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

E-Mail: d-dickson@tamu.edu
scn.sites.tamu.edu
and
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REVIEWS

Clare Robertson. *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. x + 450 pp. $75.00. Review by Livia Stoenescu, Texas A&M University.

Rome 1600 advances Clare Robertson's investigations into the closing decades of the sixteenth century, which formed the bedrock of the author's seminal *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008). Through in-depth historical, cultural, and stylistic commentaries, Robertson's *Rome 1600* takes the reader on a journey inside the Roman circles and papal patronage, shedding light on the underexplored intricacies of late sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance Art. Robertson mingles factual and historical art information to fill the knowledge gap that to date art historians fail to examine with a deep attention. Pamela Jones, who objected to the state of research in the post-Tridentine decades, urged art historians in the introductory chapter of her monumental *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (1993) to explore the interrelation of art and patronage as well as the new avenues for religious art that the Counter-Reformation artist was provided with when working for his ecclesiastical patrons. Taking Roman patronage as her focus, Robertson contributes significant historical data while concurrently setting her discussion in dialogue with several major studies of seventeenth-century Roman patrons, including Francis Haskell's *Patrons and Painters* (1963), Sydney Freedberg's *Circa 1600* (1983), and Jack Freiberg's *The Lateran in 1600* (1995).

Robertson posits Pope Clement VIII, Rome's most influential patron, as fully committed to Counter-Reformation goals and censorial measures (184); at the same time, Robertson cogently remarks that Clement VIII's interest in the reform of images fizzled out decades after the Council of Trent laid down regulatory measures in its concluding session (1563). Robertson's vigorous discussions of Roman artists and their patrons draw on the measure of relative freedom permitted to the artists as of the 1600s. Chapter 1 outlines Clement VIII's policies and projects, with particular attention to Rome's St. Peter's and the Lateran Basilica. The second chapter focuses on the cardinal nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, including relevant information about his cultural and aesthetic leanings as well as the idiosyncrasies of his

circles. Educated at the Oratory of Filippo Neri, Pietro Aldobrandini attended performances at the Chiesa Nuova in the company of Cardinals Federico Borromeo and Alessandro de' Medici. In the same milieu Pietro Aldobrandini interacted with Roman patrons of art, establishing his commissioning agenda in the discussions he encouraged with the Oratorians and with Giovanni Battista Agucchi (105). The third chapter examines Roman palaces, villas, and gardens built during the period time. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the religious orders and their principal commissions in the major churches and chapels of Rome. The concluding chapter, "Lives of the Artists," investigates the artistic interests and pedagogical methods of several painters, as well as the regional schools of art. As appendices, Robertson provides three documentaries concerning Pietro's collection of copies of ancient sculpture and painting. That is followed by a discussion of Roman palaces under Clement VIII and instructions to the offices of Pietro's household.

Studies of Borghese and Barberini patronages have overshadowed the contribution that Aldobrandini made by supporting lesser artists, such as Cavaliere d'Arpino, Giovanni and Cherubini Alberti, Domenico Passignano, Antonio Tempesta, Bernardo Castello, and other painters who, though much beneath the originality of Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio, remain nevertheless important. Robertson meaningfully highlights Pietro Aldobrandini's commission of the Creation series and the Old Testament cycle from Cavaliere d'Arpino in the Villa Belvedere at Frascati, and quotes his description of d'Arpino's *Holofernes* (118). The outstanding Sala de Apollo with Domenichino's frescoes, also at Frascati, is carefully reviewed by Robertson.

Rome 1600 is a significant book, filled with beautiful illustrations and pertinent observations. Finally, Robertson provides experts with a dense referential text, even as she perhaps deliberately avoided up-to-date scholarly findings, instead choosing to include in her footnotes a large number of citations from Sebastian Schütze and Pamela Askew, whose studies have been drastically superseded since 1990 by novel and more complex literature.

Bernd Pappe and Juliane Schmieglitz-Otten, eds. *Miniaturen der Barockzeit aus der Sammlung Tansey/Miniatures from the Baroque Period in the Tansey Collection*. Celle: The Tansey Miniatures Foundation, and Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2016. 396 pp. + 210 illus. $64.00. Review by Alison C. Fleming, Winston-Salem State University.

This large and beautifully presented volume will engage scholars of the Baroque period in Europe, offering a comprehensive overview of a diverse collection of miniature paintings. The book is organized coherently, incorporating thematic essays and a detailed catalog, as well as the requisite supplementary material (such as brief biographies of the artists in the collection). In addition, it is fully bilingual, presenting all text and image captions in both German and English.

Two short statements at the outset provide the reader with valuable background and context. Juliane Schmieglitz-Otten, Head of the Residenzmuseum in Celle Castle, is responsible for the Tansey Miniatures Collection, while Jochen Meiners is the Director of the Bomann-Museum, Celle. Their forewords outline the history and current status of the collection, amassed by Lieselotte and Ernst Tansey over more than half a century. The Tanseys collected larger works—paintings and furniture and silver—but also established an interest in European miniature paintings. Their substantial collection, put into a private foundation in 1997, has been shared with the public in a series of exhibitions and catalogs at the Bomann-Museum in Celle. The volume under consideration here is the sixth in this series, exhibiting the earliest works in the collection. Previously a general exhibition, four exhibits covering specific periods: the Rococo, the era of Marie Antoinette, the era of the Revolution of 1789–1799, and the nineteenth century, were held. Each featured approximately 150–160 miniatures. More exhibitions are expected to follow, as the works in the collection date into the twentieth century. This book is dedicated to the memory of the Tanseys. Although both are now deceased, the staff of the Bomann-Museum in Celle is dedicated to preserving and sharing this extraordinary collection of miniature paintings in their memory.

Four substantial essays by Bernd Pappe, Hans Boeckh, Nathalie Lemoine-Bouchard, and Gerrit Walczak, situate the miniatures in the

collection into a broader context. They consider other miniatures and painters of miniatures, and the relationship between miniatures and large-scale paintings. Pappe's essay, "Miniatures of the Baroque Period in the Tansey Collection," provides important background. He describes the evolution of miniature painting from medieval manuscripts, and explains how the works in this collection elucidate the early forays into painting on a very small scale. He notes that miniatures are first seen in England and that much of the research on miniaturists has been on English artists as a result—but this catalog should begin to make up lost ground. He examines typical aspects of the production of miniatures and their different characteristics, including their role as gifts to signify rank and loyalty. This essay is well placed to serve as a general introduction, not simply to this collection of works, but to the study of miniature painting as a whole.

The other three essays examine specific aspects of miniatures in the Baroque period, contributing to a better understanding of particular aspects of the works in the Tansey collection. Boeckh, in an essay titled "Enamelled Baroque Miniature Portraits in France and Other Countries," considers miniatures painted in enamel, particularly in France where the technique originated, and mostly between *c.*1630 and 1730. He emphasizes that achieving a thorough understanding of these works will require investigation through a variety of approaches and disciplines, underscoring the scientific developments that made this technique possible. Lemoine-Bouchard's essay, "Miniature Painters in 17th century France," also focuses on French miniaturists, surveying patterns of patronage and production. She also analyzes the various subjects painted—flowers, fruits, and other botanicals, as well as animals, insects, birds, and occasionally mythological subjects—in addition to the expected portraits. As in all of these essays, the appraisal of miniatures outside the collection (and the illustration of many of them) allows the reader to contemplate the larger picture and realize how the Tansey collection works fit into the whole. Finally, the essay by Walczak, "The Picture in the Hand: Oil Miniatures in 17th century Dutch painting" treats the portrayal of miniatures represented in large-scale paintings. His assessment that "Miniature likenesses in paintings are representative, inanimate objects acting as intermediar-

ies between the persons present and those absent" (84) allows for a thoughtful investigation of picture-within-picture paintings.

The bulk of the volume is the catalog of 120 works. Ranging in date from *c.*1595 to the 1730s, the works primarily date to the first half of the seventeenth century. Despite the fact that the term "miniature" can be applied to all of these works, they are incredibly varied. Although they are typically oval, some are round, square, or rectangular. The smallest examples are less than 3 cm x 3 cm, while a few larger examples measure closer to 20 cm x 15 cm. The materials used to create these miniatures vary considerably; in some cases the materials are connected to the geographic area where they were produced. Three techniques were common: oil paint on metal (usually copper) or card, enamel on metal (gold, in one luxurious example), and watercolor and gouache on parchment, or later on ivory. But the catalog also includes one produced in pastels on paper, another in silverpoint and watercolor on parchment, and some striking examples by Karl Gustav Klingstedt who used Indian ink and watercolor on parchment to achieve the effect of grisaille. Similarly, a variety of materials were used to encase the miniatures. Most are simply framed with wood, ivory, tortoiseshell, or metal, while others are surrounded by ornate filigree or placed in frames adorned with precious gemstones. One of the miniatures depicting King Louis XIV of France is set into a sumptuous gold frame topped by a crown replete with diamonds. Many of the works were intended to serve as jewelry, and their frames include rings that allowed them to be hung from chains as pendants, lockets, or medallions. Some could also be worn as brooches, while others were incorporated into boxes or cases.

As one would expect, the vast majority of the subjects represented are portraits. Although many are of unidentified persons, some depict prominent rulers of the period, including King Christian V of Denmark and Norway (cat. 10), King Frederick I of Prussia (cat. 12), Queen Anne Stuart of Great Britain (cat. 19), King Augustus II of Poland (cat. 21), King Frederick of Sweden (cat. 34 and 49), Queen Anne of France (cat. 40), King Louis XIV of France (cat. 42 and 87), and King William III of England and Ireland (cat. 79), as well as numerous other members of the royal families of seventeenth-century Europe. In addition to men and women of all types and ages, there

are also a few representing children. Even in the extremely small size, the details are extraordinarily precise: jewels, hair and head coverings, bows, fur, lace, armor, and other aspects of clothing are intricately and finely rendered. Some sitters are placed against elaborate backgrounds (notably landscapes), or depicted holding objects such as letters, quills and paper, mirrors, guns, snuff boxes, and dogs. But not all of the miniatures in the Tansey Collection are individual portraits. The aforementioned works by Karl Gustav Klingstedt, an artist born in Riga who worked predominantly in Paris in the early eighteenth century, include a group portrait of traveling entertainers (cat. 33), a *Lady with Cupid* (cat. 30), a *Lady with a Letter* (cat. 31), and a *Lady with a Moorish Boy* (cat. 32). A large number of Klingstedt's miniatures were produced for snuff boxes, which may account for the diverse subject matter; in fact, he was apparently referred to as the "Raphael of snuff boxes" by his contemporaries. A *Madonna and Child* (cat. 88), produced by a French artist after a lost original by Pierre Mignard, and an *Allegory of Painting* (cat. 93), perhaps by an artist associated with the court of King Louis XIV, are among the other unusual subjects included in the collection. There are also two interesting miniatures attributed to Josef Anton Fischer that are copies of (larger-scale) self-portraits by Jan Kupecký.

The Tansey Collection includes works by artists from all over Europe, notably French, German, and English painters. The names of the artists are known for approximately half of the examples, and include some who also painted in larger scale, such as the Dutch master Gerard ter Borch. Most are unsigned, but a few include inscriptions, monograms, or signatures. The majority of those represented were specialists in miniatures, such as Benjamin Arlaud, Samuel Blesendorf, Charles Boit, Samuel Cooper, Perpète Evrard, John Hoskins, brothers Jean-Pierre and Amy Huaud, Karl Gustav Klingstedt, Niklas Lafrensen the Elder, David Le Clerc, Peter Paul Lens, Jean-Baptiste Massé, Jean Petitot, Paul Prieur, brothers Christian and David Richter, Henri Toutin, and Christian Friedrich Zincke. There are also notable examples by female painters Rosalba Carriera, Susan Penelope Rosse, and Henriëtta Wolters-van Pee.

Miniatures from the Baroque Period in the Tansey Collection will serve as a valuable resource for students and scholars of the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. A great deal about miniature painting in this era will be learned from this carefully researched, abundantly illustrated, and well-presented volume. As the book is placed within a larger series, Baroque miniature specialists may also be interested in reading the other catalogs, featuring the later examples in the Tansey Collection.

Jessica Wolfe. *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015. xvii + 607 pp. + 10 illus. $110.00. Review by William E. Engel, Sewanee: The University of the South.

To study Homer from antiquity to the Reformation is, in effect, to study literary criticism—its formation and its foundational debates. While these considerations are factored into Jessica Wolfe's magisterial examination of Homeric epic in the development of European literature, especially after the advent of printing, her slant—like that of David Quint before her in *Epic and Empire* (1993)—is politics. More particularly, as her title implies, Wolfe is interested in bringing to prominence the extent to which Homer supplies a lens through which contemporary early modern conflicts were assessed, interpreted, appropriated, and repurposed. The overarching argument eloquently evinced in this book is that Renaissance interpretations of Homeric epic "are shaped by diverse and conflictive responses to its representations of *eris*—of strife, conflict, or discord, as the Greek word has been variously translated" (7). As Wolfe further demonstrates, interpretations of Homeric epic were transformed significantly by the religious and political debates of the Reformation.

