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Anna K. Nardo. *Oculto a los Ojos Mortales: Introducción a "El Paraíso Perdido" de John Milton*. JPM Ediciones, Newgate Series, 2014. 105 pp. 12,00€. Review by REUBEN SÁNCHEZ, SAM HOUSTON STATE UNIVERSITY.

In eighteenth-century Spain, there were two reasons why many English texts, including *Paradise Lost*, were finally translated into Spanish and published. First, the Spanish Inquisition's control of censorship, which began in 1478, waned. Second, the influence of French language and culture throughout Europe resulted in many French translations of English texts, with some of those French translations subsequently translated into Spanish. The first appearance of *Paradise Lost* in Spain occurred in a 1772 work both scholarly and satirical, in which José de Cadalso translated selected passages (the invocation to Book 1, for example) and placed them along side the original English. The first translation of a complete book (Book 1) occurred in 1777, in Castilian Spanish—*castellano*, the Spanish dialect sometimes associated with northern Spain, though also considered standard Spanish; Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos translated Milton's blank verse into blank *endecasílabos* (hendecasyllables). The first Spanish translation of the entire epic was the 1802-05 rhymed edition by Benito Ramón de Hermida, though it did not appear in print until after Hermida's death in 1814. Two years earlier, Juan de Escoiquiz published his Spanish version of the epic, which he translated directly from the 1805 French translation of *PL* by Jacques Delille. Escoiquiz' rhymed lines are usually twelve-syllables long, sometimes eleven; further, as he declares in his "Prologo del Traductor" (Translator's Prologue), he intends to catholicize Milton by omitting anti-Catholic passages while greatly expanding other passages—the result, a polemically and aesthetically challenged poem about as twice as long as the original. Fortunately, after these belated, initial steps, other Spanish verse translations followed in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. Some translations even participated in what by then had become an iconographic tradition: the illustrated edition of *Paradise Lost*. For example, in 1868 a Columbian diplomat named Aníbal Galindo published a verse translation of *PL* in Castilian Spanish in Belgium, which was reissued in Spain in 1886 with Gustave Doré's illustrations, composed in the

1860s. A verse translation of *Paradise Lost* in Catalan—the language of Catalonia, in northeastern Spain and the bordering regions of France—by Boix i Selva, *El Paradís Perdut*, appeared in 1950. Spain in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries witnessed five translations in Castilian Spanish: Esteban Pujals (1986, Madrid), Manuel Alvarez de Toledo Morenés (1988, Cadiz), Abilio Echeverría (Barcelona, 1993), Bel Atreides (2005, Barcelona), and Enrique López Castellón (2005, Madrid). With so many modern translations, which evidences a growing readership, one might imagine the present-day reader would benefit from a useful, scholarly introduction to this epic. Which is what Anna K. Nardo provides in her excellent *Oculto a los Ojos Mortales: Introducción a “El Paraíso Perdido” de John Milton (Hidden from Mortal Eyes: Introduction to “Paradise Lost” by John Milton)*.

Nardo intends her book for first-time readers of *Paradise Lost*. In her “Prólogo,” she discusses three modern Spanish translations, those by Pujals, Atreides, and López, concerning herself not only with the quality of the poetry but more importantly with the translator’s ability to convey Milton’s argument and ideas as accurately as possible. Any translator will face the challenge of finding an appropriate equivalent to Milton’s blank verse. Nardo suggests the *endecasílabos* of Pujals and López result in a more extended verse than Milton’s—not merely the extra syllable per line, but more words and more lines overall. In contrast, Atreides’ *amétrico trocaico* (trocaic meter) results not necessarily in shorter lines but rather in a compact form of expression. Such economy of expression allows for a more accurate presentation, say, of God’s speech patterns, which tend toward the monosyllabic. As an example of God’s “Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell” (3.102), Nardo offers Pujals’ translation:

. . . libremente

Permanecieron fieles los que así

Se mantuvieron, y también cayeron

Libremente aquellos que quisieron.

Note the eleven-syllable lines, with three of the four final syllables unaccented; the internal rhymes and end rhymes in this passage seem accidental. The passage thus rendered is long-winded. Compare the Atreides’ version of the same line²:

Libre aguantó quien aguantó, libre quien cayó.

Although the trochaic verse seems a fourteener, Atreides manages to convey in one line what Pujals does in over three. English readers recognize God's speech as curt; Atreides' translation accommodates such speech, Pujals' does not. However, Nardo concludes that while Atreides may capture the *curtness*, he doesn't capture the *meaning* as effectively. The Atreides translation might be preferred as regards style, but as regards idea and argument, Nardo prefers Pujals' translation. She thereby chooses polemics over aesthetics, *but* she has three good verse translations from which to choose in the first place.

In a subtle touch, which indicates how careful and astute a reader she is, Nardo declares her preference for Pujals' grammar. In certain passages, for example, Milton employs the indicative mood to denote responsibility. But in the same passages, Atreides and López employ the subjunctive mood. The difference between the indicative and the subjunctive is fundamental to the Spanish language. The effect of Atreides and López *not* employing the indicative in certain instances is an unsound and inaccurate grammatical shift in responsibility for salvation or damnation *away* from Man and Angel *to* God. They misread Milton, particularly as regards free will. Pujals uses the indicative mood in those same instances, thereby conveying Milton's ideas more accurately.

By comparing these three modern Spanish translations, and by considering the use of language—*how* English translates into Spanish and to what effect—Nardo gives three reasons why she recommends Pujals' translation. First, Pujals is more loyal to Milton's *meaning*, albeit Pujals' translation is not always as aesthetically pleasing as the others. Second, Pujals' vocabulary, grammar, and paraphrases are more effective because they more closely resemble the original. Third, Pujals' translation is easier to follow. After the "Prólogo," Nardo's book then breaks down into seven chapters, each organized around a specific topic aimed at guiding the reader through *Paradise Lost*.

Chapter 1, "Introducción," begins with a suggestion as to why readers of Spanish might want to read *Paradise Lost* in the first place. For one thing, it is a masterpiece of world literature. For another, the poem remains relevant in our day, especially in democracies, for it addresses issues such as free will, liberty, adequate education, the limits of government power, etc. Because one might better understand those

issues by learning about John Milton and the world in which he lived, Nardo promotes biography and historicism, alluding to such topics as Milton's marriages, his blindness, his participation in a rebellion, his mistrust of the bishops, England's split from the Catholic Church, as well as the fear of seventeenth-century Protestants like Milton that England might return to Catholicism. Nardo further develops the topic of politics in Chapter 2, "Los Gobiernos del Infierno y del Cielo," the governments of Hell and of Heaven. Learning Milton himself was a rebel might better enable the reader to understand the nature of rebellion and of government in *Paradise Lost*. How and why does Satan rebel and form a government in Hell? He expresses his motivation in the famous line, every bit as powerful in good old *endecasílabos* as it is in good old blank verse: "mejor es / Reinar aquí que servir en el Cielo." "Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n" (1.263). (Note, by the way, the English line here also happens to be an hendecasyllable.) Discussing the government in Hell allows Nardo to transition into the subject of heroism in the epic, enabling the reader to consider Satan not as a hero but as a government tyrant. Nardo can then establish the contrast to the government in Heaven, itself based on the distinction between predestination and free will: Whereas Satan reigns by allowing his followers the illusion of liberty, the illusion of free will, God reigns by allowing Angel and Man alike liberty based on free will.

In Chapter 3, "Las Familias del Infierno, del Cielo y de la Tierra," Nardo leads the reader from a consideration of government and theology in the previous chapter to a consideration of the families of Satan, of God, and of Adam and Eve. "¡Qué familia tan grotesca_" Nardo observes of Satan's family. Satan's grotesque family represents "una parodia de la familia de Dios"—a parody of the Heavenly Trinity. Whereas the literary terms *parody* and *allegory* are central to the reader's understanding of the heavenly and demonic families, understanding the family relationship between Adam and Eve is perhaps a greater challenge because one must consider whether and how equality and mutual love apply to this family, which requires at least an awareness of the feminist critique of Milton; most importantly, though, one must consider the function, or purpose, of marriage, which carries over into Chapter 4, "El Lugar Perfecto." Why is the garden *a perfect place*

and how is perfection maintained, though ultimately lost? Milton's marriage to Mary Powell taught him marriage should serve a purpose beyond procreation. Marriage partners should be compatible, a principle reflected in the very work Adam and Eve perform to maintain the garden. Satan recognizes their marriage is based on the mutual love and affection between equals, an affection and a relationship in which Satan could never participate. He learns, further, their state of perfection is symbolized in the place they maintain, which lasts only as long as they follow God's command. Satan thus learns what his task must be: to separate the happy couple from each other and from their work, to corrupt their understanding by inciting them to disobey the command, thereby destroying the perfect place. Just beyond the middle of Nardo's book, the reader has learned the outward work is symbolic of the paradise within. To this the reader must add an appreciation of the necessity of choice, as regards the internal struggle. The mind becomes the *place* where one works to be loyal or disloyal. Nardo thereby positions the reader to confront the concept fundamental to an understanding of *Paradise Lost*: Untested virtue is not true virtue. Hence, the necessity of Satan, but also the necessity of an education that prepares one to choose: Raphael's cue, for he must educate Adam and Eve via the story of Satan's fall. The significance of education via story-telling then leads into Chapter 5, "Educando a Través de los Cuentos" (71), which concerns how education occurs through story-telling. This is where the word *oculto* (*hidden*) from Nardo's title becomes crucial, for stories convey hidden meaning, which the reader must uncover or reveal via analysis and interpretation.

By Chapter 6, "La Caída," the reader is ready to consider the three fundamental questions about the Fall: Does Eve commit a sin when she separates from Adam to work alone? How would Eve be able to respond to the serpent's temptation? After Eve has eaten the forbidden fruit, does Adam have any choice but to sin? How Adam and Eve might confront the fallen world then becomes the subject of Nardo's seventh and final chapter, "Enfrentándose al Mundo Caído." The structure of her book allows the readers to recognize their own susceptibility to, their own confrontation with, the sin which surprised Adam and Eve; they recognize, as well, the necessity of confronting the fallen world: By recognizing one's responsibility and the consequences of one's ac-

tions, reconciliation to each other and to the fallen world becomes possible. How Adam and Eve understand their relationship to each other, to their descendants, to human history, even to the concept of place now become a matter of interpretation, for which they, as well as the reader, are equipped by the end of the epic.

Anna K. Nardo's *Oculto a los Ojos Mortales: Introducción a "El Paraíso Perdido" de John Milton* does for modern readers of Spanish what C.S. Lewis' *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (1942) did, and continues to do, for readers of English. Like Lewis, Nardo offer readers encountering Milton analyses of selected passages, glances at various critical approaches, and primers of Milton's life and times. In recommending a specific Spanish translation of *Paradise Lost*, Nardo wishes the reader to avoid the aesthetic and polemic shortcomings inherent in certain translations, opting instead for a text best evocative of the author's intention and meaning, with an eye toward aesthetics. For although she hopes the reader will enjoy the read, much of what Nardo discusses—and thereby encourages readers to recognize and appreciate—concerns *Paradise Lost* as a world epic as opposed to strictly, or simply, an English epic or a Protestant epic. Nardo's achievement is her ability to universalize Milton's masterpiece for readers of Spanish.

Helen Lynch. *Milton and the Politics of Public Speech*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015. xvii + 283 pp. \$119.95. Review by DANIEL ELLIS, ST. BONAVENTURE UNIVERSITY.

In *Milton and the Politics of Public Speech*, Helen Lynch brings together Hannah Arendt's concepts of the public and the public sphere, vernacular rhetorical treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and John Milton's prose and poetry. Out of these materials she argues that for seventeenth-century English writers, speakers, and politicians, public speech and public poetics were forms of action; for Milton specifically, the end goal of these actions was to create a public sphere prepared to enact the word of God.

After a brief preface outlining the book, the introduction reviews classical approaches to rhetoric, statecraft, and the polity as articulated by Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, and as those thinkers are reflected in

the work of Arendt. In Arendt's classically inflected public sphere, speech is not, as it is in a Habermassian sense, a precursor to action, but is a form of action itself. In this account, Plato represents a withdrawal of philosophy from the political realm, and therefore a severing of philosophy and rhetoric. Such a withdrawal is a break from a pre-Socratic ideal, articulated but not successfully resuscitated by Aristotle and Cicero, in which speakers debating together in the public forum could build and maintain the very possibility of the political. The introduction draws on Arendt's *The Promise of Politics* to trace out the ultimate failure of this possibility, which leads to the emergence of a "corrupt public sphere" (18).

Chapter 1 examines how this classical public sphere emerged in the work of Milton and his contemporaries, particularly in the use of oratorical metaphors in the period's print debates. Especially important are metaphors about who has the right and the capacity to speak in public. Arendt's reading of speech in classical times is based on the division of *oikos* and *polis*, where beasts, children, slaves, and women are denigrated not (necessarily or exclusively) out of a natural hierarchy but because they are excluded from the public, the realm of speech and action. Lynch thus suggests that when seventeenth-century writers employ images of animals or women to attack each other, the implications of the critique are social, rather than natural—their targets, it is suggested, are corrupting the public sphere. Both the introduction and chapter 1 range widely across Milton's work in order to situate it and his thought within this context, especially to establish the challenges to his conception of a public sphere in which speech equals action. As well as providing a rich oratorical resource, the pattern of metaphors suggests an environment in which such a public sphere is made difficult, if not impossible, by a lack of fit speakers and an intrusion of private concerns (the *oikos* invading the *polis*) corresponding to Arendt's "corrupt public sphere."

Chapter 2 goes on to consider the rhetorical tradition of England and Milton's approach to it. The chapter is especially concerned with the efforts of rhetoricians of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to address the problem that, in a post-Edenic world, communication is never adequate. From the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, rhetorical theory (at least as it was articulated in the ver-

nacular handbooks examined here) expressed a growing doubt that language could be used to discover truth or build a political system. This created a challenge for Milton, who wanted to portray a public sphere as necessary for realizing the only truth that does matter, that of God's word, a challenge Milton is able to explore through *Paradise Lost*.

Chapter 3 presents a complicated history of figures of and attitudes towards women in theories of rhetoric and of the political. Lynch shows how in the period's political debates, negative and positive attitudes towards occupations (like embroidery) and customs (like the use of cosmetics) that were typically thought of as feminine emerged as metaphors in discussions about rhetoric. This chapter considers a great deal of Milton's prose work, including his debates with Salmasius, but also a variety of discussions about language use in English from Puttenham to Sidney as well as a variety of contemporary texts on women. What all these point to for Lynch is the argument that Milton's work presents an ideal poet-orator who unites masculine and feminine in his perfected speech-as-action (although this poet-orator himself is of course male).

Chapter 4 is essentially a dialogue between *Samson Agonistes* and Arendt's *The Human Condition*, while chapter 5 offers an examination of the strands of romance in the poem. Placing the poem's action against Arendt's work shows Samson becoming, intentionally or otherwise, the right kind of speaker for the right kind of public. Considering him against heroes of romance (for Lynch's purposes, *The Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*) enables Milton to rearticulate the nature of heroism as a reinvention of the public sphere. In *Samson Agonistes* the impossibility of humans ever reaching truth, which is lodged exclusively with the Divine in this fallen world, means that the best a poet-orator can hope for is to be, like Samson, a vehicle of that truth. In his final action, Samson joins the classical ideal of a perfect union of action and speech with the expression of a Christian truth. In Samson's trajectory from private failing with grave public repercussions to his enacting God's will in a public forum, *Samson Agonistes* dramatizes a reclaiming of the classical public in the service of a Christian truth.

Lynch's argument is intricate, and such intricacy can at times be limiting. Lynch states that much of the critical conversation will take

place through footnotes, but by subsuming the critical conversations, the potential stakes of Lynch's own argument are sometimes also subsumed. Chapter 5, for instance, offers a nuanced reading of Dalila in light of Shakespeare's Cleopatra. Doing so certainly furthers Lynch's argument about the realization of an Arendtian public sphere in a Christian theology, but it's not clear how that argument might address current pressing questions about *Samson Agonistes*, such as questions of the poem's attitude toward women or toward non-Christian traditions and peoples. Lynch is under no responsibility for her book to address this or any other critical question, of course (though the preface does situate it as "broadly 'regenerationist'" (xvi)), but those whose first interest is Milton might have to sort out the applications of this book towards any particular question themselves. (This is not to say Lynch does not document these questions in her notes, but only that she does not in general engage them, as her argument is elsewhere.) The same observation might be extended to Lynch's discussions of Arendt, the classical and early modern public sphere, and early modern rhetoric; all of these topics are brought together in a thought-provoking argument, but a specialist in any one of these areas might have to find their own ways to apply that argument. They also might not always find Lynch's methods compelling. For example, her claims about classical rhetoric rely primarily on Arendt and secondary sources, while her claims about Renaissance rhetoric rest largely on English, rather than Latin, rhetorical texts; these approaches could detract from her connection of the classical and Renaissance traditions. Nevertheless, Lynch offers a vision of rich complexity in which both the nature of the early modern public sphere and Milton's relationship to the classical world and his own can be seen in a new way.

Reuben Sánchez. *Typology and Iconography in Donne, Herbert, and Milton: Fashioning the Self after Jeremiah*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. xiv + 275 pp. \$90.00. Review by MITCHELL M. HARRIS, AUGUSTANA COLLEGE (SIOUX FALLS)

Reuben Sánchez's *Typology and Iconography in Donne, Herbert, and Milton* starts with an ambitious goal: to demonstrate how the

figure of Jeremiah acts both as a type and icon for the authors in the book's title. Moreover, this goal is complicated by Sánchez's desire to demonstrate how the biblical Jeremiah and the iconography inspired by him during the Middle Ages and Renaissance ultimately lead one to see him in four different modes: prophet, parson, minister, and revolutionary. Sánchez believes that these four modes are best seen in the art of Rembrandt, Sluter, and Michelangelo and best expressed through the literature of Donne (poet-prophet), Herbert (poet-parson), and Milton (poet-minister and poet-revolutionary), respectively. As he puts it, "I wish to show how and why Donne, Herbert, and Milton each conveys his own vision as prophet—but specifically how each fashions himself after the prophet Jeremiah" (16).

In Chapter Two, Sánchez begins his excursion into Donne-as-poet-prophet by suggesting that the spirit of Rembrandt's *The Prophet Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem* "inspires and characterizes Donne's self-fashioning as prophet at about the time he enters the ministry" (28), even though, as he confesses, Donne would never live to see Rembrandt's piece. To achieve this end, Sánchez first closely analyzes and interprets Rembrandt's oil-on-panel painting as iconography. His analysis of the painting points to Rembrandt capturing Jeremiah at a unique moment not captured by most of the iconography surrounding the prophet, for Rembrandt's Jeremiah "conveys despair and hope" and this, Sánchez suggests, is the image "most attractive to Donne at around the time of his ordination in the Church of England: The pose of utter sadness and despair, the inability to console others as well as oneself, but the recognition that there is hope, if only one could be turned" (34). Here, then, Sánchez turns to the analysis of Donne's "Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward" and *The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the Most Part According to Tremelius*. As he puts it, "Like the prophet, Donne despairs, again and again; like the prophet, Donne must learn how to turn himself, his readers, and his auditors, again and again, toward God via the poet's words and the preacher's sermons" (37). At times, however, this argument gets bogged down by points that seem tangential to the thesis. For example, Sánchez feels compelled to attempt to find a date of composition for both poems—always perilous ground in Donne studies. And even if one were to be entirely convinced by his suggested dates of composition,

he never makes it entirely clear why finding such dates is essential for his readers. To make matters of date and time even fuzzier, Sánchez reads much of George Herbert's poetry to elucidate Donne's focus on the concept of turning/conversion. If the point of dating the poems, then, is to demonstrate a trajectory to Donne's consideration of Jeremiah across his writing career, the odd anachronistic comparisons with Herbert's poetry further confuse what could quite possibly be achieved in a straightforward manner.

Chapter Three concludes Sánchez's examination of Donne's rhetorical ability to help his readers and auditors "turn," as envisaged through the iconography of Rembrandt's Jeremiah. As he argues, "Donne accomplishes the turn through consolation, an art he acquires by reading contemporary books on *artes concionandi*, but also by reading The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and Lamentations. Most importantly, he practices consolation by fashioning the self after Jeremiah" (67). Here, then, Sánchez looks to Donne's sermon on Lamentations 3.1 and his well-known letter to his mother after the death of his sister, Anne Lyly. I suspect many readers will be disappointed by how little Sánchez truly analyzes the sermon and the letter. The chapter is a swift fifteen pages, and much of that space is consumed with broad discussions of the *artes praedicandi* and *artes concionandi*, as well as numerous references back to the work of Chapter Two.

In Part Two, "Sluter's Jeremiah: Herbert and Learning How to Visualize the Heart," Sánchez looks to Claus Sluter's carving, the "Well of Moses" or the "Moses Fountain," as it came to be known in the nineteenth century, to establish a corresponding iconography of Jeremiah as a parson in order to delineate Herbert's vision of the parson. As with Donne's relationship with Rembrandt, Sánchez is not essentially concerned with establishing whether or not Herbert knew of Sluter's "Well of Moses." Rather, he asserts the more general argument that "Sluter composed his Jeremiah from stone, a substance hewn, carved, sculpted, painted, even written upon" and similarly, "*The Temple* is hewn, carved, sculpted, and written upon . . ." (82). For Sánchez, then, Herbert's access to Sluter is not the point. "The iconography and the typology of *The Temple* rely upon how the poet works the stone and how the reader perceives the stone, literally and metaphorically, and on what the stone represents" (82). But before

the significance of stone is fully analyzed, Sánchez looks at the image of the heart in Ezekiel and Jeremiah: “Ezekiel and Jeremiah, in their uses of the heart as metaphor for rebirth, emphasize the public and the private, hence signaling a shift to individual responsibility as prelude to public liberty. . .” (90). He then suggests that Herbert also finds this shift to be “important and necessary” (90), and by using the metaphor of the heart again and again, Herbert employs a form of “heart-writing”—something akin to Sluter hewing his stone. Chapter Five is steadfastly committed to understanding Herbert’s visualization of the heart (and hearts) in *The Temple*—first through the image of the cleansing of hearts, then the image of the hammered hardened heart, next the image of the healed broken heart, and finally the image of the bleeding heart. Sánchez examines several emblem books here and argues (albeit implicitly) that there is a sort of intertextual relationship between Herbert’s depictions of the heart in his poetry and the emblems present in the work of people like Henry Hawkins, Christopher Harvey, Georgette de Montenay, and Benedict van Haeften, to name a few.

In his third and final part of the book, “Michelangelo’s Jeremiah: Milton and Learning How to Be a Prophet,” Sánchez returns to the notion of “heroic melancholy” that he establishes in his first chapter, suggesting that Michelangelo’s Jeremiah in the Sistine Chapel “is melancholy because he feels he has failed, or, perhaps more to the point, because he feels his nation has failed to listen to him” and that this too is “what we see when we read [Milton’s] *The Readie and Easie Way*” (139, 141) and *Samson Agonistes*. It is in this section of his book where Sánchez risks most, asserting that *The Readie and Easie Way* is not only anti-Ciceronian (as opposed to Ciceronian, as some Miltonists have argued) but also in a “location beyond anti-Ciceronian where witnessing is required to lofty principle but where practical proposals also seem necessary and yet virtually hopeless of adoption, a methodology similar to Jeremiah’s on the eve of the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 587 BCE” (165). In Chapter Eight, he goes on to explore how Milton is able to fashion “the self after Jeremiah” not only near the end of the revolution, as he does in *The Readie and Easie Way* (1660, second edition), but also near the beginning of the revolution in *The Reason of Church Government* (1642). “In *The Reason*

of *Church Church Government*,” he writes, “Milton worries the reader might misunderstand the manner in which the prophet expresses himself, if the reader does not recognize the expression as generated in a specific historic and linguistic context” (194). Sánchez sees a younger Milton adopting the pose of the Jeremiah we see in Jeremiah 20, where decorum “determines the text’s prophetic persona” (194). At a certain point, however, decorum is of little concern when one knows, as do Jeremiah and Milton (before the fall of Jerusalem and the return of the Stuart monarchy, respectively), that “few people, if any, listen . . .” (204).

Chapter Nine, “‘Unapocryphall Vision’: Jeremiah as Exemplary Model for Donne, Herbert, and Milton,” serves as Sánchez’s conclusion by quickly providing a narrative synopsis of the entire book. He also provides three appendices on Renaissance angels and other melancholy figures, Renaissance images of Jeremiah, and Renaissance melancholy and modern theory. While *Typology and Iconography in Donne, Herbert, and Milton* offers a promising thesis and is unique in its interdisciplinary reach, I cannot help but feel that much gets lost in the interdisciplinary shuffle. Apart from his analysis of Milton’s *The Rennie and Easie Way*, Sánchez’s analyses of the literature of Donne and Herbert seem cursory. They lack the depth one would expect to find in a book on such rich authors. The same could be said of his treatment of the iconography of Jeremiah, biblical interpretation, and the history of criticism regarding the art, Bible, and literature he attempts to analyze and bring together. In other words, I find that this book lacks in depth what it offers in breadth, which is disappointing, given that when Sánchez does provide a depth of analysis—as he does with Milton—that analysis proves enlightening.

Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson, eds. *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xv + 219 pp. + 7 illus. \$104.95. Review by VICTORIA E. BURKE, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA.

This essay collection is a welcome addition to Ashgate’s *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* series which published its one

hundredth volume in late 2014. Leslie Dunn and Katherine Larson have amassed an interdisciplinary group of articles that bring together research into musicology, literature (especially the drama, but also poetry and prose), disability studies, religious and political history, and film studies. Many of the essays bring to life musical moments in surviving literary and other types of texts, allowing their authors to at least partially reconstruct how these performances operated in the early modern period. The combination of canonical and non-canonical material is stimulating and offers a wide-ranging canvas: plays by Shakespeare, songbooks by Campion, masques for schoolgirls, political tracts, ballads, poems by Crashaw, and catches performed by men, to name just a few.

Scott Trudell's opening essay, "Performing Women in English Books of Ayres," shows how rich the category of performance can be when studying printed books of "ayres," songs in which lyrics are meant to be foregrounded. Trudell discusses not only how ayres might have been performed (by women, men, and countertenors; in domestic settings; influenced by gesture and the conventions of the theatre) but also how knowledge of performance influenced the very ayres that were written. Trudell's insight that Thomas Campion's notions of gender norms "are themselves influenced by performance conditions" (16) gives voice to the female singers of these ayres, for whom the books were written and by whom they were influenced. He traces the fluidity of gender roles in these songs, noting that females could sing male parts, male speakers might be effeminate in their love sickness, and that the musical performer had a dangerous power to fashion gender and even a song's meaning. Sarah Williams explores the melody known as "The Ladies Fall" in broadside ballads and popular songs. She argues that particular tunes conjured up associations for readers and listeners, and that the history of how those melodies were used was part of their later uses. "The Ladies Fall" (which Williams helpfully transcribes in modern musical notation) accompanied tales of witches, violent wives, hard-hearted rich women: in short, women behaving badly. Williams traces the fascinating tension in these ballads between didacticism (cautioning female auditors to avoid this behaviour), sensationalist entertainment, and the admonishment of women. But, as with the first essay in the volume, the author demon-

strates how performance raises complications: there was transgressive potential in a female ballad seller singing these words, or in a woman performing the songs in an inn or domestic setting, so much so that one particular ballad does not depict direct speech by a witch. It would have been too dangerous to enact a witch's curse.

Jennifer Wood traces connections between the depiction of witches and of New World Indians in "Listening to Black Magic Women: The Early Modern Soundscapes of Witch Drama and the New World." Wood demonstrates that to early moderns, these two groups sounded like each other, and that writers used New World soundscapes to depict the supernatural, and vice versa. Travel narratives, witchcraft treatises, and plays fused the otherness of the witch with the New World Indian, both of which danced and made eerie hollow-sounding music. Both were associated with dangerous femininity, and Wood traces all of their intriguing parallels, including their circle dancing and backwards movement rituals, their odd musical instruments and music making, their demonic associations, and the ways in which they are both "others" in terms of gender, nation, and the supernatural realm. The illicit pleasure audiences found in these depictions are intricately linked with their music. In her discussion of song, fools, and intellectual disability in Shakespearean drama, Angela Heetderks continues this focus on marginalized makers of music. She explores "how Shakespearean song indicates multiple forms of marginality, including marginal forms of gender, rank, and intellection" (64). She notes that the few times privileged male characters sing they tend to lose their elevated position. Traditional scholarship on the "wise fool" presents the fool as perceptive, but Heetderks argues that the line between natural and artificial fools is much more unstable than critics have acknowledged, and that danger resides in acting the fool since that roleplay can cause actual intellectual decline. Her discussion of *Twelfth Night* raises interesting possibilities for Feste's performance of wit: clever and virtuosic, but also, through his songs, non-rational, repetitive, and disruptive.

Amanda Winkler's "Dangerous Performance: Cupid in Early Modern Pedagogical Masques" analyzes two masques performed by schoolgirls in 1617 and 1654, Robert White's *Cupid's Banishment* and Thomas Jordan's *Cupid His Coronation*. These entertainments were

designed to teach music and dance to girls, and Winkler asks, what happens to their didactic message when the singing and dancing girls interact with a male Cupid, representing erotic love? Winkler examines “moments when the act of performance undermines the moral” (85), such as when the disheveled, violent followers of Diana attack Cupid in a potentially homoerotic moment at the end of White’s masque, or when twelve blushing virgins crown Cupid, their male schoolteacher, at the end of Jordan’s masque. The discussion of these non-courtly entertainments raises many interesting questions about the effects of the age of the performers, their costumes, the potential voyeurism of the spectators, and the political context (the Neo-Platonic symbolism in the 1654 masque, for example). Joseph Ortiz examines Samuel Rowley’s play *When You See Me, You Know Me* for its depiction of musical instruction as part of a Protestant humanist education. Ortiz notes that Rowley’s positive depiction of a character associated with the Catholic composer John Bull suggests that Protestant reservations about music have gone too far. Ortiz makes the case that the play presents music as both a rich type of narrative and as appropriate for a masculine setting. Prince Edward has two tutors in the play, Thomas Cranmer and Christopher Tye, who give lectures on philosophy and logic, and on music, respectively, and then Tye performs some music which would have been censored by Reformers. The prince, however, interprets it technically, politically, and even narratively—not at all as sensual or feminine. Katherine Parr as a character has a role to play as political advisor, but she is never associated with dangerous, womanly music. The lack of performing women is noteworthy in this play, as is Rowley’s depiction of the importance of music to the Reformation.

