberian origins of Sinology. Using Spanish and Portuguese travel documents from the sixteenth century, Brockey notes three stages in the rise of Sinology. In the first (1520-1570), there was a considerable interest in the location and extent of the Ming Empire. In the second (1570s-1620s), there was greater enthusiasm in discovering the nature of Chinese civilization, notably its political, economic and philosophical aspects. In the third (1620-40s), Iberian scholars studied indigenous writing, hoping to unravel any moral lessons China might hold for Europe.

Nicholas Koss's essay tracks the Chinese writings of Matteo Ricci (*The Christian Expedition to the Chinese undertaken by the Society of Jesus*, 1615), as they appeared in English adaptations by Samuel Purchas in the latter's *Hakluyts Posthumous* (1625). Through a close reading of Purchas's editorial methods and comments, Koss reveals England's fascination with, and fear of, China as a great civilization and power. Purchas also took care, notes Koss, to soften Riccio's arguments that Chinese religions were compatible with Christianity and even goes on to "censure the Jesuits in china for being more tolerant of non-Christian Chinese than of Lutherans and Calvinists" (97).

Diego de Pantoja's early seventeenth-century writings are the subject of Robert Ellis's essay. Pantoja's own cultural framework, argues Ellis, was a hybrid of European and Asian elements and, therefore, his views on China are "a mediation between two imagined essences of cultural selfhood" (106). This means there is no straightforward negative commentary on China, which is not also tempered with a positive view, especially regarding Chinese scholarship and arts. Like Ricci, Pantoja seeks to prove that Chinese religion is compatible with Christianity, notes Ellis, and is therefore "one of the more radical exponents of accommodation" (114).

Haruko Ward's essay concerns Pedro Morejón's writings on Japanese martyrs of the Christian age (1550-1650). Ward argues that Morejón, who worked as a confessor to the Japanese nuns (called "bikuni"), situates the Japanese Christian martyrs in the same tradi-

tion as the European martyrs of the early church. By representing the tortured bodies of women martyrs—which he frequently described as "weak"—as analogous to the tortured body of Christ, Morejón treated them as "the Incarnate Divine Person." Like Ellis's, Ward's essay demonstrates the accommodative tendencies toward Eastern religions among the Europeans.

Section 3 is geographically centered toward Japanese and "Chinos"—a category that included people from Southeast Asia and Philippines as well as China—who travelled to Europe. Juan Gil traces the Asian migrants to Spain, back to the 1520s, some of them being brought as slaves by Spanish officials returning home from Manila. Labelled "Indios" by the Europeans, Gil argues that the "Chinos" acted as a close-knit community when brought to Europe.

Extending Gil's concerns is Tatiana Seijas's essay on Asian men in the law courts of the Council for the Indies. Siejas notes how all the Asians refused to call themselves "Chinos," preferring to be called "Indios." This nomenclature, she notes, was significant because the latter indicated a free subject of the Spanish Empire, and "Chinos" signified slaves, indentured labourers and servants.

Marco Musillo's study of the Japanese Tenshō embassy to Rome (1585) argues that the Japanese, once they arrived in Italian civic spaces, had their identity re-evaluated, as foreign guests and nobility. As exotic elements, they were slowly incorporated into the theatre of public power. For Musillo, this incorporation into the civic space was a process the Japanese themselves actively participated in.

Mayu Fujikawa's studies Pope Paul's interactions with a Japanese delegation, led by Rokuemon Hasekura of the early seventeenth century, as represented in a fresco on the Sala Regia Hall of Palazzo del Quirinale, a papal residence in Rome. The entire attempt, Fujikawa notes, was to present the international fame and relevance of the Pope. As she puts it, the "purpose was not to depict recognizable Japanese individuals, but rather to commemorate the grandeur of the papal ceremony, in which the foreign guests were participants" (197).

Lee's volume fits in with the larger shift in readings of the Renaissance and Early Modern Europe seen in collections like J. G. Singh's *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (2009), Houston (ed) *New Worlds Reflected:*

Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period (2010) or Johanyak and Lim's *The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia* (2010) that attempt to demonstrate how Early Modern Europe was irreducibly transnational, whether in the form of its consumption of products, such as tea and china, or in the exchange of ideas. The essays in Lee's collection focus mainly on Spanish and Portuguese texts and thereby expand our knowledge of the Early Modern's encounters with the racial-cultural Other, in this case the Far East. Essays like Koss's in the volume are particularly fascinating for their focus on cultural productions and their politics of editing and adaptation. As a person familiar only with English textual materials on Asia, I was much benefited through Lee's volume, as I discovered the wealth of work on China. As a series itself, "Transculturalisms" is a major intervention in literary-cultural studies of the Early Modern period, and Lee's is a fine contribution to the area.

Elizabeth Mazzola. *Learning and Literacy in Female Hands, 1520-1698*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. 137 pp. + 8 illus. $99.95. Review by JESSICA L. MALAY, UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD.

In this book, Elizabeth Mazzola takes as her subject the complex attitudes regarding female literacy in the early modern period. She opens with examples of individual women and their anxieties about the condition and practice of their literacy sharing, as Mazzola explains, "doubts about their own linguistic abilities" and the reception of these by a variety of audiences. The book makes use of a rich assortment of textual sources ranging from legal texts, autobiographies, poetry, dramatic, and prose texts by both men and women. Chapter One considers the relationship between tutors and students including the ways female students could manipulate this relationship. Here, she discusses the ambiguity concerning female literacy in the period, often seen as inferior to male literacy, and the agency that may have come from this ambiguity. She writes that under the "cover of illiteracy, inferiority, or confinement to the household women might engage in politically charged activities" (43) through the invisibility afforded them by cultural attitudes towards female literacy. She also explores

the networks that existed between women, where "courtly women move in and out of each other households, share books and ideas, read together and educate children" (32). In chapter Two, she considers how women participated in code making, masking, or transforming their script in order to conceal or reveal in a variety of circumstances. She discusses the cryptography of Mary Queen of Scots, alongside the maiden Jane Seager's use of Timothy Bright's shorthand system or "secrete writing" and considers how women writers both encoded their desires and invited or challenged men to decode these. Chapter Three examines the relationship between women and their writing masters, scribes, and secretaries, considering the ways in which messages were transmitted, the metaphorical resonances found in the use of an amanuensis, the circulation of information, and the ambiguities inherent in the context of scribal and secretarial intervention. In this chapter, she discusses the fraught relationship between William Cecil and Elizabeth I and the role of documents in both mediation and resistance in this relationship. Here, she also mentions the role of male scribes in the transcribing or recording of female voices, as in the case of Anne Southwell. And she discusses the proliferation of legal instruments that recorded and transmitted information with political as well as personal ramifications. In the fourth chapter, Mazzola returns to the ambiguities of female literacy as experienced by women themselves. She claims that, "Women writers in early modern England frequently (surprisingly) bemoan this new literacy and male writers just as frequently rue it too" (86). Here, the slippage and complications of roles in the course of textual production is examined; what Mazzola describes as "the murky space between literary control and literate compliance—between creating something and following a script, between being a teacher and a student, or a writer and a reader" (86). Here, Mazzola uses the example of the humble Elizabeth, who employed charges of illiteracy to shame her husband. She also discussed how Martha Moulsworth's literacy becomes a memorial to her learned father as well as a site of cultural resistance to female literacy. Chapter Five serves as a conclusion to the book and returns again to issues related to the relationship between reading and writing, but also challenges concepts of empowerment derived from literacy, which are presented here as ambiguous and socially situated. The deposition of a

young Yorkshire woman, Anne Peace, accused of infanticide, exposes the dangers and opportunities present when navigating forms of literacy in particular social contexts—in this case, the legal system. This chapter also discusses the way in which women attempted to control a written vernacular, again both revealing and concealing meaning through an adept use of language.

Mazzola structures her chapters through the use of well-known literary texts—*The Taming of the Shrew*, *Twelfth Night*, *King Lear*, and the *Astrophel and Stella* sonnet sequence. This has the effect of situating the reader within a familiar text from which examples can be drawn to illustrate the points being made about literacy and learning in the period. However, this strategy is at times problematic, eliding the representation of female learning and literacy in male-authored dramatic texts with information from documentary evidence, or from female-authored texts. It is fairly clear that Mazzola does not intend to suggest that Bianca, Regan, Viola, or Stella are real women, but rather that they are tropes or representations of male attitudes towards female learning. It is also fairly obvious that her examples of letters, messages and messengers, and secretaries and scribes drawn from literary texts are representations of cultural acts, not evidence of the acts themselves in the real world. However, at times this distinction is not as obvious as it could be. There is also occasionally a lack of recognition that literary representations are formed to serve dramatic or literary purposes and do not constitute evidence of a real world practice. From time to time, Mazzola also makes assumptions that are not fully supported by the evidence she presents.

In this book, Mazzola explores the many forms of female literacy in early modern culture. She engages with what she describes as "rough hands and corrupt texts" and convincingly argues that these, often produced by women, possessed a value not always recognized at the time, nor in more modern scholarship. This is her great contribution to the discussions of female literacy of the early modern period. She brings together a large cast of female writers, from Elizabeth I to the desperate Anne Peace, to convincingly argue that female literacy, while taking a number of forms and eliciting ambiguous responses, was widespread and widely practiced, leaving a rich legacy of female voices.

Francisco de Quevedo. *Silvas*, translated into English by Hilaire Kallendorf, with a Prologue by Eduardo Espina. Lima, Perú: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Fondo Editorial, 2011. Review by ANNE HOLLOWAY, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST.