Readers of this journal will appreciate that the lion's share of her book concerns the polemical preconditions and cultural inheritance of the Protestant Reformation, with chapters on Erasmus, Melanchthon and Rabelais, Spenser, Chapman, Milton, and Hobbes. What unites these diverse authors, each showcased with telling case studies concerning particular aspects of contestation or harmony which Wolfe supports with inspired philological forays and incisive close readings, is the degree to which they all drew on Homer for insight into both the danger and the value of strife. Renaissance readers—irrespective of

religious affiliation, political allegiance, or sectarian leanings—tended to approach Homer's poems as "aetiologies of strife," which is to say "as narratives that identify its causes, anatomize its dangers, and, in certain cases, justify its uses or benefits" (7). What emerges from Wolfe's sensibly arranged chapters on eristic elements of Homer's epics and later literary debates is a kind of mythographic shorthand used to describe and interpret intellectual, theological, and political struggles of the early modern period. At the same time (and this is where Wolfe finds precedent for Homeric irony, satire, and mock-epic conventions), in addition to showing Renaissance readers how serious discord can be, Homer also revealed how absurd it can be.

Wolfe's thorough introduction clarifies how the *Iliad* variously served Renaissance scholars: in some extreme cases, as a typological precursor of Christian history or doctrine, but more usually, as a lens for regarding events in Homer's poems as "refracted in contemporary events" (4). Allusions to the fall of Troy, like those to Eris's apple of discord that disrupted the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, were part of early modern writers' stock in trade, whether to condemn or to find a precedent for the violence and religious strife sweeping across Europe. Wolfe marshals an impressive array of evidence to demonstrate the widespread tendency among translators, commentators, mythographers, polemicists, emblematists, dramatists, and visual artists to interpret aspects of Homer's epics as having rich and ineluctable contemporary resonance.

Taking as her point of departure Erasmus's inclusion of several hundred Homeric maxims in his *Adages*, she discloses in the first chapter how this compendium succeeded in putting into circulation many Homeric phrases that have quickly become commonplaces and political axioms for all manner of readers. The significance of this collection for the reception of Homer cannot be overstated, playing into the already familiar trope of Homer's uniqueness as the originary and inventive master-poet who had no paragons to follow (whereas Virgil, of course, looked to Homer). Erasmus served up Homer piecemeal, supplying early modern writers with a working knowledge of exemplary and stirring passages, some of whom had limited knowledge of the Greek original, such as it was, given the complicated transmission history preceding this period of humanistic translations and inter-

pretations of both classical and biblical texts. This, in turn, allowed those who had not actually read the epics to use Homer when they commented on Reformation conflicts and culture.

The Erasmian tradition of interpreting Homer as an eirenic and fideistic skeptic is developed in chapter two with respect to its parodic and, at times, ludic implications. While Melanchthon initially found a pessimistic streak in the *Iliad* concerning its human characters' capacity to grasp truth let alone achieve concord, he would go on to maintain that Homer's poems inculcated both civility and concord, because they "teach 'grace and gentleness of manners' and thus make readers' 'minds…become more humane and peaceful'" (119). Rabelais, who in the Prologue to *Gargantua*, slyly calls Homer the "'paragon of all the word-lovers' [*paragon de tous philologues*]," whose *Tiers Livre* situates many of the work's "most pressing hermeneutic dilemmas with this symbolic Homeric ur-author in order to address how best to interpret texts at odds with themselves, and how to grapple with the elasticity of certain interpretive methods" (156). The closing section of chapter two, "Homer, Father of Farts," contains an excursus on mock-epic interpretations during the Renaissance; discussed in passing are Ben Jonson and Thomas Nashe as well as Thomas Coryate and George Chapman (the latter being the subject of chapter four). This section sets up the argument of the ensuing third chapter on Edmund Spenser who likewise would rely on Homeric epic, more specifically, "to expand and complicate his repertoire of heroic virtues in *The Faire Queene,* a poem modeled on Homeric epic as well as on the allegorical commentary tradition that grew up around it" (175).

Spenser, like the writers studied in the previous chapters, challenged and transformed conventional assessments of Homeric heroism. Although Homer was not Spenser's most important or deliberate influence, many episodes and characters in *The Faerie Queene* owe their origins to what Spenser gleaned from Homeric epic as mediated by "Virgil and Statius, by Tasso and Ariosto, and by various philosophical and mythographic works" (177), notwithstanding the fact that he was able to—and did—read Homer in the original language, dating back to his early education at the Merchant Taylors' School under the direction of the pedagogical pioneer Richard Mulcaster. Patterns of discord giving way to concord characterize many of the encounters in

Spenser's epic romance; moreover, vignettes of kinship and cooperation, among the forces of discord on display in *The Faerie Queene*, show readers "how sins and vices many be 'enchained'—interlocking and mutually constitutive—as well as virtues" (205). By carefully examining key episodes and characters' relations with one another, Wolfe points out the extent to which concatenation shapes the moral, rhetorical, and narrative structure of *The Faerie Queene*, "synthesizing the poem's discordant forces into a projected, if not fully realized, vision of order and harmony" (205).

George Chapman's ironic interpretation of Homeric epic provides a carefully constructed bridge chapter between those on Spenser and Milton, both of which are divided into two substantial parts. In addition to "smoothing out some of the most disturbing theological and ethical problems in the poems" (243), Chapman boasted that he alone was "sufficiently attuned to Homer's satirical and ironic tones to translate him correctly" (245). Typical of the bluster of one who had seen military action in the Low Countries, Chapman somewhat overstates the case for he was hardly the first to detect irony in Homer. But where he did surpass his contemporaries and those who had come before him was in noticing how Homeric similes tended to yield a special kind of *concordia discors*. Irony was understood during the Renaissance as a way to reconcile opposing beliefs or perspectives, and Chapman, perhaps more so than others at the time, grasped "the Homeric simile, with its latent irony, as a means of uniting contrary styles and attitudes—high and low, sublime and bathetic, serious and trivial—at play in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*" (260). In a section on "Shakespeare's Ironic Homer," Wolfe both names the medieval sources for Shakespeare's knowledge of the Troy story, which could have helped him shape his satiric drama *Troilus and Cressida*, and also points out his familiarity with Chapman's *Seven Bookes of the Iliades* and *Achilles Shield* (an excerpt from Book 18 of the *Iliad* also printed in 1598). These six pages should be required reading for anyone interested in un-problematizing this so-called "problem play," in which Wolfe looks closely at Shakespeare's subtle understanding of language in general and, more particularly, at the capacity of injurious speech to (quoting Laurie Maguire) "enact power relations as well as reflect them" (302).

Although this chapter accomplishes what it sets out to do (namely, to raise and critically examine the implications of Chapman's admiration of the license enjoyed by Homer's characters to engage freely in blame and vituperation), it also opens the door to further examination of Homer's place in the earliest history of English printing. Wolfe appropriately refers to Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* as "two medieval retellings of Trojan legend that debate the ancient originals on which they are modeled" (299), but does not mention that the former was the first book printed in English (Bruges, 1473) and the latter among the very first printed in England (Westminster, 1483). While outside the stated purview of Wolfe's project, this might well be a topic for future study in literary history and early printing, especially considering the social and economic considerations a printer such as Caxton weighed when determining what works warranted the time and expense to translate and produce so as to offer the highest return both commercially and in terms of prestige. For example, it is conjectured from a unique engraved frontispiece to *Recuyell* (at the Huntington Library) that Caxton presented the book to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy (sister of Edward IV and Richard III of England). The fact that the first book printed in English was a gathering of stories about the Trojan War has much to tell us still about the place of Homer in the development of vernacular literature and the early modern book trade.

There is a way in which the first four chapters bring the reader steadily to the top of Mount Pisgah from where the Promised Land can be viewed in all of its expansive glory, for the final two chapters, on Milton and Hobbes respectively, are splendid to behold. These are also the chapters set squarely in the midst of the seventeenth century. While each previous chapter indeed stands on its own, in retrospect they can be seen as necessary steps toward enabling Wolfe to make good on her broader claims for Milton and Hobbes. Whereas Milton reinvented Homer as a poet who prized rational deliberation and set about thence "to vindicate God from the charges of injustice and partiality," Hobbes reinvented Homer "according to the core principles of his own moral and political philosophy" (375).

When Milton was writing *Paradise Lost* there was a marked increase in the vogue for and printing of "Homeric concordances, lexicons, and

encyclopedias, many devoted to identifying correspondences between Homeric epic on the one hand and the Old Testament on the other" (47). Wolfe draws a connection between the flourishing of Homeric scholarship in England and the period of the English Civil War, Commonwealth, Protectorate, and early Restoration. Homer's wisdom on political and religious matters transcended political allegiances and was embraced by both republicans and royalists. This made Homeric imagery and turns of phrase safe and fair game for Milton to use in *Paradise Lost*, and he did so repeatedly "to signal decisive moments: characters tottering on a precipice between contrary moral choices; unresolved battles threatening to tilt one way or another; divine judgments hanging in the balance" (306). Milton's adaptation and transformation of what Wolfe calls "pondering scenes," whether "internally (within the individual conscience of characters both human and divine) or collectively (in councils, assemblies, and conversations)," offers a way for her to argue persuasively for Milton's interest in dramatizing the "vexed and imperfect process of deliberation" (307). In this chapter Wolfe opens up a philological treasure trove of insights that makes us all better readers of *Paradise Lost*, especially with respect to her analysis of the larger implications of Milton's Homeric borrowings and translations. Most notably, concerning the notion of walking on a "razor's edge"; Milton's "flexibly complex" re-inscription of the choice of Achilles; his appropriation of Homeric theodicy; and his acute awareness of the "theological significance of the temporal distinctions made possible by Homeric Greek, particularly those tenses and modes (including the imperfect, aorist, optative, future less vivid, and middle passive voice) that denote present or past conditionality—what *may* happen or what *might have* happened rather than what will happen or what has happened" (357–8). In much the same way that C. S. Lewis's 1942 *Preface to "Paradise Lost"* gave countless readers a passport to the world, mind, and poetry of John Milton (cited incidentally by Wolfe to indicate that even Lewis finally was baffled by what Milton meant by the "ridges of grim war" (307)), Wolfe's chapter, "Homer, Milton, and the Problem of Deliberation," will serve future generations well as an abiding and eminently useful work of literary criticism of the highest order.

In her final chapter (and indeed throughout the volume) Wolfe remains considerate of her audience, carefully translating the Greek terms and filling in crucial information where needed. For example, in Hobbes's translation of Alkinous's question to Odysseus (*Od*. 8.547–8): "'What kind of People, *civil*, or without Law, / Civil [*dikaioi*] or kinde to Strangers, godly or no,' he renders *dikaioi* [just] as "civil," repeating the word (as the Greek does not) in order to emphasize how the barbarous groups encountered by Odysseus, such as the Cyclopes, do not constitute civil societies" (389). She goes on to assert that this translation of "*dikaioi* [just]" as "civil" also suggests that "strife and war result from a failure to adhere to the 'artificiall chains' of civil law" (389). These are the kinds of important subtleties Wolfe brings out that would pass most of us by were it not for her judicious and generous approach to rendering and analyzing the passages in question, and lining them up in rapid succession so as to sustain and advance her larger argument about the impact of Hobbes's turning "to Thucydides and Aristotle to sharpen his understanding of Homer's politics and ethics" (51). In the end, Wolfe identifies in Hobbes's translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (like his earlier mock-epic poem *De Mirabilibus Pecci*) a "profound distrust of wonder and sublimity," such that his version of Eris is "not a force to be celebrated, or to be marveled at, but rather to be controlled and put in her place" (413).

Homer and the Question of Strife, as Wolfe mentions in her acknowledgments, was a long time in the making, spanning eight consecutive Renaissance Society of America conferences and a decade of fellowships at the premier research venues in Italy and in America. Some of us in the field have eagerly awaited the completed volume, having read the installments heralding this Homeric project (in all senses of the term), beginning with "Erasmus, Homer, and the Problem of Strife" in *Renaissance Papers* (2003). The painstaking care she spent over the years perfecting this transnational and multilingual treatment of classical reception has ensured a clear exposition of the book's main thematic concern with the quaquaversal nature of strife in the West. So thoroughly has she covered the topic that later scholars who return the way she came at best can add corroborative textual sources here or an additional supporting passage there with the result of further buttressing Wolfe's monument to the afterlife of Homeric literature. In

addition to being an exemplary work of comparative literary criticism, *Homer and the Question of Strife* is an indispensible resource on early modern reception history, especially as regards the political concerns that attend it and the critical tradition of which it is a constitutive part.

Sophie Chiari, ed. *The Circulation of Knowledge in Early Modern English Literature*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015. xxii + 260 pp. + 1 illus. + 4 photos. $119.95. Review by Karin Susan Fester, Independent Scholar.

The Circulation of Knowledge in Early Modern English Literature is a collection of sixteen essays devoted to various aspects of how knowledge was circulated and miscirculated through literature and drama—texts functioning as agents of change—in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The cultural processes of "transmission," "initiation," and "transgression" are explored with the aim of demonstrating how these processes are interrelated. Moreover, this collection sets a precedent because "the three concepts of initiation, transmission and transgression have invariably been studied separately in the past, and no monograph or collection of essays has yet been published on their interaction" (4). The volume begins with a Forward by Gordon McMullen, followed by Sophie Chiari's General Introduction and an Afterword by Ewan Fernie. There are four parts: I. "Theories and Philosophies of Transmission"; II. "Initiation Practices"; III. "Political and Spiritual Issues"; and IV. "Transgressions of Gender and Genre."