Tessie Prakas’s essay, “Unimportant Women: The ‘Sweet Descants’ of Mary Sidney and Richard Crashaw,” finds parallels in Sidney’s depiction of her authorial role in “To the Angel Spirit of the Most Excellent Sir Philip Sidney” and Crashaw’s depiction of women in his poems on female saints. Prakas sees both writers using music as “a metaphor for female devotional agency” (108), with limits. The metaphor of the “descant” as subsidiary to the main melody becomes an intriguing way for Sidney to depict her own devotional writing, or “hymns,” as separate from but indebted to her brother’s. Crashaw’s women are humble but authoritative, exalted through their song but

also limited poetically, and Prakas convincingly outlines all the ways Crashaw minimizes or adapts the potentially Catholic features of their stories to make them less fixed denominationally. The Virgin Mary, for example, is linked to Christ, but never an intermediary or a substitute; like the relationship between a descant and a melody, Mary as worshipper is subsidiary to Christ, the divine. Notwithstanding the suggestive similarities between Sidney and Crashaw, however, linking these two together seems a rather random pairing.

Linda Austern's presence in the footnotes of this volume testifies to her foundational work in the field of gender and early modern music. Her contribution here, "Domestic Song and the Circulation of Masculine Social Energy in Early Modern England," is another illuminating contribution to the period's views of men's roles in relationship to music and the domestic sphere. The wealth of primary evidence she has referenced indicate the initially surprising finding that making music in the home was meant to be primarily vocal, part of the male domain, and to be controlled by the male head of the household. It was a pastime for elite men who were expected to have the skills to read from notation and converse intellectually about music. Austern has interesting things to say about the importance of public and private spaces (that only the male head of the household had access to all spaces in the home, for example, and that the line between the home and the neighbourhood was extremely thin, necessitating firm mastery over the first) and about the disruptive potential of catches, or part-songs sung in canon by three or more voices, a genre associated with men. Another essay that engages with the question of how masculinity was captured in song is Nora Corrigan's "Song, Political Resistance, and Masculinity in Thomas Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*." Unusually, most of the songs in this play are sung by lords, most notably Valerius and Brutus, who subvert masculine expectations by turning away from responsibility and towards pleasure with male social equals and inferiors. Corrigan demonstrates that Lucrece's rape is not the focal point of the play, and indeed that she is not given a voice. Instead the play's message of resistance against Tarquin's and Tullia's tyranny, often voiced through bawdy song, is an unusual displacement of political action (which does ultimately find expression as military action, however).

Erin Minear analyzes Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, and specifically the problematic moment when Helen of Troy's sole appearance seems to signal the futility of seeing any noble motives for the war. Using the music surrounding that scene, mainly Pandarus's lascivious song, as a starting point, Minear develops a scheme for understanding the play as a whole. Highlighting the many interesting musical puns (such as fits, parts, time, noted, and sharp), Minear argues that music potentially challenges the scheme at the centre of the play, that moments of a character's apparent interiority are instead depictions of the future being contained in the present. Though music is associated with eternal proportion it is also linked with change and time, and thus it offers the potential for inwardness and development, an opportunity a character like Cressida does not seize.

The final essay, Kendra Leonard's "The Use of Early Modern Music in Film Scoring for Elizabeth I," considers the musical scores of three mini-series or films, *Elizabeth R* (1971), *Orlando* (1992), and *Elizabeth* (1998). Explaining that music is more than a paratext in films, Leonard argues that it is a component of a film's meaning. Leonard offers historical research into gendered musical practices, musicological analysis, and knowledge of film to explain the significance of the use of early modern pieces and modern compositions in certain kinds of performance. For example, modern music reinforces that Orlando is a transhistorical character, and that once Elizabeth transforms into the Virgin Queen she is timeless. Leonard's essay is a sensitive discussion of how these films are as much commentaries on the present as on the early modern past.

For me, the most exciting angle in many of these essays was the emphasis on performance. Performance studies allows us to see how the alleged morality of the words on the page might be undercut by a troubling ambiguity represented by pubescent girls dancing and singing onstage, by a female ballad seller, or by a male counter tenor's soprano voice. Another interesting thing several of the essays do is to demonstrate how flexible the associations of masculinity and song could be. Music was long associated with unruly femininity, but could also be appropriate for all-male educational settings, or for the sites of homosocial bonding detailed in prose tracts and drama like *Twelfth Night* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. The essay collection also demonstrates

how fruitful the drama is for examining questions about music's representation and performance, since drama was a multi-media experience in its own right: several essays probe Shakespeare's use of song, as well as music used by lesser-known playwrights such as Heywood and Rowley, writers of masques like Jonson, and drama featuring witches. Whether they are sung by fools, decorous young women, or obstreperous men, songs in plays can communicate varied political and gendered messages. I was also intrigued by the point made in a few essays that the tunes themselves, independent from the lyrics, could be legible in specific ways: "Fortune my Foe" and "The Ladies Fall" were associated with specific subject matter in ballads, and the whistled song satirizing Richard II in the play *Thomas of Woodstock* communicates its point wordlessly (as Corrigan notes). This rich, interdisciplinary collection of essays makes a substantial contribution to a burgeoning area of study.

Leah Knight. *Reading Green in Early Modern England*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. ix + 165 pp. \$104.95. Review by MARIA SALENIUS, UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI.

The study of an era from the point of view of a concept, or even a word, can bring a fresh angle to any well-researched and often revisited theme. Thus, when approaching an era from the point of view of greenness, Leah Knight simultaneously opens a new angle to a known topic. When the author sets out to present the early modern period through the concept of greenness, the reader is given insight to familiar texts in the context of contemporary visuality.

The author of this book establishes herself as a scholar of reading and publishing, and it is from this starting point that the book evolves. The topic as such introduces the concept (word or colour) of green on one level, and touches upon themes like nature, ecology etc. on another. As her starting point, the author states "the argument and premises of this book draw from and build on prominent currents in a multiplicity of intersecting fields, including environmental studies, the history of reading, visual culture, and early modern literary scholarship more generally" (4). The book, furthermore, seeks its place "at

the intersection of the cultural history of a color and the objects most distinctively infused and identified with it, as well as the histories of their inscription and interpretation” (5). At the same time, however, the author distances herself from the more politically fuelled ecocritical studies of the phenomenon of greenness, putting forward something that is “predominantly a literary history” (5). This is a welcome point of departure for a study dealing with concepts where modern interpretations might easily cloud the contemporary reading of the topic.

Leah Knight’s first book, *Of Books and Botany* (2009), has already indicated the author’s interest in matters at the intersection of text and nature. The present book, then, undertakes to provide a deeper and more detailed analysis of the meaning of the concept—and quite literally: the colour—for the early modern reading audience.

The title of the book is well chosen: the point of “reading” (as opposed to e.g., feeling, seeing or interpreting) green suggests that the approach is of a textual and/or philological nature. This is interesting for a textual/philological reader as well as for literary scholars—and it thus opens the book’s interest for a deeper analysis than a mere cultural/social introduction.

The methodology of using full-text databases, like the EEBO, align the study with, and is a fine example of, similar studies of Big Data which are so prominent in this age of Digital Humanities. The text is throughout heavily footnoted with both references and rich detail which add explanatory insight to Knight’s careful close-reading. While both Andrew Marvell and the myth of Orpheus function as a thread throughout the book, the book presents an impressive number of references to the literature of both the early modern period and earlier. When focussing on the greenness in literature, Knight on the one hand taps into the poetic and often pragmatic (medicinal) medieval tradition and, on the other, presents the more recreational (upper class) aspects of nature.

Chapter 1, “Seeing Green,” concentrates mainly on two aspects of reading: Firstly, the focus is on the green reading environment, either with a view of a garden (initially an upper class luxury), and then as reading more generally in the garden environment. Referring to the scholarships of Bruce R. Smith and Catherine Richardson, Knight suggests that the medieval *millefleurs* was more than a theme of life and

rebirth and explicitly points to an abundance of both the colour green and the theme of nature in the medieval and early modern domestic context (15). The emphasis on the tangible items in the domestic environment gives a peculiar, and previously undetected, aspect of materialism to the early modern life and world, and at times the leisure of detecting and appreciating the greenness of the world almost seems like what would today be deemed a first-world phenomenon. The proof of, and comments about, green understandably come from a literary upper class audience, and yet there is the implication that this goes for the lower classes, too.

The latter, and unfortunately the more comprehensive, part of the chapter concentrates on the act of reading through a pair of green lenses. Intriguing as this phenomenon may be, the focus is perhaps slightly single-mindedly shifted from the more general issues of seeing *within* the context of the colour to seeing only *through* the colour. The “cognitive implications” promised in the introductory chapter (9) could have been even more thoroughly elaborated upon here.

The second chapter, “Breathing Green,” presents an equally painstakingly well-referenced and detailed analysis of the olfactory aspect of greenness. However, it is striking, and perhaps also disturbing in the context, that very few (if any) texts referred to actually cite the colour/word “green” as such, and thus the analogy—from a philological and literary point of view—seems a little strained. Having set out “to read *green*, not to read *greenly*” (5, emphasis original), the author seems to contradict her own approach at this point. Moreover, the fact that *so little* reference is made to the actual color and concept (as opposed to what the author refers to as “botanical material” [55] or “greenscapes” [60]) could almost be seen as symptomatic in the context and would perhaps warrant its own analysis.

Chapter Three, titled “Moving Green,” with a subtitle referring to “Rhetorical Motivation,” sounds promising from a philological/rhetorical point of view. Furthermore, the introductory paragraph is especially captivating (63). The focus on rhetoric is mostly concentrated on the topic of personification, with the special emphasis on the link to the language of emotions. To prove her point, the author at times stretches the concept of green/nature rather far; yet again, the reach to modern literature through a reference to Tolkien seems

especially appropriate (66). All in all, the chapter on rhetoric seems disappointingly brief—only sixteen pages, as opposed to the twenty-one to twenty-seven pages of the surrounding chapters.

Chapter four, titled “Writing Green,” surprisingly, is the most visual, having the largest number of illustrations (including the five Plates, which admittedly partly refer to other chapters). The topic, too, of inscribing text on trees, opens up a plethora of images. The text is richly referenced throughout, like all of Knight’s text, but this chapter seems to have a somewhat larger dependence on detailed and rather lengthy summaries of previous scholarship (e.g., Juliet Fleming [86] and Roger Chartier [87]). The parallel between early modern writing on trees to modern graffiti seems like a leap at first, but the link through “penknives for grafting” (89) is indeed intriguing and opens new vistas for interpreting the modern visual expression. The subchapter titled “Memorial, Muse, Messenger” (95 ff.) blends the aspect of writing *on* a tree and writing *about* writing on a tree in an interesting way, bringing the topic back to the rhetorical and philological considerations that were most intriguing at the outset, as well as discussing the continuation and preservation—and even growth (if the pun is permitted)—of the text.

The final chapter, Chapter Five, “Healing Green,” turns its methodological focus to intertextuality by discussing Andrew Marwell’s “Damon the Mower,” and here the analysis moves from a philological/historical reading to a form of cultural ecology. The author undertakes the method to “hypothesize” (113) an early modern process of reading, and although the narrative thus moves in a different manner from the previous chapters, the argument is rather convincingly justified. The reader is provided with an essay-within-an-essay, as it were, demonstrating the author’s earlier premises and an internal dialogue about her process of analysis and interpretation. Finally, the chapter links satyrists and writers to surgeons and mowers—and ends, through a strong increase in word-play and metaphorical language, to wounds and healing.

In the three-page concluding chapter the reader would expect a summary of the preceding analyses and perhaps also suggestions for modern-day green implications and the global ecological situation—as this has been alluded to although not included in the theme of the

book as such. But the chapter is far too short for any of this. Surely there had been more to read from the intriguing and detailed—and, as we are rather convincingly shown, quite dominantly green—early eodern environment, both natural and domestic. As they stand now, the concluding paragraphs make a rather strained leap to, for example, the Japanese concept of “forest bathing” (137) and the art form of moving trees (138-9), as forms of contemporary commentary on greenness that has caught the interest of the author. While these may have a relevance to the continuum of the concept through times, the correlation remains unclear in the brief presentation.

The overall structure of the book is clear and compact: After the introductory chapter titled “First Impressions” follow three parts titled “Impressed by Nature” (encompassing chapters one and two), “Impressing Nature” (with chapters three and four), and “Lasting Impressions” (including chapter five and the brief conclusion). The word-play in the titles carry the theme rather nicely and create a symmetry appropriate for the topic at hand. Less appealing perhaps is the rather flippant use of titles for sub-sections within the chapters, for example “Through a Glass, Greenly” (17) and “The Nose Knows” (40).

To conclude, this book is a work of meticulously detailed and well-researched scholarship. The sixteen-page bibliography demonstrates a wide range of sources (although the reader might have preferred the primary sources to be given in a separate list). While the ready availability of digital sources is an advantage on the one hand, a division of primary and secondary sources in the case of this book also shows a rather heavy emphasis on close reading as opposed to scholarly discussion; the primary/secondary ratio is very near 50—50. From a thematic point of view, while the religious aspect of the garden and the tree (of life) receives some attention, mainly in the monastic references in the first chapter, this theme could have been elaborated on much more. The discussion of nature without the constant presence of its Creator in the early modern context leaves the arguments a little wanting. However, the range of topics discussed within the concept of green is impressive and intriguing, and the connections made and conclusions drawn introduce new ideas and novel thought models to the reading of the early modern era.

Thomas Traherne. *The Works of Thomas Traherne*. Jan Ross, ed. Vol. 6. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014. 335pp. £75. Review by CASSANDRA GORMAN, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

In 1903, the antiquarian Bertram Dobell published a collection of manuscript poems by a hitherto forgotten seventeenth-century divine. He claimed in his preface to the edition that he was introducing the reader to a new metaphysical poet, comparable but superior to Henry Vaughan, and a forerunner of Wordsworth—for there was not, he claims, “a thought of any value in Wordsworth’s [Immortality] Ode which is not to be found in substance” in the works of the earlier writer (*The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne*, lxxviii). At times breathlessly excited, Dobell promised of this newly-discovered poet that “the long night of his obscurity is at length over, and his light henceforth, if I am not much mistaken, is destined to shine with undiminished lustre as long as . . . the English tongue shall endure” (xvii).

The poet and theologian was of course Thomas Traherne, and the very poems that inspired Dobell’s enthusiasm at the turn of the twentieth century are now the focus of the latest instalment of Jan Ross’s multi-volume edition, *The Works of Thomas Traherne*. Ross has single-handedly adopted the task of making all of Traherne’s texts widely accessible, many of which had languished in little-known manuscript sources for centuries, and are housed in special collections scattered across the world. Bertram Dobell’s introduction to Traherne turned out to be only the first in a series of astonishing rediscoveries that took place over the course of the twentieth century. Happily, in her set of the complete works Ross has made reproducing some of the more unfamiliar—and recently discovered—writings by Traherne a priority: the series kicked off in 2005 by revealing four obscure prose works (including one of Traherne’s most significant achievements, his ecstatic survey of heaven and earth, *The Kingdom of God*) which had only been discovered eight years previously, by Jeremy Maule at Lambeth Palace. This was closely followed by the two-volume publication of the *Commentaries of Heaven*, Traherne’s vast encyclopaedic study of “ALL THINGS,” alphabetically itemised (regrettably, in spite of producing a text in the region of 300,000 words, he only made it as far as the topic “Bastard.”) Although discovered in the 1960s—rescued, in

the most sensational of the modern discoveries to date, off a burning rubbish pile in Lancashire—the *Commentaries* was only identified and attributed to its author in 1980. Volume IV continued the introduction of previously unpublished material with the welcome appearance of the *Church's Year Book*, a gathering of Traherne's thoughts on the value of the church, both Anglican and universal, accompanied in Ross's text by the equally celebratory *Thanksgivings*, his only work of poetry to be published in the seventeenth century. In the two most recent volumes, Ross returned to more familiar ground and presented the writer's best-known, and most-loved, compositions: firstly the *Centuries* and the *Select Meditations*, and now the lyrical poems; the works that brought Traherne to recognition in the first place.

As a poet, Traherne has often been described as an "ecstatic" voice, reaching outwards into the world, gazing boldly into its mysteries and giving thanks for "*All Things*" (a recurrent phrase, quoted in this instance from his poem "The Vision"). The opening contents of Ross's volume, the "Poems from the Dobell Folio" and the "Poems of Felicity," introduce a poetic voice that is strikingly exclamatory, listing objects and reasons for thanksgivings in the torrents of enthusiasm that have become characteristic of Traherne: "O Nectar! O Delicious Stream! / O ravishing and only Pleasure!," he opens his poem on "Love"; in "The Estate," he gives thanks for the right of mankind to inherit the whole world:

We plough the very Skies, as well
 As Earth, the Spacious Seas
 Are ours; the Stars all Gems excell.
 The Air was made to pleas
 The Souls of Men: Devouring fire
 Doth feed and Quicken Mans Desire.
 The Sun it self doth in its Glory Shine,
 And Gold and Silver out of very Mire,
 And Pearls and Rubies out of Earth refine,
 While Herbs and Flowers aspire
 To touch and make our feet Divine.

The critic Robert Watson nevertheless had a good point when he argued we might just as easily call Traherne "instatic," rather than ecstatic; the object of Traherne's focus is consistently on the need for

every human soul to absorb the objects of its encounters (Watson, *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (2006), 305). He directs all of his writings at the obtainment of “Felicitee,” a state of spiritual perfection and omniscient knowledge, defined in “The Vision” as the wondrous ability “From One, to One, in one to see *All Things*.” His inclusion of “in one” here is key: the soul must remain insatiable and capacious, and thus receptive to the joys and natural virtues of creation. Far from vulnerable or problematic, insatiability is a state of being he associates with childhood innocence, a time when, as he expounds with wonder in “My Spirit”:

The Sence it self was I.
 I felt no Dross nor Matter in my Soul,
 No Brims nor Borders, such as in a Bowl
 We see, My Essence was Capacitie.
 That felt all Things

Such is the power of this motive that his poetry, if not quite as elegantly crafted as the lyrics of his predecessor George Herbert, blazes with joy and energy that cannot but be absorbed and shared in by his reader:

——— I was an Adam there,
 A little Adam in a Sphere
 Of joys! O there my Ravisht Sence
 Was entertaind in Paradice,
 And had a Sight of Innocence.
 All was beyond all Bound and Price.
 An Antepast of Heaven sure!
 I on the Earth did reign.
 Within, without me, all was pure.
 I must becom a Child again. (“Innocence”)

In her work Ross presents the first reliable, full edition of the poems since H. M. Margoliouth’s flawed *Thomas Traherne: Centuries, Poems, and Thanksgivings* from 1958. While the poems of the Dobell folio are written out in Traherne’s hand, those from the “Poems of Felicity”—which include several alternative versions to the Dobell lyrics—were copied by his brother, Philip, and were subject to a significant number of his editorial changes. Whether these were changes Thomas intended to make or not is unclear, and the question of what to do with the variants remains a challenge for the modern editor. While Margoliouth,

“thinking Philip’s editing of Thomas’s text to be ‘a disaster’ ... took the original over Philip’s corrected version of Thomas’s poems, hoping to restore Thomas’s text” and, in so doing, made “changes to the text that were speculative and based on personal preference” (Ross, xvii), Ross has chosen to print the poems “in the order they appear in the manuscripts and in their final corrected form, whether changes to the text were made by Thomas in the Dobell Folio, the Early Notebook and *The Ceremonial Law* or by Philip in *Poems of Felicity*” (xix). Her faithful transcriptions offer her readers the experience of viewing Traherne’s works as though they were reading directly from his manuscripts, but without the hindrance of excessive annotation accompanying the poems themselves. In the concluding section on “Textual Emendations and Notes,” Ross provides detailed descriptions of the seventeenth-century edits supposedly contributed by the Traherne brothers and, in the cases where her edition differs, the previous editorial decisions made by Margoliouth, Dobell, Gladys Wade and others. Her edition is an excellent resource for those embarking on a comparative study of Traherne’s extant texts.

An additional strength to this edition is Ross’s combination of updated, accurate transcriptions of the familiar poems with previously unpublished, and little-known works. She concludes with a handful of short poems from what has become known as “The Early Notebook,” a manuscript collection of notes, largely on ethics and geometry, likely to have been compiled by Traherne while he was still a student. Perhaps the most important contribution of this volume, however, is its inclusion of the previously unpublished typological poem *The Ceremonial Law*. The latest in a series of exciting manuscript discoveries, *The Ceremonial Law*—based at the Folger Shakespeare Library—was identified by Letitia Yeandle and Julia Smith in 2000. Consisting of around 1800 lines in heroic couplets, the work is an unfinished typological poem based on events from Genesis and Exodus, with a didactic style and purpose that reveals another, less familiar side to Traherne’s poetical intentions. *The Ceremonial Law* offers greater insight into a social, worldly consciousness within Traherne’s theological practice that is all too often overlooked; the typological subjects of the poem are displayed plainly and interpreted for an entire Christian flock, an all-inclusive ‘we’, rather than reserved for the poet’s isolated medita-

tive purposes. Meanwhile, the biblical episodes that attract Traherne's focus in the poem—which include “Adams Fall,” “Abels Lamb” and “Moses Call”—offer new insights into his complex personal theology, as we follow Traherne “interpreting his own spiritual journey,” most notably his “personal call to enter the service of the Church,” in the “terms of the history of Israel” (Ross, xxx).

The triumph of Ross's edition is that, while undeniably a thorough work of scholarship—it is accompanied by a comprehensive introduction on the details and provenance of each material text, and extensive textual notes on each individual poem—her book is also delightfully readable, as suitable for the reader encountering Traherne for the first time as the researcher in need of a reliable commentary on the physical status of his manuscripts. She introduces the intimacies of Traherne's reading and writing practices—his habits and quirks, his methods of acquiring information and gaining inspiration—but the main body of her book presents Traherne's texts as they are. Any editor of Traherne is faced with the particular challenge of, on the one hand, preserving his characteristic sense of instinctive spirituality—his apparently intuitive methods of comprehension—and, on the other, justly acknowledging the evidence in his writings of his great, yet often subtle and all too frequently unmentioned, achievements as a theologian, philosopher and polymathic scholar. Ross strikes an excellent balance. Her edition is first and foremost a great book of poetry, carefully and lovingly edited, but its highly detailed scholarly apparatus will be invaluable to all those who wish to cultivate a specialist interest. Ross's *Works* will greatly benefit the advancement of studies on Traherne, and the remaining three volumes deserve to be awaited with eager anticipation.

Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, eds. *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013. xviii + 354 pp. + 63 illus. \$99.00. Review by ANNA LEWTON-BRAIN, MCGILL UNIVERSITY.

While human creativity is arguably as old as consciousness itself, the ways we describe, evaluate, and understand our own artistic expressions have not remained constant over time. Rebecca Heris-

sone and Alan Howard's essay collection, *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, examines the "profound changes in perception of human creativity" (9) in early modern English culture through a series of multidisciplinary case studies. The book evolved out of a conference at the University of Manchester in September 2008, funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council (xvii). The judiciously selected essays offer an expansive interdisciplinary view of seventeenth-century English culture and of that time's various, sometimes even conflicting, ideas about what we today call the human faculty of creativity.

Herissonne's "Introduction" (1-12) gives an overview of some of the major shifts in theological and philosophical concepts of creativity in the long seventeenth century. The word "creativity," she points out, was first used in the seventeenth century, but did not then refer to the human faculty, but was rather, "associated uniquely with the divine" (1). Accordingly, "what distinguished God as creator from man—who might discover, make, or produce, but did not create—was the notion that creation entailed introducing entirely new things into the world 'from nothing' (*ex nihilo*)" (2). Herissonne describes two conflicting forms of (what we now refer to as) human creativity in the early modern period: "imitation of the ancients" and "original invention" (6) and claims that the eventual rejection of the principle of *imitatio* in the period is due in part to the advent of the scientific method (6), but also to the changing conditions (often collaborative) of the production of artifacts such as plays, paintings, and music (6-7).

The twelve essays that follow Herissonne's "Introduction" are grouped according to common conceptual threads, rather than according to discipline or subject matter, and while they vary in objects of study and methods of analysis, they all exhibit original archival work and a sustained interest in the cultural and historical contexts of the artifacts they examine. Regular cross-referencing between chapters (e.g., 50, 65, 91, 183, etc.) helps build a cohesive conversation across the different disciplines and themes. Since both editors are musicologists, it is not surprising that music is the subject of a majority of the essays in the collection. The book is nevertheless truly multidisciplinary, examining concepts of creativity from a range of perspectives, including, for example, a philosophical examination of the develop-

ment of new scientific tools used to create and study vacuums, such as Robert Boyle's air-pump (107-129), a historical narrative of the correspondence between Rubens and his English patrons (151-179), and a detailed musical analysis of the little-known mid-seventeenth-century English two-part repertoire for treble and bass (201-232).

The opening two essays, grouped under the title, "Creating to Order: Patronage and the Creative Act" (15-59), examine the influence of early modern systems of patronage on the production of multiple forms of art in the period; music, literature, and painting are examined together in their historical contexts. Andrew R. Walking examines the influence of French artists on English music, theatrical productions, and portraiture in the court of Charles II. He describes the influx of French musicians and dancers to London in the early 1670s and argues that Charles II, in an "absolutist cultural campaign" (20) to promote an English version of the "royal absolutism" (24) of the court of Louis XIV, employed French propagandistic cultural productions such as ballet and opera. Walking is interested in the derivative qualities of these artistic creations; in contrast, James A. Winn is not particularly interested in the unoriginal qualities of seventeenth-century art. Winn examines paintings, literature, and music by Kneller, Dryden, and Purcell that were commissioned for particular occasions, and he describes how the artists who created them found "technical models and emotional inspiration in ancient culture" to create "works attractive to their patrons, but also [filled with] those deeper, more personal kinds of artistry" (59) that we today might call the fruit of human creativity at its finest. Winn's marshaling of evidence is seamless and his close readings of the paintings, music, and poetry that he highlights are as insightful as they are elegant, not unlike the creative productions he describes.

Issues of originality and authorship are raised in a number of essays in the collection. The second section, "Creative Identity and the Role of Print Media" (63-104), addresses the topic within the context of early modern print culture. Kirsten Gibson examines the dedicatory material from various music collections of the era to investigate systems of patronage and to uncover the motives of composers of the time. Gibson asks why composers chose to publish their music rather than circulate it in manuscript form and highlights the value contemporary

audiences placed on authorial intention, or “the meaning of the author” (85), which could more reliably be captured in print. Balancing this, Stephanie Carter discusses musical collections of the seventeenth century that emphasize not the composers, or authors, of the music, but rather the printer’s role (especially in the case of Playford) in collecting, compiling, editing, and disseminating music (104).

The section, “Authorial Identity” (149-198), further addresses early modern ideas about authorship. Marina Daiman and Stephen Rose’s contributions here are perhaps the most felicitously paired of the collection. Written in similarly linear narrative styles, these two essays tell stories about authorship in the period, and through these narratives they highlight and critically examine how the role of the author in the production of a piece of art was deemed sometimes of great value and sometimes of no particular import at all by contemporary audiences. Daiman describes Rubens’s work for various English patrons, including Charles I, and how paintings that came out of Rubens’s workshop were often designed by him and then painted for the most part by his pupils and only then “gone over by [Rubens’s] own hand” (157). While patrons often accepted such practices, on occasion, particularly when the quality of the paintings seems to have suffered, they demanded the work of solely the master himself. As in Gibson’s earlier essay, the link between authorship and quality is implicit: authorial control of a piece of art is important in the period if and when it ensures a certain quality of production. Rose recounts an early case of plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music between Boroncini and Anotnio Lotti concerning the madrigal “In una siepe ombrosa” (187) where the quality of the work was agreed upon, but not who the author was.

As Rose’s essay sheds light on the Academy of Ancient Music, Raphael Hallett likewise looks at a newly established early modern institution that helped shape contemporary thought and ideas about creativity: the Royal Academy. In the section, “Mapping Knowledge: The Visual Representation of Ideas” (105-147), Raphael Hallett and Anne Hultsch examine how advances in technology and science pushed conceptions of creativity in arenas beyond the arts. Hallett explores the question of man’s capacity to create “something, as it were, out of nothing” (107); beginning with a discussion of Otto von

Guericke, Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke's studies of vacuums and air-pumps (107-109), Hallet argues that the sciences opened up new "creative spaces" in the period (110). Hallett finds in the empiricism of the Enlightenment new orders of knowledge and fodder for his own intellectual exploration. In contrast to this exploration of novelty, Hultsch shows how this same empiricism meant that travel writing such as the diary of John Evelyn was not valued for its literary merits, originality, or imaginative depictions, but rather, for its attempt to give as comprehensive an account as possible in prose of the places described by the author (146).

Essays in the final two sections of the collection, "Imitation and Arrangement" (201-52) and "The Performer as Creator" (255-308), offer exemplars of how scholars today may consider and study the activity of creation in its historical context, not merely the created object. John Cunningham examines the lesser-known two-part music of the era within the historical context of performance practice, and Freyja Cox Jensen examines histories written about Cato in the early seventeenth century to reveal the role of creativity for early modern syncretists, who negotiated imaginatively and sensitively between the admired classical models and their own deeply held Christian beliefs. Amanda Eubanks Winkler writes about the relationship between John Eccles and the professional soprano, Anne Bracegirdle, in a wonderfully eye-opening essay that is informed by an understanding of early modern musical mysticism, issues of gender and sexuality, and the burgeoning cult of the celebrity. Linda Phyllis Austern concludes the collection with an exploration of the masculine world of seventeenth-century catch singing.

Throughout *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, the editors carefully balance perspectives and scholarly approaches against each other. The resulting collection is a seminal contribution to the study of creativity in the early modern period and proves this topic to be a complex and fruitful one. Helpfully, and one might also say, creatively, a number of the musical examples in the collection are supported by audio samples available at www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/music/research/projects/musicalcreativity. *University Publishing Online* also publishes the collection as an e-book.