Translation's life-giving potential is persistently underscored in the prologue to Hilaire Kallendorf's text, in which Eduardo Espina suggests that the translator has given not only "una vida lujosa a las silvas de Quevedo" (18), but indeed an afterlife to the poet himself 'Quevedo ahora es un ser moderno…' (15) An understanding of translation as a dialogue with illustrious antecedents is a thematic seam running through Espina's prologue and the chapter "Conversations with the Dead: Quevedo and Statius Annotation and Imitation," which is based on a co-authored study with Craig Kallendorf previously published in the Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes in 2000, and revised here to incorporate recent scholarship. This article, revealing the existence of a copy of Statius' *Sylvae* annotated in Quevedo's hand in Princeton University library, contributed to existing discussions of the importance of Statius within Quevedo's work. Contemporary readers certainly identified the importance of Statius in Quevedo's *Silvas*; Lope de Vega's epistle "Al Doctor Gregorio de Angulo," which Millé y Giménez dates at 1608, contains the lines: "Veréis otro Francisco, que renueva / con más divino estilo que el de Estacio / las *silva*s, donde ya vencerle prueba."[1] In more recent years, parallels with the Statian *Thebaid* in Quevedo's verse were observed by commentators including Blecua (1963), who noted that Quevedo listed Statius as one of a number of undervalued poets in his *Anacreonte castellano*: "Como se ve en Homero, Virgilio, Estacio y Hesiodo, de quien tácitamente dice que los alaban muchos, y los entienden pocos, y los leen menos, por faltarles la hermosura y alegría y brevedad de los líricos."[2]

[1] The epistle features in *La Filomena*, 1621, Lope de Vega, *Obras poéticas I*, ed. by J.M. Blecua (Barcelona: Planeta, 1974): 768 (262-4). J. Millé y Giménez, "La epístola de Lope de Vega al Doctor Gregorio de Angulo," *Bulletin Hispanique*, 37 (1935):159-88.

[2] Francisco de Quevedo, *Obras completas*, ed. by José Manuel Blecua, Clásicos Planeta, 4 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial planeta, 1963), IV, 261. Regarding Quevedo's access to the Statian texts, Jauralde speculates "No se conocen impresiones de traduc-

Senabre (1982) has examined the relationship between the Thebaid and a number of Quevedian sonnets, as well as the *Poema heroico a Cristo resucitado*, while Crosby and Schwartz (1986) have analyzed the intertextual relationship between Statius' *Somnus* and Quevedo's *El sueño*.[3] However, the acknowledged reliance on Jauralde (1991) for dates (58) suggests the Kallendorfs could be kinder elsewhere regarding this critic's conclusions, which only appear "misguided" in the light of their discovery of the Statian text.

Not only does the study present compelling evidence of Quevedo's familiarity with the Statian model, it also affords a glimpse of artistic process. The textual evidence serves as the lynchpin of the presentation of Quevedo's corpus as a "discrete collection," akin to the Statian text (85), permitting the critics to trace the thematic and stylistic strands that bind the poems together. It's in this "binding" that the contribution of Hilaire Kallendorf's study is, arguably, to be found, taking its place alongside Cacho (2012) who assesses the poems as a coherent collection. New additions to the study include a table presenting Quevedo's annotations to Statius's *Silvae*, which allows the reader to perceive the synthesis of classical and Christian ideas as they emerge. In light of this evidence for Quevedo's interaction with the Latin text, more might have been made of these correspondences, although they should prove useful for future poetic analysis. Unfortunately, the subsequent translation of the poems themselves is hampered by an over-literal approach, producing a frequent jarring effect but also, at times, revealing a misunderstanding of the source text. In Quevedo's "silva sexta" or *La Farmaceutria*, for example, we encounter an exceptionally macabre vision of communication beyond the grave, wherein the speaker draws blood from an anonymous cadaver:

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ciones españolas de Estacio, Quevedo pudo conocer alguna edición del siglo XVI, por ejemplo la de Lyon, 1547; o la mucho más cercana y asequible de Amberes, 1599" ("Las *silva*s de Quevedo," 170-71).

[3] Ricardo Senabre, "De Quevedo a Estacio," in *II Homenaje a Quevedo. Actas de la II Academia Literaria Renacentista*, ed. by V. García de la Concha (Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, 1982), 315-22. J. O. Crosby and L. Schwartz, "La *silva El sueño* de Quevedo: Génesis y revisiones," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 63 (1986):111-26.

Si ayer, antes de darle sepultura,
mordiéndole los labios a un difunto,
antes que el postrer yelo le cubriese,
le murmuré un recado que te diese. (121-26)

This is rendered as:

Yesterday, before giving him burial,
Chewing the lips of a defunct,
Before the final ice covered him,
I murmured to him a message to give you.

The translator appears to conceive of the translation of Quevedo's *Silvas* primarily as a resource for poets, offering herself as a conduit between the early modern Spanish poet and the modern reader. Nonetheless, this English rendering lies lifeless on the page, devoid of the mordancy of the Spanish original.

Sarah D. P. Cockram. *Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga: Power Sharing at the Italian Renaissance Court*. Surry, Eng.: Ashgate, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World, 2013. xviii + 256 pp + 17 illus. $119.95. Review by R. BURR LITCHFIELD, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

This detailed and well-documented book, the fruit of a doctoral dissertation at the University of Glasgow, traces the relationship between Isabella d'Este and her husband Francesco Gonzaga through Isabella's massive correspondence (ca. 16,000 letters in copybooks and 9,000 received) that is preserved in the State Archives of Mantua. The letters were carried in sealed pouches by couriers and, in a small state like Mantua, they were the basic means for exchanging information. Earlier studies using the same source, which the author cites, focused on Isabella alone, while the author here perceives a partnership between husband and wife in governing their state. The turn of the sixteenth century was a difficult period in Italian history between the French invasions of King Charles VIII and King Louis XII in the 1490s and the Hapsburg invasions of Emperor Charles V in the 1520s that eventually made much of Italy a colony of Spain. Isabella d'Este (born 1474) was the eldest daughter of Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. As

a girl, she received a thorough classical education. She was married to Francesco Gonzaga in 1490, bringing independent resources to Mantua with her. The Este ranked above the Gonzaga in standing and wealth. Francesco Gonzaga (1463-1519) had succeeded as Marchese in 1484. He was a warrior (Condottiere) with a band of followers. He served the Venetian league that opposed the French invasion in 1494 and France and the Papacy in the League of Cambrai (1508-16) that opposed Venice. Isabella governed the couple's Marquisate in his absence and exchanged news with him by letter. His capture and imprisonment by the Venetians in 1509 set off a spate of letters to different parties until he was released in 1510. He died (of syphilis) in 1519, leaving Isabella as regent to their heir, Federigo, who was made Duke of Mantua by Charles V in 1530. She died in 1539.

Protecting the independence of their small state through this turbulent period (Mantua had about 21,000 inhabitants) required considerable diplomatic dexterity. The couple exercised artistic patronage too, although the author does not tell us much about it. Mantegna's *Camera degli Sposi* in the court palace was completed before the arrival of Isabella d'Este, although the couple commissioned other works, and Isabella is mentioned in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The correspondence gives us fleeting glances of Mantua court life. Isabella had many woman correspondents who she trusted particularly as a source of gossip. She forced associates of Francesco before their marriage into secondary positions or into exile. Ercole Strozzi, an intermediary in Francesco's brief romance with Lucrezia Borgia, was found murdered in 1508. But in this study, the diplomatic issues revealed in the correspondence predominate.

A particular problem, that receives new light here, was Cesare Borgia, the illegitimate son of Pope Alexander VI, who Machiavelli admired in *The Prince*. The pope attempted to organize a new state for him in the Romagna. Louis XII had made him Duke of Valence in 1498, and by 1501 he had taken Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Forli, Faenza, and Imola from their previous Signori. Much diplomacy was required from Mantua to ward off Cesare Borgia's threat, to befriend him, and to assuage other powers. When he seized Urbino in 1502, Guildobaldo da Montefeltro fled to Mantua, where Isabella sought French support for him, permitting his return to Urbino. Ultimately,

Alexander's successor, Pope Julius II, arranged to capture Cesare in 1504 and sent him to Spain, where he died in 1507. For Isabella and Francesco, the best diplomatic defense proved to be a diplomatic offence, leading to the Mantua conference of 1512, where the Medici were restored in Florence, the Sforza were restored in Milan, and interests of the Este were protected in Ferrara.

The author gives little attention to Isabella's activities after the death of Francesco in 1519, but this book is still an enlightening exploration of the diplomacy that led to Mantua's survival in a difficult and complex period and of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga's partnership and energy in obtaining this end. It also gives good insight into the nature and uses of Renaissance correspondence.

Benjamin B. Roberts. *Sex and Drugs before Rock 'n' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012. 318 pp. $45.00. Review by LAURA CRUZ, WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY.

The contemporary Dutch "school" of writing social history is replete with unrivaled archival depth, thick descriptions, and vivid depictions. Historians in the school have written about crowds, churches, children, women, cross-dressers, prostitutes, and more during the Golden Age of the Netherlands. Each contribution has provided a visual and historical layer to a portrait of the complex and dynamic society that characterized this precocious republic. Independent scholar Benjamin B. Roberts adds to this portrait with a focus on young men, particularly those attending university in the first half of the century. As such, his portrayal interweaves changing concepts of violence, masculinity, youth, and culture along with the stories of both the fame and folly of young men and their transition to adulthood.