Part I begins with an essay by Richard Wilson where he considers Foucault in a new light and develops an argument for symbolic transgression. The Ship of Fools might have been initially discredited, but Wilson is convinced that there's more to be learned from Foucault's later writings. In his *History of Madness* (2006), written in response to hostile critiques, Foucault "reread Shakespeare not as a staging of the triumphant '*cortege* of reason', but a commemoration of the incorrigible 'madman within' the disciplinary order" (24). The madman, who always surfaced, was a "psychopathic maniac in the seat of power" who exposes the hideous, "Ubu-esque terror" flourishing in sovereign power (24). Thus, in Shakespeare's dramas of *coup d'etat*

Foucault apparently discovered a perplexing, abject form of symbolic transgression.

In Chapter 2, Levin concentrates on the paradoxes of "excellence" in Shakespeare and argues that the "paradoxes derive much of their potency from the way they transgress the basic tenets of Aristotle's logic and theory of knowledge" (32). Levin demonstrates how the perception of excellence is unreliable and untrustworthy due to its inherent and seemingly unending paradoxical possibilities. Levin discusses four main types of paradoxes: (i) how c*exempla* and *paradeigma* are conflated, (ii) how the risk of excellence is redefined or erased due to its being "insistently presented as a relative quality" (37), (iii) how " the example fails or is proven to be false" thereby making any and all judgments uncertain and unstable (36), and (iv) how "extreme redefinition allows endless novelty, and the possibility of unexpected wonder" (36). Expectation and experience invigorate the conceptual paradox, summoning the powerful, the peculiar, the fragile, the passionate and the novel, thus transgressing Aristotle's "judgment of excellence—of the form perfectly in act" (34). And so, something wondrous emerges.

In Chapter 3, Jonathan Pollock attempts to answer the question, did Shakespeare have firsthand knowledge of Titus Carus Lucretius's poem *De rerum natura*? Pollock is convinced that Lucretius's thought directly influenced Shakespeare's dramatic works. He emphasizes that it's known that Shakespeare read Montaigne's *Les Essais*: "according to my calculations, Montaigne includes 438 lines of the poem" (47). To prove Lucretius's influence on Shakespeare, the author provides passages as exemplars from *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest*. Especially interesting is the Epicurean preoccupation with cloud formation. In *The Tempest* (4.1.148–56), Pollock points to authentic Lucretian inspiration: "Might not Shakespeare have found his 'cloud-capped towers' and 'solemn temples' here?" (55).

Part II, "Initiation Practices," begins with an essay by Anne-Valérie Dulac. She examines how Sir Philip Sidney transgressed the original meaning of the Italian word *miniatura* by transmitting this word into the English language in the revised version of his pastoral romance *Arcadia*. Moreover, the revised *Arcadia* (1577–1580) includes passages indicative of "Sidney's association of limning with a specific and

immediate form of encounter between poet/painter and his model" (69). Dulac expounds on Sidney's painting-related vocabulary in the *New Arcadia* and maintains that the many hours he spent in Nicholas Hilliard's studio—a limner, who uses light illuminating colors and a very gentle technique when painting portraits—influenced his writing. An elaborate discussion ensues that considers miniature paintings, miniatures of women, the sensuality and intimacy of sitting sessions, and the transgressions of social norms in sittings.

In Chapter 5, Christophe Hausermann's essay focuses on the transmission of knowledge and transgressions in the lives of young apprentices in early modern London as portrayed in various city comedies of the period. The author's exemplars include Shakespeare's early comedy *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598); Rowley's *A Shoemaker, A Gentlemen* (1608); and *Eastward Ho!* (1605) by Chapman, Jonson and Marston. Hausermann demonstrates the ingratitude and intolerance of apprentices' individuality and their invention of new crafting methods: "The master's maieutic teaching, based on the reproduction of gestures, often opposes the apprentice's heuristic research for new techniques through individual experiment" (75). In the final scenes of plays, the rebellious apprentices' transgressions "were usually forgiven" so as not to disrupt the rigid system of transmitting knowledge (79).

In Chapter 6, Chantal Schütz unravels the unsettled ambiguity of the status of various categories of women in Thomas Middleton's early modern English erotic dramatic work *A Mad World* (1608). The archetype of sexual initiation scenes, as found in Pietro Aretino's *Ragionamenti* (1534), serves as an impetus for Schütz's analysis. The discussion focusing on the character-defining speech is especially illustrative, exemplifying the shift of advice-giving in the dialogue exchanges between the Courtesan-Mother and mother-daughter couples in "the two 'lessons' staged by Middleton and the way they resonate with two types of early modern texts: conduct manuals and erotic pamphlets" (82). Schütz demonstrates how the instructress figures of Courtesan and Mother transgress the boundaries of societal expectations of women.

In Chapter 7, Claire Guéron examines Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600). This play "is remarkable for its foregrounding of the process of transmission of information and knowledge" in the early

modern period (93), including the roles social and gender identities played in this process. Guéron considers the complicated "chains of transmission" and unreliable routes involved in getting secondhand authority-derived knowledge and information to final destinations (94). Then, she explores if it's possible to attain objective knowledge, one that is only based on firsthand direct knowledge and is not attached to moral and social concerns. Guéron points to Shakespeare's "double-plot" (101, 103). Innovatively, the same statement is used with different values in each plot: in the first, "it is epistemological, a guarantee that the [messenger's] report is authenticated by the proper authority"; in the second, "it is moral and social" (103). It elucidates Shakespeare's endeavor to include social and moral elements in a firsthand knowledge that could be held as credible.

Part III, "Political and Spiritual Issues," begins with Roy Eriksen discussing examining Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* B-text (1616), a most remarkable play that is notable for its interweaving of politics and religious politics. The sources Marlowe summoned significantly distinguish the B-text from the A-text of 1604. Eriksen expounds on why he's convinced that "Faustus does in fact end up in the courts of rulers, in the Vatican Palace in Rome, and at the courts of Emperor Charles V and the Duke of Anhalt" (108). Noteworthy, is Marlowe's ingenious use of an *ars combinatoria* to articulate the contestation and intrigue among the powerful political and religious actors during the early modern period.

In Chapter 9, Francois Laroque expounds on transmission and transgression in *Doctor Faustus* (1589) and *Measure for Measure* (1604), demonstrating how Marlowe and Shakespeare "diverge in the ways they adapt or transpose the morality in order to make it fit their personal views or aims" (123). In *Doctor Faustus* transgression is portrayed as a self-determined and godforsaken act, whereby Faustus' *libido sciendi* and relentless obsession with mastering magic not only culminated in terminating himself, but also any possibility for knowledge transmission. Thus, *Doctor Faustus* illustrates the inevitable entanglement of transmission and transgression. In *Measure for Measure*, transgression is identified with vice and with sexual license. Laroque demonstrates the blurring of transmission and communication: dialogues are seemingly indefinite, often "malapropisms and

various linguistic obfuscations" and overemphasis of silence results in equivocation (127).

In Chapter 10, Joseph Sterrett considers Shakespeare's use of "sanctuary" in *Comedy of Errors* and *Richard III*, including the metaphorical use of sanctuary in later works such as *Hamlet*. In these plays, Sterrett demonstrates sanctuary as a place of transgression. He discusses Jacques Derrida's articulation of the notion of "immunity" or "protected space or exception"—where the social and the biological metaphors are conflated, suggesting that immunity is not only enclosed by violence but is also inherent to it (134). Transgression threatens immunity: "The social body organizes itself around its immune spaces, its sanctuaries, spaces protected by a violent tension that bear the potential to be overwhelmed at any moment" (135).

Noam Reisner's essay, Chapter 11, functions as a transition to the fourth part of the volume. Reisner isn't entirely convinced that *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606) is merely a "wild parody" of *Hamlet* but rather a drama which "is in many ways entirely serious" (147). This time—rather than what's usually expected—the 'line' of transgression is radically transformed: a "peculiar transgressive energy" manifests itself in "an anarchy of revenge acts enacted by shallow characters raging against allegorical moral types in violent, sensual rhetoric, which celebrates (rather than resists) the reality of lived life" (150). The transformation of the concept of transgression is elucidated, and the reality of 'limited being' is made explicit.

Finally, Part IV, "Transgressions of Gender and Genre," consists of five essays. In Chapter 12 Sarah Annes Brown explores the history behind the word 'syphilis', which has its origins in a Latin poem, *Syphilis sive morbus gallicus* (1530), by the physician Girolamo Fracastoro. Brown claims Fracastoro's protagonist 'Syphilis' originates from Book 7 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Discussed are the story of Cephalus and Procris, the connections between Cephalus and syphilis, and the tale's transmission during the early modern period. Noteworthy, is the author's attempt at "trac[ing] a *contaminatio* between Cephalus and Procris and Pyramus and Thisbe, a process which enabled the story to infect *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" (161). Brown also points out that the influence of the tale of Cephalus and Procris "on early modern writers has been rather neglected" (174).

In Chapter 13, Laetitia Sansonetti examines Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593). Remarkable is Sansonetti's demonstration of a "triple convergence of transmission and transgression," which is exemplified in three ways: "The physical overstepping" of the human body's limits—whereby "identity entails a form of trans-gender rhetorical transgression" in the poem's style and storytelling; "The narrator's overstepping of the limits of texts entails a form of trans-world transgression in which his relation to the characters hovers between innocence, experience and detachment"; and "authorial overstepping of the limits of contexts entails a form of trans-genre transgression and creates a new version of authorship" (186). Revealed is a new line of transmission: Shakespeare's retelling of the tale of Venus and Adonis, but Shakespeare "also owns the story" (186).

In Chapter 14, Pierre Kapitaniak scrutinizes Thomas Middleton's *The Witch*. Middleton was inspired to write his tragicomedy against the backdrop of the grandest political scandal during the reign of James I (1615) and the surge of new witch trials which ensued shortly thereafter. Kapitaniak demonstrates "how Middleton made transgression a composing principle of *The Witch*, a play which he meant as an exposure of the transgressive nature of power" (189). Expounded on are the diverse imagery of witches, cats, and metaphors in the multiple plots; the "numerous confusions" implemented by Middleton in the multiple plots (191); the prolific use of sexual puns to exemplify sexual transgressions; and the playing with and blurring of genders.

In Chapter 15, Denis Lagae-Devoldère focuses on post-Shakespearean transgressions in George Villier's *The Rehearsal*. The play's rehearsal structure, which the author calls "radically original," is "a transgressive vehicle based on transliterated or transposed/versed elements" (202). Lagae-Devoldère discusses the various paradigms at work and especially elaborates on the use of merged verb strings, resulting in "a sense of profusion of dynamic actions implying the actualization of predicative relations" and at the same time being "notably *un*-predicated and unconnected, too"—lines in the play being "generated via loose word connections" (200). Thus, the play's structure *is* the transgression, because it *is* the manifestation of the playwright's unwillingness to follow the theatrical conventions and rules of his time, along with inclusion of political critical elements.

In the final essay of this volume, Livia Segurado explores a new twist on Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* by the Brazilian Grupo Galpao, directed by Gabriel Villela. Segurado considers the numerous reapproriations realized in this play and the new meanings generated. Innovatively, this production featured "hybrid intertextuality between the original English play, a Portuguese translation and a Brazilian literary text" (225). Villela's purpose is "overtly transgressing a well-known theatrical work in order to give it a new shape," something the common people of Brazil could relate to (212). Zesty, dynamic, and very original is Grupo Galpao's portrayal of Shakespeare's most widely adored dramatic work of a universal love story.

A rich, lively, and engaging variety of topics devoted to the circulation of knowledge—including the miscirculation of knowledge—in early modern England makes this collection of essays an excellent contribution to both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century studies. Moreover, it serves as a stepping stone for further research on transmission of knowledge in the literature and drama of early modern England.

Mary C. Fenton and Louis Schwartz, eds. *With Wandering Steps: Generative Ambiguity in Milton's Poetics.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2016. xix + 244 pp. $70.00. Review by John Mulryan, St. Bonaventure University.

This collection contains nine valuable essays on Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, but I question the premise contained in the title, viz. that Milton's poetics are (as we read in Louis Schwartz's introduction) characterized by generative ambiguity. Words such as "problematic," "contingent," "ambiguity," "ambivalence" and unresolved "differences" dominate the discourse. We are, as readers, invited to explore differences which can never be resolved: "The poetic and the prose works themselves, moreover, draw readers into aesthetic, rhetorical, and epistemological schemes—plots, tropes, and arguments—that assert the value of differences, assert their own value, while at the same time gesturing offstage to an ultimate but temporally inaccessible source of truth—singular, undifferentiated—that calls all differences into question" (ix). One might recall that *Paradise Lost* is

about a highly complex topic: the fall of humankind. After Adam and Eve leave the Garden, "with wandering steps and slow" (*Paradise Lost* 12.648), the whole of human history follows. The full impact of the fall of humankind is not problematic or ambiguous: it is unknown, both to the deceased Milton and to everyone else.

The essays are subdivided into three parts: "Speech, Gesture, and Ritual Display"; "Relationships"; and "Places." In "Speech, Gesture, and Ritual Display," Alex Garganigo ("God's Swearing by Himself: Milton's Troubling Coronation Oath") explores the possible ambiguities in Milton's treatment of the coronation of the Son and the coronation rituals in seventeenth-century England. Garganigo contrasts the coronation of Charles II with the coronation of the Son in *Paradise Lost*, where the traditional ceremonies marking the transfer of power have been eliminated: "The whole ritual could just as easily been called an anointment, a consecration, an enthronement, and installation, or a swearing in.