Allison K. Deutermann and András Kiséry, eds. *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013. xii + 258 pp. + 16 illus. \$105.00. Review by P.G. STANWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

“This collection makes form its focus,” declare the editors in their first introductory statement (1). The ten chapters that follow discuss in a variety of ways what has become generally understood as the sociology of texts: “how the formal, literary qualities of writing relate to the cultural, social, and political world in which it exists” (8). The editors divide their contributors’ ten essays somewhat arbitrarily into three parts: “Forming literature”; “Translations”; and “The matters of writing.” Each writer embraces the theme in a different but discrete and not always complementary way. This ambitious book aims to offer a view of the literary world in its social context, but this theme is not easy to reconcile with ten very disparate essays.

Heather James offers the first essay in this collection on “The first English printed commonplace books,” which helps to establish the theme of reading texts in their historical situation and also in terms of their particular material and formal expression. Robert Allot, the compiler of *England’s Parnassus* (1600), brings together a compendium of passages that implicitly define moral, aesthetic, and political goals. In Matthew Zarnowiecki’s subsequent essay, we consider the miscellany that forms *Loves Martyr* (1601) by Robert Chester, a work that includes Shakespeare’s *Phoenix and Turtle*—and lines also by John Marston and Ben Jonson. Perhaps Shakespeare wrote his poem “miscellaneously, as a contribution to a set of poems all on a single theme” (39); however, we are wise to avoid any particular or too specific readings of this miscellany. While of its time and place, *Loves Martyr* freely emerges into further and broader meaning.

Like miscellanies and commonplace books, jestbooks were a notable and familiar form of publication in the late Renaissance. Adam Smyth writes well of jests and jokes in this period, reflecting on the difficulty their authors faced in conveying wittiness in print. It is also difficult for modern readers to appreciate the significance and the context of Renaissance jokes, but one should nevertheless cultivate an openness to their “productive and compelling strangeness” (72).

How very different from these books are those composed in “the genre of continuation.” We move abruptly into another topic in this already broad study: formal text against social significance and external demands. The next chapter on Thomas Middleton fits tendentiously into the company of jestbooks and miscellanies, but Jeffrey Todd Knight writes convincingly of this prolific and tireless author. Middleton was certainly “deeply enmeshed in the variety and dynamics of early publishing” (77) with “different points of contact between the material forms of texts and the formal matters of writing” (78). He is an artist of continuation: thus *The Ghost of Lucrece* is a response to Shakespeare, and *The Blacke Booke* a kind of commentary or paratext to Nashe’s *Pierce Penniless*. Middleton appears again, rather less satisfactorily, in a later chapter of *Formal Matters*—the dramatist of *Michaelmas Term*. Amanda Bailey reveals in a subtly, tenuously argued essay, how the character of Easy is used to define the penal debt bond and contemporary legal culture.

With an agile leap, we reach “Greek playbooks and dramatic forms in early modern England,” a closely and thoughtfully argued essay by Tanya Pollard. Contrary to the common view that Greek drama had little (or even no) influence on English drama of this period, Pollard argues that Greek dramatic practice was widely understood through various humanist treatises and editions of classical plays. The routes of transmission in the sixteenth century were numerous and important in shaping English drama, especially in the development of genres. Another kind of “translation” forms the subject of the very informative study by Henry S. Turner of Richard Hakluyt, well known for his *Principal Navigations*. Of course, Hakluyt himself translated a variety of works, from French, Latin, Portuguese, and more. But he received many messages and documents from explorers and travellers, and to these reports he gave new form and substance—performing a special kind of transformational translation.

Shakespeare’s *3 Henry VI* is central to Alan Stewart’s contribution to *Formal Matters*. He describes the fashion in which news is carried from France in Shakespeare’s play, often by three different reporters in rapid succession of each other. Even with several reports, one is unsure of the truth, for it comes in different versions. The essay is an excellent and provocative reading of this play; but its contribution to

the putative theme of the volume is somewhat unclear. Peter Lake's essay is similarly adrift, for his study of John Andrewes and "popular puritanism" seems, even more than Stewart's, to be in the wrong volume. Andrewes wrote many small books, which we would now call tracts or devotional booklets. He was a formidable evangelical of great and widely favored fecundity, but of little literary interest, important chiefly for enabling modern historians to define "the religion of the people" in early modern England. Lake's essay unfortunately lacks the generally careful editing of other contributions to this volume, for it is filled with problems both grammatical and typographical. Examples abound: near the conclusion he writes: "In the light of [Eamon] Duffy's account of 'the devotions of the [printed] primers' of late medieval England, might we not imagine puritan divinity enjoying something of the same sort of close (albeit also tense, distanced, and potentially adversarial) relationship to 'popular religion' in post-Reformation England that Duffy shows that the sophisticated religious sensibilities encapsulated in, say, the 'fifteen oes' enjoyed with the religion of the laity before the Reformation?" (213). Lake's concluding point, as so much of his essay, is interesting but clumsily expressed.

The final essay (and chapter) of *Formal Matters* is the most original and informative of the volume. Shankar Raman's "How to construct a poem" explores the connection between geometry and poetry, an alliance in which Sir Philip Sidney and René Descartes are central figures. Raman demonstrates how Sydney's *poesis* affects "the kind of knowledge that comes to characterize mathematics, whereby knowing its 'truths' becomes not simply a matter of discovering or imitating what is already there but increasingly that of *producing* those truths" (221)—attitudes central to Cartesian geometry. The essay is difficult to summarize; for it is densely argued with essential illustrations, such as Descartes's famous compass (from *Géométrie*) which is used to demonstrate the process of Sidney's first sonnet in *Astrophel and Stella*. In a central statement, Raman describes the inevitability of the Sidney-Descartes connection: "If, for Descartes, geometrical construction converts the formal logic of algebraic analysis into an intuitive grasp of truth akin to divination, the turn inward to the heart in this sonnet [by Sidney] likewise achieves a re-vision; it changes the very mode of seeing: from the observation of a series of mechanical move-

ments between causes and effects into an almost vatic insight into the totality of their deeper, underlying connectedness” (236).

The editors of *Formal Matters* have brought together ten essays that in their several ways address cultural and “material” interests while engaged also in the formal analysis of texts. Some of the essays in this book are of outstanding importance, but others are of modest interest. Many of these essays might easily have appeared as journal articles, and should have done so. This book is an anthology that wants to display the best kind of current Renaissance literary criticism, which views the importance of close reading while making use of historical, cultural, and bibliographic analysis. This promise is a worthy endeavor, but somewhat illusory. Bringing together a group of essays that have little in common except a factitious obedience to a common critical direction (albeit confined to a literary era) is a brave enterprise. That *Formal Matters* is nevertheless so worthy a collection must be due in large measure to Allison K. Deutermann and András Kiséry, its conscientious editors.

David Coleman, ed. *Region, Religion and English Renaissance Literature*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. 1-200 pp. \$109.95. Review by GREG BENTLEY, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY.

When Bosola and Ferdinand speculate about who the father of the Duchess’s three children is, Bosola tells him that “we may go read [it] i’th’ stars.” In response, Ferdinand states: Why, some hold/ Opinion all things are written there,” to which Bosola replies, “Yes, if we could find spectacles to read them” (5.1.59-62). On one level, Webster’s characters may be more prophetic than even he imagined. Recently, scientists have provided us with “spectacles,” the New Horizon space probe, for example, by means of which we have discovered significant data about Pluto, the farthest planet, or dwarf planet, in our solar system. Indeed, we have constructed spectacles that have enabled astronomers to read the stars beyond our galaxy. They have discovered several “exoplanets,” worlds similar to earth that orbit a sun and are capable of sustaining life. These “spectacles” have provided scientists with data by means of which they can rethink the spaces that we oc-

copy. They have provided them with information by means of which they can reimagine the elements, and the relationships among those elements, of our universe in dramatic new ways.

Just as *New Horizon* has provided us with data by means of which to reimagine our material cosmos, *Region, Religion, and English Renaissance Literature* provides us with a variety of lenses by means of which to rethink the material and ideological spaces that we occupy in this world. As David Coleman, editor of this fine volume, says: “The essays . . . represent an attempt by established and emerging scholars of early modern literature and culture to explicate the ways in which both regional and religious contexts inform the production, circulation, and interpretation of Renaissance literary texts” (8). Rather than investigate stars, this book looks at a geographical body, the archipelago of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, Wales being the Pluto of this constellation. Rather than simply focus their lenses on individual bodies, however, these authors center on the regional and religious relationships among these nations. As Coleman states, his introduction to the volume presents the “intellectual rationale for combining the religious and archipelagic turn, arguing that not only does this combination of critical perspectives enable us more fully to understand the complexities of early modernity, but also suggesting that it might empower us to confront some of the pressing demands of our own politics of culture” (8). This text, then, also takes in two “exoplanets,” one spacial and one temporal, for several of the essays tie archipelagic concerns with continental issues as well as connecting seventeenth-century politics with those of our own day.

For example, in her fascinating study entitled “The Aston-Thimelby Circle: Localism, Nationalism and Internationalism in the English Catholic Community,” Helen Hackett shows how two families overcame difficult geographical spaces in order to define and maintain their Catholic English community. Hackett traces how the Astons and Thimelbys, by means of inter-marriages, the circulation of itinerant priests, the exchange of literary and sacred texts, and the circulation of “sacred objects such as images, relics, and items needed for the Mass” (124), maintained close ties between their families, their friends, and their supporters. As Hackett emphasizes, “It was by means of regional community, inter-regional communication

that the memory and identity of Catholic England were preserved, forming a kind of alternative England within England” (124). In addition, by forging connections with numerous Catholic institutions on the continent and by maintaining close political ties with Spain, the Aston-Thimelby circle managed to retain “a collective memory and vision of [their] homeland by which they defined their identity and their mission” (124).

The final essay of the book also serves as its conclusion. In “Reading Conversion Narratives as Literature of Trauma: Radical Religion, the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the Cromwellian Re-conquest of Ireland,” Naomi McAreavey focuses her lens on crossing spatial and temporal boundaries. As she says, “the conversion narratives of members of some of the Independent congregations that flourished during the 1650s may represent complexly nationalized post-traumatic responses to experiences during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms” (153). By applying contemporary trauma theory, especially the methodologies for processing post-traumatic-stress-disorder and even more particularly the process of abreaction, to the conversion narratives contained in John Roger’s *Othel or Beth-shemesh* (1653), McAreavey illustrates how “what is distinctive about the trauma literature produced by the Independent communities of the 1650s is that ultimately the ‘whole’ that is formed at the end of the abreaction process is not constituted by the self but by the godly community of which one becomes a member” (164). McAreavey also demonstrates how, from a religious perspective, “The thrust of the conversion narrative from doubt to assurance thus provides a structure that supports a more hopeful response to trauma as the speaker positively reformulates their [sic] identity from war victim and reprobate to saintly survivor. By making trauma a precursor to assurance, converts are able to overcome the potentially pathogenic effects of trauma” (167). As important as the conversion narratives were as religious texts, they were equally important as political documents, and McAreavey emphasizes how the inseparable religio-political function of these works influences the relationship between England and Ireland, for she concludes: “The trauma of Protestant settlers undoubtedly helped to spur Cromwell’s campaign in Ireland by giving them a reason to continue the fight. Moreover, the Independents who dominated his army and military

government were helped by their assurance of God's grace to come to terms with traumatic experiences and arm themselves for combat. Either way, for the Independent community it seems that wartime trauma actually supported Cromwell's re-conquest of Ireland" (170).

Like the literal archipelago they write about, the essays in this book form a metaphoric archipelago, independent but simultaneously interconnected, and even if we can't view all of them in detail, we must at least identify the other members of the group: "Paul Frazer, "Protestant Propaganda and Regional Paranoia: John Awdeley and Early Elizabethan Print Culture"; David Baker, "Not Professed Therein': Spenserian Religion in Ireland"; Stephen Hamrick, "The 'Bardi Brytannorum': Lodowick Lloyd and Welsh Identities in the Atlantic Archipelago"; Seidre Serjeantson, "Richard Nugent's *Cythina* (1604): A Catholic Sonnet Sequence in London, Westmeath and Spanish Flanders"; David Coleman, "Purchasing Purgatory: Economic Theology, Archipelagic Colonialism and *Anything for a Quiet Life* (1621)"; Adrian Streeet, "'Arminian is like a flying fish': Region, Religion and Polemics in the Montagu Controversy, 1623-1626"; Willy Maley and Adam Swann, "Is This the Region ... That we must change for Heav'n?': Milton on the Margins." Undoubtedly, the images coming back from space are exciting and revealing, but the images produced by this book are equally stimulating and revelatory. Indeed, reading this excellent collection of essays has reaffirmed a long-held idea: Jean Luc Picard is wrong: space is not the final frontier. Humanity is. And I think Webster would agree.

Pierre-Esprit Radisson. *The Collected Writings Volume 2: The Port Nelson Relations*. Ed. Germaine Warkentin. Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014. xxx + 283 pp. + 7 illus. \$65.00. Review by M. G. AUNE, CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The first volume of the writings of Frenchman Pierre-Esprit Radisson (1636/40–1710) appeared in 2012 and consisted of the four parts of his *Voyages*. Composed in 1688 at the behest of Charles II, it is an autobiographical account of Radisson's four journeys to what is now the upper Midwest and Ontario between 1652 and 1660. The second

and final volume of Radisson's writings has now appeared, making his complete works available for the first time in modern, fully edited, and annotated editions.

Radisson, a somewhat contentious figure in Canadian history, travelled to New France as a teenager, was captured by Mohawks, and lived with them long enough to learn their language. After escaping, he used his knowledge of the geography, language, and cultures of New France to become a successful guide, trapper, and interpreter. Radisson and his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, contributed to the expansion of the fur trade around Lake Superior, possibly reaching as far as the Mississippi. His linguistic ability and familiarity with local customs enabled the two to trade widely and profitably with Native American groups, including the Sioux, Cree, Huron, Saukteaux (Anishinaabe), and members of the Iroquois nations. After working for the French, in 1670 he pursued a position with the English and the fledgling Hudson's Bay Company. When his relationship with the HBC became strained, he joined its competitor, the *Compagnie du Nord*. This placed him in the middle of several clashes between the French and the English over colonial claims around Hudson's Bay. He eventually rejoined the HBC and remained with it until about 1687, retiring to England after running afoul of company politics. Radisson spent the rest of his life in England chafing at his poor treatment by the Company and pursuing payment of his pension.

The second volume of Radisson's writings consists of material from the latter half of his life. Much of it concerns the conflict over Port Nelson, the trading post located on the western edge of Hudson Bay and contested by the French and English in the late 1680s. In 1682 in the employ of the *Compagnie*, Radisson and Des Groseilliers established a trading post near the mouth of the Nelson River. Soon after, a rival group from the HBC arrived and was captured. The conflict had political repercussions in Paris and London. So as a means of negotiation, Radisson and his colleagues, along with the HBC leaders, were recalled to Quebec and then Europe. Louis XIV, not wanting to displease Charles II, did not provide Radisson with the support he felt he deserved. As a result, Radisson accepted an offer to join the HBC and returned to Port Nelson in 1684, this time working for the English.

The “Relations des Voyages du Sier Pierre Esprit Radisson Escuyer au Nord de l’Amerique es années 1682, 1683, et 1684” are Radisson’s account, written in French and dedicated to James II, of the conflicts between the HBC and the *Compagnie*, emphasizing his faithfulness, honorable behavior, and skill in negotiating with the Cree. Compared to Radisson’s earlier writings, the “Relations” are less romantic, relying on facts and observations to reassure his English employers that he was reliable. The volume also includes Des Groseilliers’ version of the Port Nelson affair, addressed to a French aristocrat and portraying himself, rather than Radisson, as the one in charge of events.

The second part assembles Radisson’s miscellaneous manuscript writings. His “Journal of ... the Year 1673” is most likely Radisson’s translation of a section of an English ship’s log, intended for his patron Abbé Claude Bernou and consisting of dates and navigational notes of a voyage from Point Comfort to Port Nelson in 1673. The *Mémoire* is another fragment of nautical writing describing Radisson’s knowledge of the coast of North America and the Hudson Bay region augmented with material from other HBC sailors. Both documents contain notes made by Bernou. The third piece of Bernou material is Radisson’s letter to him describing Radisson’s part in a French attack on the Dutch fortress on Tobago in 1677. All of these documents use a style more formal and patriotic than his earlier writings, clearly reiterating the client patron relationship Radisson cultivated with Bernou. The second concludes with a petition concerning his pension.

The “Related Documents” section includes Radisson’s will, his petition to Parliament in 1698, his Chancery Court complaint about the HBC, a letter answering French commissioners investigating the events around Port Nelson, and an affidavit for the HBC concerning the same matters. The first of two appendices is a letter from Bernou about Radisson’s petitions. The second is a letter from William Yonge that forms a brief biography of Radisson focused on his actions at Port Nelson.

A brief preface and textual introduction provide an overview of the source material and backgrounds. Each text is prefaced with additional editorial information. Five images of the manuscripts are included along with a helpful map. The book also includes an exten-

sive list of works and manuscripts consulted and very helpful list of cross-references to the first volume.

The “Relations” exists in two manuscripts, one in the Queen’s Library in Windsor Castle and not identified until 1996. The second has been, in Warkentin’s diplomatic term, “discretely” held in the archives of the HBC. The two were collated and edited by Warkentin and translated by historian and Champlain scholar K. Janet Ritch. Warkentin re-transcribed all but a few of the miscellaneous manuscripts as well as a number of newly discovered works. Her goal is “to make Radisson’s writings as accessible as possible, yet preserve their character as seventeenth-century texts in English and French” (xv). The edition is very effective in this. Most orthography and punctuation have been silently modernized. Inserted words and manuscript page numbers are noted in the text. Glosses and historical notes are provided in footnotes. All French texts are given facing page English translations. The miscellaneous writings are translated by Warkentin and Grace Lee Nute.

In the first volume of Radisson’s writings, Warkentin, emeritus professor of English at the University of Toronto and author of many works on book history and early Canadian history, provided an excellent and well-reviewed resource for undergraduate students and advanced scholars. This volume compliments it well. The texts are clearly presented and helpfully annotated. The editorial procedures are transparent and well suited to the materials. Where the first volume presented a wealth of information on the exploration of New France and relations with its aboriginal peoples, the second is more concerned with Radisson’s life and the political and economic forces that shaped the European colonization of North America. The two volumes—it is hard to imagine any library or scholar acquiring only one—make Radisson’s writings easily accessible in an authoritative edition and should help fill some long-neglected gaps in the history of early Canada.

Michael Edwards. *Time and The Science of The Soul In Early Modern Philosophy*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 224. Leiden: Brill, 2013. x + 224 pp. \$128.00. Review by KARIN SUSAN FESTER, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR.

This is a book for philosophers who are not only interested in the concept of time, but who seek new perspectives on this intriguing and problematical philosophical concept as well as appreciate what René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes have to say about it. Michael Edwards' book is distinctive because it focuses attention on the numerous late Aristotelian thinkers who assumed that the soul's diverse functions played an active role in the concept of time. More precisely, it is devoted to the aspects of time which have either not been thoroughly examined or omitted by other historians of early modern philosophy; instead, these other scholars have shown how Aristotelian natural philosophy was concentrated on "space" rather than "time." Edwards argues that time is somehow intimately connected to the human rational soul—"relative' or as dependent on motion and the soul"—and this, of course, contrasts with Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) concept of time as *something* 'absolute' (6). The author seems to achieve a persuasive argument, and he invokes elements from early modern commentaries and textbooks concerning Aristotle's *Physics* and *De Anima* and attempts to find connections and influential elements to the natural and political philosophy of Descartes and Hobbes in the seventeenth century.

The in-depth Introduction begins with delineating distinct ways of conceptualizing time: absolute and relative. The author disagrees with Newton's concept of absolute time: "an immaterial entity, that is parallel to space, and which flows independently and absolutely" (2). He also discusses the early modern thinkers, 1570 to 1670, who also embraced the idea of time as *something* absolute, namely, Telesio, Patrizi, Gassendi, Charleton, and Barrow. For centuries, this particular view of time was dominant. Edwards challenges this taken-for-granted assumption, because to "[view] early modern theories of time solely through a Newtonian lens can distort our perspective strikingly" (3).

In Chapter One, Edwards explores how time was considered in early modern commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* Book IV, as well

as textbooks in natural philosophy and metaphysics produced by authors from Italy and France, and throughout northern and central Europe before 1650. Edwards highlights ideas from Aristotle's *Physics* Book IV, 223a21–a29: “that time in some way depends on, or is constructed by, the soul” (4). The author emphasizes the theological works of philosopher Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) and the Spanish theologian Francisco Suárez's metaphysical writings, because these texts seemed to influence early modern commentaries concerning the ontology of time. Scotus and Suárez both emphasized the significance of the human “imagination,” and “internal time” as a property of beings. The textbook authors surveyed included Clemens Timpler, Rodolphus Goclenius, Bartholomaeus Keckerman, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Johannes Poncius, and the Franciscans Mastrius and Belluti.

The role of time in Aristotelian psychology is the focus of the second chapter. This is significant because it is the first work that has thoroughly examined the role of time and temporality in early modern commentaries of Aristotle's *De Anima*. Numerous commentaries were surveyed by the author: the *De Anima* commentaries of Hieronymus Dandinus (1554–1634), the Coimbra commentaries, and a host of others, including Johannes Maginus, Franciscus Toletus, Michaeli Zanardi and Hugo Cavellus. These commentators “considered not only how we think of time [...] but also how we think *in* time” (10). The *De Anima* tradition perceived man as both a rational and temporal animal. The author considers various phenomena and concepts: “time and duration,” “the language of time and duration,” “temporal sequence,” the soul's “temporality and atemporality,” “time and motion,” and more (69, 72, 73, 75, 91). This particular chapter also includes an interesting discussion about animals and their “having a sense of time,” i.e., awareness of time—the purpose being to explore whether animals do indeed “possess a genuine awareness of time” (113). Personally, I wish the author had written more on this very enlightening topic.

The second part of the book, Chapters Three and Four, are devoted to how the human subject orients him- or herself in time in the natural and political philosophy of two prominent seventeenth-century philosophers, René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes. In Chapter Three, Edwards begins by emphasizing that “time was an unusual concept in

the Cartesian system because it involved the body and soul together” (119). The primary concern is with René Descartes’ (1596–1650) assumptions about ‘duration’ and the soul. In this regard, his *Meditations*, the ensuing debates with Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), the *Principia philosophiae* and *Les Passions de L’ame* were all examined. The author made a profound assumption: “[Descartes] was not uninterested in the connections between time and the soul, but he seemed to have approached them through ontology or metaphysics rather than through psychology” (119)—and this is the part I found to be so interesting. Consider the implications for “*I think therefore I am*”: if we were to exclusively devote ourselves to how we ought to think of this *in* time, and duration—Edwards has expounded on this at length, and is a part of the chapter I found especially interesting. Furthermore, we can thank Descartes for “[creating] the temporal” (144). Despite Descartes having rejected many elements of late Aristotelian assumptions about how the soul might be constructed and influenced by time, it doesn’t mean he wholeheartedly disregarded Aristotelian ideas altogether: “Descartes was in fact interested in at least two issues also found in the late Aristotelian psychology of time” (145). The final chapter of the book is devoted to the role of time and the soul in the natural and political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). Edwards stated, ‘that scholars have underestimated the role of time in Hobbes’ thought as a whole’ (11), moreover, Hobbes writings are certainly influenced by the late Aristotelian tradition.

The author sheds new light on Hobbes’ views about the “political subject”: “[Man] as a temporal animal underpinned his theory of the state, but itself drew on recognisably Aristotelian concepts and distinctions” (163). Hobbes’ natural philosophy of time concentrated on “the temporal character of the political subject,” specifically “how man as a political subject might orient himself in time” (163). It is in *Leviathan* (1651) where Hobbes wrote extensively about time and how time shaped, ordered, and impacted the mind of the political subject. Edwards examined various works by Hobbes: *The Elements of Law*, *De Corpore* (165) and *De Mundo Examined* (1642–1643), as well as the *Demundo Dialogi Tres*. Noteworthy is how Edwards scrutinized the various *De Corpore* drafts, and pointed out that “[m]aterial about time appears in four extant manuscripts before the first Latin publication

of *De Corpore* in 1655” (169). Edwards demonstrated that Hobbes “aimed to present a theory of the human subject, and not the soul, orienting itself in time,” in other words, it is “how *man* thinks and senses” (183, 182). This differs from late Aristotelian ideas which emphasized that the *soul* thinks and senses.

In the final section of this chapter, Edwards focuses on “Time and the Political Subject.” It is in *Leviathan*, where Hobbes elaborates on the temporality of man and also where he demonstrated time’s significance and intimate connection with the political subject and the state. Edwards expounds on Hobbes’ discussion about the future, evident in sections of *Leviathan* and in the *De Mundo Examined*, which seems to suggest that time is indeed epistemologically unreliable. To illustrate the profoundly temporal nature of the human subject, Edwards emphasized Hobbes’ preoccupation with prudence, fear, and the future, because these are “centred on a notion of man orienting himself in, and relating, to time” (203).

Certainly Edwards’ book is very relevant to seventeenth-century studies. It is innovative and intellectually invigorating, and especially so because the Newtonian concept of absolute time is challenged. This book will appeal to philosophers who relish Descartes’ and Hobbes’ works. Remarkable is Edwards’ exposition on Descartes’ *Meditations* and the *Principles*, for it is there that Descartes seemed to be most preoccupied with the subject orienting themselves *in* time. Moreover, the debates between Descartes and Gassendi offer a view into a neglected area of enquiry as it concerns the human subject and time. For scholars of seventeenth century political thought, especially unique is Edwards’ investigation of the concept of time in Thomas Hobbes’ writings, because he has explored elements pertaining to time that were not considered by other scholars, such as Hobbes’ natural philosophy, psychology, and political philosophy. For students, namely philosophers, who desire to tackle the concept of time—even those who are not focused on seventeenth century studies specifically—this book would be most useful for those who already possess a deep understanding of Hobbes’ thinking and, in particular, Descartes’ *Meditations* and other prominent works. A bibliography and index are also included; the bibliography consists of ten pages, featuring both printed primary

and secondary sources; the index consists of little over five pages and could be more elaborate..

Despite the extensive use of late Aristotelian philosophy in this book, it must be emphasized that Edwards did so because these texts served to set a firm stage on which he could develop his arguments and views, and these arguments and assumptions eventually served to locate the intricate connections to and implications in the thinking of Descartes and Hobbes about *how* the human subject orients him- or herself *in* time.

Indeed, time is a problematical concept. The author has made a strong and persuasive effort in unearthing heretofore neglected elements pertaining to time in the writings of René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes. Various elements in the commentaries on late Aristotelian natural philosophy were teased out—complex connections, though not always necessarily so—and their influence exposed in the texts of the influential thinkers we revere so much today. Edwards book offers the reader the opportunity to see Descartes and Hobbes, prominent thinkers of the seventeenth century, in a fruitful and regenerated way. And the reading audience of the book ought not to be limited to scholars who only devote themselves to seventeenth-century thought. The study of time is relevant to many fields of study. For philosophers the book has broad potential: it's useful for those who work in philosophy of mind, metaphysics, political philosophy, ethics, and philosophy of animals, to name a few specialties.

Margaret E. Boyle. *Unruly Women: Performance, Penitence, and Punishment in Early Modern Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014. 171 pp. \$55. Review by ELIZABETH R. WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA.

Margaret Boyle's two-tiered study explores and illuminates the incongruity that resulted when rigid ideals or precepts of female virtue collided with the "unruly" lives of women in seventeenth-century Spain. On one level, Boyle analyzes institutions founded to rehabilitate prostitutes and other women accused of crime. On the second, she assesses the theatrical representations of wayward women. Thus

constructed, the concise study is richly suggestive of two vital and interconnected scholarly practices: women's history and a cultural-studies focus on early-modern Spanish theater.

A few points of background are in order for readers of this journal, in particular as concerns the emergence of dedicated playhouses (*corrales de comedias*), standing professional theater companies, and the so-called "new comedia" in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. The *comedia nueva*—three-act dramas in polymetric verse in which playwrights gleefully dispensed with classical strictures—was wildly popular with city dwellers across Spain and just as problematic for a small if vocal group of moralists concerned with the potentially negative influence of love plots on the population. A key justification for allowing the playhouses to remain open was that ticket receipts supported charitable institutions, including those founded to house and rehabilitate wayward women. Hence the author's juxtaposition of unruly women in the context of custodial institutions and the professional theater.

Boyle's point of departure is the fascinating story of Barbara Coronel (1643-1691). A professional actor from early adolescence, Coronel gained popular renown for representing a kind of stock heroine critics today classify as the manly woman (*mujer varonil*); such characters resisted marriage, defended themselves at sword- or knife-point, and often dressed as men. But Coronel also travestied gender roles off stage. As well, she managed a troupe of actors, as did a good number of other women of the theater. But when her husband was murdered, Barbara Coronel's public displays of manly strength seem to have made her a natural suspect. Intriguingly, Coronel's defenders at this point included an uncle who performed in comic intermezzi under the stage name Juan Rana (John the Frog) and was himself famously tried for sodomy by the Inquisition. This opening anecdote is useful to give scholars of seventeenth-century England an idea of the multifaceted and often controversial public profile of the women who earned their living in the Spanish theater business of the era. In contrast to prohibitions against women acting in professional theaters in England, a crown ruling in 1587 had allowed for actresses to perform in the *corrales de comedias* provided they were married and

did not dress as men. Boyle notes that the restrictions were honored as much in breach as in practice.

Not surprisingly, women's undeniable prominence in all aspects of the theater business never ceased to be a point of anxiety. Coronel's case suggests to what extent such worries spanned the seventeenth century. Her story, briefly glimpsed as a point of departure, leads Boyle to her central argument and overarching goal. She thus states: "the early-modern Spanish subject was constructed through a variety of competing discourses, which both enforced and critiqued expected social behavior" (4).