In the Netherlands itself, historical writing is read by more than academics. This means that historians do not necessarily write only for a narrow scholarly audience, but rather often include a broader, educated one. *Sex and Drugs before Rock 'n' Roll* has aspects that should appeal to both types of readers. As the title suggests, the work invites

comparisons between college students today and those of the early modern past. As Roberts himself suggests, "there are some prominent parallels that cannot be ignored" (17). His use of the term rock 'n' roll is figurative, intended to evoke a period of time, often characterized by excess, which takes place as part of either late adolescence or early adulthood, but nonetheless intended to bridge the past with the present. Similarly, any book with a title that begins 'sex and drugs' is likely to get noticed at the bookshop, and this appeal is underscored by the bright graphic design of the book's cover and the lavish color illustrations. Lengthy exegeses on the nature of belonging to a fraternity (or similar social group), on drinking and parties, and on the general high jinks of 20-somethings let loose upon the cities will surely provoke an interesting double nostalgia among those who remember their own college days fondly.

This appeal, however, is largely incidental, in many ways merely a bonus that accompanies a respectful and respectable work of historical scholarship. Roberts starts with an intriguing nugget of archival information, focused on a half-generation of young men during the 1620s and 1630s. He draws much from the archives at Leiden, the site of the premiere university in the northern Low Countries, but also takes pains to visit archives elsewhere in order to give the characters in his story richer contexts and stronger credibility as representative historical actors. He reviews university archives, notarial records, literary and artistic depictions, diaries and other personal documents, sermons, and more in order to find out how Dutch society shaped, perceived, educated, and provided opportunities for a generation to blossom that was very much unlike those that had come before it.

In one sense, his is a static portrait, steeped in detail, but essentially ethnographic in function. This is reflected in the organization of the text by subject, including the following (in order): clothing and appearance, drinking, violence, sexuality and courting, drugs, and recreation. The history buff will find many nuggets of interesting historical trivia, from the machismo of the scar to curious euphemisms for sexual acts. That being said, this ethnographic structure is built upon a shifting foundation, and the primary argument of Roberts's account is that the culture of youth provides a distinctive lens from which to view the nascent modernity of a new social structure emerging in the

highly urbanized, well-educated, and generally prosperous world of the early modern Netherlands. Without the traditional social safety nets ascribed to rural life, this generation of young men found themselves footloose and fancy-free, embarking on a journey without familiar guideposts while facing the burden of responsibility that comes with increased freedom. Roberts tells stories of young men whose futures were ruined by rash decisions they made in their 20s but also of others who learned from their own exuberance and went on to navigate their lives successfully as pillars of Dutch burgherdom.

While highly readable and well-researched, the book can be uneven, both in length and in its treatment of certain subject areas. The author seems most comfortable, or at least expansive, in the realms of material culture and least comfortable, or perhaps most succinct, with literary or rhetorical analysis. Many of the tools employed by cultural historians are left aside in favor of broader social analysis, a strategy that enriches the latter sometimes at the expense of the former. The depiction of this group takes place largely on two levels: the telescoped archival view, which focuses on a small group of young men, largely wealthy, largely from the province of Holland, and largely drawn from a mere two decades of existence; and the panoramic view of the social history of the entirety of the Netherlands, from the middle ages to the present day. The latter serves as the context for the former and integrates the original research into the scholarly conversations taking place across both the discipline and the country. That being said, moving between these two perspectives can be a bit of a jumpy ride, almost as if one is alternating between two pairs of eyeglasses. One wonders if it might be possible to further illuminate the social space between these micro- and macro- historical vantage points.

These minor shortcomings should not deter either the scholarly or the educated reader from picking up *Sex and Drugs before Rock 'n' Roll*. It serves as an exemplary work of social history, an engaging historical portrait of a most remarkable republic, and a reminder of changing ideas behind what it means to be young.

Eric Turcat. *La Rochefoucauld par quatre chemins. Les Maximes et leurs ambivalence.* Biblio 17, v. 206. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2013. 220 pp. ISBN 978-63-8233-6803-8. $65.91. Review by DENIS D. GRÉLÉ, UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS.

Faced with the daunting challenge of synthesizing what appears to be a disjointed *Maximes,* many critiques have abandoned this work of La Rochefoucauld to its own paradoxes and contradictions: in the end, the reader must find his own way(s). For his part, Eric Turcat does not recoil from the challenge and offers in *La Rochefoucauld par quatre chemins*, not one but four possible methods of understanding apparent disparate fragments of thoughts. Each chapter of his book is devoted to one particular reading of the text. The first one, rhetorical, demonstrates the ironic nature of the *Maximes,* and plays on the contradiction underlying the concept of the "honnête homme" who ends up being not so honest. The second reading offers a psychological approach ("Psycho vectorielle"), in order to understand whether La Rochefoucauld writes his maxims from the point of view of inferiority—which would postulate pious shame as one of the motivators for writing—or from the point of view of superiority—which would inscribe noble contempt at the center of the work. The third reading is anthropological in nature and aims to reinterpret the perception of Love in the text. Playing on the distinctions associated with Levi-Strauss on nature-culture (raw-cooked) but also on the boiled or the roasted, the smoked and the fermented, Turcat presents a third possibility of understanding love: the grilled or the steamed. The goal in this chapter is to appreciate the middle way so dear to the classics and the ideal of the "honnête homme." The fourth and final reading centers on the questions of "fortune" and examines this topic with Greimas' structuralist approach of the quatern (doing and being) and Gosselin's modal approach, reinterpreting the fatalistic conjecture of the *Maximes.*

Overall, Turcat offers a precise rationalization of La Rochefoucauld's text, carefully examining (especially in chapters 1 and 4) every expression in selected maxims and showing how word meanings we take for granted, as well as word associations, could be reinterpreted, and reevaluated. One of the most productive examples of this game

can be found in the ambivalence between "habileté" (craftiness) and "honnêteté" (honesty): should the "honnête homme" be truly honest or should he use his intelligence and art to appear as such? In the end, Turcat proves that the distinction is not as clear-cut as the reader may like it to be.

Beyond careful analysis of the written word, Turcat is also cautious not to fall in the structuralist pitfall of neglecting the historical context and the personality of La Rochefoucauld, as well as the environment in which he was living. Turcat sheds light, in this book, on a La Rochefoucauld as a dangerous moralist who prefers often the appearances of courtly existence to the deep life of the soul. Is La Rochefoucauld a devotee of the Jansenist Arnault or a disciple of François de Sales? In the end, the reader is left with the same question that Pontius Pilate presumably asked Christ: "where is the truth?"

My main reservation to this soundly constructed book is that Turcat knows his subject so well that, at times, he tends to lose his reader. Even if Turcat's text is well illustrated and finely constructed, not every reader has the author's mastery of La Rochefoucauld. As Turcat explains the irony of La Rochefoucauld, he himself uses irony, and this tends to leave the reader wondering who is playing with whom. This being said, Turcat gives the reader an unusual understanding of the *Maximes* without falling into the trap of an ideological or idealistic vision of the text. This book is definitely for the specialist of La Rochefoucauld and should be read with the *Maximes* close at hand.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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♦ *Hofkritik im Licht humanistischer Lebens- und Bildungsideale. De miseris curialium* (1444), *Über das Elend der Hofleute.* By Enea Silvio Piccolomini. *Equitis Germani aula dialogus* (1518), *Aula, eines deutschen Ritters Dialog über den Hof.* By Ulrich von Hutten. Edited and translated by Klaus Schreiner and Ernst Wenzel. Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 44. Leiden: Brill, 2012. 241 pp. $144. The scope of this dual-language (Latin-German) edition of two works from the early modern period is valuable for the ease of comparison of original to translation and for the insights the texts provide into the sociological, literary, humanistic, and educational ideals of a time when the court, secular or ecclesiastical, defined standards of behavior for a particular class. Underlying both works is Lucan's warning that he who wishes to lead a righteous or virtuous life should avoid the court. The controversial nature of Lucan's words finds full expression in these works and others, and the excellent bibliography of secondary studies of critiques of court manners and this way of life preceding and following the early modern period shows that the controversy extended well into the eighteenth century.

The moral dilemma posed by court life was acute for university graduates who found themselves faced with the advancement potential offered by the court and the threat of damnation implicit in its many

vices. The challenge to lead a life in the *imitatio Christi* tradition lay not only in the display of wealth in court life but also in the mainly secular ends served by court activities. The critiques of both Enea Silvio and Hutten, emphasizing their literary intentions in using fictions and satire, seem to ignore the fact that their criticisms are drawn from personal experiences. Recognizing the potential for misinterpretation, however, both men sought to deflect any notion that their criticisms were directed at the men they served, Prince Elector / Cardinal Albrecht v. Brandenburg and Emperor Friedrich III, rather than at the nature of court life itself.

Enea Silvio's letter to Johannes v. Eych offers a catalog of the virtues and vices from which one might choose a way of life, stressing the importance of choice and suggesting that only a fool would choose life at court. Hutten's approach is didactic, using the dialogue form to cloak the seriousness of his intent in a light-hearted, inoffensive exchange between friends. Castus and Misaulis, the voices of innocence and experience, embody the choices suggested by Enea Silvio and the warning implicit in Lucan's words. Hutten's dialog is a conversational mirror with a caution for those who had not yet made the choice of life at court and with an implied self-criticism that he had himself become part of a life he was advising others to avoid.

The publication history of Enea Silvio's essay in Latin copies and German translations lends credence to its designation as one of the most influential of all texts on the subject of court criticism and to its role as a model for future writers. Its audience, members of the nobility, bureaucrats, and monks, was more diverse than Hutten's readers. Noted for the excellence of his Latin style, Hutten recognized the limitations of writing exclusively in Latin late in his career and began to translate his works into German to expand his range of influence. Nevertheless, handbooks of German literature always mention the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* when discussing Hutten's literary legacy but never the *Aula* dialogue.