By contrast, the coronation of the Son in *Paradise Lost* consists solely of God's announcement to the assembled angels that he has *already* begotten the Son, *already* anointed him, *already* sworn an oath that they shall obey him" (8). Milton's own references to the coronation bear this out: This day I have begot whom I declare / My only Son, and on this holy hill / I have anointed, whom ye now behold / At my right hand; your head I him appoint; / And by myself have sworn to him shall bow / All knees in heaven, and shall confess him Lord." (*Paradise Lost* 5. 602–08).

One can only concur with Garganigo that "By comparison, even the absolutist Charles II seems to have been allowed a more contracturalist coronation ceremony than that of Milton's God" (9).

In the same section, Brendan Prawdzik ("Naked Writhing Flesh: Rhetorical Authority, Theatrical Recursion, and Milton's Poetic of the Viewed Body") points to "the rich evidence of theatricality (as opposed to dramatic intent) in *Paradise Lost" (*37). But, theatricality can also be turned on its head to dramatize the lack of interiority in the melodramatic Satan: "The use of antitheatrical rhetoric to underscore the fetishizing of the external or visible to the neglect of ethos and spirit thoroughly informs Milton's representation of Satan in *Paradise Lost*" (41). For example, Satan's theatrical skills enable him to deceive Uriel,

the sharpest of the angels, rendering him less perceptive than Milton's own readers: "Toward the close of book 3, Satan demonstrates a skill of theatrical self-presentation expert enough to deceive Uriel. Uriel's exceptional perspicuity, caught 'fixt in cogitation deep' (629), reveals him at this moment to be blinder than the reader, who foreknowing can easily see the artificiality of the disguise [Satan dressed for a masque] and the fraudulence it conceals" (45). Again, in Part One, James J. Rutherford ("Argument in Heaven: Logic and Action in *Paradise Lost*, Book 3") explores Milton's analysis of Ramist Logic in his own treatise on the subject, but he also notes that "the main thing that makes Milton's argument so hard to follow is that he does not give consistent definitions of his terms" (69). Indeed, "insofar as Ramist logic is open to the charge of being simply rhetoric in disguise, so are the ostensibly logical arguments of Milton's divine characters" (71).

In Part Two, "Relationships," Maggie Kilgour ("Growing Up With Virgil") points out that a lot of people had to die to help Aeneas grow up ("if Aeneas's journey demands self-sacrifice, it also requires the sacrifice of others"(86)), and this is poignantly true of Adam and Eve. "They too must begin growing up, not with Virgil, but with each other, as Virgil's isolated wanderer becomes Milton's alienated but still united couple" (96). Danielle A. St. Hilaire ("Reason, Love, and Regeneration in *Paradise Lost*, Book 10") rebukes both Adam and Eve for each of their attempts to take sole responsibility for the Fall. For St. Hilaire, human redemption is contingent on making the right choice, but "the 'lapsed powers' God restores cannot be merely the ability to make any choice, but [rather] the ability to choose what is right" (102). I cannot, however, accept her insistence on the indissoluble connection between reason and love in *Paradise Lost*, which is based on a particular reading of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas: "Following an Augustinian and Thomist tradition in which love 'is partly a matter of feeling, but it is primarily a matter of will,'" Milton, according to St. Hilaire, connects love, reason, and obedience in a neat package that I do not find particularly persuasive: "Love without reason has no power to act in the world, while reason without love is not right reason and is not properly directed because it will not be seeking to obey he 'whom to love is to obey'" (109). In "Preferring his Mother's House: Jesus at Home and in Exile in *Paradise Regained,*"

Margaret Justice Dean explores the physical spaces of Temple and Church, explaining how they were de-sanctified by the Reformers: "Reformed teaching on the irrelevance of place to sanctity was well established by Milton's time" (119). This essay really belongs in part three, "Places," the most focused of the divisions. In the first essay in Part Three, "'An Island salt and bare' The Fate of the Garden in *Paradise Lost*," Maura Brady explores the history of the Garden of Eden after the Fall, particularly the Reformers' insistence that the Garden was totally destroyed. Luther, in particular, insisted that the Garden of Eden was destroyed in order to forestall any allegorical theories based on the belief in a still-existing Paradise: "Luther asserts emphatically that the garden was altogether obliterated by the floodwaters, an insistence that would appear to be driven by the need to take an unequivocal position on this much-debated question, and to defend against erroneous theories of paradise extant and allegorical paradise," resulting in "a confusing jumble of allegorical interpretations" (143). Of course this description does not square with Milton's own description of a devastated but still-existing Paradisiacal site: "And there take root an Iland salt and bare, / The haunt of Seals and Orcs, and Sea-mews clang" (*Paradise Lost*, 11, 834–35). In "Images of the East in *Paradise Lost*," Talya Meyers points out that Milton's East is less detailed than Spenser's but just as fanciful. Milton, it appears, preferred images of the East to the place itself: "Milton's epic incorporates the increasingly familiar Eastern world into a Christian and European story ... rather than writing an epic in which Middle Easterners or Asians are integral to the plotline…The fact that this East exists as a series of illustrative images rather than as a real place to be experienced and understood ... suggests that the energy of the poet can now be concentrated elsewhere, that he no longer needs to confront this varied and uncontrollable place at all" (171). Finally, in "Alternative Histories and the New World," Joshua Lee Wisebaker confronts "Milton's engagement with the New World on the axis of temporality" (175). Milton also ties Satan to a degenerative, cyclical view of history in both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*: "Satan as a figure for repetition and historical cycles seems to be a consistent aspect of his characterization throughout Milton's two epics" (184).

Thus, *"With Wandering Steps: Generative Ambiguity in Milton's Poetics"* provides the reader with a fine clutch of essays on topics of interest to all Milton scholars. It's a pity that Duquesne University Press, the press that sponsored these essays, is no more.

Alison V. Scott. *Literature and the Idea of Luxury in Early Modern England*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015. 246 pp. $112.00. Review by Emilie M. Brinkman, Purdue University.

Intellectual histories of the idea of luxury have been, traditionally, progressive in nature, as narratives that chronicle the concept's upward evolution from "classical vice or medieval sin to modern social benefit, and finally to its apotheosis as a marker of distinction in postmodern, capitalist society" (1). Scholars have generally agreed that the key moment within such progressive histories lies in the eighteenth century, wherein luxury was "demoralized" as a result of intense political and economic debates. Alison V. Scott's recent work *Literature and the Idea of Luxury in Early Modern England* complicates this traditional narrative with her examination of the "cultural lexicon" of luxury during the seventeenth century, an era often overlooked by intellectual historians but which she identifies as highly significant within luxury's modern conceptual reformulation.

Scott's work builds on the historiographical foundations laid by Christopher Berry's *The Idea of Luxury* (2004) and Linda Levy Peck's absolutely superb *Consuming Splendor* (2005), for the former focuses solely upon the idea of luxury within the eighteenth century while the latter reveals how the rise of luxury consumption truly originated in the seventeenth century, a century before what was previously supposed. Thus, this book fills a much-needed historiographical gap as Scott explores the shifting meanings of luxury at a time of rapid commercial and economic development throughout England, with the growth of global trade and increase in the consumption of expensive and superfluous goods. Early English uses of the term "luxury" tended "to invoke particular processes by which moral, social, and political order was corrupted" as opposed to the category of indispensable commercial goods or services that dominate our world today (4). In

Middle English, the term "luxurie" specifically denoted the carnal sin of lust. Yet, it is with the rise of material luxury culture during the seventeenth century that this medieval concept of "luxury" began to be altered or adapted.

Indeed, Scott's central argument is that before the eighteenth century, ideas concerning luxury were not static but rather fluid, dynamic, complex, and often contradictory, encompassing a plethora of different meanings and associations that expanded beyond the moral and religious implications of luxury as merely lust or sexual licentiousness. Scott reveals that contemporary literary works and mimetic texts "revived and then extended the concept's more expansive associations," by conflating classical *luxuria*, "a vice of misgovernment in which the feminine passions and bodily desires overwhelmed masculine reason and mental control," with English "luxurie" (i.e. lust) to ultimately produce a more encompassing idea of luxury with a larger and more vibrant, albeit often confused, conceptual vocabulary (4). Furthermore, Scott's work demonstrates how luxury was being negotiated not simply in moral or religious terms but also in a political sense, as the idea was often defined in terms of "riot, excess, indulgence, rankness, revelry and dissipation, and its disordering effects were applied to diverse situations including mockery of wealth, ill rule, and sedition" (7). Scott's study here aims to, and ultimately succeeds in, revealing the "discontinuities in the history of the idea (both over time, and across the 'languages' of this period) that have previously been overlooked" by intellectual historians (10).

Heavily influenced by Quentin Skinner, Scott utilizes both intellectual- and cultural-historical methods as well as a lexicographical approach in her exploration of seventeenth-century literature, which she maintains "provides the most complete account of a concept's historical meanings and their shifts over time" (10). The book is organized thematically into three sections, each containing two chapters, that emphasize the idea of luxury as it manifested within three different linguistic frameworks of early modern culture: moral, material, and political-economic. The first part investigates the tensions and contradictions that certain uses of the term and idea of "luxury" might negotiate within the classical and early Christian traditions. Consequently, each chapter focuses upon an important figure of early

modern luxury that embodies the moral threat of the idea, although in different manners. The first chapter explores how luxury is represented as a fluid and evolving concept within Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, specifically with Acrasia and the bower of bliss episode in book two. Scott finds that the meaning of luxury is "neither simple moral vice nor transcendental sensory experience," for the idea is understood in terms of both Roman self-indulgence and Christian lust, as well as "a simultaneous failure of Aristotelian moderation and stoic self-containment" (26).

The second chapter is truly, in the opinion of this historian, the crown jewel of Scott's work with its interesting examination of Cleopatra and her myth of luxury within early modern culture. While drawing other contemporary works into her analysis, Scott utilizes Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* as a case study in order to demonstrate the inadequacies of defining luxury strictly within moral-religious terms and to further reveal the larger political dimensions of the idea in relation to the early modern literary "Cleopatra." The bard's classic tragedy of the Roman hero and the legendary Egyptian queen has traditionally been interpreted as a cautionary tale, warning Englishmen and women of the dangers associated with eastern decadence, female excess, misrule, and disorder against Rome's masculine political virtues. Yet, Scott argues that, aesthetically, Cleopatra also embodies a positive Hellenistic conception of luxury as pleasure, beauty, and bounty (not excess, as represented with the symbol of the cornucopia). The author concludes that the idea of luxury that Cleopatra represents within early modern terms, is therefore "hybrid and complex, and certainly far from simply interchangeable with lust or concupiscence" (82).

The book's second section moves beyond these representations of luxury as a moral threat and rather concerns the materialization of luxury within early modern literature, focusing on the ways in which the developing consumer culture of seventeenth-century London affected or altered the moralized idea of luxury as unnatural excess. Chapter three reveals a fascinating view into the early Stuart urban marketplace with its analysis of several satirical works, most notably those penned by Nashe, Donne, Jonson, and Marston. Within such satires, the city of London is depicted as both the seducer of men

to self-indulge in newfound riches and the seduced, a metropolis transformed and victimized by luxury. By the turn of the seventeenth century, luxury was understood to mean more than simply lust or lechery but "an excessive appetite for commercial goods," and as Scott so convincingly argues, urban literature "negotiated luxury as both [these] things at once, and always in relation to the processes of profusion, softening, transformation and delusion that characterize classical *luxuria*" (101). Scott's fourth chapter extends this discussion of luxury consumption into the theater and further complicates the meaning of "luxury" as it considers Jonson's comedies, including *The Alchemist* and *Volpone*, as well as Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens.*

The third and final part of Scott's book expands the examination of material objects and practices found in the previous section to investigate the development of "luxury" as an economic and political concept within seventeenth-century culture. The fifth chapter concentrates on *The Entertainment at Britain's Burse* by Jonson, utilizing this masque as another case study for understanding the interplay of early economic debates and the praise (and invariably skepticism) of material luxury and royal magnificence found within civil entertainment. Here, Scott demonstrates how trade in luxury goods, namely fashion, was reappraised and recognized as potentially beneficial to the state-body. The book's sixth chapter continues on with the theme of luxury and its relation to the body politic, a motif emphasized in the preceding segment, with its analysis of early modern Roman tragedies, specifically Jonson's *Catiline* and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*. In her examination of *Coriolanus,* Scott indicates how luxury was understood as a socially acceptable form of waste, which serves as a final nod to the first chapter's discussion of excess, indulgence, and waste in *The Faerie Queene.*

The book ends rather abruptly with the final chapter's discussion of *Coriolanus* and therefore lacks any sort of conclusion, which is my only significant criticism of Scott's otherwise very fine and extensive study. A brief, concluding chapter that summarized the book's central arguments and points would have better resolved the complex issues commendably raised and discussed in the preceding pages. Scott's decision to not structure her book chronologically—for she contends, and successfully demonstrates, that the history of the idea of luxury was

not progressive—was undoubtedly the most effective organizational option. However, it may have aided the reader's contextual understanding, and actually strengthened her arguments further for that matter, if there was a bit more attention (perhaps in a conclusion) to the eighteenth-century political and economic debates of luxury that remain so central to the historiography of this idea.