Part 1 is comprised entirely of the first chapter, "Gendering *Recogimiento* in Early Modern Madrid," in which Boyle examines the institutions that emerged in Spain's court city in response to a perceived epidemic of unruliness. To illustrate this issue, Boyle analyzes the 1623 procession organized to celebrate the relocation and expansion of one of the foundations that sought to confine and then reform prostitutes, the Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia. Revealingly, the king and queen watched the procession from the windows of the convent of the Descalzas Reales, a prestigious religious institution whose royal abbesses were often power brokers in the capital. From here, Boyle offers a useful and multi-layered explanation of *recogimiento*, a term impossible to render concisely in English, given that it covers the inward turning meditation associated with the great Spanish mystics of the later sixteenth century and public reeducation of allegedly sinful women, as displayed in the above-mentioned processions of repentant prostitutes.

Boyle devotes the latter part of her first chapter to analysis of a particularly intriguing and unsettling manifestation of this phenomenon—the woman's prison envisioned by Madre Magdalena de San Jerónimo. Allying herself with the daughter of Philip II, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, this nun outlined a harsh regime for work and reclusion in a document titled *Razón y forma de la galera y casa real* (Reason and Form of the Galera and Royal House, 1608). Boyle notes that this is the first extant treaty outlining a woman's prison, with the *galera* applying a term most of us associate with penal slavery on Mediterranean galleys. In her appendices, she offers a translation and transcription of the full treatise. Here too, the author reveals a telling

paradox. That is, Madre Magdalena promoted her harsh program for enclosing wayward women to an extent that she claimed a public role not associated with the ideal nun.

Boyle shifts in Part 2 to an exploration of analogous tensions in the popular theater. Chapter 2, “Stage Widow in Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *La dama duende*,” focuses on the beguiling heroine of one of the most beloved of all *comedias de enredo*. Calderón’s plot of the “phantom woman” unfolds around Angélica, a spirited young widow enclosed in her brother’s home to protect the family property and honor. There, she discovers freedom and a new love by mastering the hidden revolving closet door intended to keep her locked inside. The author here adds fascinating insights about the public role of widows and also connects this drama to the profile of actresses, thereby continuing a point of inquiry found in part 1. Boyle’s analysis here and in subsequent chapters is targeted to readers who have a basic familiarity with the plots of the most famous Golden Age *comedias*. Readers outside of the field may want to consult repertories of dramatic plots to supplement Boyle’s comments.

Chapter 3, “Dramatizing Women’s Community in María de Zayas’s *La traición de la amistad*,” presents the case of a heroine created by one of Spain’s five known female dramatists. Zayas’s drama explores the power and limits of friendship, with its heroine, Fenisa, torn between loyalty to her closest friend and her unquenchable desire for that woman’s beloved. Boyle’s analysis of female friendship and desire is particularly interesting when it extends to our own critical practice. Here, the author laments that critics studying this play have accepted the seventeenth-century moral stricture that posited a blatantly and unrepentantly desiring woman as a bad person, essentially a female version of the arch-seducer Don Juan. Yet on this question, Boyle argues that “for scholars interested in uncovering the intricate history of female relations, it is necessary to resist the urge to relegate Fenisa to the corner of her text to join with Zayas’s cast in a celebration of marriage and the restoration of order” (76).

This query emerges from a different angle in Chapter 4, “Women’s Exemplary Violence in Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *La serrana de la Vera*,” a rural drama built around the character type of the *mujer varonil* taken to great Baroque excess. Thus, the title character, Gila, avenges

her dishonor at the hands of a faithless lover by vowing to murder every man she encounters, a pledge that leads to two-thousand dead men and a final punishment scene in which the heroine's own body is shown after execution. As Boyle notes, this violent but seductive heroine builds on various literary models, including the lusty rural woman known as the *serrana* in Medieval literature. Though this most famous drama by Luis Vélez de Guevara has been much examined, Boyle adds the particularly compelling nuance of connecting the play to the acclaimed but controversial actress for whom the role was devised, Jusepa Vaca. Alleged by court satirists to have been the lover of powerful nobles—including Philip IV's powerful prime minister, the Count Duke of Olivares—Vaca emerges in the study as the figure who most palpably connects the two tiers of Boyle's study. She thus notes of the play's dramatic execution of the murderous heroine: "As the audience members witness the execution of Plasencia's beloved *serrana*, consider that they also witness the execution of Madrid's beloved actress, Jusepa Vaca" (94). The quintessential Baroque space for theatrical violence—the stage discovery space where such a fate would have been revealed for the audience—becomes a place to punish a rural criminal and also evoke a high-profile court story of sexual license. Here as throughout, the author draws attention to complex negotiations, between female agency and conformity, between individual desire and normative feminine virtues.

There are, along the way, some important points within this compact study that would benefit from further development, whether by Boyle herself or those she will no doubt inspire. For instance, as a point of departure, she collapses the religious reforms that emerged from the Council of Trent (1545-1563) with Philip II's monumental compilation in 1569 of more than 4000 royal laws, edicts, pragmatics and provisions, some going back to the Visigothic era: "The Counter Reformation in Spain was mobilized and implemented in no small part by means of a new legal code, the *Nueva Recopilación de las leyes de estos reynos* [...] (5). This comment—and another like it on page 22—conflates the correlation between Philip II's efforts at reforming the legal system with the range of religious reforms initiated in the wake of the three Councils of Trent. For this reason, readers here would do well to nuance Boyle's analysis about laws designed to maintain orderly

cities with another recent book in the same series, Susan Byrne's *Law and History in Cervantes' Don Quixote* (2012), p. 49.

That said, Margaret Boyle has produced a compelling study, based on the ingenious juxtaposition of the rise of custodial institutions and their interconnections with a thriving professional theater business that nurtured many "unruly" female performers, entrepreneurs, and audience members. It will be of great interest to specialists in early-modern *comedia* studies. Scholars of English literature and of comparative drama may want to supplement Boyle's treatment with plot summaries of the plays discussed. So doing, they can find rich rewards, in discovering all manners of unruly and unrepentant women in the vast corpus of "golden age" comedias.

Fiona Williamson. *Social Relations and Urban Space: Norwich, 1600-1700*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2014. x + 234 pp. + 5 illus. \$99.00. Review by JOSEPH P. WARD, UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

In this methodologically sophisticated study, Fiona Williamson analyzes the lived experience of urban community in a leading provincial city in seventeenth-century England. Given its significance for the economically vital region of East Anglia, as well as the relatively bountiful variety of its surviving records, Norwich has long attracted the interest of historians. Williamson intends her book to add to the established scholarship by applying theoretical approaches to her subject that have been developed through research into other towns, in England but also in other countries. In particular, she seeks to demonstrate that much knowledge can be generated by studying a regional center such as Norwich, thereby diverting some attention from the study of London, which has not surprisingly tended to dominate the field of early modern English urban history.

Williamson's analysis unfolds across five lively chapters that are arranged thematically, with each chapter including an historiographical and theoretical overview of the topic at hand. She begins with a discussion of the geographical understanding of urban identity that focuses on stylized cartographic representations of Norwich as a whole but also on the parish, the unit with which most Norwich residents

would have been more familiar. She then moves to a consideration of the varied and often contested understandings of Norwich's streets and other public spaces. Her third chapter considers strangers—the large group of Norwich residents from the Low Countries—and their place in the wider community, emphasizing that any abiding sense of the immigrants' separateness within Norwich was the result of social perception much more than physical segregation. She follows this with a consideration of the gendered aspects of public life in the city, arguing that historians should not assume the urban landscape to have been neatly divided into masculine and feminine spaces, an observation she supports with detailed considerations of markets and alehouses, two types of space that scholars have asserted to have been overwhelmingly masculine. Her final chapter examines the spatial aspects of politics in Norwich, emphasizing taverns and alehouses as crucial locations for the dissemination of news, and suggesting ways in which the people of Norwich could shape their own political landscape.

As her goal is to recover the lived experience of Norwich, much of Williamson's argument has, quite understandably, a speculative aspect because only a tiny fraction of Norwich's residents left direct evidence of their views. This approach is noticeable in her discussion of the potential audience for early modern Norwich maps. Building on the work of sociologist Patrick Carroll, Williamson asserts that maps were "an integral part of the formation of knowledge about the world and the individual's place within it" (56). In her discussion of the commercial failure of Thomas Cleer's relatively unadorned prospect of Norwich of 1696, she acknowledges that it is "hard to tell" why the map proved unpopular, though she then suggests that "contemporaries viewed urban cartography in much the same way as a piece of art—as a talking piece, wall hanging or collector's item—rather than as a finding aid." Having moved from an admission of the limitations of her knowledge of the motivation of a Norwich map buyer to a hunch that consumers of maps considered them to be just another piece of art, Williamson then leaps to the assertion that "ownership of a map was an expression of the possessor's culture, education and knowledge of the wider world and the simple, if cartographically superior, plan fell short of the mark" (52). Given that the city leaders often displayed maps in popular places, she suggests that "many of Norwich's inhabit-

ants may have seen a map of their city” (55). She makes a strong case for Norwich residents having opportunities to view maps, but how “many” of them actually took the time to do so with the care that the modern scholar can apply to them? Here and elsewhere, Williamson presents a creative argument that pushes the available evidence at least to its limits, and many readers (like me) may find her approach to be convincing, but some others may not.

As the dates in its title suggest, Williamson’s study focuses on the seventeenth century, but sensibly enough it ranges into earlier and later centuries as appropriate. This chronological breadth combines with the topical arrangement of the chapters to leave the reader wondering if Williamson missed opportunities to connect certain dots scattered throughout her book. This can be suggested by her discussion of gender and space, in which Williamson draws a clear contrast between Norwich and London. Analyzing depositions in defamation cases, a source that Laura Gowing used to good effect in her work on London, Williamson finds that women in Norwich, unlike those in London, did not have a special claim to doorways. In this context, Williamson offers an example of behavior that led to defamation suits involving Mary Frogg accosting William and Anne Austin (129). Earlier, Williamson reported that the Frogg and Austin families had by 1664 generated such animosity that it “developed into a mutual suing session at the Diocesan Court. At least thirty of their friends, relatives, and neighbors, the majority from St Saviour, became involved as witnesses and compurgators as their protracted suit ran on into its second year” (60). Later, Williamson mentions that Frogg and her husband Nicholas ran a licensed alehouse—the Golden Dog—that was rated at six hearths in 1666, making it a very substantial establishment. These narrative details, appearing in different chapters, raise questions about Frogg’s representativeness and, therefore, about Williamson’s critique of Gowing. What, at its root, was the issue that drove the intense antagonism between the Frogge and Austin families? Were the women leading or following their husbands into the conflict? Given, as she maintains, the central place of alehouses to Norwich politics, it is surprising that Williamson did not consider the possibility that there was a political dimension to the animosity in the neighborhood. Although St Saviour is not one of the parishes Williamson considers to have been most

closely associated with political activity in Norwich (203), perhaps regional or national issues inflamed this local conflict? Further, were there any lasting implications of the conflict for the social life of their parish, or for business at the Golden Dog? Available sources may not have allowed such questions to be answered, but drilling further into the Frogg-Austin feud could have given Williamson a setting in which to test her general theories about how space influenced social relations in seventeenth-century Norwich.

The publisher is to be commended for providing several highly useful illustrations, and the book also includes an impressive thirteen-page bibliography. Given the significant historiographical engagement of Williamson's argument, it was surprising to find that the bibliography did not include important, quite relevant research by historians such as Muriel McClendon (on the efforts of city leaders to maintain the image of Norwich as a well-governed community), Mark Jenner (on the seventeenth-century urban environment), and Jeremy Boulton (on urban social life). That said, the very positive consequences of this book for the historiography of seventeenth-century Norwich society and culture are clear, and they are very likely to be long-lasting.

Rhys Morgan. *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland*. Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2014. 242 pp. £75.00. Review by CHRIS R. LANGLEY, NEWMAN UNIVERSITY, BIRMINGHAM, UK.

Rhys Morgan's work seeks to throw a spanner into the works of Anglo-Irish historiography. Based upon his doctoral thesis at Cardiff University, Morgan evaluates the human interactions between Ireland and its near neighbour Wales across the early modern period. The author addresses the use of Welsh military personnel in Ireland and the manner in which they acted as a foothold for other Welsh settlers to arrive in later waves of migration. Using muster rolls and documents in Ireland and Wales that survive from the plantation schemes, Morgan combines prosopographical and social historical approaches to underline how a Welsh presence continued to exist in Ireland, in varying numbers, across the period.

To appreciate some of the wider significance of Morgan's work, one must see it in relation to the field of New British History—an approach to understanding the interconnectedness of the territories that make up the United Kingdom and Ireland advocated, above all, by John Pocock in the 1970s. Morgan approves of such an approach but has two particular gripes with its application. Firstly, the position of the Welsh and Wales within New British History remains largely neglected by historians of the early modern period and, secondly, that proponents of the New British approach have privileged the political narrative at the expense of other historical approaches (2-5). Morgan seeks to redress this imbalance by writing about the people involved in the political meta-narrative.

The book is divided into two clear parts. The first follows a chronological trajectory, charting the size and influence of the Welsh population across Ireland. The second, less extensive, section makes use of a number of case studies from across the period to show how these communities worked in practice. In addition to these two sections, the author has included four appendices that outline some of the methodology used in identifying the Welsh presence in Ireland. Within the first section of the book, each chapter opens with an introduction that outlines the methodology used and the structure of each chapter. The author is also at pains to stress the importance of the work at these key junctures. This becomes a little tiresome and is a legacy of the doctoral thesis on which the book is based. This does mean, however, that each chapter can be read as a standalone text which will aid the book's adoption for undergraduate teaching.

The Welsh presence that Morgan identifies in Ireland adds another layer of complexity to early-modern Irish society. The lacuna in our understanding of Welsh migration to Ireland is puzzling when one considers the proximity of the West Wales coast to the eastern seaboard of Ireland and that historians have spent significant amounts of time identifying Scottish connections with early-modern Ireland in places like Ulster. The prosopographical analysis in part one identifies the Welsh proportion of the Irish population across the period with numbers ranging from two-and-a-half to over fifteen per cent of the population. Morgan opens with a systematic analysis of the number of English and Welsh men levied for service in Ireland between 1558

and 1640, revealing the impressive numbers of Welsh men who entered into service (19-23).

Morgan's analysis of migration to Ireland is particularly revealing for the importance of military connections between the two territories. Most studies of settlement in Ireland focus on plantations but the work under review here actually downplays their importance. Welsh involvement in centralised plantation schemes was relatively small but between six and eleven per cent of the planters of Munster and Ulster originated from Wales. This again stands as an important corrective to the usual image of plantations dominated by English and Scottish settlers.

The Welsh presence and composition within the settler community did not remain static. Morgan effectively shows that the dominance of Welsh military figures before 1588 changed as they percolated into administrative positions. Following the end of the Nine Years' War in 1603, the population of demobilised soldiers—many of whom were Welsh—created another moment for the consolidation of the Welsh presence on the island (67-68). These figures provided important sources of patronage for subsequent settlers (40-41). Indeed, Ireland offered a variety of opportunities for those looking for military preferment in Wales (42).

Morgan's analysis shatters any lingering ideas that the migrant communities created a unified "New English" population in Ireland. While one remains cautious over calling this group of settlers "New Welsh" (103) rather than New English due to their anglophone connections, this certainly provides a corrective to presentations of the settlers as entirely English subjects. The settler population was clearly a multifarious grouping with few shared aims and a variety of different backgrounds. To call these settlers "English" fails to do justice to this complexity. The settlers had not cut all ties to their former homelands either and remained connected to Wales. Morgan suggestively states that "settlers remained an integrated part of social, political and economic communities in their region of origin" (129). The second part of the book illustrates how members of the nobility would hold interests in both territories. What we are left with, in these cases, are "truly Cambro-Hibernic figures" who straddled lands either side of the Irish Sea (119).

The connections between settler communities and their places of origin were based on practical considerations that often remain hidden. Morgan manages to find glimpses of these aspects of the migrant experience. The majority of Welsh soldiers who saw action in Ireland were, perhaps unsurprisingly, from the counties near the coast and along the two major postal routes (44). Welsh regiments who saw action in Ireland expected to be commanded by an officer who could speak their language (33-35) leading to a disproportionate number of Welsh leaders in these units. These vignettes provide welcome additional considerations for scholars assessing the motivations for migration. Morgan's findings are revealing but one sometimes yearns for more detail. Due to the nature of the source material, the voices of these "Cambro-Hibernic" actors remain disappointingly quiet. This is perhaps more of a reflection on the surviving source material than Morgan's analysis but there are a few tantalising glimpses of what future research may find. The author's use of the depositions of those who witnessed violence following the 1641 Rebellion is particularly revealing in showing the impact on the Welsh settler community but says little about Welsh identity when faced with the threat of expulsion (100-03).

Military service in Ireland allowed members of the Welsh nobility to prove their value to the English Crown while providing them with an important sense of honour that remained central to Welsh bardic cultures (47). Initially, many of the figures who went to serve in Ireland had previous military experience on the continent (20-24). Morgan does not outline if these militaristic traditions changed during the migration and settlement process but this information does provide an insight into another way that the growing Tudor state contained and then handled different interest groups.

This is a rich work but does it manage to create the "plural history" that previous proponents of New British History failed to achieve (3)? Unfortunately, no. By providing a corrective to narratives that ignored the Welsh presence, this work continues to use New British History as a way to rescue forgotten historical actors from the dominance of Anglocentric history. This is entirely valid—and important—but it serves to shift the problem. Instead of focusing on the political narrative, New British History is now being used as a vehicle to position

other interest groups. This does not serve to show interconnectedness but, rather, neglects to show the connections that New British History originally intended to address. For example, with the notable exception of the excellent analysis of Irish and Welsh connections to Essex's failed revolt of 1601, there is often little reference to how these figures related to the government that ruled both Wales and Ireland: England. Indeed, England remains a *deus ex machina* through much of the narrative. The discussion of a Welsh community in Dublin shows us the degree of Welsh involvement in the day-to-day operations of the city, but how they interacted with *English* stakeholders is problematic. These figures were plugged into English networks in addition to the Welsh and Irish ones that Morgan so deftly illuminates. To appreciate the values of interconnectedness, New British History must not marginalize. Indeed, it was meant to prevent this. Such questions become more pertinent in the light of current discussions in Great Britain and Northern Ireland regarding devolved, perhaps federal, power arrangements.

Morgan's work sets a benchmark for subsequent studies on the settler community in Ireland. He is wholly successful in proving the existence of a comparatively small, but often influential, cadre of Welsh settlers. This is certainly a watershed moment. However, of wider significance is that Morgan's work adds another element in our understanding of how migrant communities operated and how connections to the places of their birth had potent and enduring impacts on their new homes. Indeed, in some cases, the words "settler" or "migrant" may be too strong as many of these individuals continued to operate in the land of their birth while expanding their influence in Ireland. More exploration into how this duality worked in practice and its impact on settler/migrant identity or culture should be the focus of so-called British history going forward. For all of its very specific aims, Morgan's work is undoubtedly an important part in this process.

James Anderson Winn. *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. xxi + 792 pp. + 35 illus. + 18 col. pl. + 28 mus. ex. \$39.95. Review by MOLLY McCLAIN, UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO.

Known for gambling heavily and dining too well, Queen Anne also had an appetite for the arts, in particular, music, theater, and painting. She devoured works by some of the most prominent artists of her age and helped to popularize Italian opera. At the same time, she was a lackluster patron who failed to establish anything like the glittering court culture advanced by England's rival, King Louis XIV. Instead, she relied on London—the biggest city in Europe by 1700—to attract and support composers, playwrights, poets, and visual artists.

James Anderson Winn reveals the extensive menu of literary, theatrical, and musical entertainments enjoyed by English elites. Unfortunately, he burdens that information with a political narrative and a biography (of sorts) that takes the reader from 1675 to 1714, not always in chronological order. The result is a book that is as dense and unwieldy as the queen herself. Fortunately, it is a great deal more articulate and insightful.

Queen Anne's grandparents, Charles I and Henrietta Maria, were great lovers of the arts. They acquired an impressive collection of paintings by Renaissance masters, and encouraged the production of masques, great court spectacles that combined music with singing, dancing, scenery, and dramatic costume. The picture collection was long gone by the time that Anne and her sister Mary grew up, but the fashion for court masques remained. In fact, dance, music, and literature took center stage in their educations of the young princesses, along with a hefty dose of history and theology. The girls performed in John Crowne's *Calisto: or, The Chaste Nymph*, designed to showcase Mary's eligibility for marriage, and Nathaniel Lee's steamy tragedy, *Mithridates*. At center stage were mythological figures, epic battles, heroic deeds, and pagan gods at their most capricious.

Anne developed a real love for theatricals, according to Winn, using them as a way to escape from uncomfortable realities at the Stuart court. She practiced two instruments, the guitar and the harpsichord, and took every opportunity to see operas, concerts, and plays. As the

duchess of Denmark, she provided employment to eight musicians and offered patronage to Richard Elford, one of her favorite singers. She appreciated the harmonically advanced music produced by John Blow and George Frideric Handel and announced that she was “extremely well pleas’d” by the latter’s aria for the kidnapped Almirena in *Rinaldo* (547). She attended a theatrical or an opera on her birthday every year.

She also invested life at court with drama and ceremony. According to Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, the queen had “the greatest memory that ever was, especially for such things as are all forms, & ceremonys, giving people their due Ranks at Processions & their proper Places at Balls, & having the right order at Installments & funerals” (97-98). Despite her illness and obesity, Anne made a point of appearing in regal splendor at the time of her coronation, modeling her costume on a portrait of Queen Elizabeth. She put her court into mourning on the death of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, despite the fact that the latter had not done the same when King William III died in 1701.

Queen Anne recognized that the role of the monarch had changed in the partisan political world of early eighteenth-century England, but she remained nostalgic about ancient customs, the royal prerogative, and the unbroken relationship between King and Church. In Alexander Pope’s *Windsor-Forest* (1713), she appears as the “great *Anna*” who reverses the damage done by the plague, fire, and the civil wars and ushers in a new age of peace and plenty (606). Her character comforts the reader with the platitudes offered by earlier Stuart monarchs while simultaneously presiding over a country in the midst of rapid social and economic change. Britain stood on the brink of imperial adventure and the oaks of Windsor Forest would soon be “transformed into the planks of sturdy merchant ships” (603).

The changing nature of monarchy is a central theme in this book. Winn points out, “Anne appears to have lived in two time frames: her fondness for the panegyric imagery embodied in odes and masques is in keeping with her traditional trappings of monarchy, but her acquiescence in the wider distribution of the New Year’s and birthday music shows a surprisingly modern desire to include more of her subjects in these celebrations, thus building political support” (325).

The arts responded to the changed nature of political power, shedding the heroic and mythological for the mundane. Poets avoided

writing original epic poems, perhaps “because they recognized that the heroic principles and beliefs underlying the epic were moribund” (374). Instead, they created mock-epics like Pope’s *Rape of the Lock* in which lords and ladies battle like gods over a trivial lock of hair. Mythical allusions that had buttressed seventeenth-century monarchy came to seem “overblown or empty” and often charged with Tory party rhetoric (418).

In this context, Italian opera became increasingly popular with English audiences. A vehicle for star singers, operas showcased music, not prose or poetry, and routinely debased epic sources such as Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Castratos with their high-pitched voices took on the roles of “rough old Romans,” while women became ancient heroes and generals (442). Audiences began to appreciate hearing music for music’s sake; they also recognized that their pursuit of commerce and leisure had undermined the values of an older, martial age.

Queen Anne contains valuable insights on a wide range of subjects, from iconography to warfare, and offers close readings of many texts. It includes excerpts from musical scores by Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clark, and George Frideric Handel, among others; a companion website allows the reader to hear these selections played by a group of specialists in early music. The author also discusses the visual arts, architecture, coins and medals, and tapestries, including the “The Famous Victories of the Duke of Marlborough,” now hanging in Blenheim Palace. It is most useful, however, as a work that contextualizes the literary, musical, and theatrical productions of the era.

Winn may be unable to provide hard evidence that Queen Anne was an important patron of the arts, but he proves that she was well educated, culturally sophisticated, and appreciative of the talented men and women who appeared on the London stage. Scholars interested in any aspect of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century politics and culture would be well advised to spend time with this weighty and erudite work.

Dirk Weimann and Gaby Mahlberg, eds. *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Radicalism*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. x+ 228 pp. \$124.95. Review by MARC SCHWARZ, UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

This volume is the second in a series of papers delivered in Potsdam in 2011, the first having dealt with the European context of English Radicalism. The present volume provides a set of valuable papers that help to illustrate the role that radical republicanism played from the revolutionary decades of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. As with the first collection, James Harrington takes center stage.

Among the most notable essays is one by Martin Dzelzainis comparing Harrington's views on the role of government with those of figures like Milton. While the latter talked about a perpetual senate, Harrington advocated a body made more responsible to its citizens through a process of rotation, citing the Roman senate as an example of a permanent tyranny. Dzelzainis also discusses a "free commonwealth" and considers it in the context of Quentin Skinner's notion of neo-roman liberty. Cesare Cuttica, in an interesting contribution, describes Robert Filmer's anti-republicanism, showing how he derided the republican in England, Venice, and Holland, advocating paternal monarchy as the best solution. Günther Lottes provides a contrasting example in Algernon Sidney's view that government is based on consent and the accountability of those who rule.

Other essays are valuable as well. J. C. Davis, for example, sees *Oceana* as historical narrative fiction, connecting it with the prose romances of the period which often had a political twist. Roger Boyle wrote one, and the strong Puritan Viscount Saye and Sele was supposedly the author of a romance as well. Davis argues that Harrington may have thought his ideas might have had more impact through this vehicle. In my estimation, one of the most stimulating essays is by Anette Pankratz on "Performing Republics," which considers the way in which the Restoration theatre handled republican thought and ideas within the context of the restored monarchy. She deals with such issues as domestic relations and parental authority that may have reflected, in their less authoritarian tone, the legacy of republican ideas.

Moreover, in considering utopian republics, she notes the variety of polities considers the number of plays that include parliaments and assemblies. Pankratz displays real ingenuity in discovering the influence of republican attitudes in a genre better known for its ridicule and satire of them. Considering another point, Edward Vallance takes up the question of petitioning and public opinion as it refers to Harrington, the *Oceana*, and the years 1659-1660. In *Oceana*, petitioning was a deliberate process, drawn up by the tribes and carefully considered and scrutinized. At the same time, there are indications that petitions came from other sources as well. Harrington himself engaged in petitioning the Rump in 1659. Yet it appears that the most important petitions to the government were the ones it generated for its own ends. Thus Vallance contends that petitions came from the center as a way of buttressing its power. On the other hand, others have argued that, even if petitions were guided by the local elite or a particular interest group, they represent an attempt to influence national politics and constitute an opening of the political process beyond parliament.

One article in this collection seems out of place: an essay on Edmund Burke and the contagion of French radicalism. Burke was writing, after all, over 100 years after the end of the English Revolution and his ideas do not seem relevant to the subject matter of the other contributions. It would appear that, since he was attacking radicalism, the editors felt it was worthy of inclusion. While that is certainly stretching the point, this paper does convey the apprehension that many conservatives felt about radicalism and places Burke in the vanguard of Filmer who feared the anarchy it brought. Burke harshly criticizes the French revolutionaries for their breach of tradition and their destruction of the organic fabric of French society. He uses the analogy of the body, claiming the revolution was like a disease that was attacking the health of the state. The essay is interesting, but the fact that it is so far out of the context of the rest of the book is a handicap.

In reference to religion, there is an informative essay by Dirk Vanderbecke on John Milton's view that government should be in the hands of "good men." As some have noticed, there seems to be a contradiction between Milton's idea of liberty and a governing structure led by men who are spiritually fit. But as the author points out, Milton was less concerned with the governing system than with the

men who made it up. There appears to be a touch of Oliver Cromwell here, who searched for a government that would produce godly rule (i.e., the Barebones Parliament and fifth monarchism).

Another essay by Luc Borot deals with religion in *Oceana*, arguing that it was a state run natural religion, but included references to Christ and Moses as well as lawgivers like Lycurgus. It is notable, however, that those who preferred could create their own congregations outside of the state church. He follows Eric Nelson in seeing *Oceana* as a “divinely established” national church, but one with toleration of other viewpoints. In addition, Justin Chamberlain provides a contribution, indicating the ways in which John Toland transformed Harrington’s ideas to suit Enlightenment thinking. Both Leduc and Toland add themselves to the number of scholars who contend that *Oceana* was not based entirely on the Hebrew commonwealth, but was influenced by other sources as well. This point was also brought up in the first collection on the European context of English radicalism edited by Wahlberg and Weimann.

On the whole, this is a very helpful collection that students of the period will find a valuable asset. The essays are of very high quality and most of them stick closely to the theme, more so than some sets of papers, and are well written and documented. Again, they search out the meaning of Harrington and so are a commendable sequel to the first volume of essays. One should also note that there is a very useful postscript by Glenn Burgess and a very helpful bibliography

Ross W. Duffin. *The Music Treatises of Thomas Ravenscroft: ‘Treatise of Practicall Musick’ and A Briefe Discourse*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xii + 244 pp. + 9 illus. \$109.95. Review by JEFFREY MEYER, CONCORDIA COLLEGE—MOORHEAD.

As part of the *Music Theory in Britain, 1500-1700: Critical Editions* series, this edition of Thomas Ravenscroft’s theoretical works, with accompanying introductory materials, is a welcome addition to the growing body of knowledge in this relatively new area of study. A significant value of this book is in its bringing together, for the first time, the two Ravenscroft treatises—a manuscript given the

title “A Treatise of Practicall Musicke” (1607) and *A Briefe Discourse* (1612). As valuable is the careful study of each treatise, an update of Ravenscroft’s biography, and an explication of this Jacobean theorist’s spheres of influence.