Enea Silvio's critique must be viewed against the background of his later service to the Church as Pope Pius II. Hutten's diverse life reflected his commitments to the nobility to which he belonged, to humanistic scholarship and study, to joining professional skills and private interests in service to public responsibilities, and to life in a

society, however corrupt, in which he could achieve fame and success for himself and respect for his social class. The fact that he died in seclusion, separated from friends and family, suffering from syphilis, underlines the gap between ideals and realities in his life. (Richard Ernest Walker, University of Maryland College Park)

♦ *Expostulatio.* By Ulrich von Hutten. Edited by Monique Samuel-Scheyder. *La traduction allemande parue à Strasbourg en 1523*. Edited and translated by Alexandre Vanautgaerden with the 1523 text included. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. 349 pp. 55 euros. This edition of Hutten's last work, *Expostulatio* (1523), is essentially four small books in one. The first, a 122-page biography of Ulrich von Hutten in French including material on Luther and Erasmus, is described as filling a gap in French scholarship on Hutten. It is a detailed treatment with marginal references to relevant sections in Hutten's works, and it touches briefly but adequately on the important stages and central personalities in Hutten's life. Compiled by the principal editor, Monique Samuel-Scheyder, it is an impressive effort and should be a welcome resource for readers of French with an interest in Hutten. The second text, an edition of Hutten's Latin original edited by Alexandre Vanautgaerden, an appendix placed in the middle of the book, seems out of place, and lacking any editorial apparatus it is not clear what its role is except, as stated, to provide a comparison text for the German translation completed in the same year (1523). Despite its description as an edition, no information is given as regards why an edition was needed, what the editor's objectives were, or how it relates to the original. The remaining texts, a German version of the *Expostulatio* with a French translation, were combined into a facing-page edition, prefaced by an introduction with disappointingly brief comments on the German translation. Given the variety of texts, it seems that an excellent opportunity was missed to examine the Latin, German, and French versions of the same text to provide insightful comparisons of the act of translating and the impact on expression and content in the three languages.

This edition is a reformulation of an original project to present Hutten's complaint against Erasmus for what he saw as a personal rebuff when he attempted unsuccessfully to arrange a visit in Basel,

together with Erasmus's response, *Spongia*, which unfortunately was not published until after Hutten's death. The delay in completing this project was due to the existing publication of an English treatment of the same materials. This new approach, providing French readers with Hutten's original Latin text and a French translation of a German version, has difficulties which, to the editor's credit, are mentioned in the introduction to the translation section.

Using the German translation of the *Expostulatio* to gain insight into Hutten's reception in Germany is problematic. Hutten succumbed to syphilis in 1523; the state of his health in this period and his virtual isolation in exile on Ufenau island in Lake Zürich made it highly unlikely that he could have had any role in the preparation and publication of the German translation. The German manuscript used here bore no translator's name, no printer's name, and no place of publication, which could reflect a fear of legal punishment for authors and publishers of pro-Luther works at a time when he had been condemned within the Empire. The editor might have commented on the transformation of Hutten's personal complaint into an apologetic vehicle in support of Martin Luther. There are other uncertainties linked to the German text: Who edited it? Under what conditions was it published? And by whom? The one certainty is that the German text is stylistically and for practical reasons not the work of Hutten. The objective of using Hutten's Latin original for comparison is also problematic, given that we know so little about the dissemination of the text, who its actual readers were, or how they responded to it. The decision to include the Latin text is also curious since a comparison to the German translation based on either style or content is essentially left up to the reader. Samuel-Scheyder's brief comments on Latin-German stylistic differences show how useful such comparisons could be for modern readers, but the remarks are limited in scope. Considering the anonymity of Hutten's translators and the role that editorial changes can have, e.g., the extended title of the German *Expostulatio* is not part of Hutten's original but was added by a pro-Lutheran editor, it seems that a detailed examination of both texts is needed to make judgments about Hutten's reception among his contemporaries. Hutten began to translate some of his works into German in 1519, for the sake of a broader readership,

and with greater diligence in late 1520, a few years prior to his death. This is not enough time, nor is there sufficient critical information to make definitive judgments about those who read him in German or about their responses to his German writings. Understandably, no such conclusions are offered here.

The organization of the texts could have been improved by placing the Latin and German versions on facing pages, since the text sections are numbered; the sections of the French translation are unnumbered. The perceptiveness and analytical strength of Samuel-Scheyder's comments about the German translation suggest that a broader engagement with the text could have been valuable. Identifying features related to the haste of preparation, detailing the translator's efforts to reproduce Hutten's elliptical Latin style in vernacular German, and noting the frequent use of redundant synonyms to express disapproval or to intensify points of criticism are all mentioned as potential lines of inquiry, but with far too few examples; this approach could have analyzed translation techniques as regards language and content and could have resulted in a more insightful study. Hutten's works deserve further study, but to approach him through a German translation of uncertain provenance may not bring him the credit he is due. The value of this study lies in the comprehensive biographical section in French; it deserved more supportive material than the two editions and the French translation provide. (Richard Ernest Walker, University of Maryland College Park)

♦ *Érasme de Rotterdam, réponses à la 'Responsio paraenetica' et aux annotations marginales d'Alberto Pio de Carpi*. Edited and translated by Marie Theunissen-Faider. 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols and the Musée de la Maison d'Érasme, 2011. 441 + 384 pp. Anyone endeavoring to produce a critical edition of Erasmus's conflict with Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, faces special challenges, because of the way the adversaries structured their quarrel. The major documents consist not only of open letters and pamphlets (one of which underwent substantial revision over time), but also of extensive marginal notes by Pio to which Erasmus responded at length. Pio himself died in the midst of the exchange (8 January 1531), just after having completed a major work against Erasmus that would be published in March of that year,

the *Tres et viginti libri*. The fact that his antagonist was dead did not deter Erasmus from further rebuttals; in fact, he was so unyielding in his critique that one of Pio's friends, Agostino Steuco, chided him publicly, while another, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, wrote a counter-rebuttal.

Who was Alberto Pio of Carpi? He was nephew to Pico della Mirandola, a student under Aldo Manuzio, a prince who had been forced from his patrimony by a relative, and a renowned diplomat as well as a humanist, theologian, and philosopher. Erasmus saw him as having joined together to attack him with the papal nuncio Girolamo Aleandro, and indeed the two were inclined to believe that Erasmus's ideas, if not directly responsible for Luther's attack on the Roman church, were at best sympathetic to it. The clash began indirectly, with the two antagonists circling one another at a distance over a period of several years before a definitive shot was fired. Erasmus, hearing from friends that Pio was hostile to him, eventually wrote a letter in October 1525 defending his loyalty to the Catholic faith and demonstrating the sincerity of his stance against Luther. Pio replied at length with the *Responsio paraenetica*, which he first sent to Erasmus privately in 1526 and eventually published, over Erasmus's protests, in January, 1529. Pio's copy of the original manuscript had been destroyed by fire during the 1527 Sack of Rome, and so the work had to be reconstructed from a rough draft in Paris. Erasmus quickly composed his *Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam* (to which Pio later attached his annotations and included it in the *Tres et viginti libri*), rushing it into print in order for it to be ready for the Frankfurt book fair in the spring.

The dispute has been well documented in recent years, with a critical edition in English of Erasmus's documents in volume 84 of the Collected Works of Erasmus (Toronto, 2005). Pio's side of the debate has appeared in a critical edition and Italian translation by Fabio Forner (Florence, 2002). Theunissen-Faider's contribution, besides providing French translations of Erasmus's side of the quarrel, includes a critical edition of the Latin text of the *Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam*, the *Apologia adversas Rhapsiodias Alberti Pii* (Erasmus's defense against Pio's annotations), and an appendix including Erasmus's 1525 letter to Pio, Pio's *Praefatio* to his marginal notes to Erasmus's *Responsio*, and the Parisian printer Bade's preface to Pio's *Responsio paraenetica*.

All of these texts are presented with the Latin on pages facing the French translation, substantial notes, and for the *Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam*, Pio's complete annotations in the margins surrounding Erasmus's text on the page. These appear in Latin, with the French translation directly underneath. Thus a reader may gain a sense of Pio's mind at work as he moves through Erasmus's text, and then proceed to Erasmus's counterarguments.

Volume 1 contains the texts, while Volume 2 consists of the notes. While ordinarily such an arrangement might be clumsy to work with, in this case the arrangement makes sense, given the focus on the exchange between Erasmus and Pio. There is also a fine introduction to the material by the editor. This debate is important to the understanding of the divisions in the world of humanism during the period of the Reformation, and this edition is a splendid resource for scholars of the early sixteenth century. (Laurel Carrington, St. Olaf College*)*

♦ *Christias*. By Marcus Hieronymus Vida. Edited, with introduction and commentary, by Eva von Contzen, Reinhold F. Glei, Wolfgang Polleichtner, and Michael Schulze Roberg. 2 vols. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 91-92. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013. 498 + 450 pp. 104 euros. Not every Neo-Latin poem deserves a modern edition, with critical text, introduction, and 450-page commentary, but this one does. Commissioned in 1518 by Pope Leo X, this poem was produced as a grand epic on the life of Christ that would unite faith and learning in opposition to the newly emergent Lutheran heresy. The *editio princeps* was published in Cremona in 1535. The *Christias* was an immediate success, with thirty-six more editions appearing all over Europe by 1600 and with John Milton numbered among its admirers in the next century. Why such a poem would have been so popular may not be apparent at first glance today, but a little reflection—at least with the benefit of hindsight—gives its success a certain air of inevitability. The literary theory of the day taught that epic poetry was designed to praise the virtues of its hero. All sorts of individuals, from the historical heroes of classical antiquity to contemporary rulers, possessed suitably praiseworthy virtue, but logically, the most appropriate subject for an epic poem—the one possessing the greatest virtue—would be Jesus. Vida was not the first poet to attempt an epic like this: in the fifteenth century Girolamo

delle Valli wrote a *Gesuide* and Ilarione da Varone a *Crisias*. But Vida was a much better poet, and the choice of Latin as the language of composition meant that his *Christias* could be read and appreciated by anyone in his day with a basic classical education.