Additionally, Scott's book purposefully excludes an investigation of primary sources relating to, as she so aptly states, "the business of everyday life," namely household account books, foreign papers and correspondence, diaries, and moral guidebooks, although she does often draw from sermons, pamphlets, and dictionaries (9). The inclusion of more such documents would have certainly expanded the book's discussions further, yet this was clearly not the author's aim and Scott's use of literature as her sole evidence has resulted in a profoundly exhaustive examination of the rhetorical negotiations of seventeenth-century luxury. Thus, this observation is less a criticism and more a note regarding a very promising opportunity for future studies, particularly in regards to the different and complex ways in which luxury was materialized within early modern English culture.

Literature and the Idea of Luxury in Early Modern England is indeed an exceptionally rich study— wonderfully written, meticulously detailed, and utterly thought provoking. Scott's fresh and fascinating work here certainly maintains greater implications for the intellectual history of the idea of luxury within Western thought as well as the importance and usefulness of a lexicographical approach to the study of early modern literature. Yet, Alison Scott's book also maintains particular significance and relevance to our modern reality, for luxury continues to play an integral role in shaping and redefining our material world.

David L. Orvis and Ryan Singh Paul, eds. *The Noble Flame of Katherine Philips: A Poetics of Culture, Politics, and Friendship*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2015. ix + 454 pp. $60. Review by Anna Lewton-Brain, McGill University.

In her short life (1632–1664), Katherine Philips (née Fowler) composed some 125 poems, translated two plays by Pierre Corneille, became England's first female playwright to have her work performed on a public stage, adapted lyrics out of French and Italian songs, and exchanged letters with the intellectual and political elite of her day (her letters to Sir Charles Cotterell, e.g., were published in 1705). Despite her obviously significant contribution to seventeenth-century English literary culture, surprisingly, *The Noble Flame of Katherine Philips: A Poetics of Culture, Politics, and Friendship* is "the first scholarly collection devoted to [her] poetry" (7). This collection of essays, edited by David L. Orvis and Ryan Singh Paul, seeks to remedy this oversight and "to demonstrate the 'state of the art' in [Philips] scholarship at the present moment" (7).

In their extensive (40-page) introduction, which begins with a brief and informative biography of Philips's life, Orvis and Paul provide a detailed literature review of the history of Philips scholarship. They remind us that, although Philips was "rediscovered" in the early twentieth century by George Saintsbury who "included her in the first volume of his *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*" (published in 1905), it was not until "the feminist, lesbian, gay and queer critics … in the 1980s and 1990s marshaled her works into debates at the intersections of gender, sexuality, politics, and religion" that Philips's reputation as a major poet of the seventeenth century was restored (6). Recent Philips scholarship has thus been concerned with "recognition of Philips as an innovator" and with "questions of [female] desire and sexual identity" (9).

This collection combines five reprinted essays on Philips (by Catherine Gray, Paula Loscocco, Elizabeth Hodgson, Valerie Traub, and Lorna Hutson) that helped shape the current field of study with five new essays (by Christopher Orchard, David L. Orvis, Amy Scott-Douglass, Linda Phyllis Austern, and Harriette Andreadis) that take that foundational work further and in new directions. The editors

identify three areas of inquiry in the essays: "(1) cultural poetics and/or the courtly coterie; (2) innovation and influence in poetic and political form; and (3) articulations of female friendship, homoeroticism, and retreat" (35). There are, however, no partitions indicated between groups of essays. Instead, each of the reprinted essays is prefaced by a contextualizing note by either the author herself or the editors, providing the critical background of the original publication, or indicating how Philips scholarship has developed since the original publication. These forewords will be useful for a reader who intends to read only selections from this collection, though a reader of the complete collection may notice in them some repetition of material already covered in the book's introduction.

The first four essays take up the question of Katherine Philips's Royalist sympathies and her coterie readership. In her reprinted essay, "Katherine Philips and the Post-Courtly Coterie" (41–63), Catherine Gray argues that Philips's Royalism is colored by her proto-feminism. She makes the case that Philips both supports Royal hierarchy and simultaneously undercuts hierarchical gender norms in her Platonist ideas of female friendship, noting how, for example, for Philips, women of different classes can be friends (61). In his new essay, "The Failure of Royalist Heroic Virtue" (65–86), Christopher Orchard complicates the issue of Philip's Royalism by attending to Philips's "volatility of feeling and shifts in political affiliations" (67). He argues that for Philips, the value of virtuous friendship supersedes her political leanings (84). But it is David L. Orvis's original essay, "Biblical Poetics, Royalist Politics, and Anti-Eschatological Prophecy in Philips's Poetry" (87–123) that most fascinatingly brings a new light to Philips's political leanings by attending to her theological ones. Orvis wants to "add Orinda to the period's diverse cast of prophets and argue that she, no less than her contemporaries, interprets the events of her day as divinely ordained and biblically significant" (91–92). He shows how Philips reframes "the execution of Charles I and the establishment of the commonwealth not as a harbinger of the eschaton…but as yet another episode in the longstanding [biblical] history of righteous and wicked kings" (92). Orvis's essay combines biblical exegesis with close-reading of Philips's verse to show how Philips's scriptural allusions reveal "not only a poet who knew the Word intimately but also an exegete whose radical

revisions offered an important contrast to the millenarian prophecies of her day" (123).

Amy Scott-Douglass's essay, "Restoring Orinda's Face: Puritan Iconoclasm and Philips's *Poems* as Royalist Remonumentalization" (125–52) follows nicely on Orvis's essay since it likewise takes up the subject of Philips's religious convictions, and it continues the line of inquiry in the first four essays into Philips's Royalist poetics. Scott-Douglass traces the motif of defacement and restoration of monuments and churches in Philips's poetry and suggests a link to the brutal iconoclasm Philips must have witnessed and perhaps even participated in in her home parish as a girl. Scott-Douglass concludes: "Given the extreme contrasts between Philips's [Puritan and iconoclastic] upbringing and her stance against Puritan defacement in her poetry, I have to believe that a…reversal on the subject of church iconography must have been one of the most significant shifts in Philips's life" (152).

The second thematic grouping of essays, comprised of studies of Philips's "innovation and influence in poetic and political form" (35), begins with Paula Luscocco's reprinted essay, "Inventing the English Sappho: Katherine Philips's Donnean Poetry" (153–86). Luscocco compares John Donne's and Philips's use of metaphysical conceits to show how Philips succeeds "where Donne had failed…in realizing the possibilities of total amorous union" (153). Elizabeth Hodgson offers readings of Philips's epithalamia in "Katherine Philips at the Wedding" (187–211), and Linda Phyllis Austern produces a wonderfully rounded account of the relationship between Philips and the musical culture of her day. In "The Conjuncture of Word, Music, and Performance Practice in Philips's Era" (213–41), Austern discusses the two extant seventeenth-century musical settings of Philips's verse by Henry Lawes and considers Philips's evocation of theories of speculative music in her poetry. Perhaps most captivating is Austern's discussion of Philips's emotive poetic response to hearing her friend Lady Elizabeth Boyle sing a setting of one of her songs from *Pompey* (221). Philips writes of the experience of being enthralled by the singer: "Your voice, which can in moving strains / Teach beauty to the blind, / Confines me yet in stronger chains / By being soft and kind" ("Subduing Fayre!" stanza 4; 221). Austern's astute sensitivity to music as more than notes on a page, as embodied performance, leads her to remark how "the

singer [Lady Elizabeth Boyle] had eroticized, through her person and performance, the material penned by the poet" (223).

The attention paid to female erotics in Austern's essay sets up well the final grouping of essays in the collection which discuss "articulations of female friendship, homoeroticism, and retreat" (35). Two of the three final essays are reprints: "'Friendship so Curst': *Amor Impossibilis*, the Homoerotic Lament, and the Nature of *Lesbian* Desire" (243–65) is excerpted from Valerie Traub's 2002 monograph *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*, and Lorna Hutson's, "The Body of the Friend and the Woman Writer: Katherine Philips's Absence from Alan Bray's *The Friend*" (267–89) was first published in a 2007 issue of *Women's Writing*. Harriette Andreadis's new essay, "Versions of Pastoral: Philips and Women's Queer Spaces" (291–309), follows effectively on Lorna Hutson's since they are both feminist efforts to fill in the gaps left by male historians who either glossed over or neglected to account for the female perspective in their histories: Hutson aims to supplement Alan Bray's account of *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982) to include study of female friendship and the body, and Andreadis wants to re-evaluate the ways pastoralism is coded to express transgressive eroticisms, not only for male-male desire (as Bruce Smith, Frederick Greene, and Stephen Wayne Whitworth have explored), but also for "female erotics" (292), which, she points out, "as is often the case [with] male-authored critical studies," has been neglected (291).

The book concludes with an elegant afterward be Elizabeth H. Hageman, entitled, "The Most Deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips—Her Books" (311–24). Hageman, who is currently co-editing with Andrea Sununu *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips* (for OUP), traces the history of a seventeenth-century windowpane inscription of two quatrains of Philips's verse. These lines etched into the Long Gallery at Haddon Hall (213) feature in Washington Irving's 1822 novel *Bracebridge Hall* and lead Hageman to contemplate anecdotal evidence of Philips's female readership since the seventeenth century. Having surveyed "more than 100 copies of Philips's writing" (320), Hageman is in a unique position to comment on Philips's reception, noting that "early modern owners of Philips's books included both men and women; scholars and clergymen; members of merchant,

landed gentry, and aristocratic families; and residents of Ireland, Wales, Scotland, England, and even colonial America" (320).

Through this collection of essays that rethink her poetics, politics, religion, philosophy, erotics, and reception, Katherine Philips emerges as an innovative, even transgressive, poet who sculpted a new language of female desire and affection (15). The collection succeeds in representing the current state of Philips scholarship and in suggesting new avenues of scholarly interest. The book is thoroughly indexed (443–54), meticulously edited, and the bibliography (399–437) is usefully divided into three sections: Printed Works of Katherine Philips (399–400), Primary Sources (400–05), and Secondary Sources (405–37). *The Noble Flame of Katherine Philips* will be a valuable addition to the library of any student of Philips or of seventeenth-century cultural history more broadly.

Elizabeth S. Dodd and Cassandra Gorman eds. *Thomas Traherne and Seventeenth-Century Thought*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016. xx + 220 pp. $99.00. Review by Gary Kuchar, University of Victoria.

Two editions of Thomas Traherne's complete works are now in process. While Jan Ross has edited six volumes for D.S. Brewer, including previously unpublished texts such as *The Ceremonial Law* (vol. 6) and *The Kingdom of God* (vol. 2), Julia J. Smith is overseeing a fully annotated edition to be published with Oxford University Press. Written in the context of these developments, Dodd and Gorman's new collection of essays reflects the growing excitement of Traherne studies as scholars now try to integrate little-known works into our understanding of his entire oeuvre. As the editors of this collection rightly insist, such a project demands that Traherne be more firmly situated within his own historical contexts, rather than viewed anachronistically as a proto-romantic, or as a mystic transcending political and social pressures.

The collection consists of a forward by Julia Smith, an afterword by Jacob Blevins, an introduction by the editors, and eight essays by both established and newer scholars, including one each by the editors. In her forward, Smith identifies four intellectual developments

that hold out particular promise for Traherne scholarship: manuscript studies, biography and life-writing, re-periodization, and heightened political sensitivity. She also notes how early Traherne scholarship tended to be somewhat symptomatic of its historical moment, even more than is perhaps normally the case.

Further developing Smith's critical overview of Traherne scholarship, the editorial introduction stresses what the editors call the "historical turn" in Traherne studies. Particular emphasis is placed on Traherne's response to natural philosophy, though not always in wholly reliable ways. We are told, for example, that Jonathan Sawday's 1995 study of anatomy finds "in Traherne's poetry a genuine interest in the 'new science' and an attempt to communicate scientific knowledge in a way that reveals humanity's underlying spiritual glory" (16). While partly accurate, this summary obscures the philosophical insightfulness that Sawday attributes to Traherne. According to Sawday, Traherne deployed the language of science for the sake of "celebration, rather than conquest" (258) resulting in a poetics that "entirely sabotages the endeavours of 'masculine science'" (*The Body Emblazoned*, 264). If Sawday overstated his case somewhat, he nevertheless recognized in Traherne an approach to the body that is ultimately ontological and metaphysical rather than strictly empirical, one focused on mystery more than mastery. Revealingly, other essays in the volume confirm the subtly critical response to natural philosophy that Sawday identified, seeing Traherne adapting and redeploying the new science to directly religious ends rather than uncritically reproducing it on its own terms. This is most notably true of Kathryn Murphy's exquisite study of Traherne's philosophical realism, which appears with three other essays in Part I called "Philosophies of Matter and Spirit."

The second essay in Part I, Murphy's chapter sets out to explain how Traherne's rhetorical and intellectual focus on "things" expresses his philosophical concern with the problem of the many and the One, and hence what is fundamentally real. His answer, we learn, involves a calculated misapplication of Bacon's critique of Aristotelian substance. Like Bacon, Traherne calls attention to accidents rather than substances. But unlike the natural philosopher, Traherne insists that accidents "are material to our happiness not because they enable our mastery of nature, but because they contribute to 'Glory & Delight'"

(58). Rooted in an Aristotelian concern with the reality of things learned at Oxford, Traherne's various enumerations nevertheless reflect a philosophical outlook that turns the *Novum Organon* against the *Organon* via Augustine. The result is not only a form of philosophical realism that would be "anathema to Bacon" (68), but also a richly subtle explanation of Traherne's fascination with enumerative lists. Overall, Murphy provides a more persuasive account of Traherne's fascination with surfaces than the lead essay's reading of his depiction of skin in the context of Jean-Luc Nancy's 1994 lecture "On the Soul" (an odd choice given the volume's stated exigency).