Scholars have had difficulty putting forth a credible biography of Ravenscroft, but Ross Duffin adds to the “meager remains of Ravenscroft’s life in the documentary record” (1) by bringing forth new evidence. For example, the question of Ravenscroft’s birth date has troubled past scholars, resulting in potential birth years of 1582, ’83, ’87, ’88, ’89, ’90, and ’92. Duffin convincingly settles on early 1591, based upon the veracity of the commendatory contributions in Ravenscroft’s publication, *A Briefe Discourse*, as well as the theorist’s own account of London as a place of early training (6). Ravenscroft’s time at St. Paul’s as a chorister and at Gresham College attending lectures impacted his life as a professional musician. Though his degree is from Pembroke College (at Cambridge), three other places—St. Paul’s, Gresham, and the culture of London—formed him as a composer and theorist. Ravenscroft spent his career in London: at various times with the Gentleman Extraordinary, as music master and overseer of psalm-singing at Christ’s Hospital near St. Paul’s, and as a member of the London theatrical community. Through a newly discovered document, Duffin sheds light on Ravenscroft’s post-orphanage career, where in 1622 he entered the service of the Lord High Treasurer of England, Richard Weston. Here he remained until 1630, where he either passed away or, as Duffin speculates, entered the service of Lord Craven, with whom he had become reacquainted during his time as deputy of Weston.

Duffin additionally locates Ravenscroft within two circles—St. Paul’s Cathedral and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge—and with the dedicatees of his volumes—Senators of Gresham College who were also members of Mercers’ Company and officials within the City of London. He further draws connections between Ravenscroft and the professors at Gresham College and Ravenscroft’s commendars. Of undoubted influence on Ravenscroft while at St. Paul’s was Edward Pearce, teacher of music fundamentals, singing, composition, and instruments. He was one of two influences cited by Ravenscroft in his Preface to *A Briefe Discourse*. The other is John Bennet, a madrigalist

who is cited as “a partner in this worke” (127). Ravenscroft had high praise for Bennet’s work, though it is unclear how his compositions might have contributed to Ravenscroft’s theoretical work.

The most logical option for influence on Ravenscroft at Gresham is John Bull, who delivered the twice-weekly lecture on music. With no record of Bull’s lectures, though, it is difficult to say what Ravenscroft may have specifically gained from this instruction. It is possible Ravenscroft heard other lecturers at Gresham, but according to surviving lectures, one of the next teachers, John Taverner, provided nothing of musical content. Duffin cites Lillian Ruff as suggesting Ravenscroft’s *A Briefe Discourse* was published “in part to position himself as a candidate to replace Taverner” (32-33).

Duffin argues that the nine printed commendations in *A Briefe Discourse* were meant to establish Ravenscroft’s credibility. Aside from three commendations for *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* by the well-known Thomas Morley, no other treatise before Ravenscroft’s had even one commendation. Ravenscroft was young, with only a handful of publications, so he “felt the need to demonstrate that respected authorities viewed his work as valuable” (36). In one of the most important of these, Robert Fludd provides significant information regarding Ravenscroft—the age when he received his degree (14) and the age when he wrote the commendation (22, which is likely when *A Briefe Discourse* was published). A few other commenders are especially noteworthy: Nathaniell Gyles had similar interests to Ravenscroft in mensuration signs and proportions, while John Dowland shared an affinity for traditional notational practices. A number of the commenders (Rosseter, Peerson, Austin) had connections with the theatrical world in London, though it would have been helpful for this network to be revealed to a greater extent, even if the documentation regarding Ravenscroft’s involvement is scant. While it is understandable that certain of the commenders would have in fact increased Ravenscroft’s credibility, such as Campion, for others it was less clear. One wonders whether there is something more at stake than increasing credibility in the choice of commenders.

One of the most interesting of Ravenscroft’s connections that Duffin discovers is with Richard Mulcaster, schoolmaster while Ravenscroft was at St. Paul’s. Mulcaster’s unique views on education

impacted the theorist in a number of ways: “[Mulcaster’s] intense and very public concern for the right way to educate young people may well have ignited Ravenscroft’s passion for the proper teaching of the fundamentals of music, and given him the idea to write a treatise in the first place” (19). This may explain the particular focus of the treatise, and Mulcaster’s published books may have served as models for an approach to organizing a didactic treatise (19).

Concerning the “Treatise of Practicall Musicke,” Duffin sheds light on the purpose and date behind this work. The manuscript may have been copied in connection with the theorist’s studies with Edward Pearce at Gresham. It may also have been a fair copy for a printer, though it was never published as far as we know, perhaps due to the lack of connections of the young author, the work’s dependence upon the earlier *Pathway to Musicke* (1596) of William Barley, or the significant number of errors in the treatise (51 n. 3). It is unclear whether Ravenscroft copied some, all, or none of the manuscript. The date of the treatise is also in question. Linking the treatise with Ravenscroft’s degree does not particularly help, since the date the degree was granted is also uncertain. Through a careful study of Ravenscroft’s use of two peculiar word formulations, Duffin narrows the date to 1607. This does not differ from traditionally assigned dates, but provides needed confirmation.

No English authorities and only one Continental authority (Seth Calvisius) are cited by Ravenscroft, though Duffin demonstrates how the author borrows language from William Bathe, William Barley, and Robert Fludd in his treatise. Though also dependent on Continental theorists (Calvisius, Ornithoparcus, and Lossius), there are enough misunderstandings of this material and misuse of Latin to suggest that the author was “not fully invested in the material” (60).

Unlike the “Treatise of Practicall Musicke,” Ravenscroft cites a number of authorities in *A Briefe Discourse*, most likely for their similar attitude toward traditional music and practice. Ravenscroft “sees the re-establishment of traditional, correct mensural practices as a key to ‘proper’ music-making” (64). German sources are used nearly exclusively, with a relative lack of English sources. It is perhaps more telling whom Ravenscroft does not cite—Campion, nor Dowland. Though Duffin notes this lack of citations, he did not suggest why

this was the case (particularly since both Campion and Dowland were commendators of the volume) nor why Thomas Morley is Ravenscroft's favored English theorist.

In considering the "Treatise of Practicall Musicke" as a source, Duffin argues that Ravenscroft's manuscript treatise served as preparation for *A Briefe Discourse* (67). Furthermore, he implies a manuscript/publication relationship when he notes how "Ravenscroft decided to omit almost all of the first half of the manuscript when he came to publish his treatise a few years later" (68). At the same time, however, Duffin expresses throughout the introduction that *A Briefe Discourse* was largely drawn from other sources. Only one portion of *A Briefe Discourse* is considered to be wholly Ravenscroft's—the middle section, where citations were limited and the content revolved around the author's perceived misuse of one aspect of the mensural notation system, that of perfect prolation. "This is material that Ravenscroft believes he knows well, has his own opinions about, and concerning which he does not feel the same need to cite other authorities" (68).

Concerning the legacy of the treatises, both historians Sir John Hawkins and Charles Burney in the later part of the eighteenth century discussed Ravenscroft's theoretical work in less than glowing terms. These discussions were the first mention of the works since their writing. Duffin sums up the situation well: "Ravenscroft does seem to have labored in vain, and his fascination with the lost intricacies of the mensural system, undoubtedly acquired through serious academic study, . . . was overwhelmed by the tide of a newer, simpler notational usage" (70). Ravenscroft includes in *A Briefe Discourse* a music anthology (*Harmonicall Examples*, with his own works and those of John Bennet and Edward Pearce). Though these examples were meant to be demonstrations of the mensurations discussed in the treatise, they actually failed to support the message Ravenscroft was providing in his writing—the necessity to return to traditional mensuration practices. As Duffin astutely notes, "a demonstration of how knowledge of ancient mensural practices was not entirely necessary to the performance and enjoyment of these pieces probably undermined Ravenscroft's attempt to restore the 'proper' usage, and may actually have contributed to the lack of regard for *A Brief Discourse*, both at the time and in the decades following" (75).

Duffin's textual commentary on the two treatises explains the source of the specific content, demonstrates Ravenscroft's errors in understanding other sources or creating his own concepts, and (less often) explains or interprets the material itself. These notes are excellent, and combined with the careful reproduction of each treatise give the careful reader an understanding of the works that cannot be gained elsewhere. For example, the difference between Ravenscroft and other theorists is seen in how he avoided terminology used by Morley (a 'prick' in the center of the O or C) because of embarrassment over the sexual innuendo put forth in a poem written after Morley's treatise. In another case, *A Briefe Discourse* includes moments where Ravenscroft seems well aware of the changing nature of musical practice, that his insistence on traditional mensural usage goes against such practice, and that he affirms present practice in spite of it all. He states "These 2. *Perfect moodes* in these dayes are of little or not vse, and therefore I haue little to say to them concerning their *Diminutions*" (139). Duffin calls this a "rather surprising nod to contemporary practice" (157 n. 70), comparing this to Ravenscroft's rather different stance in his earlier "Treatise of Practicall Musicke."

While Duffin's explication of the treatises is one of the gifts of this edition, it is primarily located only in the textual commentary. This profitably brings the reader in direct contact with Ravenscroft's two works, but it also somewhat hides valuable information and perspectives from the reader. If some of the content from the notes could have been brought into the Introduction (as a thorough summary of the content of the treatises), it would have aided the reader in determining what is theoretically or historically significant in the treatises. That said, if the intent of the Introduction was to provide context only, and to let the treatises speak for themselves (with the aid of the commentary), then the format of the edition functions well.

In summary, this edition provides an excellent rendering of the treatises, and the textual commentary enables greater depth of understanding of Ravenscroft's work. By itself, the updating of the theorist's biography and the articulation of the rich context of influences on him are invaluable. The edition is a welcome asset for those who have an interest in English theory, the larger topic of the development of music theory in the seventeenth century, English music as it relates

to theory, or the social history of education, theatre, and culture in and around London.

Feike Dietz, Adam Morton, Lien Roggen, Els Stronks, and Marc Van Vaeck, eds. *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xviii + 282 pp. + 71 illus. \$119.95. Review by JENNIFER LEE, INDIANA UNIVERSITY-PURDUE UNIVERSITY AT INDIANAPOLIS.

Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800 is a collection of essays examining the complexities of conception, distribution, production, and exchange of printed images in the international and multi-confessional contexts of Northern Europe. The work is a superb example of an interdisciplinary collaboration that converges to illuminate a single, multi-faceted theme.

The volume grew out of a conference organized by the Universities of Leuven and Utrecht in 2012 entitled “Crosscurrents in Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800.” The book’s title remains close to the conference title, though it could easily have adopted a narrower scope. The studies presented in this volume are thematically coherent, more so than in many essay collections. The majority are concerned with printed images in books made or used in the Dutch Republic or London, with connections to neighboring countries receiving significant attention. The grandest geographical range is reached by Mia M. Mochizuki’s discussion of a Jesuit press exported to Japan in the 1580s. Moving beyond books, the contributions by Walter Melion and Adam Morton treat larger format printed images that circulated independently. While the crossing of national boundaries is one theme of the volume, its strongest impulse is to analyze various ways images crossed confessional lines, particularly those between Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist Reformed communities. Throughout the chapters, the focus is on production; readers and viewers are regarded in terms of broad groups defined primarily by doctrine and recognized through texts that suggest potential meanings or probable uses for their images. One should not look here for evidence of individual users’ interactions with images. Overall, the

book successfully complicates the conventional notion that Protestants rejected religious imagery as idolatrous by demonstrating many varieties of nuance, reinterpretation, and cross-pollination. I shall touch on each chapter in turn.

The introductory chapter, “The Function and Nature of International Religious Contacts in Northern Europe,” by Els Stronks, Adam Morton, and Feike Dietz, is clear and informative, serving simultaneously to frame the subsequent chapters and to contribute an independent discussion of book production and the book trade in an international and inter-confessional market. The introduction also clarifies the aims of the volume’s two sections and positions each article within both the section and the entire work, guiding readers, whether they engage with all the essays or specific selections, to the book’s ultimate message.

The work organizes the essays into two sections primarily distinguished by the relevance of each chapter’s conclusions to the volume’s overall concerns. Part I, “Crosscurrents in Ideologies and Motives,” comprises the first five chapters. Alexandra Walsham’s study, “Idols in the Frontispiece? Illustrating Religious Books in the Age of Iconoclasm,” opens the section with what might serve as a second introduction to the whole collection, since it does much of the historiographic work that serves the later chapters, identifying nine trends that distinguish the scholarship of recent decades from that of earlier generations. Next, Lee Palmer Wandel considers distinct ways of seeing specific religious identities in “Catechisms: Teaching the Eye to Read the World.” Teaching religion, Wandel argues, meant teaching a way to read and see not only images and sacred texts but also the world as a whole. Thus, the books produced for teaching religion, particularly those by Calvin and Canisius, trained learners in habits of mind that defined how communities experienced time and made sense of their place in the world. Also concerned with reading by multiple denominations, Walter S. Melion analyzes “Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander’s *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588,” a large, single-sheet print adapted from Federico Zuccaro’s fresco in the Roman Jesuit church of SS Annunziata. This print, Melion demonstrates, was produced to accommodate Catholic, Mennonite, and Reformed audiences. The analysis is founded on meticulous visual

analysis of the images tied to religious texts that distinguished the three religious communities.

Mia M. Mochizuki's essay, "The Diaspora of a Jesuit Press: Mimetic Imitation on the World Stage," takes the collection in its most unexpected direction. In the 1580s the Jesuits aspired to establish a press in Japan that would disseminate both religious texts and the technologies of moveable type and copperplate image printing. Although the peregrinations of the press were somewhat different from those originally intended, the project was a partial success. The copperplates used with the press also had an interesting afterlife as *fumi-e*, images to be stomped upon to demonstrate the rejection of Christianity (132). Mochizuki's work reveals much about the diffusion of ideas through missionary networks that is much more complex than older centrifugal models would suggest. The final chapter in Part I is Adam Morton's "A Product of Confession or Corruption? *The Common Weals Canker Wormes* (c. 1625) and the Progress of Sin in Early Modern England." *The Canker Wormes* is a single-page print illustrating the contamination of society by the greed and corruption of its constituent actors. The print's mode is ostensibly secular, but as Morton demonstrates, it exemplifies the intermingling of Protestantism and secular popular culture. Taken together, the discussions in Part I break down a range of binaries that characterized earlier scholarship on early modern print culture.

"Forms of Exchange and Mobility" is the focus of Part II. The case studies work together to describe the book market as shaped by the multi-confessional context. The section opens with David J. Davis' "Godly visions and Idolatrous Sights: Images of Divine Revelation in Early English Bibles." While Protestant Bibles generally avoided images of God, frequent exceptions were images of Old Testament prophets' visions of God. Davis describes a "sphere of permissibility" (181) in which these images served several purposes including articulating a political idea, aiding the interpretation of confusing passages, providing models for viewers' own spiritual lives, and anagogical contemplation—a mode of viewing associated with Catholic tradition but espoused by Calvin. "Recycling and Reforming Origins: The Double Creation in Claes Janz. Visscher's *Theatrum Biblicum* (1643)" by Amanda K. Herrin investigates a series of prints

that portray the two accounts of God's creation of humans in Genesis I and II. Visscher reused existing plates for his *Teatrum Biblicum* and adjusted them in significant ways. Herrin demonstrates that Visscher's alterations brought the images to parallel more closely the two chapters of Genesis. While the changes made the images more palatable to Calvinists, Herrin argues that Visscher's primary goal was to remove divisive material that would have limited his audience to a single religious group.

Dirk Imhof's contribution is similar to Mochizuki's essay in its focus on the context of production and its limited use of visual source material. His study examines the letters between Thomas Sailly, Jesuit almoner for the troops of Alexander Farnese after the conquest of the Southern Netherlands and the Plantin Press in Antwerp. In "An Author's Wishes versus a Publisher's Possibilities: The Illustration of Thomas Sailly's Prayer Books Printed by the Plantin Press in Antwerp c.1600" Imhof traces the aspirations of Sailly to supply the troops with Catholic prayer books, and how they were negotiated and sometimes compromised by the publisher, particularly with regard to the illustrations. How these books were ordered and financed, and how the images were "conceived and realized" (219) is a strong reminder that such objects never did come into being simply by the will of a patron alone.

Els Stronk's essay "No Home Grown Products: Illustrated Biblical Poems in the Dutch Republic," questions the degree to which the Dutch book market could be described as open and tolerant (221). By focusing on the printing of picture bibles in an international context, Stronk shows that the Dutch Republic was more cautious than its neighbors about printing illustrated religious poetry. Moreover, printers may have relied on foreign images and translations into Dutch of poetry written elsewhere less out of an attitude of toleration than because importation provided a way around domestic objections to these very practices. Feike Dietz also examines the crossing of national borders in her essay "Linking the Dutch Market to its German Counterpart: The Case of Johannes Boekholt and a Newly Discovered 1661 Edition of *Levendige herts-theologie*," addressing a Dutch edition of a German emblem book. Dietz makes the case that the "more or less official" condemnations of the Catholic use of images limited the development of visual literature in the Dutch Republic (242). How-

ever, international examples, such as the German *Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie* in this case, provided a network of ideas and exchange that enabled literary and visual developments despite local restrictions. This work explicitly builds on her recent monograph *Literaire levensaders: Internationale uitwisseling van woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek* (Hilversum, 2012), and provides a useful English language summary of that work's key findings.

The final essay is Erin Lambert's "Singing Together and Seeing Differently: Confessional Boundaries in the Illustrated Hymnal." Considering how hymns, texts, and images not only crossed confessional boundaries but also asserted them and rebutted opposing ideas, Lambert's is one of the more widely accessible essays, which could serve well to bring the volume's overarching themes into an advanced undergraduate or an interdisciplinary classroom.

The book is primarily suited to specialist scholars at the graduate and professional levels. The essays are precise and nuanced and a body of prior knowledge puts the reader at an advantage. Exceptions may be the essays by Davis and Lambert, which define most of their terms and are explicit about their implications, and so may be suitable as stand-alone essays.

Footnotes are thorough, and are, happily, in true footnote location on the page with their text. A comprehensive bibliography for the volume is lacking and would have been desirable, though the notes to the introduction go a long way toward filling the same function. Instead, the book concludes with an *Index Nominum*, which includes the historical actors, artists, printers, politicians, religious leaders, and key characters discussed throughout the eleven essays, apparently even those mentioned only briefly. The list appears exhaustive, including even the likes of Apollo and Abraham, Patriarch of Israel. It seems that this index would be very useful to scholars working in this particular field of printed religious texts for linking these essays to their own studies. However, for those hoping to contextualize this volume within a broader sphere of inquiry, a comprehensive bibliography might have been more useful. Illustrations are plentiful throughout and allow the reader to follow and verify visual arguments. All are black and white, but since very nearly all of them reproduce originals printed in single-color ink on paper, this is not a compromise.

The work is conclusive in demonstrating that the religious contexts in which illustrated books were produced in the North of Europe between 1500 and 1800 were complex and locally nuanced. Readers are also effectively convinced that authors, engravers, and printers acted in response to those religious contexts, but that their agency reached far beyond merely reflecting those circumstances. Motivated by market concerns as much as confessional identities, the makers and distributors of images acted within networks of exchange, both ideological and tangible, that were distinct from, though not independent of, the mosaic of religious convictions that characterized the region.

Aneta Georgievska-Shine and Larry Silver. *Rubens, Velázquez, and the King of Spain*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014 + 297 pp. + 154 illus. \$ 119.95. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

A seminal contribution to Spain's historical and visual culture in early modernity, the book deepens our knowledge of the Torre de la Parada, the former hunting lodge of the Hapsburg monarchs located near Madrid's Royal Palace of El Prado. The ruins of Torre still survive after the building's devastation by fire during the War of Spanish Succession in 1714, in the aftermath of which the Hapsburg collection was distributed among El Prado and other palaces. The authors focus on Torre's timeless attraction, namely, the painted decorations commissioned from Rubens, and subsequently from Velázquez, to personalize the hunting lodge to the Spanish court while maintaining a spontaneity inherent in the leisurely activities carried out in a royal environment. In 1636 King Philip IV ordered Rubens to undertake work on 63 mythological scenes derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a project enriched in 1638-40 by the portraits executed by Velázquez, the court painter of Philip IV. Velázquez supplied Torre de la Parada with his royal male portraits as hunters, as well as several images of court dwarfs and jesters and the full-length portraits of the ancient philosophers Menippus and Aesop.

Both Georgievska-Shine and Silver advance their own methodologies, diversifying and expanding existing theoretical models for

interpreting Spanish visual culture. Thus, Larry Silver intensifies the tenor of his *Art in History* (1998) that established a foundation for relating works of art to the cultural movements in which they were created and for understanding the imaginative powers of many long-acknowledged masters. Silver updates his earlier theories to the cultural idiosyncrasies integral to early modern Spain, a culture imbued with noteworthy discrepancies between classical antiquity and its Spanish interpreters. In so doing, Silver unmoors Rubens from Svetlana Alpers's *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (1978) with the goal of demonstrating that his narrative prowess lies in the suprahistorical senses of mythology. Rather than reiterating the significance of classical culture as a preeminent source for early modern painters, Georgievska-Shine furthers a dialectical opposition between mythological interpretation and the individual opinions of playwrights, theorists, musicians, and engravers, which were circulated in the royal circles frequented by Rubens. The idea that Rubens investigated mythology not to repurpose classical values, but to translate the dialectics of classical antiquity into allegorical expression was eloquently formulated by Georgievska-Shine in *Rubens and the Archeology of Myth* (2000), which posits exegesis at the heart of the Flemish master's effort to uncover the manifold layers of mythical reading. *Rubens, Velázquez, and the King of Spain* presents the thought of two influential early modern experts while rekindling interest in art history as a discipline rife with metaphorical contradictions. The book implicitly underscores the importance of allegorical reading for Rubens, an orientation brilliantly laid out by Wolfgang Stechow's *Rubens and the Classical Tradition* (1968).

Rubens's painted decorations at Torre are the product of his dynamic yet final years, during which Ovid's *Metamorphoses* became an inspiration for unveiling the humanity of his mythical characters (14). For the aging Rubens, it was also essential to convey to the king and his family a moral message about the unruly passions that characterize any absolutist regime (21). Georgievska-Shine and Silver underscore Rubens's ability to leave the viewer in suspense as to the outcome of his dramatic scenes, an indeterminacy that sharpens the narrative tenor of his *Battle Between Lapiths and Centaurs* and *The Story of Cadmus*. The complexity of Rubens's argument about the struggle between passions and reasoning is deepened in his numerous scenes

filled with misconducting behaviors and violent actions, which are depicted at Torre as the deeds committed by gods, humans, and various sub-human creatures. As part of this arsenal of bestial instincts, the love theme is predominately depicted by Rubens as a scene of the rape of either Ganymede or Europa (58). By divesting love of the enchanting dimension that the myth typically presents to the viewer, Rubens folds into his narratives allusions to royal authority and the unreasonable situations to which rulers may succumb when governed by unrestrained emotions (58).

Although in the Torre cycle Rubens derived from Titian an overall emphasis on the human failings of the gods, he put a positive interpretative spin on the myths associated with the Spanish Habsburgs, such as the nurturing of the infant Hercules by Juno (98, 99). This event is insufficiently developed in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* but amplified by Rubens to reveal the divinity of a *Hercules Hispanicus*, which transcends his humanity and at the same time foreshadows his apotheosis. The significance that Hercules holds for the Spanish rulers is exhibited in *Hercules Killing the Dragon of the Hesperides*, a composition predicated on theft and murder that assured the triumph of *Hercules Hispanicus* over the Americas and the territorial expansion of the Habsburg Empire beyond Europe's frontiers (103).

In the Torre cycle, Rubens culled from Spanish literary sources to an unprecedented extent and with a sheer interest in laying stress on the humanization of his mythological protagonists—much as Cervantes, Calderón de la Barca, and Baltasar Gracián did in their writings. His painted decorations also registered the meaning of pagan myths, as presented by Perez de Moya's influential *Philosophia Secreta* (1585) (26, 65, 69). As Georgievska-Shine and Silver argue, Rubens reveals his interpretation of Orpheus as influenced by the published libretto of Monteverdi's opera *L'Orfeo* (1607). The operatic narrative presents a sense of irrecoverable love analogous to the Flemish master's visual rendition of Orpheus's fatal glance, which triggered to lose Eurydice forever (134). The book thus sets the benchmark in examining Rubens as more than the artist, collector, and antiquarian, aiding us to engage the various theatrical and lyrical sources he deployed in the creation of his allegorical paintings.

It was certainly no simple coincidence that an equally comprehensive modernist, the painter Diego de Velázquez, stepped in the decoration of the Torre cycle to complement Rubens's mythological inventions with his allegorical portraits. Georgievska-Shine and Silver underscore Velázquez's mock-heroic rhetoric as the corresponding narrative force to Rubens's mythological inventions (195). In kinship with his Flemish counterpart, Velázquez relayed the meeting of oppositions as a mode for portraying, for instance, the ambivalent character of Mars in his dual stance as the god of war and the lover of Venus. Yet the portraits of courtiers, jesters, and dwarfs illustrate Velázquez's ability to convey a sense of separateness from the world, an intentional withdrawal or a natural alienation that enhances the coloristic effects of oppositions among the populace at the royal court (214, 215). Persuaded much like Rubens by the demystification of the gods as the dominant theme at the Torre de la Parada, Velázquez presents Philip IV's portrait as a hunter whose ordinary appearance departs from an ideal image of the ruler while stressing the pronounced Habsburg physiognomy and aplomb (217).

The book stands out in Spanish art historical literature and simultaneously paves the way for further insights into the culture of early modernity. It recommends that original thought return to art history, with a vehemence only comparable to Eugenio d'Ors's *Three Hours in the Prado Museum* (1923), which believed in breaking traditional norms to advance visual interpretation. D'Ors argued that classical antiquity ceased to hold sway over modern art and that artists referred back to it in allegorical, not literal modes.

Livio Pestilli. *Paolo de Matteis: Neapolitan Painting and Cultural History in Baroque Europe*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. 502pp. + 108 color and 112 b & w illus. \$119.95. Review by EVE STRAUSSMAN-PFLANZER, DAVIS MUSEUM, WELLESLEY COLLEGE.

Livio Pestilli has succeeded in producing an important, albeit voluminous, recuperative monograph on the Neapolitan artist Paolo de Matteis (1662–1728). Born on February 9, 1662, in Piano del Cilento (modern day Piano Vetrale) to Decio and Lucrezia Orico, he

went to Naples at an early age to learn the rudiments of art. The book, which contains an impressive number of illustrations, begins with an introduction and is divided into three parts. Part I “Framing the Artist” consists of two chapters; Part II “Paintings” is composed of ten chapters; Part III “Drawings” is comprised of one chapter. The book ends with an epilogue, bibliography, two appendices of documents, and an index. In the acknowledgments, Pestilli thanks the editor at Ashgate (Erika Gaffney) for her “foresight and belief in a book that falls outside current publishing trends” (xvii–xviii). At this moment in art history, one must draw attention to the rarity of the monographic treatment of an early modern artist.

In the introduction, Pestilli explains that Paolo de Matteis was the “most acclaimed artist” (1) in Naples at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Scholars most often accord this position to Luca Giordano (1634–1705) or Francesca Solimena (1657–1747). He finds it “an astounding reality that, in spite of recent interest in his work, no monograph has been devoted to this important Neapolitan artist” (1). But he dutifully pays homage to the scholars who have worked to shed new light on de Matteis in published studies, including those working in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and Canada. Notable is the absence of American scholarship on de Matteis specifically and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Neapolitan art more broadly—even though his work features in significant collections in the United States such as the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Pestilli inserts the present study into this academic trajectory by proposing to contribute “to these [past] efforts by focusing on the cultural, historical, and iconographic significance” (2) of de Matteis’s *oeuvre*. While certainly hampered by a dearth of extant archival documents pertaining to the artist, one can find much matter to chew over in Bernardo De Dominici’s *Vite de’ pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani* (1742–1745). It is, however, littered with prejudicial statements and regional pride, much like Vasari’s better known *Vite* from the sixteenth century. Pestilli proposes to provide a “typological” (2) approach to de Matteis. One wonders whether typological is the correct terminology. Although the chapters do cover specific categories, the logic for their selection is not revealed.

Pestilli offers a biographical sketch—taken from De Dominici—of Paolo de' Matteis in the introduction. In brief, after his well-to-do father brings him to Naples, he studies with an unnamed painter of no great merit before independently seeking to draw from masterpieces in Neapolitan churches. His father decides that young Paolo would be better served with a formal education in the liberal arts. Aided by several noblemen, de Matteis is eventually apprenticed to Luca Giordano, who recognizes his latent talent. Don Filippo Macedonio, who introduces Paolo to Giordano, moves to Rome and takes Paolo with him. In Rome, like in Naples, de Matteis copies works by the great masters until he is discovered by Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis of Carpio. The Marquis provides for the artist and places him under the instruction of the Roman painter Giovanni Maria Morandi (1622-1717), a prominent member of the Accademia di S. Luca. When the Marquis is made Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples (1683–1687), he takes Paolo back to Naples, where he again works under Giordano. He paints in Naples for the better part of nineteen years. When Philip V comes to Naples in 1702, accompanied by Comte Victor-Marie, Duc d'Estrées, the Comte invites de Matteis back to Paris, where he stays for three years. In 1711, de Matteis begins an important working relationship with Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1670–1713). From 1723 to 1726, Paolo again works for three years in Rome at the behest of Cardinal Francesco Acquaviva. Paolo de Matteis dies in Naples on July 26, 1728, at the age of 66.

Part I (Framing the Artist) begins with chapter 1 “A Fabricated Life” in which Pestilli equates de Matteis’s penchant for fancy dress with his rather boastful nature. Although Pestilli offers several examples of his conceit, one telling example will suffice. De Dominici donated a sheet to de Matteis purportedly by Correggio; however, the artist took it upon himself to “improve” the drawing with his own hand stating: “And what difference is there between a Paolo de Matteis and a Correggio” (10)? Next, Pestilli traces the roots of De Dominici’s *Vite* and cites many instances where his stories of Neapolitan painters bear a resemblance to authors such as Pliny the Elder. He rightly notes that while many have analyzed Vasari’s debt to earlier sources, this same systematic treatment has yet to be applied to De Dominici. He goes on to note astutely that “an implicit *raison d’être* for his work

was also that of the exaltation of Christian values and the Christian way of life" (14); he further contextualizes that De Dominici, like the Florentines Vasari and Filippo Baldinucci (1624–1697), felt the need to celebrate certain artists, in this case two—Luca Giordano and Francesco Solimena—as the apex of Neapolitan art. De Dominici's life of de Matteis, on the other hand, is the complete opposite in tone. According to Pestilli, "Hubris, then, was the artist's flaw, and this aspect of his character was to influence the biographer's overall assessment of his artistic output and personality" (19). He ends the chapter noting, "the relative neglect that de Matteis began to suffer after his death in 1728 was no less due to De Dominici's denigrations than to the diminished appeal of the type and quality of his paintings for later generations of art lovers" (26). Thus begins Pestilli's complex re-evaluation of de Matteis; throughout, one is aware of the author intellectually wrestling with the importance and place of this neglected Neapolitan painter within the canon.