This edition is not the first to have been produced in modern times: thirty-five years ago Gertrude C. Drake and Clarence A. Forbes produced a text with English translation (*Marco Girolamo Vida's The Christiad* (Carbondale, 1978)), followed five years ago by James Gardner's I Tatti volume (Marco Girolamo Vida, *Christiad*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 39 (Cambridge, MA and London, 2009)). Both of these volumes contain a serviceable text along with an English translation, with the latter adding enough light annotation to facilitate a first reading of the poem. For some purposes, these earlier editions will continue to suffice, but the volumes under review raise the game to a considerably higher level. The first volume begins with a fifty-nine page introduction that presents the poem within the context of the considerable scholarship on it that has appeared with the last several decades. A brief overview of Vida's life, work, and impact is followed by a study of his development as an epic poet, an analysis of the structure and narrative technique of the *Christias*, a discussion of the characters in the poem, a special treatment of the epic similes that includes a chart, and a survey of how various aspects of early modern culture make their appearance in the poem. The introduction concludes with discussions of the publishing history of the *Christias* and the principles upon which the present critical edition was established. The bulk of the first volume covers the text of the poem, some six thousand verses spread over six books that focus on Jesus's passion, death, and resurrection but include an account of his earlier life and ministry that is incorporated into the events being narrated. The *apparatus criticus* is accompanied by a second apparatus that lists parallels to classical texts; this is especially interesting because it shows Vida writing not only through his expected Virgilian model but also fashioning enough echoes of *De rerum natura* to make the *Christias* a sort of anti-Lucretius. The Latin text is accompanied by a translation that was prepared independently of the last German version, which dates back to 1811. The crowning achievement here, however, is the second volume, which is devoted to the commentary.

The text is broken into sections, with each section introduced by a paragraph, then unpacked line-by-line, in a discussion that covers language and content with a special eye on Biblical parallels and narratological principles. The edition also contains several indices and an extensive bibliography.

In the end, this poem is unlikely to arouse the enthusiasm today that it did in its own time, given that Latin is no longer the common property of educated people and that the religious subject of the poem no longer sits at the center of postmodern culture. However as long as we care about our past, we will have to continue to work to understand why a poem like the *Christias* achieved a popularity that no longer seems self-evident to us. And as we do so, we should express our appreciation to this editorial team, which has provided a worthy edition for us to study. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *L'insegnamento delle discipline*. By Juan Luis Vives. Introduction, translation, and commentary by Valerio del Nero. Immagini della ragione, 13. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2011. xlvi + 260 pp. 24 euros. In 1531 Vives published the massive *De disciplinis libri xx* (here *DD*), embracing a systematic criticism of education titled *De causis corruptarum atrium*; an equally systematic plan for overhaul, *De tradendis disciplinis* (*DTD*); and a series of short treatises headed *De artibus*. Del Nero translates only the *DTD* here. He bases his translation on the 1531 *editio princeps* and helpfully marks the page breaks of both the 1531 and the 1780's Mayans edition. The eight-page bibliography is a rich update.

Del Nero sees in the entire *DD* complex "an ambitious and methodical plan which situates the author at the center of a network of relations with some of the top humanists of the time … and makes of the *De disciplinis* a particularly vital intersection in the milieu of the truly rich culture of cinquecento Europe" (vi). The *De disciplinis* expounds Vives's humanistic answer to late scholastic habits of learning. Del Nero calls it Vives's *capolavoro*, rising out of his earlier activity in Paris, Louvain, Bruges, and England and presaging later writings of linguistic (the *De ratione dicendi*) or ethical-epistemological (*De anima et vita*) depth (x). To engage the formidable *DD* del Nero recommends a twofold approach: "historicizing" Vives's position in

the classical, medieval, and humanistic continuum; and intertextual reading which confers coherence on his own entire intellectual oeuvre" (xii-xiii). Vives, says del Nero, "cracks open any cultural model that purports to be oriented toward a principle of philological, theological, or scientific authority" (xxiv). At the same time, censorship of the reading list comports with the demands of the envisioned *respublica Christiana* (xxv).

Samples of the translation show that the *DTD* is rendered (in the opinion of this non-native speaker) into lively, readable, reliable, and sometimes expansive Italian. An example of the latter quality: At *DTD* 2.8 Vives recommends Gellius with caution (124). Vives: "legendus est quidem, sed ita, ut te rem levem scias inspicere." Foster Watson's English, from *Vives: On Education, A Translation of the De tradendis disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives*, translated by Foster Watson (Cambridge, 1913): "He may be read, but with a consciousness of the slightness of his value." Del Nero: "Sicuramente è un autore che debe essere letto, ma in modo tal che tu sia consapevole di avere tra le mani uno strumento di non eccelsa funzionalità." Compression of the original gives way to visual impact and circumlocution.

The generous annotation rouses envy that Latinless English speakers are not served by an English translation with similarly valuable ancillary equipment. Foster Watson's sketchily annotated version is still the only available English translation of the *DTD*. Among the minor flaws in del Nero, however, one finds unpredictable omissions in the notes: Athenaeus, Petrus Crinitus, and Peter Textor get identified, but not Raphael of Volterra, Sulpicius Verulanus, Johannes Despauterius, or Isidore of Seville.

Assuming that the principal target audience is Latinless readers of Italian, it is puzzling that the edition offers neither an analytical table of contents nor an index, nor informative running heads, and even declines to set off chapter or subsection headings in bold introductory easy-to-spot type. Watson's English translation would have served as a model for all these features. A reader not already familiar with the *DTD* will need to exercise diligence in seeking to pinpoint Vives's views on a given topic in del Nero's translation.

In sum, this book is a valuable, if not always easy to use, updated guide to the *DTD*, as well as a positioning of the entire *DD* in the

contexts of Vives's output as a whole and the developing northern humanist enterprise of his time. (Edward V. George, Texas Tech University, Emeritus)

♦ *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*. Edited by Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert. Supervisory editing by Anthony Grafton, Henk Jan de Jonge, and Jill Kraye. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 507. Vol. 1, *April 1561 to December 1586*; vol. 2, *January 1587 to December 1596*; vol. 3, *January 1597 to June 1601*; vol. 4, *July 1601 to March 1603*; vol. 5, *April 1603 to April 1605*; vol. 6, *May 1605 to December 1606*; vol. 7, *January 1607 to February 1609*; vol. 8, *Appendices, Biographical Register, and Index*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012. 5000 pp. Hardback, $528; PDF, $396; Hardback + PDF, $633.60. Poet, textual critic, scholar of chronology, and fierce defender of his family genealogy, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) was one of the great Neo-Latinists of his day. This volume contains a modern critical edition of every letter written by Scaliger or sent to him, along with the basic scholarly apparatus necessary to understand and appreciate each item.

Roughly two-thirds of the letters are in Latin, with almost all the remainder in French; clear principles dictated the choice of language, which in itself constitutes an interesting area of study opened up by this collection. For the most part Scaliger did not write his letters with an eye on publication, which distinguishes him from many of his humanist colleagues and makes for an unusually interesting, and revealing, collection. Among his correspondents are many of the great names of the day: Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler, Denis Lambin and Justus Lipsius, Isaac Casaubon and Daniel Heinsius, along with Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Some of the letters are intimate and personal, ranging from an account of a recent illness to a note accompanying the gift of some bottles of wine. Rather more of them offer us the chance to eavesdrop on a great scholar at work, abusing his enemies and praising scholarly accomplishment, introducing young scholars on their way to a new position, following important editions through the press, and cultivating friendships in the republic of letters. A total of 627 letters survive in autograph manuscripts, with three-quarters of these being to and from Casaubon, de Thou, Lipsius,

Claude Dupuy and his sons, and Pierre Pithou. Ten manuscripts at the British Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, and Det Kongelikge Bibliothek in Copenhagen are described in detail in the introduction, along with important printed editions of 1610, 1612, 1615-1662, 1624, 1627, 1628, 1638, 1656, 1709, 1727, and 1879. Some two hundred letters, one eighth of the total, are published here for the first time.

Each letter is introduced by a headnote that contains up to eight types of information: title, a list of the sources, details of extant replies, a discussion of the date, an analysis of the sources used to construct the text, details of any surviving address, miscellaneous observations, and a synopsis of the contents in English. Beneath the headnote is the text itself, the textual apparatus, and the footnotes. In addition to the labors necessary simply to produce a text, a great deal of work has been expended in some unexpected areas: the notes are often extensive, and the vagaries of early modern chronology have required some intricate maneuvering to solidify the proper date for each letter—a point that Scaliger himself would have appreciated. The bibliography, indices, and appendices are also most useful indeed.