In chapter 3, Cassandra Gorman finds a spiritually voracious Traherne turning to atomism in order to discover "All in All," including his "most original theories about soul and self" (70, 71). Here again, Traherne deploys scientific writings in ways that counter the reductive potential inherent in empiricism as we find him resisting Neo-Epicurean idioms that reduce human beings to a "heap of Atoms" (75). Resisting such a view, Traherne finds in atoms not so much a symbol of human frailty but a window onto eternity. The broader significance of Gorman's thesis lies in her intriguing claim that Traherne's work gestures "at a significant mystical side to atomism in the early modern period" (82). At work on a monograph on the topic, Gorman's research into atomism promises further results.

In the final essay in Part I, Alison Kershaw situates Traherne's work in the context of the Cosmic Christ tradition, which runs from the New Testament up to the twentieth-century Catholic paleontologist Teilhard de Chardin and then to theologians such as Matthew Fox. More precisely, she shows how Traherne "integrates an ancient cosmic Christology with the expanding cosmology of the seventeenth century" (87). In doing this, Traherne defines Christ's immanence in the universe "against voluntarist and emerging 'mechanical' philosophies, delighting instead in the penetrative powers of 'Life it self'" (87–88). The context Kershaw brings to bear on Traherne's approach to divine immanence is fascinating and illuminative. More needs to be said on this front, especially vis-à-vis Traherne's patristic and medieval inheritance.

Part II includes four essays focusing on "Practical and Public Devotion," including two essays on the recently published *The Ceremonial*

Law. The first of these, written by Warren Chernaik, introduces the text while situating it in the context of seventeenth-century biblical commentary. There are few surprises here as we find Traherne working within the expected meditative, didactic, and typological traditions from the period. Importantly though, Chernaik draws some precise distinctions between Traherne's attempt "to reconcile the Law with Love" and Milton's view of the ceremonial law as a "childish and servile discipline" abrogated in its entirety by "the new dispensation of the Covenant of Grace" (123). While such claims may require a degree of qualification, the basic distinction speaks to the differences between Milton's radicalism and Traherne's commitment to the restored Church of England as reflected, for example, in works such as *The Church's Year-Book*. Strange, then, that in the following essay Carol Ann Johnston strains to find a radical, sectarian Traherne at work in *The Ceremonial Law.* The evidence she marshals rests on overstated assertions about the uniquely protestant nature of biblical typology and an unpersuasive reading of the text in light of Cromwellian politics. She even concludes by comparing Traherne to the Elizabethan Calvinist William Perkins, a man with an utterly different approach to Christian spirituality than the poet from Herefordshire. Those interested in understanding some of Traherne's more ostensibly radical assertions would do better to consult Julia J. Smith's 1988 essay "Thomas Traherne and the Restoration."

More productively, Ana Elena Gonzáles-Treviño's chapter situates Traherne's concern with felicity in the context of seventeenth-century books on the art of happiness. In doing so, she allows us to clearly hear Traherne's voice alongside his contemporaries, many of whom shared his conviction that happiness can be cultivated and nourished. Yet we also hear Traherne coming into contact with those who disagreed, such as "the arch-materialist Thomas Hobbes, who provided the champions of happiness and virtue with a direct target for invectives" (162). The result is a rich sense of how the pursuit of felicity in the period was very much both cause and effect of books, a point as simple as it is profound.

In the final chapter, Elizabeth S. Dodd explains Traherne's investment in innocence in light of the period's broader concern with this state of holiness. Eschewing romantic readings of Traherne, Dodd

examines scriptural, ethical, sacramental, and liturgical contexts for insights into the period's ideas on innocence. The result is a fuller picture of Traherne's understanding of holiness.

In the afterword, Blevins reiterates Dodd's point that we should not read Traherne as a proto-romantic, an observation that gets a great deal of mileage in this collection.

While this book is a little uneven, and while its exigency is somewhat overstated, it clearly outlines the promise of future Traherne scholarship. Much remains to be learned about this fascinating and sensitive figure. And so, we await further results from Traherne scholars, including this collection's various contributors.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Vol 3 *To the year 1340.* Trans. Bohdan Struminsk; consulting eds. Yaroslav Fedoruk and Robert Romanchuk; ed. in chief, Frank Sysyn. Toronto and Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press: 2016. $119.95. Review by Carol B. Stevens, Colgate University.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky's magisterial work, *The History of Ukraine-Rus'*, was printed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries … a meticulously documented defense of Ukraine's national cultural independence from Russia and its Empire. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta has published translations of these key volumes of Ukrainian history one-by-one since the late 1990s. The publication of Volume 3 marks the ninth of twelve volumes in the translated series.

Volume 3 is the culminating study in Hrushevsky's study of Kyivan history. Its first half focuses on the events of the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth centuries—that is, following the Mongol conquest of Kyiv and cities to its east, north and northeast; its second half seeks to analyze the social and political structure, and the cultural achievements of the last two centuries of Kyivan history. Hrushevsky broaches in this volume some profoundly important questions. A vexed question of Ukrainian history occupies the foreground here; were Kyivan civilization and its heirs Ukrainian, or, as had long been argued, did the heirs of Kyiv migrate to northeast Russia to form to basis of Russian (Impe-

rial) civilization. Hrushevsky offers a nuanced argument defending the Ukrainian nature of Kyiv and its heritage. An important element of the argument is the role played by the principality of Galicia-Volhynia, whose importance had grown even in the pre-Mongol era. By persisting in the political and cultural traditions of Kyivan principalities, it merits being understood as Kyiv's true heir. Hrushevsky further argues that it is unreasonable to see a wholesale transfer of Kyivan culture to the north-northeast after 1240; destruction and migration may have moved important elements of the political elite away from Kyiv, but it is hard to imagine a wholesale and general migration.

Hrushevsky considers these questions in four chapters, making meticulous and detailed use of the source base available to him. In Chapter 1, the treatment of Galicia-Volhynia from the mid thirteenth to the mid fourteenth centuries is portrayed largely in political terms. He begins essentially with the period in which Prince Roman Mstyslavych came to power; his contentious relationship with the chief boyars of the realm is contrasted with his popularity with the common folk and the impact of his military campaigns. Roman Mstyslavych's early death in a campaign against Poland led to a 40-year period of struggle for the throne, won in the end by Danylo Romanovych—whose reign was not particularly positively evaluated by Hrushevsky; this judgement had a great deal to do with the limitations of his source base, and has been re-evaluated by modern scholars.

In Chapter 2, the fate of the Dnipro region in the century following the Mongol invasions is considered. Among the important themes of this section are the tragic destruction in the region following the invasion, the demoralization of the political elite that followed, and as a consequence the "decline of the princely and military retinue system" (141) and the decline of religious life. The result, Hrushevsky argues, set developments in this region on a different path than in Galicia-Volhynia further to the west.

Chapter 3 backtracks somewhat, to consider the political and social system of late Kyivan Rus' in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Hrushevsky argues that princely patrimonial system was dominant and lasting; consideration of the role of popular assemblies, as well as the rule of law and the role of the church segue into a discussion of social rank in its many varieties. Ultimately, however, the author

argues that the "Old Rus' state…looks like a group of autonomous, independent lands … tied by the unity of a dynasty" (154) rather than a "great state system."

The final chapter covers everyday life and culture in the same, largely pre-Mongol period. As might be expected this covers largely high culture—the sources of law, the impact of the Church, the developments in architecture and education. Nonetheless, a substantial discussion of the economy is included. The decline of peasant agriculture and the probable growth of the dependent population was exacerbated by internecine warfare and steppe raids; coinage, 'skin-money,' and the structure of credit figure largely in the discussion of trade. Hrushevsky concludes with the disastrous loss of further development of Kyivan statehood, and a somewhat stern assessment of the princes of Galicia-Volhynia failure to propel incipient statehood forward, despite conditions following the Mongol invasions.

Any reader not deeply versed in the history and historiography of this period would be well advised to preface any reading of Hrushevsky's text by perusing Volodymyr Aleksandrov's "The Unparalleled Significance of Volume 3 in Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus',"* pp. xlviii-lxii, translated from Ukrainian by Maria Daria Olynyk. This essay offers the reader an invaluable discussion of Hrushevsky's work on this period, summarizing what sources were available to the historian as he wrote the volume, how the availability of additional sources since then has changed (or not) Hrushevsky's arguments, and yet making clear with what mastery and accuracy Hrushevsky dealt with materials available to him. Among other things, working primarily with Kyivocentric sources, Hrushevsky did not have at his disposal information that might have allowed him to explore the westward foreign policy efforts of Galicia-Volhynia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in greater depth. Similarly, recent archeological discoveries near Uhrovsk and then Kholm (founded by Danylo Romanovych) as well as the uncovering of Ukrainian icons, miniature illustrations and the Zvenyhorod birch-bark documents might have persuaded Hryshevsky to produce a somewhat different analysis of the west Ukraine in the century following the Mongols.

The translation of the third volume of Hrushevsky's monumental work is based on the second (and substantially re-organized) edition

of the work. As one has come to expect from this translation project, the final product is easily readable and graceful. Copious notes in the second half of the volume elaborate on Hrushevsky's own citations, with the editors adding updates on the bibliography and state of the field on no less than 38 topics, the last of which (502–07) is a discussion of the literature on the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and its provenance, as well as the *Supplication of Danyil the Exile*. Appendices include a brief essay on "Writing, Reading, and Rhetoric: Lettered Education in Kyivan Rus" by Robert Romanchuk (510–24) as well as a thorough bibliography and index, tables of rulers, and a genealogical table of Roman Mstyslavich's dynasty to round out the volume. The project is to be congratulated on the completion of the volume, which helps to open the world of late Kyivan scholarship to English-speaking audiences.

Thomas Bartholin, *The Anatomy House in Copenhagen*, edited by Niels W. Bruun. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015, 222pp. + 44 illustrations. $50. Review by Celeste Chamberland, Roosevelt University.

As the pedagogical benefits of dissection gained increasing recognition in the century after Andreas Vesalius situated anatomy squarely at the center of medical education at the University of Padua in 1543, universities across Europe subsequently incorporated anatomical research and teaching into the core of their medical curricula. Among the institutions of higher learning situated at the forefront of anatomical science in the seventeenth century was the University of Copenhagen, which commissioned the construction of its first theater of dissection in 1644. This pivotal event not only enhanced the training of Copenhagen's medical students, but also fostered a thriving tradition of research that facilitated the discovery of new physiological systems and anatomical phenomena. Perhaps the most celebrated lecturer associated with the university's heyday of anatomical research, the Danish physician and theologian, Thomas Bartholin (1616–1680), is primarily renowned for his discovery of the lymphatic system and for his detailed description of the thoracic

duct. A prolific author, Bartholin published widely on topics ranging from theology to refrigeration anesthesia. Among his most influential publications, Bartholin's 1662 Latin treatise, *Domus anatomica hafniensis,* provides a thorough account of the layout, functions, and holdings of the Copenhagen anatomy house. Although Bartholin's treatise was initially translated into Danish, it was not available in English until Niels Brunn and Peter Fischer, in an effort to make the text accessible to modern readers outside of Scandinavia, released the first English version of the text, *The Anatomy House in Copenhagen* in 2015. In addition to its highly engaging prose, this lush volume includes extensive commentary and a rich assortment of images that will be of a great interest to medical historians and scholars of early modern European history alike.

Inasmuch as this fine translation, which Bruun describes as a "committed historical monograph" (43), provides access to a noteworthy early modern medical treatise heretofore largely overlooked outside of Denmark, it also includes illuminating commentaries that place Bartholin and Copenhagen within a larger political and intellectual context. Morten Fink-Jensen's introductory chapter, "Thomas Bartholin and the Anatomy House at the University of Copenhagen," for example, explains the University of Copenhagen's rise to prominence as a center of medical education and Bartholin's impact as dean of the medical faculty and scientific author. After publishing numerous treatises on specific anatomical discoveries, Bartholin turned his attention to documenting and celebrating the unique setting of Copenhagen's anatomy house as a glorification of divine creation and scientific innovation. As Fink-Jensen asserts, however, Bartholin's treatise also served a political end by linking the health of the Danish people to the success of the state under the leadership of Frederik III, who ascended to the Danish throne in 1648 and endorsed Bartholin's work. Beyond the practical and pedagogical aims of his treatise, however, Bartholin also seized the opportunity for self-aggrandizement afforded by print. By comparing his discovery of lymph with Tycho Brahe's contributions to astronomy, Bartholin cemented his heralded place within the revered annals of Danish scientific achievement.

Following Fink-Jensen's thorough contextualization of Bartholin's treatise and a detailed account of the text that provides extensive

technical information about the format, typography, and history of the text's origin, the English translation of *The Anatomy House in Copenhagen* opens with Bartholin's brief description of the design and layout of the anatomy theater. This delineation offers a unique glimpse at the logistics of dissection, including details such as the location of the stove "used to prevent the dissectors hands being pinched by the intense winter cold" and the position of a copper cauldron used to strip the flesh from the bones of the cadaver after the dissection (55). In addition to Bartholin's overview of the configuration of the anatomy theater, *The Anatomy House at Copenhagen* also includes a letter written by Simon Paulii, Bartholin's predecessor at the University of Copenhagen, that outlines the procedure for admitting spectators to dissections. According to Paulii, tokens could be purchased at a cost of six Danish marks in advance of the scheduled dissection in order to prevent spectators from causing "inconvenience when they [came] to be admitted to the theatre" (81). By providing information about even the most minute details, such as the appearance of the tokens used to gain admission to dissections, Bartholin leads readers on a visual tour of the anatomy house that not only places Copenhagen within a larger European context of anatomical education, but also contributes to our understanding of the ways in which dissection intersected with popular culture and the popularity of dissections in the seventeenth century.