In the second chapter "Enter the Critic," Pestilli tackles Paolo de Matteis's stay in France between 1702 and 1705, and the critical reception of the artist that followed in the publications of Germain Brice's *Description de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient* and Pierre-Jean Mariette's annotations to Antonio Orlandi's *Abecedario pittorico*, among others. In both instances, the authors focus on how de Matteis's speed trumped the quality of his conceit; they employ his example to caution other artists to avoid the realm of mediocrity by way of assiduous study and forethought. Although Piganiol de la Force offers a more positive view of de Matteis's French stay, we are limited in our assessment of his work in this period due to the subsequent destruction of the four fresco cycles he executed there. Extant from his Parisian period is an *Allegory of Night*, now at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper, an *Apollo and Galatea*, now Pavlovsk Palace, St. Petersburg, a *Danae* in a British private collection, and an *Adoration of the Shepherds* auctioned at Sotheby's in 1990. The author goes on to suggest, I think rightly, that French connoisseurs disliked de Matteis's work due to a "pan-European change in late Baroque aesthetics" (47) that favored light and airy classicizing compositions over bold Baroque executions. Pestilli ends the chapter with mention of de Matteis's brief stop in Genoa on his way back from Paris en route to Naples.

Carlo Giuseppe Ratti's *Lives of the Genoese Painters* tellingly praises de Matteis's Genoese paintings in manuscript form as "the wonder of all connoisseurs" (50). But, he then backtracks in the published version—a clear indication of De Dominicis's negative and dominant critical reach in the early modern period.

Turning to Part II: Paintings. Chapter 3 "Napoli Nobilissima," Pestilli opens with the witty and evocative remark that: "Paolo de Matteis was very fond of allegories, almost as much as he was fond of himself" (63). Pestilli then takes de Matteis's negative critical reception a step further; he suggests that it was not the artist alone who is critiqued, but rather that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "regional prejudices . . . were fundamental to the assertion and characterization of regional identity" (63). In other words, it is not just de Matteis's vanity that is attacked, but what some "northern" authors like the Umbrian Giambattista Passeri saw as pan-Neapolitan defects. He compares the artist's *Allegory of Knowledge and the Visual Arts Crowning Parthenope* from the Blaffer Foundation, Houston, with its preparatory drawing in Darmstadt to demonstrate de Matteis's preoccupation with the nobility of painting in general and his advocacy of Neapolitan painting in particular. It is one of the earliest dated works by the artist, likely executed in the first half of the 1680s, when the artist could very well have been living outside of Naples and experiencing nationalistic prejudice firsthand. Pestilli could take this argument a bit further and lay claim to an early modern bias with both the north and south proclaiming their superiority—a proclamation that still has sway and power in the present.

In chapter 4 "Circa 1700," Pestilli focuses on two "masterpieces" by de Matteis—*Allegory of a Hoped-for Alliance between France and the Kingdom of Naples* (Landesmuseum Mainz) and *St. Bruno Interceding with the Madonna on Behalf of Humanity* (Certosa di San Martino, Naples)—to better understand the political climate of circa 1700 and the artist's appeal for French aristocrats. Pestilli speaks to the pro-Austrian sentiment that pervaded Naples in this period and their aversion to the French. The Mainz *Allegory* was executed, as Pestilli plausibly asserts, for a French-Hispanic patron between the death of Charles II (November 1, 1700) and the arrival of Philip V in Naples (April 17, 1702) and excludes any reference to England, as has been

previously thought. Pestilli puts forward Victor-Marie Duc d'Estrées as the most probable patron—de Matteis's strongest link to France.

In chapter 5 "Naples Again," the critical fortune of Neapolitan painting—which was aided in the seventeenth century by the arrival of Caravaggio and other foreigners of the likes of Domenichino and Lanfranco—is the focus. Giordano reigned supreme in this period and spread the "Neapolitan" style abroad in Florence and then Spain, where he was invited in 1692 and from where he did not return until 1702. Unlike Solimena, Pestilli argues that de Matteis seems to have benefited more from Giordano's absence from Naples in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Also, unlike Solimena, there is "a lack of clear, linear development in Paolo de Matteis's art," which "is a stumbling block in trying to date his paintings." "For," Pestilli continues, "if these are not dated or documented by an external archival evidence, many of them could be as easily given to a period of his career as another" (100). De Matteis exhibited two main stylistic tendencies: one indebted to his time in Rome and Carlo Maratta's classicism and the other oriented towards Giordano's palette and frenetic brushwork. What follows are, according to Pestilli, examples of de Matteis's stylistic variance in which these two stylistic tendencies are used interchangeably throughout the remainder of his career.

In chapter 6 "A Herculean Feat," Pestilli explores Paolo de Matteis's painting of *The Judgment of Hercules* for Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury. Shaftesbury, by all accounts, favored art that led to moral good and uplift best expressed in his *Second Characters or The Language of Forms*, compiled between 1711 and 1713. In Shaftesbury's *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules* (1712), he outlines Hercules's choice in such prodigious detail that it almost leaves no room for the artist. Not surprisingly, he privileges *decorum* above all. Of the numerous drawings de Matteis must have executed to satisfy the demands of his patron, only two are known: one in the Musée du Louvre and another recently on the art market. De Matteis then produced an oil sketch, now in Munich. By comparing, the oil sketch with the painting (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), one sees Shaftesbury's mindset assert itself in the diminishment of detail in favor of the austere expression of subject. The patron was pleased with the final result, paying the artist 60 more ducats for

the work than initially agreed upon, and subsequently commissioned a smaller version from the artist (Leeds City Art Gallery) and had it engraved by Simon Gribelin. There are two differences between the two painted versions—the removal of Pleasure’s bracelet in the second and the inclusion of a small branch at the feet of Hercules.

In chapter 7 “The Celebratory Self,” Pestilli charts Paolo de Matteis’s self-portraits. Ultimately, he concludes that they all emanate from his sense of “self-celebration” (148)—nowhere more evident than in his impressive apartment on Via Toledo where his *Allegory of the Peace of Rastatt and Utrecht* with its prominent self-portrait adorned the main gallery. In fact, the apartment housed a wealth of pictures executed by the artist’s own hand. Pier Leone Ghezzi’s fascinating simian caricatures of de Matteis are discussed and reflect the caricaturist’s sense of the artist as “a true master . . . the very embodiment of a noble artist” (151). This discussion of de Matteis’s likenesses would have benefited from comparative examples of self-portraits by other Neapolitan artists, such as the wealth of self-portraits by Luca Giordano and those of Francesco Solimena. Circa 1700, it was common for artists to represent themselves in a variety of guises with a wealth of different meanings. Luca Giordano, for example, created enough self-portraits to rival Rembrandt.

Chapter 8 “Supporting Authorship” explores the wealth of visual sources that the artist drew upon to execute his paintings from Correggio to the Carracci to his contemporary, Luca Giordano. Chapter 9 “The Skill of a ‘Valentuomo’” focuses on Paolo de Matteis’s skill as a fresco painter, which was considered more difficult than easel painting and, therefore, often considered by painters such as Michelangelo and Lanfranco as a more “manly” pursuit. While many of his frescoes were praised, they also garnered lukewarm and even critical responses. Pestilli seems defensive when de Matteis’s *invenzione* is called into question, remarking that “one must remember not only that his extant church frescoes have been penalized due to heavy repainting while some others have disappeared altogether, but also that Paolo’s style was a perfect match for the devotional and aesthetic needs of his patrons and the society they represented” (188). Pestilli neglects, however, to acknowledge that early modern artists commonly painted

works of differing quality (and even style) depending on the wishes of the patron or the price paid for the work.

Chapter 10 “Portraying Cathusian Values” explores de Matteis’s relationship with the Carthusian order in Naples for which he executed numerous works including those in the Certosa di San Martino. The Certosa was originally consecrated to the Virgin Mary, with references to the first Carthusian convent of St. Bruno, and then to St. Martino, Bishop of Tours and to all saints. De Matteis worked on the Chapel of St. Joseph—one of the most significant projects executed in Naples between 1707 and 1734. Pestilli stresses the importance of his innovative compositions in this chapel. In chapter 11 “Campanian Connections,” Pestilli delineates de Matteis’s stay in Rome between 1723 and 1726, where he escaped to overcome his insomnia in Naples. Here, Pestilli quotes the entirety of de Matteis’s one surviving letter from Rome to his friend Matteo Egizio in Naples. Pestilli proposes that, in addition to escaping personal problems, de Matteis likely went to Rome in search of commissions for the upcoming Jubilee year in 1725, as business had proved quite slow in Naples. Through Francesco Acquaviva, Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, who had lived in Naples until the Spaniards were ousted by the Austrians in 1707, de Matteis secured commissions from Pope Innocent XIII and Pope Benedict XIII. The rest of the chapter explores de Matteis’s Roman commissions, concluding that “the 64-year-old artist shows as sure a control over his pictorial means in 1726 as he had exhibited in earlier decades” (234). In chapter 12 “Remains of the Day,” de Matteis’s return in 1723 to Naples, where the artist created his last documented works, the four paintings for the Church of S. Paolo d’Argon, is explored. The artist was buried sitting upright—a last eccentricity—in the Chiesa de’ Padri Crociferi in Naples.

Part III of Pestilli’s expansive tome is devoted to Paolo de Matteis’s drawings. Unlike the study that has been devoted to Roman and Florentine drawings of the same period, as Pestilli notes, Neapolitan drawings have not been as widely or comprehensively studied. Pestilli argues that, unlike Passeri’s anecdotes that criticize Neapolitan artists for their want of drawing, Neapolitan artists were accomplished draftsmen. He rightfully points to the strength of Ribera, Preti, Giordano, and Solimena in this regard. De Matteis’s few autograph drawings

are reviewed for their quality and some further tentative attributions made. Ultimately, Pestilli concludes that de Matteis “could oscillate in his drawing style from a very polished, classical technique ... to the almost abstract” (284). The author also refutes the previously held belief that de Matteis’s graphic output evolved seamlessly from “an earlier Giordanesque to a later Marattesque style” (284) and rightfully concludes that “the Vasarian organic approach in mapping an artist’s drawing style, from one of vibrant growth to subsequent decline, is as invalid a tool for defining Paolo de Matteis’s draftsmanship as it is for assessing Florentine painting” (292).

Lastly, the “Epilogue” covers a summation of Pestilli’s views of the artist: he was appreciated in his time and then overlooked by subsequent generations due to the “rise of new aesthetic goals in eighteenth-century Europe,” (307) which favored a greater classicism, ushering in the Neoclassical period. While the volume could have been more succinct, one can only marvel at the time and thought that went into this thorough study. Thanks to Pestilli, Paolo de Matteis has been placed back onto the map of early modern Neapolitan art—a region and period worthy of further inquiry, especially by American art historians.

W. Scott Howard, ed. *An Collins and the Historical Imagination*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xiv + 255pp. + 4 illus. \$149.95. Review by KAVITA MUDAN FINN, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR.

With only one extant copy of her *Divine Songs and Meditations* (1653) housed at the Huntington Library and next to nothing known about her life, it is not entirely unsurprising that An Collins has remained in the background for many discussions of seventeenth-century woman poets. W. Scott Howard’s edited collection *An Collins and the Historical Imagination* does a great deal to remedy this situation, gathering together a wide variety of essays, including updated versions of three previously published articles, into a volume that “celebrates Collins’s writing within her own time and ours through a

comprehensive assessment of her poetics, literary context and reception, and critical tradition” (2).

Following the detailed introduction that provides a careful overview of the publication history of Collins’ poetry, both on its own and in curated anthologies, the subsequent ten chapters are divided thematically. The collection also includes two useful appendices: the first focused on Richard Bishop’s “phantom printing” of Collins’ *Divine Songs and Meditations* in 1658, and the second an annotated edition of one of her poems, “Another Song. The Winter of my infancy.”

Chapters 1-3 concern Collins’ place within both English and wider European discussions of meditative verse. Stanley Stewart, editor of the Augustan Reprints text of *Divine Songs and Meditations* in 1961, draws parallels between Collins’ work and several contemporary poets including Thomas Traherne, John Taylor, and John Donne, before concluding that Collins, unlike these others, is not promoting one particular doctrine—be it Anglican, Puritan, Quaker, or none of the above—so much as turning her attention inward to a “personal pursuit of ‘Truth’” (37). Lyn Bennet’s subsequent chapter opens with the argument that Collins’ choice to include both songs *and* meditations in her published volume was a deliberate gesture toward reconciling, or at least juxtaposing, private and public genres, and uses “The Discourse”—which Stewart specifically mentions as a poem he regrets having omitted from his critical edition and now acknowledges to be “the most substantial and revealing in the volume”—to demonstrate that, in spite of her assertions in other poems that she is a private writer, “the *Divine Songs and Meditations* is a work more public and rhetorical than its author is willing to admit” (29, 50). The third chapter, by Susannah Mintz, offers a fascinating interpretation of Collins’ invocation of disability in several of her poems within the context of other writers’ treatments of the same, including Traherne and Aemilia Lanyer. Unlike these other two poets, Collins, in Mintz’s argument, “figures disablement less as encumbrance than as an opportunity to rethink the grounds of identity” (68).

The following three chapters extend the analyses from Chapters 1-3 into specific comparative studies between Collins’ works and those of her contemporaries, potential sources, and inspirations. Helen Wilcox’s study of Collins’ debts to George Herbert previously

appeared in print in 2003 and has been revised for this collection, focusing on her place within the so-called “school of Herbert” of the mid-seventeenth century. Although she acknowledges that, in contrast to the strong parallels found in the poems of Henry Colman, Julia Palmer, and Cardell Goodman, there are only a few direct verbal echoes of Herbert within Collins’ work, “the shared devotional mode, the triumphant plainness of style and the interwoven issues of writing and spirituality all suggest that Collins’s poems were indeed a sympathetic ‘Echo’ complementing and harmonizing the ‘voice’ of *The Temple*” (83). The fifth chapter by Mary Eleanor Norcliffe concerns Collins’ use of the Song of Songs, particularly when compared to her contemporaries Andrew Marvell, Anne Bradstreet, and Anna Trapnel. Collins, far from being a passive receptacle of divine inspiration, combines “sturdy confidence and a claim to her own role in creating the fruits of her mind” and creates “a nexus of a spiritual fertility that brings the highest kind of joy and personal fulfilment” (100). Patricia Demers’ chapter extends the ambit of the volume by comparing Collins’ spiritual concerns with those of Mère Marie de l’Incarnation, a French Ursuline nun who travelled to Canada to undertake missionary work. Although the two women seem substantially different on the surface—one Catholic, the other Protestant; one writing privately, the other for publication—Demers finds the metaphor of contrasting engravings a useful conceit for approaching “the shared intensity of conviction their language expresses” (116).

Chapters 7-9 concern themselves with the interplay between meditative verse and spiritual autobiography within Collins’ poetry. Sidney Gottlieb’s contribution originally appeared in 2002 in *John Donne Journal*, but its inclusion in this collection is useful in that it effectively navigates Collins’ interleaving of private and public discourse in what he calls her “poetry of affliction,” which he argues, in spite of the name, is “a poetry of strength and confidence and spiritual buoyancy” (125). Building on Gottlieb’s analysis, Marie Loughlin considers how Collins both follows and departs from trends in sectarian spiritual autobiography, especially in terms of framing. Rather than beginning from her conversion and retrospectively conferring meaning on her prior suffering, Collins instead provides her reader with “some sense of how these sufferings were experienced *at the time*,” thus offering a

“surprisingly neutral” outlook (145). Loughlin argues that this neutrality is part of why Collins’ own religious affiliation continues to elude scholars, but that it may also explain her appeal to a broader audience. The final chapter in this section is a revision of Bronwen Price’s 2002 article on Collins’ poetry in *Women’s Writing* that explored “how the instability of Collins’ devotional identity overlaps with her position as a feminist subject who, in the process of inscribing her spiritual life, dissents from gender norms” (156). In an effective callback to the first three chapters in the collection, Price identifies one of the most powerful aspects of Collins’ writing in her ability to transform the perceived weaknesses of her gender and disability into “a fertile, self-contained inner life, in which her identity blends with that of the ultimate creator” (169).

Chapter 10 focuses on the publication history of Collins’ works, from *Divine Songs and Meditations* through various nineteenth- and twentieth-century anthologies, to scholarly and electronic editions available today. Working in parallel with Howard’s introduction, Robert Evans provides extensive bibliographic and contextual details for each successive edition—including excisions, transcription errors, and vagaries of textual editing—thus crafting a complex literary legacy for An Collins that stands in stark contrast to the scant details of her biography. Elaine Hobby’s afterword is similarly technical in approach, concentrating on the wide variety of verse-forms Collins uses—thirteen for songs alone—and making the intriguing suggestion that *Divine Songs and Meditations*, far from being a youthful effort on Collins’ part, “is a mature selection from writings intended, as she says in ‘The Discourse’, for her ‘private use’” and that “there might have been others that have not survived because they were not selected for publication” (197). The two appendices that conclude the volume utilize images from the 1653 printed edition to illuminate, first, its original context and the career of its printer Richard Bishop; and second, Collins’ poem “Another Song. The Winter of my infancy,” presented first in photographs from the Huntington Library’s copy and followed by a critical edition complete with footnotes and scholarly apparatus. Not only is this poem amongst the most popular in Collins’ oeuvre; it is also the only poem that contains evidence of contemporary annotation in the Huntington’s copy. As W. Scott Howard remarks, this

final appendix “offers a dynamic transmission—from the unique 1653 volume to digital hypertext then back again to the printed page—of on-going critical and scholarly engagement with one of An Collins’ most lyrical and accomplished poems” (216). This description could, in many ways, apply to the collection as a whole.

The greatest strengths of this collection lie not only in its elucidation of the elusive An Collins herself, but also in fleshing out the other poets surrounding her. By placing Collins within this active and vibrant context, even if we still know next to nothing about her life and circumstances, the nature and strength of her writing nonetheless shine through. *An Collins and the Historical Imagination* succeeds in not only calling attention to this long-observed writer, but also in laying the groundwork for a great deal of future scholarship.

Leif Dixon. *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590-1640*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. viii + 380. pp. \$149.95. Review by ANDREW J. MARTIN, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

Careful readers will benefit tremendously from Leif Dixon’s thorough study of late Elizabethan and early Stuart predestinarian pastoral theology. Contrary to many previous treatments of the subject that either assumed or argued for the anxiety inducing potential of predestinarian theology, Dixon compellingly demonstrates that the doctrine of predestination was a source of tremendous comfort in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Along the way, he seeks to answer two key questions. First, why was the doctrine of predestination such a source of comfort? Second, how did predestinarian ministers understand and communicate this message of comfort (3)? The pursuit of these questions leads Dixon to the conclusion that as Protestantism became a matter of settled national identity the doctrine of predestination “was forced to change form” and increasingly became a “means of guiding believers”, of “strengthening their faith”, and of “helping them to interpret—and change—the world in a meaningful way” (7).

Methodologically, the book is oriented less to the reception of predestinarian theology among the religious public and more to the manner in which predestination was preached (8). As a result, Dixon

focuses on printed sermons and manuals of practical divinity. After the introduction and an opening chapter surveying the development of predestinarian theology in early modern Protestantism, chapters 2 through 5 are organized around individual pastors and theologians, including William Perkins, Richard Greenham, Richard Rogers, Thomas Wilson, and Robert Sanderson. The final two chapters widen the lens in order to survey predestinarian sermons from 1603-1625 (chapter 6) and funeral sermons (chapter 7).

Throughout the book, Dixon sets forth his historiographical sensibilities clearly and carefully. He is generally sympathetic with Nicholas Tyacke's thesis that the "Calvinist consensus" that emerged under Elizabeth and James was challenged by the "rise of Arminianism" under Charles I (4), and also with Patrick Collinson's narrative of a powerful and well-integrated puritan influence at the center of early modern English life upset by the changing tide of the Caroline regime (5). He accepts Peter Lake's definition of puritanism as "an activist style of piety" (5, 13-14), and also follows Lake and John Morrill in seeing it as an identity forged through a "cultural process" (13). The book's dual emphasis on the cultural significance of theological ideas and the importance of cultural context in shaping the development and practice of theology is especially refreshing (4).

The chapters on the individual pastors are arguably the strongest, and one reason for this is that Dixon frequently pauses to compare and contrast the thought of each subsequent thinker with those previously considered. The result is a narrative that builds gradually and progressively adds categories of analysis, thus allowing for the easy digestion of what would otherwise be a dizzying array of ideas. Impatient readers could skip ahead to the useful spectrum summarizing Dixon's understanding of the relationships between each figure (225-6), but to fully appreciate the nuance and care of the broader argument it is necessary to pay careful attention to the material that both precedes and follows this helpful summary.

Dixon makes several interesting claims in relation to the individuals he considers. His treatment of William Perkins shows that he developed his pastoral theology in response to a series of "inherited cultural anxieties about valid sources of authority" (63). Whereas W. B. Patterson has recently argued that Perkins was not so much a

puritan as an apologist for the established church, Dixon insightfully points out that the question is less one of whether Perkins supported the Church of England and more one of “the *degree* to which he supported it, and the *conditions* which he placed upon that support” (78). Dixon’s exposition of Perkins’s understanding of the conditions of obedience to the commands of both temporal and spiritual authorities regarding things indifferent convincingly demonstrates that he was no straightforward apologist for the policies of the Church or the Crown (81-91). With regard to Perkins’s soteriology, Dixon also demonstrates that he located the seat of faith in the mind rather than the will (93). Contrary to both Patrick Collinson and especially to Christopher Hill, Dixon argues that Perkins was more interested in the individual appropriation of salvation than in the pursuit of cultural change (117).

The categories developed in the chapter on Perkins serve as points of comparison for the treatments that follow. Richard Greenham and Richard Rogers followed Perkins in teaching the importance of perseverance as a ground of assurance, albeit in very different ways. Greenham’s solution was to “embrace extreme psychological states” and to find in affliction affirmation that one must truly be suffering for God, whereas Rogers chose to “dissuade his readers from emotional extremity” and rest in their continued desire to persevere rather than in their success or failure in actually doing so (173).

As for Thomas Wilson, Dixon argues that he simply identified faith with assurance, although in his later work changed his mind and separated the two (175f.). This may be true, but the change is not obvious from the evidence presented, and it is hard to reconcile why Dixon on the one hand argues that Wilson “at least to some extent, *changed his mind*” (206) and on the other hand claims that he “was not so much abandoning his previous position as paying more attention to the transitional phase between weak and strong faith” (199). One is left wondering whether the tendency to either identify or separate faith and assurance is less a function of doctrinal change or development and more a matter of the presentation of different aspects of the same doctrines in different pastoral contexts, as Dixon himself suggests when he critiques the work of R. T. Kendall at several points throughout the book.

The chapter on Robert Sanderson seeks to understand how his predestinarian preaching did not inhibit his ministry under Laud and Charles I. Instead of relying upon a distinction between “experimental” and “creedal” predestination, Dixon instead argues that Sanderson’s understanding of predestination was distinguished by its active rather than passive understanding of human agency and long-term rather than short-term perspective regarding the attainment of assurance (250). Sanderson’s downplaying of human agency and long-term perspective enabled him to take an expansive understanding of *adiaphora* (251). Coupled with his strongly Erastian understanding of the relationship between spiritual and temporal authority, this understanding of matters indifferent allowed him to prosper in spite of his predestinarian views (238). This is a very interesting argument, but perhaps it indicates that the importance of predestination as such has been overplayed in the historiography of the period. Perhaps it was not so much John Cotton’s understanding of predestination and assurance that offended Sanderson and inspired him to preach against him, but rather closely related doctrines such as Cotton’s understanding of God’s covenants with humanity and the political implications of the discontinuity he identified between the law and the gospel (215f.). It is worth pointing out that Dixon himself raises points along these lines (217-18), and he deserves great thanks for provoking interesting questions like these.

While the chapters surveying predestinarian preaching and funeral sermons do not inspire quite as many questions, they nevertheless do help to contextualize and clarify them. Generally speaking, the consideration of predestinarian preaching models a useful approach to the relationship between formal theological works and the genre of printed sermons (268), while the treatment of funeral sermons functions as a nice summary and conclusion to the book as a whole by demonstrating that the doctrine of predestination was about much more than assurance. Dixon identifies eight different practical pastoral applications of predestinarian preaching, of which assurance was only one (353-4).

In addition to these many areas of appreciation, one point of critique is worth noting. The opening chapter surveying the doctrine of predestination during the Reformation era does little to advance

the argument of the book and makes quite a few sweeping generalizations. Is the “matrix of cultural anxiety” really a sufficient explanatory mechanism for the “emergence” (recovery?) of the doctrine of double predestination (34)? Is it really true that during this period “the Catholic Church had not changed as much as had the world outside” (48)? Is there anything about the tendency of “predestinarians after Calvin” to “handle the doctrine in increasingly formalised and dogmatic ways, with human rationality making ever more confident and assertive inroads” (56) that could not also be said of scholastics after Aquinas? When Dixon acknowledges that his contention that “the powerful emergence of predestination during the early modern period was causally connected to a preceding epistemological and ethical crisis is difficult to prove” (58), it is hard not to nod vigorously in agreement and wonder what this chapter contributes to an otherwise excellent and thought provoking book.

Otherwise, *Practical Predestinarians* is a closely argued, carefully researched, and appropriately nuanced consideration of a very complex subject with important historiographical implications. Historians of early modern England as well as historians of Christian doctrine will benefit from it a great deal, not least because it invites them to participate in the same discussion.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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◆ *Platonis Gorgias Leonardo Aretino interprete*. Ed. by Matteo Venier. Edizione nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale, 7. Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del galluzzo, 2011. VIII + 422 pp. On November 1, 1409, Leonardo Bruni sent to Niccolò Niccoli a manuscript containing his Latin translation of Plato's *Gorgias*, along with a brief letter encouraging his friend to have the work copied and disseminated. The appearance of this translation was important for two reasons. First, as is generally known, the mastery of Plato's oeuvre had effectively disappeared in the west during the preceding centuries. When Bruni made his translation, émigrés from the east were beginning to reintroduce instruction in Greek to the west, but even into the next century, many a humanist professed a greater knowledge of Greek than he actually had. The key to the recovery of Greek literature was to have it translated, not into the vernacular, but into Latin, the language used by educated people throughout Renaissance Europe. Bruni's translation therefore filled the need of the moment and was eagerly taken up by such well-known intellectuals as Poggio Bracciolini, Leon Battista Alberti, and Matteo Palmieri, then eventually by Marsilio Ficino as well, whose translations of Plato's works became canonical in the Renaissance. The forty-five pages of section 1 of Venier's introduction survey this material.

The second reason this work is important is that, as Paul Botley has shown in *Latin Translation in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2004), Bruni stood at the center of an important controversy over how Greek literature should be translated. An older tradition focused on word-for-word, literal translation, but Bruni argued that since the ancients were masters of rhetoric, a good translation of a Greek text should capture the sense rather than the exact words in a polished Latin that should match the elegance of the original. Accordingly his translation of the *Gorgias* was into a recognizably Ciceronian Latin. As section 2 of Venier's introduction shows, however, the result does not constitute an unequivocal success, with the occasional lapses being due in part to efforts to impose an alien style onto Plato's Greek, but also in part to the lack of adequate lexical resources at this time. At any rate, Venier's discussion, which goes on for some fifty pages, examines this important issue in detail, in subsections on isosyllable, isocolon, and isorhythm; reminiscences of the *auctores*; syntactical divergences from the original; rhetorical figures; clauses and *numerosa oratio*; literalism; grammatical, syntactical, and lexical particularities; shortening of the original and other infidelities, both purported and real; the philological propriety of the translation; and unclear, approximate, and erroneous translations.

The success of Bruni's translation led to forty manuscript witnesses, an unusually large number, which Venier patiently sorts into classes, from which he constructs the requisite stemmata. This task consumes another hundred plus pages, at which point we finally reach the edition itself, which is accompanied by three critical apparatuses. Appendices on the philological apparatus, marginalia in several manuscript witnesses, and Calicles' speech; a bibliography; and indices of words and expressions, of parallel passages, of manuscripts and early printed editions, and of names and places add eighty more pages.

The result of all this is what can only be called a monument of erudition, a critical edition that can serve as a model for how this sort of work should be done, for those who have the time, patience, and skill to invest in it. I am especially pleased to note that this edition is part of a series that is devoted to humanist translations of Greek texts, a subject whose importance is becoming increasingly apparent as the volumes in the series appear. More information can be found

at the series website: <http://www-3.unipv.it/entg/publicazioni.html>. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Ficino in Spain*. By Susan Byrne. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2015. xiv + 364 pp. \$70. At first glance, the title alone of this book may appear provocative: what kind of influence could Marsilio Ficino have had in Spain? Spain, as we all know, was different, isolated and inward looking; if it even had a Renaissance, it did so apart from the rest of Europe, and on its own terms. Burckhardt largely ignored Spain when he described the Renaissance elsewhere, and the longstanding romanticizing view from within insisted that Spain produced its own intellectuals. When the two worlds intersected, the received opinion is that what happened to Erasmus was typical and that the ideals of the European Renaissance were sacrificed on the altar of Spanish orthodoxy. Within this picture, there is little place for someone like Marsilio Ficino, whose fascination with Plato and Neoplatonism led him to a heterodoxy that sometimes pushed the limits even in Renaissance Florence.