One hates to use trite expressions in a review like 'monument of scholarship' and 'timeless work of erudition, not to be redone,' but sometimes these expressions are what the project calls for. Work began in 2004, which means that the two editors have invested a substantial part of their scholarly careers in editing these letters. Given the amount of material—the 5,000 pages referenced above is not a misprint—it is a tribute to the industry and learning of the editors that the project was completed this quickly. The edition has been prepared in accordance with the highest standards throughout. It is also worth noting, in deference to the web of connections that bound Scaliger to his correspondents within the world of letters, that this modern work of humanist scholarship is similarly anchored in the *res publica litterarum* and reflects some extraordinary generosity on the part of several individuals. The project began when Anthony Grafton decided to use the Balzan Prize that he had been awarded to support this edition. He established the Scaliger Project at the Warburg Institute in London, where Jill Kraye gave generously of her time and expertise to oversee the project. Henk Jan de Jonge read and

commented on the entire edition before it was published, and another Dutch scholar, Ineke Sluiter, provided funds from her Spinoza Prize to help with expenses. Institutions like Princeton University and the Mellon Foundation stepped up as well. As the Acknowledgements at the beginning of the first volume indicate, many individual scholars have also helped, as have the custodians of manuscripts and rare books from around the world. Scaliger, I think, is smiling at us now, from wherever he is. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Icon Animorum or The Mirror of Minds.* By John Barclay. Translation by Thomas May. Edited by Mark Riley. Bibliotheca Latinitatis novae, 8. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013. 380 pp. 75 euros. John Barclay (1582-1621) is better known in Neo-Latin circles for his *Argenis*, the best-selling novel of its century, than he is for the text presented here. Nonetheless the *Icon animorum* is worth our attention today as well. Barclay begins from the idea that human beings vary and that their character and behavior depend on their state of life, the century in which they live, the nation in which they are born, their innate character, and the influences of the environment in which they are raised. Barclay's goal in his *Icon* is to identify these differences and to explain some of their causes. He concludes that every age and nation has a certain genius, an essential character, that directs an individual's development and creates a variety of character types. Chapter one focuses on the four-step aging process that every person undergoes, in a discussion that draws on ancient sources like Aristotle and Horace, but with a focus on childhood that is distinctive to Barclay's analysis. The second major section covers the national characters of France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, eastern and northern Europe, and Turks and Jews, drawing on various ethnographic treatises, travel writers, and intelligencers and diplomatic agents. The third section, chapters 10 through 16, discusses the influence on personality of innate traits, environment, and several key professions. Theophrastus is a major source here, along with contemporary writers on characters like Joseph Hall and Sir Thomas Overbury, although Barclay's treatment tends to be more serious than theirs, with an eye on moral improvement rather than mere entertainment. The result is a series of *icones*, or images, verbal portraits of English belligerence,

Spanish pride, and German excess, types that remain recognizable today.

Barclay wrote a Latin that was appropriate for this material, utilitarian rather than artistic and therefore easily readable by the cosmopolitan audience at whom the work was directed. In 1631, seventeen years after the *editio princeps*, an English translation by Thomas May appeared. May was a skilled writer, perhaps best known for his translation of Lucan, and he rendered the *Icon* in a style that was typical of early seventeenth-century English prose, rather like the loose style of Seneca. His translation, which added adjectives and metaphors, made explicit what was only suggested in the Latin, and updated and modernized everything, is reprinted here along with Barclay's Latin text. The edition is based on the first London / Paris edition of 1614, as an effort to reproduce Barclay's original intent, but with punctuation, paragraphing, and orthography modernized.

One could, I suppose, quibble about a couple of things here: the introduction presents a digression on Barclay's novels that is not really appropriate to a discussion of the *Icon*, and the decision to try to recapture Barclay's original intentions while simultaneously modernizing his text may strike some readers as a bit curious. But I would discourage too much quibbling. This is a nicely produced edition of an interesting text, supplemented by an English translation that has considerable literary merit in its own right. The series in which the *Icon* appears, Bibliotheca Latinitatis novae, is not producing volumes at nearly the rate of, say, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, but I wish we could see more books from them. There are many worthwhile Neo-Latin texts in need of editing! (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Isaac Vossius* (1616-1689) *between Science and Scholarship*. Edited by Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 214. Leiden: Brill, 2012. xiii + 352 pp. 133 euros. Eight chapters by eminent scholars of humanism and Dutch science, alongside two excellent bibliographical studies, as well as a learned editorial introduction and epilogue all attempt to make sense of Isaac Vossius's multifaceted career. What these scholars seek to do is place Vossius—a difficult task given that Vossius maintained no fixed means

of employment, was sustained alternatively by the Dutch, French, Swedish, and English heads of state, and published on everything from chronology, the Septuagint, the Sybilline oracles, the arts and sciences of the Chinese, geography and the nature of light to the winds and tides.

The editors Jorink and van Miert self-deprecatingly make light of all this attention devoted to Vossius, modestly noting that "Vossius gives us an intriguing insight into seventeenth-century erudition" (5). While several authors compare Vossius to the much-studied Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, Vossius is unlikely to spawn a similar scholarly industry, lacking as he does Kircher's charismatic *Kunst und Wunderkammer* collections and iconographic charm offensives. Nevertheless, one contributor, Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis, argues more ambitiously (and quite convincingly) that for "a proper understanding of the scientific revolution, the work of presumably marginal thinkers like Vossius" should also be taken into account (185). Nigh all the contributors seek to explore, as the subtitle of the collection suggests, the relationship between humanism and the new forms of scientific scholarship that Vossius illustrates.

Notably, however, those explorations offer varying answers. Dirk van Miert points out that Vossius's cutting-edge intellectual forebears, the French scholars Casaubon, Scaliger, and Saumaise, shaped his libertine scholarship more than did his own pious and pedestrian biological father, Gerardus Joannes Vossius. Vossius's radical views included a rejection of the authority of the Hebrew Masoretic text in preference for Chinese sources and his own rational conjectures, although such a conjectural method, as Anthony Grafton shows, was in use for centuries and by seemingly conservative figures such as Vossius senior himself. Eric Jorink traces a shift in Vossius's interests from philology to "New Science" (123). Karel Davids likewise notes a shift in audience for Vossius's geographic works from the Republic of Letters to heads of state, who had rather more practical uses in mind for Vossius's scholarship (198-99). So what, in the end, was the relationship between science and scholarship for Vossius? Were philological techniques themselves already radical, in both empirical and conjectural ways, such that Vossius required no shift in technique or outlook? Did not his forebears already treat the realm of nature

and mathematics amid their myriad works, as in Saumaise's *Plinianae exercitationes* or Scaliger's efforts to square the circle? Or did Vossius move over the course of his career, from philology to natural philosophy, and finally back to the safer waters of history?

The editors Jorink and van Miert concede in their epilogue that "finally, we are left with perhaps more questions than when we started our inquiries" (317). They quote Grafton's felicitous remark that Vossius remains "a butterfly that no one can hope to pin to a single spot on the map of the Republic of Letters." They do, however, suggest several *desiderata* for future work on Vossius, including an edition of his scholarship and the role of personal experimentation in his natural studies. One might also note the relationship of the vernacular to Latin scholarship in Vossius's works. For example, a work not unrelated to Vossius's views on the winds and the tides (and one also liberally plagiarized by Vossius's peer Athanasius Kircher), Cornelis Drebbel's *Een kort tractaet van de natuere der elementen* (Rotterdam, 1621) can also be found in Vossius's extensive library (now Leiden, 634 G 12).

If I may, I will suggest another, broader historiographical *desideratum* into which the question of Vossius's place falls: the nature of the *liefhebber, amateur, curioso,* or *virtuoso*. This is the lepidopteran species of which Vossius is but one specimen, although perhaps a particularly colorful one. Many of the contributors to this volume deploy one or all of all these terms, yet for wildly differing aims. The very question at the heart of this volume—the relationship between humanist tradition and new scientific approaches—is also central to these terms. In the hands of some contributors, this identity points to an unlimited range of interests, embracing philology as well as natural philosophers. For others, rather than pointing to citizenship in the unbounded Republic of Letters, the marker of '*amateur*' points rather to more local and vernacular (and thus, it seems material and scientific) interests. The editors argue that Vossius's varied interests place him among the "general *curieux*" before "the split between professionals and amateurs, between 'science' and the humanities" was as marked as it would be in the next century (5). Karel Davids argues that in "the case of *amateurs, curieux* and *virtuosi* ('liefhebbers' in Dutch), the practice of natural philosophy and experimentation constituted not only a means in itself, but also a way to create a community" (125).

Likewise, Dijksterhuis notes "Vossius' interactions with French savants are substantially documented in his correspondence, but in the Low Counties [sic], he was also surrounded by a circle of 'liefhebbers' (*curieux* or *virtuosi*)" (183). Colette Nativel concludes "Plus qu'un 'humaniste', Vossius est un 'curieux'; l'étendue de ses interest semble illimitée" (254). And finally, Jorink and van Miert identify Vossius not "as an eccentric libertine" but as one who "belonged to the world of philologists, natural philosophers, alchemists, *curieux* and *virtuosi*" (312). Before we can hope to place Vossius, we must first identify the *liefhebber, amateur*, *curieux,* and *virtuoso*, and their differences, if any, from savants and other inhabitants of the Republic of Letters. (Vera Keller, University of Oregon)

♦ *The Vatican Manuscript of Spinoza's Ethica*. Transcribed and annotated by Leen Spruit and Pina Totaro. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History / Brill's Texts and Sources in Intellectual History, 205/11. Leiden: Brill, 2011. vi + 318 pp. $132. The relatively recent discovery of a previously unknown manuscript of Benedictus Spinoza's (1632-1677) *Ethica* (Vat. lat. 12838) (*VMS*) in the Vatican Library, a process which began in October of 2010 and resulted in the publication of Leen Spruit and Pina Totaro's transcription, is an exciting and unusual event for scholars of Spinoza's philosophy and seventeenth-century intellectual history. Prior to the discovery of this document, the earliest available version of Spinoza's primary philosophical work was that contained in the *Opera posthuma* (*OP*), his posthumous works edited and published in Amsterdam by his circle of friends approximately nine months after his death. These circumstances had the consequence that our knowledge of the development of the *Ethica*, and the extent to which its final form reflected the editorial intervention of his friends, has been largely restricted to the limited evidence offered by his correspondence. Spruit and Totaro's transcription therefore presents a unique opportunity to peer a little more deeply into the development of this fascinating and important philosophical treatise, and the results of their meticulous efforts, especially their close comparison of the *VMS* with the *OP*, do not disappoint.