Although Bartholin's detailed description of the structure and function of the anatomy house provides valuable insight into the early modern practice of medical dissection, perhaps the most intriguing section of his treatise is the itemized list of specimens housed at the Fuiren Museum, a hall adjacent to the anatomy hall, as well as the extensive catalog of Bartholin's personal collection of natural objects. Among the more conspicuous objects he itemizes are a "giant's tooth," "a magical pellet…which was vomited up by a noblewoman," and "the hand and rib of a mermaid" (111). The inventory also includes a variety of more mundane objects, such as a tapeworm, a crocodile, and human gallstones. Bartholin's extensive list of oddities sheds light on the nature of his scientific curiosities and places him within a larger pan-European context of burgeoning natural history in which cabinets of curiosity and collections of exotic biological specimens served as precursors

to modern museums. Bruun's inclusion of illustrations depicting specimens and oddities drawn from other seventeenth-century texts in the glossary following Bartholin's text, moreover, offers a striking visual complement to Bartholin's somewhat enigmatic descriptions.

In addition to the intricate illustrations of natural objects included in the book's glossary, Bruun incorporates an array of lush images throughout the text that provide compelling visual evidence for the cultural significance of the anatomy house and Bartholin's work therein. Portraits of Bartholin and his contemporaries complement Fink-Jensen's biographical overview, while renderings of anatomy theaters and the grounds of the University of Copenhagen effectively round out Bartholin's narrative tour of the anatomy house and the logistics of dissection. Among the most striking images Bruun includes in this edition is the title plate to Bartholin's *Anatomia reformata*, which depicts the flayed skin of an anatomical cadaver. Although illustrations of flayed bodies in anatomical texts were not uncommon in the seventeenth century, this particular rendering provides an especially graphic reference to the sheer violence associated with the act of dissecting cadavers. Despite the gruesome nature of early modern anatomical dissection, however, the extensive commentary accompanying the images in this volume effectively places them within a larger intellectual and cultural framework in which dissection was heralded as a tribute to divine creation and a symbol of scientific innovation.

An indispensable resource for medical historians, *The Anatomy House in Copenhagen* will undoubtedly be of great interest to scholars interested in the culture of dissection in seventeenth-century Europe. However, due to Bruun's thorough and engaging contextualization of Thomas Bartholin and his anatomical research, this volume will likely have much broader appeal by contributing an important new dimension to existing scholarship in cultural history and the foundations of natural history in early modern Europe. Bruun's exhaustive contextualization of Bartholin's text and the conditions of its publication are also germane to the larger topic of early modern print culture and offer a particularly rich and detailed source of information about the role of medical publishing in the early modern book trade.

Barry Robertson. *Royalists at War in Scotland and Ireland, 1638–1650*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xi + 224 pp. $124.95. Review by Robert Landrum, University of South Carolina Beaufort.

The historiography of the British Civil Wars, Barry Robertson tells us in *Royalists at War in Scotland and Ireland, 1638–50*, has traditionally emphasized the progressive, the well-documented, and the national. This means that royalists, whose cause was judged to be archaic, whose presses were less prolific, and whose purpose was to serve the king rather than the kingdom, were consigned to secondary status. And what is true for the study of English royalism is even more the case for the Scottish and Irish brands. Robertson presents his book, then, as "the first comprehensive study of royalism in Scotland and Ireland for the period 1638–1650" (19).

Basic to the book is a distinction between "royalism" and "monarchism." Royalists were those who "identified themselves as supporters of the king's cause and were accepted as such by the Stuart kings themselves" (20). Monarchists, by contrast, were those "whose loyalty to the concept of kingship did not necessarily stretch to a personal support of Charles I and Charles II during the Civil Wars" (21). Movement from one to the other was common, and indeed the changing fortunes of royal authority under arms meant that few royalists could remain wedded to a single position throughout the period. James Graham, earl of Montrose, for example, was a monarchist in 1639 when he opposed Charles I under the Covenant, but an unabashed royalist in 1644 when he went to war for the king's cause in Scotland. Likewise, Randall MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, was outspoken in his royalism until 1646, but with the eclipse of the king's military fortunes aligned with the Irish Catholic cause to better pursue his ancient feud with Argyll and the Campbells as a traditional Gaelic chieftain. It should also be added that Ireland was a shifting cauldron of religious, clan, and political loyalties. It was a place where English military reputations were destroyed, where armies melted away to disease and desertion, and a place where international Catholicism and militant Protestantism clashed under arms.

Royalism in the subordinate kingdoms emerged as an issue in the 1630s. In Scotland, Charles I's use of prerogative powers in matters of religion gave rise to the National Covenant. The Covenant was itself a monarchist manifesto, promising support for royal authority provided that the king "uphold the religion, laws and liberties of the land" (27). Royalist resistance to the Covenant appeared in the region of Aberdeen and in the persons of several royalist lords, most notably Traquair, Hamilton, and Huntly, but the overwhelming popularity of the movement and effective leadership within it decided the issue. "The Covenanters were decisive while the Royalists dithered" (76). Charles's attempts to restore his authority proved fruitless; the monarchist rebellion became a revolution, and royal control in Scotland collapsed.

One of the strengths of Robertson's account is the connections he makes between Scotland and Ireland. With the triumph of the Covenant in Scotland, he says, unrest spread to Ireland. Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford and lord deputy of Ireland, hoped to use Irish resources to mount a military response to events in Scotland. Wentworth was compelled, however, to keep one eye trained on the Ulster Scots, potential recruits to the Covenant themselves. Strafford's impeachment and execution in 1641 left a vacuum of authority and in October 1641 a rebellion broke out among the Catholics of Ulster, spreading into much of the island. King and Parliament were not at issue. The Irish rebellion was instead "a religious war, bitterly fought between monarchist Catholics and monarchist Protestants," both of whom could make a plausible case that they were fighting in the king's interest (95).

Events in England added another layer to the already complex situation in Ireland. Pressed by the Long Parliament, Charles I allowed his leading Protestant Irish supporter James Butler, marquis of Ormond, to negotiate a tenuous cessation of arms with the Catholic Confederacy. Charles hoped to gain Irish recruits against Parliament, but the uneasy peace produced little more than an armed polarization. Protestants gravitated towards a parliamentary alliance under the Solemn League and Covenant while Catholics increasingly aligned with the Confederacy as their best defense from Scots in Ulster and parliamentary forces in the south. As the king's fortunes eroded in England, Ormond's mediating position in Ireland grew increasingly

untenable. In 1647, with the king's cause apparently lost, Ormond arranged to yield the remaining royalist garrisons to Parliament, securing a guarantee of his estates and a generous bonus.

Robertson is at some pains to rehabilitate Ormond. The marquis, he says, stood "at the center of the [Irish] maelstrom" balancing a "dizzying" number of factions. (122, 104) Ultimately, his "highly principled position" of a "royalist middle ground" foundered on the entrenched hatred of centuries and the defections of several key supporters (107). In the end, Ormond's machinations allowed him to take a ship to France and go on to a long career in the service of the restored Charles II, "the great survivor of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms" (192).

Though the defeat of the king had been a terrible blow to British royalism, revulsion against regicide brought about a new popular monarchism, especially in Scotland and Ireland. When Ormond's coalition failed to control Ireland and Montrose's last campaign ended in defeat, Charles II came to Scotland and accepted the humiliating conditions of the Kirk party government. He personally subscribed the Covenant and abjured "the spiritual weaknesses of his mother and father" (183). After enduring multiple purges in his household and army, he gave up any hope of a royalist restoration, throwing in his lot with the Scots. "Effectively, the king himself had abandoned the royalist cause and had turned his back on the efforts of all those who had fought and died for him and his father" (186).

Robertson's narrative concludes with the defeat of Ormond and the adhesion of Charles II to the Covenant. "By the turn of 1651 … the Wars of the Three Kingdoms had largely become a matter of monarchist Ireland and monarchist Scotland versus republican England … Scottish and Irish royalism had been forced into eclipse" (196). He pays little attention to the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland and Scotland, and does not follow the fortunes of the monarchists into the wilderness of the Commonwealth.

Royalists at War is therefore a work of solid scholarship. Its most important contribution is to render comprehensible the opaque maelstrom that was Civil War-era Ireland. His emphasis on the connections between the two subordinate kingdoms is also refreshing, since these are often lost in national histories. On the other hand,

Robertson's exclusive concentration on the royalist and monarchist *nobility* is unfortunate. Royalists lost on the battlefield, but they also lost among the minds and hearts of the people of Scotland and Ireland. Scottish royalists, like Huntly and Atholl, were not so much defeated as overwhelmed when the Covenant swept across Scotland in a wave of popular enthusiasm. Atholl backpedaled, but Huntly resisted and witnessed the destruction of his patrimony before his execution. Likewise, in Ireland, Ormond and Antrim were defeated in part because they failed to adequately supply their armies. This failure, however, resulted from their inability to requisition from a hostile Catholic population, whose loyalty lay with Papal Nuncio Giovanni Rinuccini and their priests rather than the Protestant Stuart interest. To include these subordinate groupings would be to write a different book, sacrificing clarity for nuance. To leave them out however, is to deny agency in the past to those who clearly wielded it.

John B. Manterfield, ed. *Borough Government in Newton's Grantham: The Hall Book of Grantham, 1649–1662*. Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press/The Lincoln Record Society, 2016. xlvii + 385 pp. +16 illus. $70.00. Review by Chris R. Langley, Newman University, Birmingham, UK.

The Hall Book of Grantham records the range and extent of local English government in a period of immense political change. This is the second volume in a series of Lincoln Record Society publications promoting the records of Grantham in the early modern period and providing access to the earliest known proceedings of the town's alderman court. The first volume, confusingly titled *Grantham during the Interregnum*, focused on the years 1641 to 1649 (despite the Interregnum starting at the execution of Charles I in 1649), while the book under review explores the period from 1649 to 1662. The edition provides a thirty-page introduction that is divided thematically before diving into the original text. The edition also provides appendices listing all the period's serving council members and their dates of office.

The Hall Book minutes are impressively transcribed. Much of this work was undertaken by volunteers from the University of the Third

Age (U3A), a peer-learning community of retired men and women. The editor notes in his introduction that the volunteers' transcriptions were peer-reviewed and then double-checked for accuracy (viii). The result is a meticulous transcription. This extends far beyond the words themselves and into sensible decisions regarding the layout of the manuscript. The editor has chosen to remove the marginal notes from the start of each new entry in the book and has, instead, chosen to include them in italics above the relevant entry. Lists of names and accounts, on the other hand, retain their original layout. These editorial decisions allow the reader to understand how the clerk presented his work and help the reader align sympathetically to the images of the manuscript provided at the end of the introduction.

Grantham was a small urban space that covered an area of less than two-thirds of a mile, but it was busy, full of trades, and connected into wider county politics because of its proximity to nearby Lincoln (xi). The town was governed by a system of elected burgesses, and the breadth of their activities was impressive. They controlled access to trades, regulated weights and measures, paid the local ministers and stipendiary lecturers, leased property, collected rents, regulated anti-social behaviour, oversaw all aspects of the Poor Law, appointed and policed the local coroner, and saw to the upkeep and maintenance of highways and local mills.

What is striking about this activity—other than its sheer scope—is the regimented nature of business. Each meeting followed a distinct procedure. Entries record petitions from those men who wished to purchase the freedom of the town and gain rights to trade, in addition to orders to punish those trading in the town without a license. Even when working to organise foster care for an orphan child or domestic living arrangements for elderly or mentally ill parishioners (129–30), the Hall Book maintains a cool distance. Occasionally, a local tradesman would appear before the court for 'uncivill' talk and try to undermine confidence in the Council (60). The overall impression, however, is of a stable and fully-functioning form of local government.

The procedural nature of the Council's minutes belies the difficulties of government in this period, though. By looking closely, one can see the gap between the aspirations of early-modern authorities and the reality on the ground. For example, the Council may have

implemented a raft of legislation to collect money, but the sergeant or other officials frequently reported that people were not doing as they were told. When the Council ordered a parish-wide collection to repair the church steeple in 1652, parishioners responded generously in the immediate aftermath, but the spire was not rebuilt until after the Restoration (111). When assessing these documents, one can never be sure how to reconcile the Council's ambitions and its actual achievements.

In addition to the day-to-day weaknesses of early modern government, the minutes also connect Grantham with the fundamental political upheavals of the period. Grantham experienced something of a godly takeover in the aftermath of the Civil Wars and this had a direct impact on the Council's activities. As royalists were barred from entering public office in 1647 (xx), the average age of the Council dropped and its socio-religious composition changed. The Council was clearly eager to augment godly preaching in the area while it made efforts to ensure that godly behaviour was encouraged through the creation of a local workhouse ('manufactory') for paupers (97).