Byrne's argument, quite simply, is that the "persistent idea that Ficino was not a factor in Spanish thought and letters is, frankly, an obsolete anachronism" (216). By the fifteenth century, Ficino's writings and translations were already circulating in Spain. The Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel welcomed Ficino and his Neoplatonism, and students and scholars at the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares embraced Ficinian studies over the next centuries. Library catalogues at the early colleges there contain many entries on Ficino, and annotations in the accompanying volumes show that the books were being read. Charles V's chroniclers, along with those who explored the new world, made direct references to Ficino, and Philip II read Ficino's translations as part of his education and kept the only surviving fifteenth-century manuscript of a Castilian translation of the *Pimander* in his personal library. Spanish historical, political, theological, philosophical, medical, legal, and creative writers absorbed Ficino's ideas, such that important authors like Miguel de Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Bartolomé de las Casas, and Garcilaso de la Vega adapted material from his works. The Jesuits founded their order on the model of Plato's ideal republic, praised Ficino himself, and put his books into

the libraries of their schools, which introduced Ficino to generations of Spanish nobles. As Byrne concludes, “Ficino’s intellectual, philosophical, and literary impact on Spanish authors was immediate, deep, and long-lasting” (218), an argument that she supports by reference to Ficino’s place in Spanish libraries, his appearance as an authority in sixteenth-century Spanish letters, his role as a filter for the study of Hermes Trismegistus and of Plato, and the persistence both of Hermetic-Neoplatonic imagery and of political-economic Platonism.

This is an interesting example of the kind of book that can result when someone takes a commonly received scholarly opinion and tests it against the actual data. All of us view the world through our various heuristic filters, some of which we construct ourselves and some of which we inherit from our teachers, but as this book shows, these filters can keep us from seeing important facts that are literally right in front of us. Once we set aside the idea that Ficino could not have had much of an impact in Renaissance Spain because our ideas about the Renaissance in Spain do not have a place for him, then we can see what there is to see. And if that forces us to revise one of our heuristic filters, then so be it. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Worlds of Learning: The Library and World Chronicle of the Nuremberg Physician Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514)*. Edited by Bettina Wagner. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ausstellungskataloge, 89. Munich: Allitera Verlag and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2015. 22.90 Euros. One of the genres that is often overlooked by scholars of Neo-Latin is the library exhibition catalogue. This is a pity, because many of these catalogues contain important information that cannot be found elsewhere, presented by people with excellent scholarly credentials who are accustomed to looking at the research material we use from different perspectives and to asking questions that scholars with a professorial appointment might not think to ask. A good example of this point is the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition “Welten des Wissens. Die Bibliothek und Weltchronik des Nürnberger Arztes Hartmann Schedel (1440-1515),” held from 19 November 2014 to 1 March 2015 at the Bavarian State Library in Munich.

Schedel is best known for his involvement in the so-called Nuremberg Chronicle, one of the masterpieces of early printing. The largest

printing project of the incunabular (pre-1501) period, the chronicle contains over 1,800 illustrations, produced in a print run of more than 2,000 copies in the shop of Anton Koberger. The book is well known to historians of early printing, since some 1,700 copies survive and documentary evidence gives us a good deal of information about how it was produced. The catalogue gives us the basic information about the book, since its Latin text was crafted by Schedel, who followed the medieval model of dividing human history into seven eras but used Greek and Roman sources along with the works of humanist scholars like Flavio Biondo and Eneo Silvio Piccolomini. This is not really a book about the chronicle, however, but about its author and his life, as revealed by his books. Schedel's book collection, much of which survives intact in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, is the largest private library to have come down to us from an intellectual who lived and worked at the time when Italian humanism sunk its roots into German culture. The 370 manuscripts and 460 early printed books allow us to trace the intellectual development of a man who was born into a family with long ties to Nuremberg but was educated first in Leipzig, then in Padua, where he took a degree in medicine. While studying there, Schedel was bitten by the humanist bug and spent his free time copying classical texts, searching for and transcribing inscriptions, and gaining a basic knowledge of Greek. After graduation, he took up a series of positions as official town physician, ending up eventually in Nuremberg, where he remained for the rest of his life. He continued his humanist activity, collecting books, working on the chronicle, and achieving significant professional success until he passed away at the age of seventy-four.

Schedel's library demonstrates why it is important for someone studying Renaissance Latin to work with the books and manuscripts from this period, along with modern editions. Schedel lived at the time when printing transformed the intellectual life of Europe, and he benefited richly from this transformation, amassing a library whose size and breadth would have been beyond the reach even of a wealthy, successful physician in the preceding century. Many of his books preserve his notes, which allow us to see what he was reading for and how he processed what he read. His handwriting changed during the course of his lifetime, from a Gothic script to a humanistic one,

reflecting the evolution of his thought. Unlike many men of his day, he preserved ephemera like booksellers' catalogues and correspondence about books that show us how one went about building a library at this time. And in the indices he created for his books, we can see how Schedel struggled to organize the flood of knowledge unleashed by the information revolution that resulted from print. Indeed, once it is placed into this context, the Nuremberg Chronicle takes on new meaning as a sort of universal history that reflects the concerns not so much of its medieval models, but of its early Renaissance readers, who needed a framework into which they could put their expanding historical, geographical, and cultural knowledge.

This is a valuable book, sound in its scholarship, beautifully illustrated, and clearly organized. It can serve as a model for the kind of exhibition catalogue on which scholarship in Neo-Latin should rest. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Vie de saint Jérôme*. By Desiderius Erasmus. Trans. and ed. by André Godin, Latin text ed. by Alexandre Vanautgaerden. *Notulae Erasimianae*, 9. Turnhout: Brepols, and Geneva: Bibliothèque de Genève, 2013. 298 pp. *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami. Ordinis noni, tomus uintus*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013. xiv + 678 pp. The two great Erasmus editions of our time (the Amsterdam *Opera omnia* [=ASD, 1969-] and Toronto Collected Works in English [=CWE, 1974-]) were launched amid festivities for the quincentenary of the author's birth, in a spirit of Northern Atlantic, Cold War religious ecumenism and classical-humanist revival. The Erasmus they set forth in their early volumes was essentially the forty-something whom learned coteries acclaimed as he rode up the Rhine valley to Basel in the summer of 1514, producer of the *Adagia*, *Moria*, *Copia* and other Literary and Educational Writings (as CWE calls them) in a fashionable idiom. Now, five decades later, both ASD and CWE are deep in the later sections of the *Erasmi lucubrationes*: edition and paraphrases of the New Testament, translations and editions of the Church Fathers, and—most extensive of all—the theological controversies in which Erasmus was continuously engaged from 1517 until his death in 1536. The witty humanist who, if he had kept on his way to Rome in late 1514, might by now have an honorary niche

in the Villa I Tatti Renaissance Library, has yielded his place to the embattled theologian of the *Lutherzeit*. The volumes under review help to contextualize that evolution.

In 1982, André Godin's monograph *Érasme lecteur d'Origène* set a new mark for study of the humanist's working relationships with his patristic precursors. A year later, at the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford, Godin turned to Erasmus's biography of Jerome, the *Hieronymi Stridonensis vita*, composed originally for the 1516 Basel (Froben) edition of the *Divi Hieronymi opera*. While no single work of scholarship on Erasmus's reading and use of Jerome has yet matched Godin's model for Origen, important new research by Eugene Rice, Lisa Jardine, Jacques Chomarat, Benedetto Clausi, Hilmar Pabel, and others has opened the field up in interesting ways. This handy new edition of the *Hieronymi vita* offers an excellent vantage point for assessing what was at stake for Erasmus in the relationship. It contains a fine introductory essay ('Un chef-d'oeuvre polyvalent'), translation and notes by Godin, a facing reprint of the Latin text as edited in 1933 by Wallace K. Ferguson, and a substantial bibliography (which, however, lacks several items cited in the introduction). It is not clear from the "Note sur l'édition" when the *Hieronymi vita* first appeared as a self-contained publication in a small format, rather than among the preliminaries of a folio or quarto edition of Jerome's epistolary and exegetical writings. In any case, the elegant design of the present octavo in the *Notulae Erasmi* series—conceived and curated by the Director of the Bibliothèque de Genève, Alexandre Vanautgaerden, himself the author of a major study of *Érasme typographe*—gives this *Life* a more Aldine allure than even Froben aimed at, but one not at odds with Erasmus's original styling of the subject. As Godin notes (14), the project of an edition of Jerome's letters was also part of Erasmus's *self-styling* as a humanist from as early as we can reliably track it. The idea seems to have occurred to him while he struggled to decipher the scribe- and compositor-mangled orthography of Jerome's Greek tags, for the *début* volume of his *Adagia* (Paris, 1500). At that point in Erasmus's career, and for some time afterward, Jerome was mainly attractive to him as an approved Christian model of classical erudition and eloquence. It was an enhanced version of that Jerome, familiar already to several generations of Italian humanists and

their readers, that he meant to publish in Basel—or, if disappointed there, in Rome—in late 1514 or early 1515.

Dis aliter visum. Erasmus duly published his Jerome with Froben in Basel, but only after a considerable delay while he and his *équipe* saw to other business. On leaving England in the summer of 1514, he had also had in mind to publish a set of critical notes on the standard Latin text (traditionally credited to Jerome) of the New Testament, in the manner of Valla. Upon his arrival in Basel, in circumstances that we can now only partly reconstruct, this relatively modest project was overtaken by the more ambitious one of publishing a full Greek text of the New Testament, facing (revised) Latin translation, and accompanying textual and exegetical notes. Such would be the *Novum instrumentum*, published in February 1516, the *editio princeps* of the New Testament and the first work in which Erasmus—who was known to have obtained his doctorate in theology on the fly—ventured more than a few steps into the territory of professional theologians. Already in drafting the preliminaries of the Jerome edition, which include the *Hieronymi vita*, the editor took his precautions. “Let only heretics have Jerome for an object of horror and hatred, since they were the only ones that he always treated as the most bitter enemies!” The polemical last line of the biography is insightfully glossed by Godin as “fully coherent with the function of lightning-conductor for the *Novum Instrumentum* that Erasmus [now] assigned to his edition of the *Hieronymi Opera*” as a whole (250). We do not know exactly when a biography of the saint became part of Erasmus’s plan for his edition of Jerome; it may have been an afterthought. It seems certain, however, that the *Hieronymi vita* reflected a momentous and partly involuntary restyling of Erasmus’s own life as a publishing author.

In the texts presented by Edwin Rabbie in the fifth volume of the ninth *ordo* of his *opera omnia* (the section devoted to theological controversy), Erasmus is fully embodied in the combative role scripted for Jerome as his *alter ego* in the *Hieronymi vita*. These works issued by Froben in Basel between 1526 and 1529 show him reacting—in a variety of publishing formats, at different scales of argument, and at considerable length overall—to the censures made on his Latin *Paraphrases* of the Gospel of St. Luke (1522) by Noël Bédá, syndic of the Paris Faculty of Theology. Erasmus’s *Paraphrases* of the Epistles,

Gospels, and Acts were an immediate sequel to the 1516 *Novum instrumentum*. Beginning with Romans in 1517 and accompanying the progress of his New Testament through its second (1519) and third (1522) editions, they were an extension of the thought experiment on paper that began when he took Valla's hint to consider how the word of God in Scripture ought to sound—indeed, ought now to be *made* to sound—in Latin. In Ann Moss's resonant phrase, they were an outworking of “the Latin language turn” in Renaissance epistemology. Research such as Moss's and Erika Rummel's has narrowed the gap between humanist and scholastic positions of the day, without diminishing the scandal that a steady application of such Neo-Latinism to the core texts of Christianity was bound to represent for Bédá and others of his guild. If one had any doubt of the gravity or inevitability of the conflict, a glance at the correspondence between Erasmus and Bédá—which both saw fit to reproduce in self-justification—would dispel it. Here were two men who had known for a while that they were likely sooner or later to clash publicly. Now that the time had come, their lines and poses were too well studied to create much drama. In Bédá's eyes, Erasmus and his kind were men presuming to expound sacred mysteries on the strength of a training in “humanity” and languages alone, *humanistae theologizantes cum Luthero* (here 221, note to ll. 196–97 of Erasmus's *Supputationes errorum in censuris Natalis Bedae*). For Erasmus, Bédá's incomprehension was only slightly less culpable than that of the unnamed Spanish Franciscan who took his advocacy of a *vera germanaque theologia* for a claim that only Germans could do real theology (226). Erasmus was irritated that Bédá had not gone to the trouble of looking at his edition of the New Testament and suspected, not improbably, that he was alarmed by the strong sales of the *Paraphrases* and the prospect of a French translation of the work (268). Bédá sends Erasmus back to read Bishop Augustine; Erasmus takes his stand with the presbyter Jerome and recalls how the latter had been harried by Augustine, his inferior in biblical science. And so on. It is easy to understand why Rabbie, in a brief introduction to the volume, quotes Augustin Renaudet's verdict on the correspondence between Erasmus and Bédá (“longue et inutile”) and extends it to their interactions in other genres. Yet it would be a serious error of historical perspective to downplay the importance of this slugging-

match. The *humanista theologizans* behind the unscintillating pages of *divinationes, supputationes* and *notatiunculae contra Bedam* now edited to a standard rarely matched for other modern Latin authors is one whose measure is being taken anew by scholarship of our time. (Mark Vessey, University of British Columbia)

◆ *Contra vitam monasticam epistula: Andrea Alciato's Letter Against Monastic Life*. By Andrea Alciati. Ed. and trans. by Denis Drysdall. Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 36. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014. 144 pp. \$74. Andrea Alciato (1492-1550) was a lawyer and humanist in Milan who is best known as a legal scholar and as the author of his *Emblematum libellus* (first authorized edition 1534), the first of the emblem books that became popular in the sixteenth century. His work against monasticism was written in 1517 or 1518, though not published until 1695. The original manuscript has been lost, but a manuscript copy dated 1553 forms the basis of the present edition. Variations between this manuscript and the first printed edition are noted in the apparatus. Interestingly, the 1553 manuscript can be viewed online at the University of Utrecht library website, and the website is given in the introduction. While this edition does not give much biographical information on Alciato, he can be found in Bietenholz *et al.*, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (vol.1).

Alciato's letter against the monastic life is a series of arguments attempting to persuade his friend Bernardus Mattius to leave the monastery. Mattius, who is only known from this work, is a lawyer who, upon reaching forty years of age, suddenly left his career and his support of his mother and brothers, and joined a Franciscan monastery in Pavia. Since the age of forty has such significance in religious conversions from Augustine on (Petrarch notably), it is possible that Mattius is a literary invention.

Alciato's main argument against monasticism is that the life of someone in the world, successfully facing temptations and struggles, is spiritually better and more meritorious than the life of one shut up in a monastery, free from such temptations and struggles. He says, "when anyone can live continently and honestly, free of these observances of yours, and move without stumbling through the thickets and thorns of this world, he acquires far greater grace with God than those associates

of yours who stay shut up in cloisters. For who does not believe that a poor man, burdened with many children, providing food from day to day with his own hands for them, for himself, and for his family, but mindful nevertheless of God, is far more acceptable in heaven than are those who have no other care than praying and fasting?" (92).

Likewise, he argues that monasticism is not in the Bible or the earliest church and, in its current form, is contrary to the intentions of its founders. He says that the apostles and those "in primitiva ecclesia" were not monks, nor do monks imitate their lives. Unlike current monks, the early church heroes worked hard, were thrifty, and were witnesses and martyrs for the faith. With good intentions Francis began the Franciscans, urging humility and a life in imitation of the gospels. However, his followers built monasteries, became divisive, and changed the order. In a notable contrast, Alciato sets forth the Jewish Essenes as an ideal community for poverty, worship, and morals.

Another recurring argument Alciato makes is that before Mattius gave up civil law for the monastery, he had helped his family and friends, and had wealth to give. Now that he has entered the monastery and has taken up a life of poverty, he has nothing to give, and his mother and brothers will become impoverished. He says, "Everywhere in the gospels Christ preaches alms-giving as preparing the surest way to heaven.... You lack this blessing, thinking alms-giving is of no importance, but rather take what would be due to others" (64). Despite the objection from monks that they preach and pray for others, this is not as good as actually helping them.

Drysdall refers to Alciato's main argument about the spiritual superiority of the life of the layperson as Stoic. Alciato does say that both Christians and pagans uphold perseverance in the world as better than separation and cites Zeno in support of this: "The man who has a really strong mind is one who, just when there is the greatest difficulty in living rightly, shows himself at that time to be vigorous, unbroken, unconquerable" (98). While this is Stoic, taking into account the date of the work, it actually sounds Protestant, or at least Erasmian. This would explain why Alciato asks Mattius not to share this letter with anyone and became concerned that it would be published. According to his 1520 letter, the work by that time had reached Erasmus by way of Francesco Calvo, a bookseller and publisher in Pavia and Rome.

Alciato was extremely anxious to get this work on monasticism back from Erasmus, even threatening Calvo, Erasmus, and Froben with a lawsuit, saying that he would be linked with Luther if the work became public knowledge. This is an interesting concern, since Luther had not yet written against monasticism, which he does in 1521. Like Luther, Alciato argues that monasticism is unbiblical, but he does not make the other argument Luther does, namely that monasticism is an attempt to get to heaven by works rather than by the true path, which is by faith alone.

Drysdall's edition is very well done, and the translation is excellent and very readable. The value of the work lies in the clear influence of Erasmus. Alciato refers by name to Erasmus's 1516 New Testament, the *Instrumentum novum* (101), and it is the source of Alciato's biblical quotations. There are also about thirty references to and quotes from Erasmus's *Adagia*. Likewise, Erasmus's letters to Alciato are in his *Correspondence*, and Alciato is cited by Erasmus in the *Adagia*. This edition shows the concerns of an Italian Catholic at the time of the start of Protestantism, and the arguments are similar to those that engulfed greater figures such as Erasmus and Luther in controversies. Apparently Erasmus never returned the work to Alciato, who eventually gave up trying to get it back. Erasmus in a 1531 letter tells Alciato that he had burned it. (Bruce McNair, Campbell College)

◆ *Entre la Renaissance et les Lumières, le 'Theophrastus redivivus' (1659)*. Ed. by Nicole Gengoux. Paris: Champion, 2014. The world of *Theophrastus* studies is rather a small one, a fact which this collection of essays both acknowledges and takes full advantage of: eight of the fourteen critics cited in the bibliography have been included amongst the ten contributors to this volume. This relative exclusivity is primarily a consequence of the fortunes of the text itself, published only in 1981 and still not fully translated from the original Latin (accordingly, Latin quotations in the essays are not generally translated either, although detailed French abstracts precede the two contributions—one in English, and one in Spanish—that are not in French). However, other factors are also in play: Pierre-François Moreau's foreword freely attacks the rigidity of the philosophical canon and of the discipline's tendency to marginalise clandestine or libertine texts.

The proofreading of the volume has not been faultless, but the collected essays have been well and generously edited, with connections between articles gently highlighted and some occasionally quite robust responses to individual contributors' approaches allowed to remain in place. Nicole Gengoux's initial presentation gives a very clear account of the text, neatly summarising its principal arguments, its reception history, and the primary critical debates that recur in the essays that follow, such as the text's atheist or naturalist position, its concern with the past or with the future, and its effect upon potential readers. In a pairing of essays on natural morality, Jean-Pierre Cavallé analyses the *Theophrastus's* advocacy of freedom, equality, and community, and hence of a return away from private ownership (be it of land or of sexual partners) to a state of nature, while John Christian Laursen re-evaluates the *Theophrastus's* cynicism, a philosophy which resembles the appeal for a return to nature in its rejection of civilisation's customs and laws. In a second section on nature, politics, and religion, the atheism of the *Theophrastus* is compared firstly to euhemerism, as Lorenzo Bianchi studies the text's rational analysis of the origins and imposition of religions, and secondly to pantheism, as Miguel Benitez assesses the atheist author's respect for the reasonableness of deifying elements of nature that are beneficial to all rather than inventing gods. In a third pairing of essays, Gianni Paganini underlines the radicalism of the text's Aristotelianism, employed to atheist ends, while Marcelino Rodríguez Donís studies the text's reliance on animal intelligence and natural reason to demonstrate that the gods do not exist, that the soul is mortal, and that the powerful have always manipulated religious beliefs to suit their own purposes. In the penultimate essay, Nicole Gengoux suggests that the resemblances between the *Theophrastus* and Spinoza—in their naturalism, their approach to Epicurus, and their presentation of dynamism in nature—are indicative of a shared thought process even though the evidence clearly suggests that Spinoza did not know of the *Theophrastus*.

The *Theophrastus* does not emerge from the close scrutiny of such a high proportion of its critics unscathed. Héléne Bah-Ostrowiecki highlights the methodological flaws in its polemical position, as it argues with its opponents on their own terms: the text fights the dualism between the natural and the supernatural by positing nature

as a single entity, only to destroy that unity by contrasting natural reason with flawed, human reason. Paganini highlights the text's surprising ability to question traditional conceptions of religion and the universe in spite of its preference for ancient philosophies over the modern theories of Copernicus or Descartes, while Donís situates the *Theophrastus* in the context of sources to which its author remains curiously oblivious: Pliny or Ficino would have supported his arguments concerning animal intelligence; Gassendi would have corrected his misrepresentation of Epicurus. Most of the contributors (Bianchi, Benitez, Paganini, Donís) refer to the anonymous author's frequently selective, occasionally patchy, and at times downright misinformed reading of his sources and his willingness to skew the philosophical positions of the authorities he cites to suit his atheist ends. Yet while his reading may have been faulty, at least he read: in contrast, Olivier Bloch's short, concluding essay demonstrates through analogy with the lost works of Aristotle that there is no evidence of anyone having actually read the *Theophrastus* before the twentieth century, let alone having been influenced by its ideas—although he goes on to add that this neglect does not in fact really matter. It is nevertheless a neglect that the contributors to this volume certainly try to make up for now. (Emma Herdman, University of St Andrews)

◆ *Fasti Austriae 1736: Ein naulateinisches Gedicht in fünfzehn europäischen Sprachen*. Ed. by Franz Römer, Herbert Bannert, Elisabeth Klecker, and Christian Gastgeber. *Singularia Vindobonensia*, 5. Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2015. 200 pp. It is customary for those who attend the congresses of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies to receive a book, in Latin, that sheds light on the Neo-Latin culture of the city in which the congress is being held. The nature of this volume is not publicized in advance, which always adds to the anticipation of the congress participants: what unexpected treasure will the congress organizers come up with this time? I do not think that anyone would have anticipated the contribution that Franz Römer, the second vice president and conference organizer, and his colleagues produced, but they did a remarkable job of finding something that represents the extraordinarily rich culture of Vienna, the host city for the sixteenth triennial congress in August of 2016.

The volume in question is an edition of Joseph Koller's *Fasti Austriae, in singulos anni menses, cum metro, tum prosa, compendio digesta* ... (Vienna, 1736). The book, as one might guess, is a recasting of Ovid's *Fasti*, prepared to accompany an academic ceremony at the Jesuit university in Vienna in 1736. Koller (1703-1766) drew his inspiration from Ovid's calendar poem, but he incorporated Christian holidays and events that were important to Austria's Habsburg rulers into a series of short poems, one for each month. Each poem is accompanied by a translation into one of the languages spoken by people under Habsburg rule at the time, which serves both as a reminder of the cultural diversity of the Austrian empire in the eighteenth century and as a testament to the scholarly network of the editors, who found a qualified editor for each section. Each poem is also accompanied by an illustration of activities appropriate to the month by the Viennese engravers Josef (1683-1740) and Andreas (1700-1740) Schmu(t)zer. The result is a fascinating document, one that records an interesting moment in Viennese history while at the same time reinforcing one of the themes of the congress, which was 'Contextus Neolatini: Neo-Latin in Local, Trans-regional, and Worldwide Contexts.'

This book, and the congress with which it was associated, offers concrete testimony to the vitality of Neo-Latin studies in Austria today. In 2011, a special Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, one of only two such groups in the humanities, was founded in Innsbruck. The scholars at this institute, which quickly became one of the European centers for Neo-Latin studies, recently published *Tyrolis Latina: Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur in Tirol* (Vienna and Cologne, 2012), a monumental, 1,325-page history of Latin culture in this region from its beginnings to the present day. Two other major projects, one studying Benedictine theater in Salzburg and the other, the reception of antiquity at the Jesuit university in Graz, show that Neo-Latin is being pursued elsewhere as well. And in Vienna, it is worth noting that the university has proved unusually receptive to Neo-Latin, with the classics department being renamed to include Neo-Latin in 2000, the venerable journal *Wiener Studien* being relabeled "Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie, Patristik, und lateinische Tradition," and the series *Singularia Vindobonensia* being founded to make the Neo-Latin literature of early modern Austria,

with a focus on Vienna, accessible. Much good work has come from Viennese scholars on the eighteenth century, which is often rather neglected in Neo-Latin studies in favor of the earlier periods; to that work, this volume can now be added. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*. Edited by Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi. The Renaissance Society of America Texts and Studies Series, 3. 2 vols. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014. xlv + xviii + 1,246 pp. The publication last year of *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, edited by Philip Ford (who sadly died before publication), Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi, was a welcome landmark for anyone involved in Neo-Latin studies. Research in this field has been constantly hampered by a shortage of reference material: until this new encyclopedia, the only existing reference work in English was Jozef IJsewijn's invaluable *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, published originally in 1977, and revised and reprinted in two parts (the first in 1990; the second, with Dirk Sacré, in 1998). But the *Companion*, for all its undoubted scope and authority, is essentially the work of an individual, remains on a relatively small scale (for a handbook to such a large and varied field), and is already outdated. Most importantly, it is markedly hard to get hold of.

Brill's Encyclopaedia is a second major work, also in two volumes, although the two parts are conceived quite differently from IJsewijn's pair. Volume I, the *Macroaedia*, consists of sixty-six substantial chapters, of between four and twenty-five double-columned pages, arranged in twelve sections (plus some handsome colour illustrations at the end); Volume II, the *Microaedia*, is a slimmer work of 324 pages—including separate indices of names and place names—and contains 145 shorter entries (of mostly one to four pages) on topics, individuals, and specific works. Erasmus, for instance, has four separate entries in the *Microaedia*: "Education—Erasmus," "Erasmus (*The Adagia*)," "Erasmus (*Praise of Folly*)," and "Erasmus (*Theology*)." The full table of contents to both parts is printed at the front of each volume, but the index appears only at the end of volume 2. I note this as a potential hazard for future scholars and students who may end up finding and purchasing only the first volume on the second-hand market.

Aside from sheer scale, the most significant difference from IJsewijn's *Handbook* is that the Brill *Encyclopaedia* is a work of multiple authorship, and even of multiple editorship, with three editors, representing scholarly traditions in the UK, the Netherlands, and the USA, respectively, supervising the contributions of an impressive eighty scholars from around the world. Nevertheless, there has been some attempt to create clarity for the user of the encyclopedia by (in most cases) commissioning the author of a given *Macropaedia* article to write related entries in the *Micropaedia*: so Monique Mund-Dopchie, for instance, has contributed Chapter 60, "Cosmography and Exploration," to the *Macropaedia*, as well as four related entries to the *Micropaedia* (on "Borrowings from Ancient Geography," "Latin Translations of Place Names," "Latin Travel Journals and Guidebooks," and "Latin Vocabulary for New World Phenomena"). This is by and large a strength of the work: major and more minor entries are cross-referenced and complement each other, and it helps to avoid much repetition between the volumes. It is also an effective use of expertise, especially in the most highly specialized areas, although sometimes I felt that the choice of *Micropaedia* entries had been guided perhaps too much by the suggestions of related *Macropaedia* authors. Any future editions, or updates to the digital edition, could perhaps expand the *Micropaedia* in particular.

There are only occasional instances where contributions seem wrongly allocated: Dirk Sacre's fascinating *Micropaedia* essay on "Inscriptions," for instance, is disproportionately long, while I thought the two excellent entries on "Occasional Poetry: Theory" (by Susanna de Beer) and "Occasional Poetry: Practice" (by Ingrid A. R. De Smet) in the *Micropaedia* underserve a mode of poetic production that forms such a large part of the extant Neo-Latin record and that could usefully have been discussed in the *Macropaedia*. My sense is that the *Macropaedia* may prove more durable than its companion volume, but I enjoyed and learnt from both enormously, and the sheer range of the *Micropaedia* gives an exciting impression of the variety and vitality of the field.

The choice of essays and entries, as well as the decisions about divisions between *Macro-* and *Micropaedia*, represents an assessment of the field as a whole and sets out for graduate students and junior

scholars a sense of the principal areas of research. This impression operates both positively and negatively: the recent strength and sophistication of scholarship on Renaissance and early-modern print culture is reflected in an excellent and very varied seven chapters in Part II of the *Macropaedia*: “Latin and Printing,” plus an additional eight directly relevant entries in the *Micropaedia* (on “Print and Pedagogy” and on seven separate “Printing Centres”). Similarly, lively recent work on the relationship between Latin and the vernacular is reflected in a dedicated section in the *Macropaedia* (albeit of only two chapters), plus two further related *Micropaedia* entries. One of these is on “Latin Translations from the Vernacular in Early Modern Science,” and the *Encyclopaedia* reflects the greatly increased interest in Neo-Latin within intellectual culture as a whole, devoting dedicated sections of the *Macropaedia* to Latin and the Arts, Latin and Philosophy, Latin and the Sciences, Latin and the Church, and Latin and Law (Parts V-IX respectively). A sign of the increasing maturity of the discipline is the inclusion of one *Macropaedia* article (“History of Neo-Latin Studies,” by Demmy Verbeke, comprising its own Section XII) and three *Micropaedia* entries devoted to the history of the discipline and its scholarly pioneers.

In terms of Neo-Latin literature, the *Encyclopaedia* appears to resist both the creation of a literary canon of particular authors and works, and perhaps even the centrality of literature to the discipline at all: the editors themselves note in their preface that in terms of proportions, their volume is much less centrally concerned with literature than IJsewijn’s *Companion*, and the selection of entries in the *Micropaedia* in particular seems to suggest an attempt to avoid canon-creation by relatively sparing use of single-author entries. Of the twenty-three authors who do receive a named entry, many—such as Calvin, Descartes, Erasmus, Gassendi, Spinoza, Valla, and Vives—are not principally, or not only, considered literary authors. Of entries dedicated to single texts, of which there are very few, only Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly* is generally treated as a literary work.