Spruit and Totaro's Introduction provides an astute reconstruction of the genesis of the *VMS* and how it came to be preserved. This story

is one of intrigue and betrayal, befitting one of the most controversial and influential figures in European intellectual history. It is inferred from Spinoza's correspondence that the bulk of the *Ethica* was probably written by June of 1665, and that the text as a whole was largely complete no later than August of 1675. By this time, complete copies of the work were circulating among Spinoza's friends, and the *VMS* was most likely copied by Pieter van Gent, a member of the circle and a professional scribe, from a manuscript written by Spinoza himself.

Between 1661 and 1663 Spinoza developed a close friendship with Niels Stensen (1638-1686) on the basis of their shared interest in anatomy and physiology. Stensen, however, would later abandon his scientific studies when he converted from Lutheranism to Catholicism in 1667. In the summer of 1677 (after Spinoza's death), Stensen was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Nordic Missions when, around the same time, he came into possession of a manuscript of Spinoza's *Ethica*, most likely through the physicist and mathematician Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651-1708), an astute member of Spinoza's circle of friends. With Spinoza's incendiary philosophy laid bare, Stensen was horrified and composed a vehement denunciation of his former friend entitled, "Libri prohibiti circa la nuova filosofia dello Spinosa," leading to bans against Spinoza's works from the Congregation of the Holy Office in 1678 and 1679. Ironically, it was in virtue of Stensen and the Church's prohibition against the *Ethica* that the *VMS* came to be preserved today.

While the *VMS* resembles the *OP* quite closely, thereby helping confirm the belief that the *Ethica* changed relatively little in the final years of Spinoza's life, it also reveals the significant editorial intervention of his friends. Most of these changes appear to be of little doctrinal import, such as corrections of misspellings, adjustments to grammar, minor alterations in word order, and harmonization (e.g., ending each demonstration with "*Q.E.D.*"). Others, however, more clearly raise pressing questions for interpreters of Spinoza's philosophy. Most prominently, the manuscript itself lacks any kind of title, which suggests that the final decision of what to call the work may have been left to Spinoza's friends and helps explain why the *VMS* went undiscovered for so many years. In addition, there is an indication in E2P49s that the *Ethica* was at one time intended to consist of four rather than five

parts. Other suggestive divergences from the *OP* include the fact that in the definition of attribute (E1D4), the scribe apparently wrote and erased *format* following *id, quod intellectus de substaniâ* before writing *percepit,* which may be relevant for the debate between subjective and objective interpretations of the attributes; the fact that the demonstration of E1P5 refers to E1D3 and E1A6 in place of the *OP*'s E1D3 and E1D6, which may entail a somewhat different line of argument for this proposition; and the fact that the *VMS* has *à causis externis fiunt* where the *OP* has *à causis externis fluunt* in the scholium of E1P11, which may be relevant for the question of whether Spinoza adopted an emanative view of divine causation.

However these and other divergences are to be ultimately interpreted, it is clear that Spruit and Totaro's transcription of the *VMS* will be an important resource for historians and philosophers for many years to come. (John Brandau, Johns Hopkins University)

♦ *Le "Theophrastus redivivus," érudition et combat antireligieux au XVII^e siècle*. By Hélène Bah-Ostrowiecki. Paris: Champion, 2012. 336 pp. 85 euros. In 1937, the *Theophrastus redivivus*—a lengthy anti-religious tract from the second half of the seventeenth century—was discovered in manuscript form in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and published for the first time. Since then, three other manuscript copies of this anonymous work have been located, the text has been carefully re-edited, and the tract has become subject to increasing critical attention, particularly for its contribution to the history of ideas, and specifically of atheism and materialism in early modern France. In this meticulous study, Hélène Bah-Ostrowiecki provides a clear overview of the *Theophrastus redivivus*, subjecting it to close textual analysis in order to assess the philosophical method underlying the anonymous author's anti-religious stance. In the process, she clearly identifies the position of the *Theophrastus redivivus* within the history of scepticism in early modern Europe and makes a strong claim for the erudition of its author's sceptical thinking and polemical method.

The initial presentation and formal assessment of this lengthy and largely unfamiliar text are clear and concise: Bah-Ostrowiecki neatly summarises the tract's principal arguments, highlighting the structure of the text while also indicating some of its logical contradictions.

These are then presented as an example of sceptical thinking in practice, as the deliberate juxtaposition of contradictory claims invalidates all of them; this is demonstrated through the example of the tract's patently false claim that its anti-religious arguments serve the interests of religious orthodoxy. The author's philosophical position is lucidly analysed and shown to rely on the naturalist perception of everything interpreted by man as divine—including man's tendency to want to create, believe in, and interpret evidence for the existence of some form of the divine—as purely natural. Good parallels are drawn between the tract's assessments of the status of truth and of human (as opposed to natural) reason and the scepticism, both theological and epistemological, of writers such as Montaigne, Pascal, Descartes, La Mothe le Vayer, Gassendi, Spinoza, and Hobbes.

The case made for the erudition of the *Theophrastus redivivus* is moderately successful, combined as it is with a demonstration (through comparative analysis of how the author cites the three examples of Pomponazzi, Cicero, and Bodin) of this rather slippery polemicist's tendency to manipulate his sources. The tract is shown to include citations of a wide range of authoritative sources, irrespective of their chronology or of their specific context, in order both to support its individual claims and to demonstrate how widespread the rejection of religion across all cultures and ages has been. Proliferation of a shared opinion is thus taken, by virtue of verisimilitude, as a guarantee of truth—but only when it is a truth that the author wishes to propagate: unsurprisingly, there is no corresponding consideration of whether the widespread acceptance of religion might in turn validate the tendency towards religious belief. The line drawn here between erudition and highly selective argument is certainly rather fine.

The volume is not perfect: there is no bibliography, but there are signs of editorial carelessness, with fairly frequent typographical errors and inconsistently numbered footnotes. The results of some of the scrupulous analysis are occasionally disappointing: the demonstration of how the text's imagination of a godless world responds to the Christian conception it opposes is detailed, but the conclusion that the anonymous author of this seventeenth-century Latin manuscript is probably writing in a Christian cultural context seems rather self-evident. Equally, the careful demonstration of the manipulative nature

of the dialogue between the anonymous author, a putative orthodox objector, and the reader, who is supposed to be sympathetic to the author's logical stance, could be taken as being typical of the relationship established between author and imagined reader in almost any polemical text. Overall, however, this clear and detailed companion volume to the *Theophrastus redivivus* nevertheless constitutes a useful and scholarly introduction to a quirky and long-neglected text. (Emma Herdman, University of St. Andrews)

♦ *The Art of Arguing in the World of Renaissance Humanism*. Edited by Marc Laureys and Roswitha Simons. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia, 34. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013. VIII + 232 pp. 55 euros. It is no secret that the humanists loved to argue: Filelfo vilified the Medici, who tried to have him assassinated, and Poggio Bracciolini's problems with George of Trebizond also ended in violence. Usually the individuals labeled by Charles Nisard as "gladiateurs de la république des lettres" restricted themselves to words, but as the notorious conflicts surrounding Antonio Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus* show, even then the level of obscenity could rise (or sink) to remarkable levels. If we focus on humanism as a community of like-minded individuals, then communication becomes an important part of the movement, and as recent sociological research shows, conflict is a species of communication that is necessary for community formation. Humanists defined themselves polemically against scholastics, then northern humanists defined themselves against the Italians and Protestant humanists staked out a position against Catholics who shared a similar education and world view. Sometimes the haggling was primarily *ad hominem*, but as the squabble between Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo Valla at the Roman curia from 1451 to 1453 shows, the first extended historical-critical analysis of humanist Latin could arise in the middle of a polemic as well. Little theorizing about all this took place in the fifteenth century, but by the sixteenth century so much arguing had gone on that discussion of the rules became inevitable. Given the nature of Renaissance humanism, it was inevitable that in forming these rules, the polemicists would turn to antiquity, where they found various figures of thought, several strategies and techniques of persuasion, doctrines of emotional appeal and the projection of

character in words, and various genres and traditions that were open to appropriation and adaptation.

Under the guidance of the editors of this volume, sessions were organized on humanistic argument at the XIVth International Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala, 2-7 August 2009) and at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Venice. Some of the papers delivered at these meetings do not appear in the present volume, while others were added, giving a solid series of essays on the topic. What is perhaps most valuable among them is the introduction, which proposes a systematic structure to guide research in the area. The proposed interpretive framework begins by identifying two rival parties, the author and the opponent, who are first identified, than analyzed in relation to their mental attitude toward the conflict and the functions of the debate at hand. For each polemic, there is an audience, whose characteristics and type of involvement are crucial; what elements of the classical tradition are appropriated should also be taken into consideration. Also important are the formal and spatial structure of the setting and the more abstract normative context of the dispute. Finally, strategies like self-fashioning, literary fashioning, mediatization, and accompanying non-verbal activities should also be analyzed. This structure provides a framework within which humanist debate can be studied.