Another possible instance of tacit agenda-setting can be found in the relative paucity of material focusing on classical imitation: aside from a brief *Macropaedia* chapter on the topic (“Neo-Latin Literary Genres and the Classical Tradition,” by Jan Bloemendal) and

the introductions to many of the chapters on individual genres, the treatment of this—traditionally central—aspect of Neo-Latin studies is confined to a rather eclectic set of *Micropaedia* entries, including: “Borrowings from Ancient Geography” (Monique Mund-Dopchie), “The Greek Anthology” (Harry Stevenson), “Lucretius—Editions and Commentaries” (Jill Kraye), “Neo-Latin Supplements to Classical Latin Works” (Craig Kallendorf), “Pliny (on Art)” (Maia Wellington Gahtan), “Seneca’s Philosophical Works—Editions and Commentaries” (Jill Kraye, but no corresponding entry on the drama), “Terence as a School Text: Commentaries” (Jan Bloemendal), and “Virgilianism” (Craig Kallendorf). Readers interested in the influence of such major authors as Horace, Ovid, and Cicero who wrote across multiple genres—as well as those considered more minor today who were widely imitated in the Renaissance, such as Martial and Statius—have to consult the index alongside obviously relevant generic chapters. I do not consider this a weakness of the project as a whole, since it encourages us to approach Neo-Latin works on their own terms and in a broader intellectual context, but it amounts to an interpretation of the field and it certainly makes some aspects of classical reception (such as that of Lucretius, very well represented throughout the *Encyclopaedia*) more prominent than others (such as that of Statius’s *Sylvae* or Senecan tragedy).

Inevitably, every reader will find different strengths or weaknesses depending on their own interests and areas of expertise. As mentioned above, the choice of individual authors for *Micropaedia* entries is fairly limited, and sometimes seems uneven: Bembo, for instance, receives an entry of his own, but neither Pontano nor Sannazaro do (characteristically, there is instead a relevant entry for “Humanist Centres—Naples,” although the Bembo entry does not refer us to it). On the whole, both discussion and choice of entries reflects a particular interest in northern European Latinity—not after all unreasonable in a Brill publication—alongside fascinating work, once again reflecting recent scholarship, on Neo-Latin writing in Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and the ‘New World.’ After nearly a year of regular use, only a few topics seem to me to be to be truly underserved—for example, the rich Neo-Latin writings of seventeenth-century Britain (my own area of specialization) has largely fallen between the gaps of

two *Micropaedia* entries (both by David A. Porter), one on the “long sixteenth century” and one on “later centuries,” but which really begins seriously in the eighteenth. This is reflected in the index, in which neither George Herbert nor Andrew Marvell appears (though Marvell is in fact mentioned briefly on 869), and John Owen—an epigrammatist read enthusiastically across Europe—receives only two passing mentions. (I also found a few errors in the index, though this is hardly surprising in so large a project.)

But these are minor cavils. *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* is a splendid resource and will be of enormous benefit to everyone working in this field, as well as—perhaps even more so—to many students and scholars of the Renaissance and early modern period who do not consider themselves Neo-Latinists. Immediately upon publication it has become the inevitable starting-point for any fresh project, and an essential purchase for research libraries. Which leads me to my only serious complaint: at just under \$500 (just under 400 euros, somewhat over £300) it is prohibitively expensive, and many scholars who would wish to own it will instead have to wait hopefully for their libraries to acquire it. (Victoria Moul, King's College, London)

◆ *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson. Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Essays and Studies, 35. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015. 297 pp. \$34.95. It is not often that a direct line can be traced between a series of Neo-Latin texts and an idea that has endured through to modern times, affecting profoundly the broader development of western culture, but that is what has happened with the concept of civic humanism. The term has its origins in the work of Hans Baron, an émigré German scholar whose *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1955, revised edition 1966) is regularly cited as one of the most influential books in its field from the twentieth century. In this book Baron argued that the crisis caused by the invasion of Giangaleazzo Visconti caused the disparate elements of Florentine intellectual life to fuse into a civic activism that was rooted in the reception of republican texts from ancient Greece and Rome. In the half century since its appearance, *The Crisis* has been challenged

on a number of fronts, especially for the dating of key Neo-Latin texts by Leonardo Bruni and others on which the details of its argument rest, but the ideal of a commitment to the active political life under the influence of classical models has endured into the writings of the so-called 'Cambridge school,' in which historians like John G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner have posited an 'Atlantic Republican Tradition' that flowed through seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England into the American revolution.

After Civic Humanism collects a number of essays that begin with Baron's concept and examine where scholarship has gone since the fifties. After an introduction by the editors that lays out the issues, Oren Margolis argues that Jacob Burckhardt's classic *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* offers a roadmap for a renewed focus on the practical political nature of many humanist texts, and Christopher Celenza ties humanist discussions about the mutability of language to the intellectual chain forged by Pocock and Skinner. Two essays by Alexander Lee and Lorenza Tromboni on the fourteenth century push from Baron's focus on Latin texts that deal with republicanism to suggest that Albertino Mussato's defense of Paduan liberty unfolded within an imperial paradigm and that the vernacular translation of Marsilio of Padua's *Defensor pacis* had a greater influence on Florentine intellectual life than has previously been recognized. Four essays on the fifteenth century nuance Baron's original treatment of this period: Brian Jeffrey Maxson shows how ritual and magic derived from their original context provide an important overlay to the republican ideals expressed in the humanist orations that were delivered when a Florentine mercenary captain took command of his troops, Elizabeth McCahill shows how humanists in Rome explored a variety of political issues, Gary Ianziti traces the spread of the politicized history written by Leonardo Bruni to Pier Candido Decembrio and other humanists working in Milan, and Jenifer Cavalli explores how female consorts used humanist learning to expand and solidify their political power. The last four essays extend into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. John Gagné shows how the Milanese and French negotiated competing political languages during the French invasion, Nicholas Scott Baker examines how writing history became a political act for the exiled Florentine republican Jacopo Nardi, Mark Jurdjevic argues

that the *Florentine Histories* reveal a continuing republican sentiment in the enigmatic Machiavelli, and Edward Muir shows how Paolo Sarpi's secular treatment of civic humanist themes extends beyond the well-known works studied by William Bouwsma to the lesser-known material as well.

The theme that emerges from these essays is that the connection between humanism and politics in Renaissance Italy is multifaceted and nuanced. Baron's civic paradigm retains its heuristic value, but as one of several modes that explain the interaction between learning and politics in Italy between 1300 and 1650. This is in line with the general scholarly movement of the last half century, which eschews single-model explanations in favor of a more supple analysis that emphasizes diversity and complexity. Within this context Baron's model emerges in a diminished form, but it remains alive and well, unlike many other fifty-year-old scholarly paradigms. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance*. By Ada Palmer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014. 416 pp. \$39.95. *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance* is the latest in a recent outpouring of scholarly contributions to the reception of Lucretius in early modern Europe. Following in the wake of Gerard Paul Passannante's *The Lucretian Renaissance* (2011), Stephen Greenblatt's *The Swerve* (2011), Alison Brown's *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (2010), and Valentina Prosperi's *Di soavi licor gli orli del vaso* (2004), Ada Palmer takes a hitherto untried tack, approaching the topic through a deft combination of the history of the book and reading, the reception of the classical tradition, and the history of ideas writ large. The main question she sets out to answer is how a work as full of strange, radical, heterodox ideas as *De rerum natura* managed to survive—indeed to flourish—in the Renaissance, especially considering that, in the seventeenth century and beyond, it was bound to have such a revolutionary impact on modern science, religion, and philosophy. Palmer's ingenious method for solving this inveterate mystery is to trace the way *DNR* was read, and thus how it was understood, from its rediscovery by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417 until the later sixteenth century, when the poem was devoured by one of its most profound

readers ever, Michel de Montaigne. What she concludes is nothing short of extraordinary: Lucretius survived the first precarious sesquicentury of his second life not because of his ideas but in spite of them, that is by being magnificently misunderstood—and in the most harmless way possible.

Palmer gains access to how Renaissance readers understood Lucretius via a meticulous investigation of the marks they left in extant manuscripts, incunables, and other early print editions. She directs her vigilant eye to marginalia, which indicate which parts of the text interested readers most and what they thought about them, as well as to paratexts like biographies, letters *ad lectorem*, and commentaries, which reflect the views of reader-editors and which guided other readers' perceptions of the text and its author. A painstaking collation of these reader responses shows that the portions of *DNR* that modern readers find so interesting, the parts that could fuel skepticism, deism, and atheism (which Palmer refers to heuristically as Lucretius's "proto-atheist arguments" [23-32]), were largely ignored until the second half of the sixteenth-century—not, Palmer convincingly argues, because they were seen as particularly dangerous or wrong-headed but because they were not considered interesting at all.

Instead, for over a century most readers of *DNR*—and there were conspicuously many—approached it, as they approached ancient sources in general, primarily as a corrupt text in need of emendation, as a lesson in unfamiliar vocabulary, as a stylistic model, and as a treasury of moral *sententiae* and of notabilia about the ancient world. This overwhelmingly linguistic, erudite, and moral reading agenda "acted as a filter that dominated the reading experience and thereby limited the capacity of atomism, and other unorthodox scientific theories, to circulate in Renaissance Europe even as the texts that contained them circulated broadly" (6). In a nutshell, the danger inherent in *DNR* was hidden in plain sight, effectively non-existent because it was not noticed. Only a few incisive minds, most notable among them Machiavelli, cared much about atomism or tried to grasp it. And therefore, a conveyer of odious ideas was diffused and even promoted by individuals who would have been horrified if only they had been more aware of its content.

This all changed in the decades after 1550, as a reliable text became readily available, as lexical issues were exhaustively pretreated in vast commentaries, and as general reader interest shifted from moral to natural philosophy, in line with the emergence of skepticism and material science as major intellectual concerns. Furthermore, Lucretius's ideas finally attracted interest because they were capable at last of being comprehended by a broader audience, thanks to the massive effort humanists had previously devoted to emending and explaining the text. Now many readers could and did engage seriously with Lucretius's atomism, his scientific arguments, and his proto-atheist ideas. "A new type of reading is occurring in the later sixteenth century, one that values content over form. Earlier readers came to Lucretius to restore this great ancient poet; later readers came to use him" (231).

One of Palmer's more thought-provoking conclusions is that this trajectory is indicative of a broader trend in the *fortuna* of classical sources: "Recovered texts enjoyed two waves of Renaissance reception, one in which they reached a limited audience of skilled philologists, the majority of whom spent nine-tenths of their energy on repair and one-tenth on digesting the ideas, and a second in which the poem's content penetrated far more broadly, and more easily" (236). What was ultimately the upshot for Lucretius's ideas? In Palmer's view, although the poet's notorious rejection of Providence and the immortal soul can in fact be linked to the development of atheism, "his materialism and the mitigated skepticism (as opposed to Pyrrhonism) of his weak empiricism would prove much more important to the development of modern thought" (238-39). The true intellectual heirs of Lucretius are not closet atheism but Montaigne's moderate skepticism, Gassendi's Christian atomism, Bayle's theism, and the notion of provisional belief that underlies the scientific method. This kind of *longue durée* intellectual history is Palmer's strongest suit.

Not every aspect of this study is as sweet as a structure made up exclusively of smooth-surfaced atoms. Palmer occasionally plays on the boundary of bibliographic excess, indulging in overwhelming lists, slightly wishful quantification, and overzealous codicological description. Consequently, important observations can get lost in the glut of information, and I found it difficult to keep the various manuscript traditions and printed editions straight in my mind. Yet the reader

would be wise to follow Palmer on the *semita herbescens*, as she almost always draws important conclusions from her arduous investigations. Indeed, what makes this book so valuable, so exemplary, is that it uses the micro-tools of book history to answer broader, more significant questions. Thus by painstakingly reconstructing the varying attention Renaissance readers paid to Lucretius's most dangerous ideas, Palmer makes a major and novel contribution to the history of science and the vexed issue of unbelief in an age of faith and persecution.

One question that was never answered to my satisfaction, however, is to what extent Lucretius's first Renaissance readers would have been able to understand the complex content of books two and three of *DNR*, which are the main sources for his atomism and other heterodox ideas, and which tend to befuddle even the modern reader abetted by translations, commentaries, and centuries of scholarship. What did Poggio Bracciolini or Niccolò Niccoli, or the other early Quattrocento humanists among whom the still-garbled manuscript circulated, think this poem was supposed to be about? Did they have the resources—cultural, intellectual, lexical—to make sense of it? At one point Palmer asserts that “understanding Lucretius's atomist system was certainly possible in 1417,” but she does not satisfactorily substantiate this rather important claim. I cannot help but wonder whether books two and three received so little attention in the manuscript tradition simply because they were undecipherable to most if not all early readers.

This having been said, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance* remains a smart, innovative methodological model and a first-rate contribution to research on Lucretius, humanism, and the transformative reception of the classical tradition. No less important, perhaps, it is graced by a rare stylistic elegance; it is a testament, in Lucretian terms, to the power of eloquence to honey-coat the edifying wormwood of erudite scholarship. (Patrick Baker, Humboldt University, Berlin)

◆ *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum. Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries.* Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Editor in Chief; James Hankins and Robert A. Kaster, Associate Editors. Vol. 10. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2014. 403 pp. \$95. The series founded in 1964 by Paul

Oskar Kristeller has reached the tenth volume, so enriching a tool long since indispensable for the scholars of the classical tradition in the West during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Virginia Brown, Editor in Chief of the series from 1992 until her untimely death in 2009. The volume deals with four Greek authors (Pindar, Aelianus Tacticus, Musaeus, and Agathias) and a Latin one, Aulus Gellius. As usual, each entry is introduced by an outline of the *fortuna* of the author, from antiquity to the present day. In the chapters that follow, the translations and the commentaries of the individual works are then usually examined in chronological order.

The long entry on the poet Pindar is by Francesco Tissoni (1-125), who published, in 2009, a book on Pindar's reception in Theodore Gaza's school in Ferrara. In the *fortuna* Tissoni debates the value of the ancient biographies of Pindar and outlines the reception of this author in Hellenistic, Latin, and Byzantine literatures. Known only by name in the West during the Middle Ages, Pindar was rediscovered by the humanists: the surviving *Epinicia* was circulating in Italy in the first decades of the fifteenth century (manuscripts of Pindar were available to Guarinus of Verona, John Aurispa, and Franciscus Filelfus). Tissoni lists seventeen translations (from Gaza to Aemilius Portus) and nine commentaries (from that of Gaza on the *Olympians* to the excerpts published by David Kochhaffe in 1596). A section is reserved for the fragments, edited and translated in 1560 by Henri Estienne.

The *Tactica theoria* by Aelianus Tacticus is a military handbook dedicated to the Emperor Trajan; the author was a Greek supposedly living in Rome. The features of the treatise and its ancient reception are outlined by Silvia Fiaschi (127-63). The work was brought from Byzantium to Italy by the humanist John Aurispa. The same Aurispa translated it into Latin, dedicating this and other translations of military works to the King of Naples, Alfonso of Aragon (although the translation is lost). Aelianus was then translated by Theodore Gaza (1455-56, at the court of Naples), Francesco Robortello (1552, together with the *editio princeps* of the Greek text), and Sixtus Arcerius (1613). Fiaschi also gives a list of the editions from 1494 (translation of Gaza) to 1670.

The third Greek author treated in the book is Musaeus, a poet who lived in the second half of the fifth century. The reception of his work is examined by Paolo Eleuteri (165-238), who published, in 1982 (with E. Livrea), the Teubner edition of this poet's work, the 343-line hexameter *epyllion* on Hero and Leander. The poem was well known in the Byzantine Middle Ages and was readily accepted by humanistic culture, thanks to the popularity of the tale of Hero and Leander, told by Ovid and other Latin authors. Twenty-seven Greek manuscripts were produced in this period, from an original perhaps owned by Cardinal Bessarion. The first printed edition of the Greek text was published in Florence in 1494. The first Latin translation was that in hexameters written by Aldus Manutius and published by him in 1498. The other printed translations examined by Eleuteri are those of Guillaume de la Mare (1511), Andreas Papius (1575), Fabius Paolinus (1587), Eilhardus Lubinus (1595), and Florens Christianus (1608). Other Latin translations of Musaeus remained unpublished (or were published in recent times), by Benedictus Jovius (brother of the historian Paolo), Iohannes Baptista Montanus, Kaspar Schütz, William Gager, and William Croft. The first commentary on Musaeus was published in 1514 by Jean Vitel. Notes on Musaeus were also written by the already-mentioned Andrea Papius and William Croft (unpublished). Eleuteri gives a very accurate bibliography of the editions of Musaeus's work, along with information about the vernacular translations and adaptations up to *ca.* 1750.

Agathias was a poet and historian who lived in the sixth century. The chapter on this author is by Réka Forrai (239-72). Agathias's ninety-nine epigrams were included in the *Greek Anthology* collected by Constantine Cephalas in the tenth century. The anthology ended up in two separate collections, the *Anthologia Planudea* put together in 1299 by Maximus Planudes, and the *Anthologia Palatina* published only in the nineteenth century. Forrai records the first editions of the *Planudea* and gives a list of twenty-nine translators of one or more epigrams. The most popular of the Agathian poems is the epigram X.69 on death, of which there remain ten different Latin translations.

As an historian Agathias wrote a continuation of the *Wars* by Procopius, covering in five books the events of the years 552-559. A Latin translation of the *History* was made in 1481 by Christophorus Persona

(the Prior of Santa Balbina in Rome) and published in 1516. Commentaries on Agathias were published by Adriaen de Jonghe (1556), Bonaventura de Smet (1594), and Johannes Löwenklau (1576). The first edition of the Greek text was printed in Leiden in 1594, with a new Latin translation made by Bonaventura de Smet.

The chapter on Aulus Gellius is by Leofranc Holford-Strevens (273-329), who has written several studies and essays on this author. In the *fortuna* he gives a detailed history of Gellius's textual transmission and reception from antiquity to the present time. The chapter includes a list of the editions of the *Noctes Atticae* from the *editio princeps* (1469) up to 1998. The first translation into vernacular Italian is that by Bartolomeo da San Concordio (1601); Holford-Strevens gives a survey of the translations in several languages until 2009, and of the commentaries from the fifteenth century up to 2012.

The volume also contains corrections and additions to several previous entries in the series. Lucretius, published in vol. 2 (1971) by W. B. Fleischman, is updated by Ada Palmer (331-56). The entry on Dionysius Periegetes (by G. B. Parks and F. E. Cranz, vol. 3, 1976) is updated by Didier Marcotte (357-73), and the one on Sallust by Patricia J. Osmond and Robert W. Ulery, Jr. (375-91), which was published in vol. 8 (2003), is brought up to date here by the same authors.

The volume includes indices of manuscripts and translators and commentators (393-401), the preface by G. Dinkova-Bruun (ix-xiv), the general bibliography of the series (xxiii-xxxiv), and the preface by Kristeller to volume 1 (xv-xxii), whose statements about the aims and methods of the project still remain relevant today. The cover of the volume, illuminated by decorative initials from a manuscript of Agathias, one of the authors dealt with in this book, is very attractive. (Fabio Stok, University of Rome II)

◆ *Neo-Latin and the Humanities. Essays in Honour of Charles E. Fantazzi.* Edited by Luc Deitz, Timothy Kircher, and Jonathan Reid. *Essays and Studies*, 32. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014. 289 pp. \$34.95. In February, 2011 a symposium on "Neo-Latin and the Humanities" was given at East Carolina University in honour of Professor Charles Fantazzi; most of the contributions to this book originated there. Fantazzi's work on

Neo-Latin in general and Jean Luis Vives in particular is mirrored in the book and makes it more focused than such collections usually are.

Of special interest is the chapter by James Hankins on “Charles Fantazzi and the Study of Neo-Latin Literature,” because with his survey of the research in Neo-Latin from the sixteenth century to the present, Hankins offers both an introduction to the subject and a proposal of how to characterise its various phases. Thus the essay is a brilliant contribution to the ongoing debate over the ways and means of Neo-Latin research, even though it concentrates almost exclusively on editorial work. A pleasant aspect is Hankins’s enthusiasm: “Neo-Latin philology is in the best condition it has ever been in” (41, a conclusion not shared by all contributors, though; see 270).

In “The Rolls of the Dead and the Intellectual Revival of the Twelfth Century in Francia and Italy,” Ronald G. Witt analyses the French death rolls as reflections of the clerical community that produced them, whereas their absence in the *regnum* south of the Alps reveals a more fragmented clergy there. Timothy Kircher’s “Wrestling with Ulysses: Humanist Translations of Homeric Epic around 1440” is a brilliant study of the early humanists’ theory and practice of translation, exemplified by the competition between Lorenzo Valla, Leonardo Bruni, and Leon Battista Alberti.

With “*Colligite fragmenta: A Neglected Tumulus for Joannes Ludovicus Vives (1492-1540)*,” Jeanine De Landtsheer and Marcus De Schepper bring Professor Fantazzi a very special gift: a manuscript in Berlin containing fifteen funerary poems for Vives, of which seven have not been published before. Vives is also the protagonist in Paul F. Grendler’s “The Attitudes of the Jesuits toward Juan Luis Vives.” Most of the founding Jesuits shared their Spanish background and Parisian education with Vives. We are told a vivid story of how the humanist and Ignatius Loyola met in Bruges in 1529. At the time, they were both not quite forty years of age, but differed in social position: Vives was a successful scholar and teacher, Loyola a penniless student. Grendler moves on to the complicated attitudes the Jesuits in general had to Vives’ work. They disliked his scorn of scholastic philosophy, his criticism of sinful clergy, and especially his commentary on Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*, but could not do without his *Colloquia* in their teaching.

Luc Deitz's "Francesco Patrizi da Cherso on the Nature of Poetry" describes the controversy this scholar had with Aristotle in his unfinished *Della poetica* (volume 1, published 1586) over the philosopher's assertion that Empedocles and Homer were connected only by metre, and that Empedocles was a scientist, not a poet. Deitz's learned discussion brings us right into the middle of one of the most central topics in Renaissance aesthetic theory.

James M. Estes' "The Englishing of Erasmus: The Genesis and Progress of the Correspondence Volumes of the *Collected Works of Erasmus*" and James K. Farge's "Scholasticism, Humanism and the Origins of the Collège de France" tell the histories of these enterprises.

Dustin Mengelkoch's "*Euphonia* and *Energeia*: Jan Bernaerts and Statius's *Thebaid*" is a subtle, close reading of Bernaerts's paratexts to his Statius edition, concentrating on how attentive to these almost mystical principles he was in his interaction with Statius's text. By means of examples, Mengelkoch reveals Bernaerts's high ambitions as an editor-critic, participating "in the humanistic enterprise of spreading virtue through education" (228).

In "A Humanist in the New World: Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (c. 1518-75)," Enrique González González gives the biography of an adherent of Vives who composed a commentary to his *Colloquia*. A charming presentation of a trilingual Irish patron is given by Keith Sidwell in "*Laus Butleri*: Praising the 10th Earl of Ormond in Irish, English, and Latin." The volume also contains an introduction, a select bibliography of Fantazzi's works, an eloquent praise of him, and an index. (Minna Skafté Jensen, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Emerita)

◆ *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Monasteriensis: Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Münster 2012)*. General editors, Astrid Steiner-Weber and Karl A. E. Enekel. Acta Conventus Neo-Latini, 15. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015. This, the latest volume of refereed proceedings from the triennial congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, contains a selection from among the papers delivered at the Münster meeting in 2012. After the conference program and Minna Skafté Jensen's presidential address, the five plenary papers appear: "La diffusione della stampa e la

nascita della filologia,” by Concetta Bianca; “Démonstrations d’amitié et d’humanisme: *alba*, adages et emblèmes chez les petits-enfants d’Érasme,” by Hélène Cazes; “Poems on the Threshold: Neo-Latin *carmina liminaria*,” by Harm-Jan van Dam; “Paradoxie und Ironie in Johann Valentin Andreaes *Christianopolis* (1619),” by Reinhold F. Gleis; and “La *Bibliotheca Mexicana* de Juan José de Eguia y Eguren, obra unificadora de la cultura mexicana,” by Carolina Ponce Hernández.

Next come forty-four regular communications delivered by attendees at the congress: “Les *Poemata* de Johannes Fabricius Montanus: un *Enchiridion vatis Christiani?*” by David Amherdt; “Les implications politiques d’Otto Vaenius dans les Pays-Bas,” by Nathalie de Brézé; “L’*Aegidius* di Giovanni Pontano: l’approdo religioso di un uomo politico,” by Anna Gioia Cantore; “Huellas del Petrarca Latino en la Corona de Aragón entre 1470 y 1520: el caso del Petrarca moral y religioso,” by Alejandro Coroleu; “Lexicographie latine et religion autochtone in Nouvelle-France: à propos de la *Radicum montanarum silva* (1766-1772) du P. Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse,” by Jean-François Cottier; “Philosophy of Friendship in Agricola’s Letters,” by Judith Deitch; “Anna Maria van Schurmann: The Arts of Argumentation and Self-Portraiture,” by Patricia Demers; “The Intercalary Scenes in Joannes Burmeister’s *Aulularia* (1629),” by Michael Fontaine; “Appended Epitaphs,” by Maia Wellington Gahtan; “Religion, the Cosmos, and Counter-Reformation Latin: Athanasius Kircher’s *Itinerarium exstaticum* (1656),” by Jacqueline Glomski; “¿Agostino Netti, *alter ego* de Agostino Vespucci? Cultura humanística y política en la Florencia de inicios del s. XVI,” by Gerard González Germain; “Apuntamientos para un estudio de la difusión de Pico en la España renacentista,” by Felipe González Vega; “Dousa, Johnston, and the Ambivalent Epigram,” by Roger P. H. Green; “*Carmen unisonum*: un manuel d’éthique en vers, composé à l’aube de la réforme catholique en Hongrie,” by László Havas; “Hans Buchler of Gladbach’s *The-saurus conscribendarum epistolarum*: Humanist Epistolary Rhetoric Distilled for Posterity,” by Judith Rice Henderson; “Elizabeth Jane Weston and Her Place in the *Respublica litterarum*,” by Brenda M. Hosington; “La *Bestiarum schola* di Pompeo Sarnelli fra educazione religiosa e cultura politica,” by Antonio Iurilli; “Konstantindramen als habsburgische Festdramen: Solimanis ‘Constantinus victor’ (Prag

1627) und Avancinis 'Pietas victrix' (Wien 1659)," by Angelika Kemper; "Hieronymus Hirnhaim's *De typho generis humani* (1676) and Scepticism about Human Learning," by Sari Kivistö; "Josias Simmlers *De Alpibus commentarius*," by Martin Korenjak; "Clausal Relations and Aristotelian Ontology in Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*," by John C. Leeds; "*Prolusio academica* und *Programma*; Zwei akademische Textsorten im Vergleich," by Anna Maria Leisgang-Bruckmüller; "Lecturas en los estudios de Latinidad en España: el alcance de la obra de Baptista Mantuano como libro de texto," by Mariano Madrid Castro; "Engelbertus Kaempfer in *Amoenitatibus Exoticis* (1712) quam veras genuinasque cum prioribus Neolatinis Persicarum rerum descriptionibus comparatas obtulerit *Relationes de aulae Persiae statu hodierno*," by Karl August Neuhausen; "Nero as an *exemplum* for James I of England," by Howard R. Norland; "Mythologie und Politik im neulateinischen Epos," by Christian Peters; "International Protestantism and Commemorative Anthologies on the End of the First Anglo-Dutch War," by Lee Piepho; "Sprache und Stil des 'Schweigsamen Historikers' als Anreiz für neulateinische Deutungen," by Franz Römer; "Lumanista senese Francesco Patrizi e la lezione etico-politica degli antichi: il trattato *De institutione reipublicae* (ante 1471)," by Giovanni Rossi; "Jean Dorat poète sacré, d'après un poème inédit," by François Rouget; "*Liberator Germaniae*: Ulrich von Huttens Dialog mit Karl V. im Spiegel seiner politischen Korrespondenz der Jahre 1520-21," by Barbara Sasse Tateo; "*Utra serviet alteri, an Roma Carthagini an Romae Carthago?* Wissenschaft und Religion, Literatur und Politik in Joseph du Baudorys *De novis systematum inventoribus quid sentiendum oratio*," by Sonja M. Schreiner; "Der Astronom Andalò di Negro als Quelle Boccaccios: Die Miniatur des Planatengottes Saturn in Andalos 'Introductorius ad judicia astrologiae' im Prunkcodex Fonds Latin 7272 der Bibliothèque nationale in Paris," by Peter R. Schwertsik; "La realtà 'infernale' nel 'Charon' di Giovanni Pontano," by Margherita Sciancalepore; "Religion and Politics in the Works of Marin Barleti," by Minna Skaftø Jensen; "Sebastian Barradas et la peinture biblique au XVII^e siècle," by Matthieu Somon; "Paul Schede Melissus und der Kronborg-Brunnen," by Nikolaus Thurn; "Politik und Geschichte, Frömmigkeit und literarische Bildung bei Rudolf von Langen (1438-1519): Zum Humanismus in Münster in der zweiten Hälfte des 15.

Jahrhunderts,” by Ulrich Töns; “El *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae* (Amsterdam, 1669) de Christoph Sand e los escritos en latín de Isaac Newton sobre historia de la Iglesia (ca. 1680): algunos indicios textuales de su conexión,” by Pablo Toribio Pérez; “Latin Inscriptions by Justus Lipsius in *Alba amicorum*,” by Gilbert Tournoy; “Dialogo alla soglie del paradiso: i modelli dell’*Eremita* di Galateo e la sua fortuna nell’Europa della riforma,” by Sebastiano Valerio; “Los *Apophthegmata* de *Conradus Lycosthenes*: historia editorial,” by Juan J. Valverde Abril; “Thomas Lansius’ *Consultatio de principatu inter provincias Europae* im frühneuzeitlichen Sprach- und Stilunterricht,” by Kristi Viiding; “*Tempus fugit—versiones manent*: D F G Project *Saarbrücker Übersetzungsbibliographie—Latein*,” by Anne Weber; and “*Quinquaginta Rationes*—Fifty Reasons: From an *Opusculum polemicum Tyrnaviense* to a Standard Catholic Book in America,” by Svorad Zavarský. The volume closes with an index of names.

For over forty years now, the proceedings of the IANLS congresses have served as invaluable resources for what is being done in the field of Neo-Latin studies. This one, handsomely produced by Brill, the new publisher, joins its predecessors, even as work begins on the volume from the Vienna congress that just took place. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)