The remaining essays in the volume use this heuristic in various ways: Roswitha Simons, "Waffen der Nemesis, Pfeile der Satire. Gewaltmetaphorik im metapoetischen Diskurs neulateinisher Satiriker"; Olga Anna Duhl, "Poetic Theory and Sense Perception in Jodocus Badius Ascensius's *Stultiferae naves* (*c.* 1501): From *Subitus Calor* to *Vituperatio*"; Arnold Becker, "Hutten Arminius: Humanistische Streitkultur zwischen literarischer Unverlässlichkeit und nationaler Identitätsstiftung"; Christine Bénévent, "Des Barbares aux Cicéroniens ou comment accomoder l'art de la dispute selon Érasme"; Chris L. Heesakkers, "*Multa fortuito fieri*: Alberto Pio's Post-mortem *Praefatio* in His Controversy with Erasmus, an Ill-fated Advance"; George Hugo Tucker, "Strategies of Argument, Politics and Poetics in the *Centones ex Virgilio* (1555-1556) of Lelio Capilupi of Mantua"; Marc Laureys, "Die Kunst der Verunglimpfung in Nikodemus Frischlins Satiren gegen Jakob Rabus"; and Joanna Partyka, "The Classical Tradition as

a Weapon against the *Obtrectatores Poloniae*." The volume concludes with information about the contributors and an *index nominum*. All in all, between the methodological introduction and the case-studies, this is a valuable volume in an area that deserves more study. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles.* Edited by L. B. T. Houghton and Gesine Manuwald. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012. ix + 276 pp. £25. This wide-ranging essay collection is devoted to the Neo-Latin poetry of the 'British Isles' in the geographical sense of that term, that is, of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In their Introduction, "Musa Britanna," the editors provide a readable overview of the composition of Latin poetry in Britain and its place in the educational system from the beginnings to the present day. Seven chapters deal with Anglo-Latin. Andrew Taylor discusses John Leland both as a writer of epigrams in the European tradition and as one of the early humanist Latin poets of sixteenth-century England. Gesine Manuwald provides a thoughtful analysis of the interplay between Thomas Campion's Latin and English poetry, and his debt to ancient Latin. There is, though, more to be said about his love elegies, not the main focus of the essay. When I first came across Campion's Latin more than thirty years ago, I had not realised how unusual it was for an Elizabethan Latin poet to write such poems. Sarah Knight studies the student compositions of Milton and Herbert at Cambridge to illustrate the formative part played by the university curriculum and ambience on their poetic development and the extent to which this is shaped by the classical past. Philip Hardie offers a close and detailed reading of Cowley's *Davideis*, demonstrating its relationship to the English version of the same work and showing how Cowley successfully adapts Latin and Greek sources. Victoria Moul's chapter is also on Cowley, a sensitive and well-judged discussion of the Horatian elements in his *Plantarum libri sex* of 1668, a curious work which has only very recently started to attract attention. Niall Rudd fulfils the role of a traditional classical commentator, offering a series of disparate comments on a number of Dr. Johnson's Latin poems which discuss such matters as style, metre, context, and debt to classical writers. In one of the most readable and

engaging essays in the volume, David Money gives us an overview of the place of Latin verse writing by English gentlemen of leisure and education in the eighteenth century, focussing particularly on one of the commemorative anthologies that were still, and rather unusually, emerging from the two English universities at that time. Money's discussion of the 1736 Oxford *Gratulatio* on the marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales is a model of how such studies ought to be done, and there are many insights here.

There are four chapters on Scottish Neo-Latin. Roger Green provides a succinct account of George Buchanan's life and career, together with an able justification of his metrical practice against the criticisms of previous scholars. Stephen Harrison also writes on Buchanan, offering a close critical analysis of two of Buchanan's extremely popular paraphrases of the Psalms. He shows how Buchanan deploys his formidable knowledge of Horace's *Odes* and of Horatian metre to excellent effect. Angus Vine's analysis of the poetry of John Johnston is a perceptive one which shows how it can be interpreted to reveal Johnston's attitude to politics and religion after the union of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603. The Scottish section concludes with a discussion of a Jacobite epic poem hitherto unknown to me, the late seventeenth-century *Grameid* of James Philps. Ceri Davis has made Welsh Neo-Latin very much his own field. In the single chapter of the book devoted to Welsh Neo-Latin, he gives a deft account of the literary circles of the Stradling family and some of the landscape poetry then produced.

Two chapters on Irish Neo-Latin bring the book to an end. In a very readable chapter Jason Harris identifies two small volumes printed at Wittenberg in 1539 by 'Doncanus Hibernus' as apparently the first Irish Latin poetry to be printed. Harris shows how these verses can throw much light on the intellectual circles of Protestant Europe and England at this time. Finally Keith Sidwell describes a virtually unknown and anonymous Latin epic by an Irish Jacobite which treats of the wars in Ireland of William III in 1688-1691.

Though this volume is, as the editors acknowledge, a collection of case studies rather than a comprehensive account, it nonetheless illustrates the range and vitality of British Neo-Latin in the centuries under discussion. It shows, too, that there are many discoveries still to

be made and many areas of British Neo-Latin which invite reassessment. That all the contributors hold or used to hold university posts in one of the countries under discussion, that there is now a British Society for Neo-Latin Studies, and that regular Neo-Latin seminars and colloquia are held at Cambridge, where courses may be taken at the undergraduate level, further exemplify the vitality of Neo-Latin studies in Great Britain and Ireland today. (J. W. Binns, University of York)

♦ *Opuscula historico-philologica: Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2008-2013*. By Walther Ludwig. Edited by Astrid Steiner-Weber. Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies, 19. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2014. As most academics know, 'retirement' can mean many things in our profession. For some, it means what it does in the minds of those outside the academy, the end of a career in teaching, service, and research. For many, it means no more committee meetings, radically restricted teaching that eventually ends entirely, and the chance to turn to long-delayed research projects on a more casual, leisurely schedule. For a few, however, 'retirement' means a research and publication program that continues unabated, even accelerates in the freedom from other academic obligations and distractions. Walther Ludwig is one of those rare individuals in this last group, someone who in five so-called 'retirement' years accomplishes more than many of his colleagues manage during their entire working career. The first fruits of his retirement appeared in *Miscella Neolatina: Ausgewählte Aufsätze 1989-2003,* 3 vols., with the same editor, series, and publisher as the volume under review here. Next came *Supplementa Neolatina: Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2003-2008,* limited to one volume, but one volume of 875 pages that covers essays written between Professor Ludwig's seventy-fifth through eightieth years. The volume under review continues the successful editorial and publishing collaboration, offering a selection of essays written during the next five years and brought together in time to mark the author's eighty-fifth birthday. This is a Neo-Latin career on steroids.

Following a brief proemium, the volume offers twenty essays divided into seven groups: I. Neulatein und Klassische Philologie, 1, "Das Leben der lateinischen Sprache in der Neuzeit"; 2. "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorffs unbekannte Vorlesung 'Einleitung

in die Philologie'"; II. Horaz, 1. "Die Liebe zu Horaz—Horaz in der Kultur der europäischen Neuzeit"; 2. "Die *Emblemata Horatiana* des Otho Vaenius"; 3. "Horaz als Instrument der Gegenreformation—Die horazisierenden Oden des Johannes Baptista Masculus"; III. Drei Humanisten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Melanchthon, Muretus, Reusner, 1. "Art und Zweck der Lehrmethode Melanchthons—Beobachtungen anläßlich der ersten Übersetzung seiner *Initia doctrinae physicae*"; 2. "Die Monodia des Marcus Antonius Muretus zum Tod des Pariser Parlamentspräsidenten Christophe de Thou (1583)—Idealbilder von Humanismus und Gerechtigkeit"; 3. "Türkisches und persiches Latein? Sultan Murad III. und Schah Mohammed Kohdabanda als Autoren in Reusners *Epistolae Turcicae*"; IV. Emblemforschungen, 1. "Erasmus' Adage 'Hasten Slowly' and the Art of Emblems"; 2. "Die emblematische *Festina lente*-Variation des Achilles Bocchius"; 3. "Das emblematische Willkommbuch der Benediktiner-Universität Salzburg für ihren neuen Fürsterzbischof Johann Ernst Graf von Thun im Jahr 1687"; V. Gnomologische Literatur und Stammbuchforschungen, 1. "Tradition und Kreativität in der Nachfolge der *Disticha* Catos und der *Monosticha* des Publilius Syrus (Michael Verinus, Petrus Lindebergius, Janus Gruter)"; 2. "Stammbuchforschung als Humanismusforschung—Rückblick und Ausblick"; 3. "Das Wittenberger Stammbuch des Paul Schede Melissus (1565) in der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar"; 4. "Einträge aus Tübingen, Straßburg, Marburg, Jena und Genf im Stammbuch der Brüder Riedesel zu Eisenbach (1593-1598)"; 5. "Der Dreißigjährige Krieg und Schweden in drei zeitgenössischen Stammbüchern deutscher Studenten"; VI. Johann Peter von Ludewig, 1. "Ludewig, *Ludwig*, Johann Peter (von)"; 2. "Eine Lesefrucht zum Lateingebrauch um 1700"; VII. Über das hohe Alter von Gelehrten, 1. "Übersetzung der *Dissertatio historico-philosophica de senio eruditorum* von Christian Gottfried Hoffmann, Leipzig 1711, mit einer Einleitung." In a short review like this it is impossible to discuss the essays individually; I will only note that each of them is elegantly written, carefully structured, and richly documented.

The careful reader may have noticed that the title promises that the volume under review offers a "selection" of Professor Ludwig's publications during this period. Right before the index, this volume concludes with a full list of these publications, which are numbered

from 331 to 388 in the complete *curriculum vitae*. And there is no reason to assume that the torrent of publications will stop, or even slow down, any time soon: in a recent letter, Professor Ludwig informed me that he has made plans to attend the 2015 Vienna congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies. One can only assume that a *Supplementa opuscula historico-philologica* is in the making, and that we will have to wait no longer than Professor Ludwig's ninetieth birthday, five years from now, to have it. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)