The Hall Book also subtly reflects on the difficulties of living in the aftermath of conflict. The financial cost of regime change, for example, affected the Council's ability to function. The Hall Book records how the Council purchased all the acts and ordinances of Parliament to allow them to keep up to date on changes to legislation while the burgesses realised that the King's coat of arms needed removing from the town's mace (56). The wars' main consequence on Grantham, however, was a chronic lack of money. The records regularly speak of the Council's overwhelming reliance on loans and the increasingly desperate measures it took as a consequence. In 1652, the Council paid off one tranche of loan interest by taking out another loan (101–02). Members of the Council were expected to provide additional liquidity in times of crisis by providing loans on favourable terms to the Council (65). This came to a head in 1654 when the Council could no longer afford to pay back its own members (xiii).

For all the richness of the transcription and the litany of issues it raises regarding urban government in early modern England, the framing of the edition somewhat undermines its importance. Firstly, the historiographical grounding of the introduction is rather limited.

The editor has little to say about the reformation of manners in the mid-seventeenth century or the range of works assessing godly types of government in the period (the works of David Underdown and Bernard Capp are conspicuous by their absence). The work's existence in an historiographical vacuum is illustrative of a bigger concern, though.

The editor is at pains to tell the reader that the purpose of the volume is to record what "the young Isaac Newton" would have seen when he attended the local grammar school (xi). However, focusing on this period as the time of Isaac Newton's formative years seems to overlook the complexity—and importance—of the town's response to significant political change. Indeed, after introducing the reader to William Clark's spectacular career as godly alderman, the editor refers to him simply as "Newton's landlord" (xlvii). By trying to connect the town with the bigger personality of Isaac Newton, the editors have undersold what makes this manuscript important: its localism and the idiosyncrasies of its structures of government. These features have far more to tell us about life in a seventeenth-century town than any connection with a single man, no matter how important he would become. The Hall Book of Grantham illustrates the largely untapped richness of English archives in revealing the complexities of a *post-bellum* town in the seventeenth century.

Charles Perrault. *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé: Contes de ma Mère Oie*. Scott Fish, ed. Newark, DE: Molière & Co., 2017. 129 pp. $16.95. Review by Denis d. Grélé, The University of Memphis.

Students and educators have much to like in Scott Fish's new edition of *Histoires ou Contes du temps passé*, a classic by Charles Perrault. Primarily intended for French learners at the levels of Intermediate High to Advanced Low, this unabridged edition offers all the tools necessary for someone about to discover French literature. The book is organized in three parts. The "Introduction to the Student" contains biographical information about Perrault as well as the basic context in which the *Contes* were written and published. This section also contains a short explanation on the possible grammar difficulties of seventeenth-century French, such as the use of the "passé simple" or

the placement of the object pronoun. The reader will find with it a solid critical bibliography on the *Contes* and Perrault as well as on the genre of fairy tales.

The second part is Perrault's text itself, illustrated with some engravings by Mittis and G. Picard for the 1894 edition. There are also annotations with many translations of potentially unfamiliar vocabulary in the margins. Translations of lengthier, more challenging expressions are provided at the bottom of each page. A French-English glossary constitutes the last portion.

This edition is particularly interesting for a teacher or a student of French for several reasons. The text itself is advantageous for an educator since it offers stories with which students are familiar (however, some students may be surprised that the hunter does not free Little Red Riding Hood from the belly of the Wolf.) If the wealth of translations offered to the reader makes the *Contes* very approachable, the vocabulary support might appear to be a little too much at a time, since it may hinder students from inferring the meaning of a word based on context. Nevertheless, in this case, too much is better than not enough. The illustrations, no matter how small, are great additions to the text not only as ornamentation but also as a possible interpretative tool. The introduction provides solid material regarding the context and the author. The biography of Perrault presents the political context in which the *Contes* were written and offers a quick, yet precise insight into the world of politics at the court of Louis XIV. The infighting between the Letellier and the Colbert clans as well as the "Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes" are particularly well portrayed.

Fish also provides an extensive, yet focused bibliography that is appropriate for upper-level high school students or intermediate undergraduate students. What this edition does not provide is material for a teacher in search of lesson plans or possible interpretations of Perrault's tales. Teachers who would be interested in using this book in the classroom would have to produce their own supplemental material. This book is not a teaching manual but a basis upon which a teacher can start introducing students to reading French. Overall, this new edition of the *Contes* is a solid critical and annotated edition for English speakers interested in pursuing a French experience.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Vol. 65, Nos. 3 & 4. Jointly with SCN. NLN is the official publication of the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies. Edited by Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University; Western European Editor: Gilbert Tournoy, Leuven; Eastern European Editors: Jerzy Axer, Barbara Milewska-Wazbinska, and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, Centre for Studies in the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, University of Warsaw. Founding Editors: James R. Naiden, Southern Oregon University, and J. Max Patrick, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Graduate School, New York University. ♦

♦ *Geschichte der neulateinische Literatur: Vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart.* By Martin Korenjak. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016. 304 pp. €26.95. As a number of people have noticed, Neo-Latin as a discipline seems to have reached a crossroads. After a hiatus of almost forty years, during which the field was well served by Josef IJsewijn and Dirk Sacré's *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Leuven, 1977), three new handbooks have recently appeared in rapid succession: *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi (Leiden, 2014); *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (Oxford, 2015); and *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge, 2017). At the same time, my "Recent Trends in Neo-Latin Studies," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69 (2016): 617–29 appeared, signifying that Neo-Latin has received the same recognition that English, history, and German have in the journal of record for the period in which the greatest amount of Neo-Latin literature was produced. This bibliographical survey made it apparent that, while the handbooks have done a good job of summarizing the state of research in a rapidly evolving field, there is still no book that does for this generation what IJsewijn and Sacré had done for theirs, in offering an account of the development of Neo-Latin literature from a single perspective. Korenjak's *Geschichte der neulateinische Literatur* is designed to fill this gap.

The book is divided into two parts. The first one, entitled simply "Geschichte," offers a chronological survey of the development of Neo-Latin literature, beginning with humanism and the Renaissance, extending

through what Korenjak calls "Das Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung," the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth century, and concluding with a modern period that extends from 1800 to the present. Part II, "Bedeutung," proceeds thematically, offering overviews of the role of Neo-Latin in education, translation and letters, *belles lettres*, history, religion, politics, and the scientific revolution. Part II is especially valuable in its recognition of the importance of non-literary writing within the field of Neo-Latin: this recognition was certainly present in the *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, but that volume still reflects a focus on literature that was typical of the generation in which it was produced. The *Geschichte der neulateinishe Literatur*, like *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* in particular, provides a more balanced overview of an environment in which a scientist or theologian was as likely to be writing in Latin as a poet—more so, actually, depending on the time and place.

This is a courageous book, one in which the author, as he put it, wrote a single book about a few million books. No one can possibly have read all these millions of books, and Korenjak does not claim to have done so. Here, as always, it is important to let the author set out what he is trying to do, so that we evaluate the book he has tried to write, not (necessarily) the one we might want to read. Korenjak is quite clear about this: he intends to provide "ein Überblick über die neulateinische Literatur für eine breitere Leserschaft" (28). The result is short, about 300 pages, with only minimal annotation, about ten per cent of the total, but it does indeed provide the overview that Korenjak describes. Typical is Chapter 6, entitled "Zwischen Staaträson und Utopie: Politik," which provides a summary of the political writings in Neo-Latin literature. Brief sections are devoted to the rise of the state (2 pages), political discourse (2 pages), the place of the monarch (2 pages), legal foundations (2 pages), and the autonomy of the political (2 pages), followed by five pages each on two representative, and important, primary texts: Justus Lipsius's *Politica* and Thomas More's *Utopia*. One could complain that this does not exhaust what could be said about political writing in Neo-Latin literature, but that would be to complain from the perspective of a project that is not Korenjak's. The chapter as it stands offers an overview of its topic, held together through the tension between the ideal and the real in a readable narrative line, and that is all we should ask.

So there is still a place for a lengthy history of Neo-Latin literature, heavily annotated and written with a unified narrative line, not

as a reference work that reflects the many perspectives from which books by many hands are always produced. But Korenjak deserves our thanks for what he has done, which is to produce a highly readable account of the development of our field that will help the educated general reader appreciate what we do in our more specialized work, and at a price that is less than that of a good restaurant dinner. And *Geschichte der neulateinische Literatur* is valuable for the specialist as well, in offering an overview of the field into which we can place our own research and writing. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Francesco Filelfo and Francesco Sforza: Critical Edition of Filelfo's 'Sphortias', 'De Genuensium deditione', 'Oratio parentalis', and His Polemical Exchange with Galeotto Marzio*. By Jeroen De Keyser. Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015. L + 400 pp. €78. Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) was a central figure in the humanist movement that redefined the cultural landscape of fifteenth-century Italy. Trained in Latin eloquence from an early age, Filelfo soon acquired a mastery of Greek thanks to a posting in Constantinople (1420–1427). His skill in both classical languages meant that his services were much sought after when he returned to Italy in 1428. His career as a teacher of rhetoric led him to Florence, where he found himself on the wrong side of the civil unrest that ended with the establishment of the Medici regime in 1434. After surviving an attempt on his life, possibly ordered by Cosimo de' Medici, Filelfo found temporary refuge in Siena, before migrating at last to Milan, where he spent the remaining years of his long life (1439–1481).

Along with his university teaching, Filelfo acted as a sometime cultural impresario, translator, and prolific producer of occasional oratory and verse. He was also the author of a large number of original works touching on a broad range of topics both philosophical and literary. Most of these works, while widely read and influential at the time, gradually fell out of favour as tastes changed. A revival of interest had to await the rise of nineteenth-century historical scholarship. Even so, until quite recently much of Filelfo's vast corpus remained unpublished or available only in faulty early editions, a fate not uncommon in the annals of Italian humanism.

The Belgian classicist Jeroen De Keyser, Professor of Latin at the Catholic University Leuven, has for some time now been the leading

protagonist in bringing Filelfo's principal works back into circulation. He has just published a massive four-volume edition of Filelfo's *Collected Letters* (Alessandria, 2016), following on from the publication of other *Filelfiana,* including the important dialogues *On Exile*, edited with a translation by W. Scott Blanchard (Cambridge, MA, 2013).

The volume under review is thus part of a rich harvest. It contains most notably the *editio princeps* of what many would consider to be Filelfo's most characteristic work, the *Sphortias*, an epic poem in the classical manner dedicated to the description of the deeds in arms of Filelfo's post-1450 patron, the former warlord turned Duke of Milan Francesco Sforza (1401–1466). Four books of 800 verses each were in circulation by 1456, and a further four of the same length were added in 1460. Although never completed in its originally conceived form of twenty-four books, the *Sphortias* was widely admired and discussed. As the first attempt to sing the praises of a Renaissance ruler in heroic verse, it sparked imitations throughout Italy, with other princes scrambling to hire humanists to celebrate their deeds in the mixture of mythology and history familiar to readers of Homer and Virgil.

But Filelfo's work was not without its critics. Along with the *Sphortias*, De Keyser's volume appropriately contains a new, improved edition of Galeotto Marzio's initial, rather polite criticism of Filelfo's Latinity and versification, followed by Filelfo's disparaging reply and then Marzio's second and much more violent attack on the poem and its author.

Rounding off De Keyser's impressive volume are two further works from Filelfo's years as a Sforza propagandist. The first, *De Genuensium deditione*, is a previously unpublished poetic composition of 550 verses written in June 1464 to celebrate the city of Genoa's coming under the rule of Francesco Sforza. The second, the *Oratio parentalis*, is a prose work of some 18,000 words in which Filelfo, speaking on the first anniversary of Francesco Sforza's death (9 March 1467), recapitulates his former master's entire career. The *Oratio* is one of Filelfo's best-known and most influential works and an important source of inspiration for subsequent Sforza panegyrists. It is extant in fourteen manuscripts and went through seven incunabular editions. The work's cradle-to-grave coverage offers a useful counterpoint to the *Sphortias*,

which was only intended to cover a narrow time span (1447–1450) and ended up describing little more than a single year.

Jeroen De Keyser has performed a signal service to scholarship by making these essential texts available for the first time in a correct and accessible format. Deliberately treading lightly on matters of interpretation, he has provided cogent and clear introductions, textual notes, and synopses for each work, together with a set of copious and detailed indices. This handsome volume is a joy to work with and a must have for any serious student of Renaissance humanism. (Gary Ianziti, University of Queensland)

♦ *Praelectiones 2.* Par Angelo Poliziano. Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Angelo Poliziano, Testi, 9, 2. Edité par Giorgia Zollino. Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 2016. xxiv + 211p. €29. La Commission pour l'Edition Nationale des Œuvres d'Angelo Poliziano présente ici, dans le volume IX de la collection qui comprend déjà les textes littéraires et poétiques, les traductions et les *Miscellanées*, en attendant les commentaires et la correspondance, les *Praelectiones*, soit les leçons inaugurales de Politien au Studio de Florence. L'édition de Giorgia Zollino comprend un préambule de Paolo Viti (V–VII) qui présente le volume, une introduction (IX–XXXIV), les textes de Politien: *Oratio* sur Quintilien et les *Sylves* de Stace (3–34), *Praelectio* sur Perse (35–64), *Oratio* sur Homère (65–132) et *Praefatio* sur Suétone (133–176). De précieux index, des sources antiques, médiévales et humanistes (177–198), des manuscrits (199–200) et des noms (201–209) complètent le volume. Chaque texte latin est précédé d'une introduction qui en reprend la chronologie, les sources et le sujet. L'introduction générale est extrememement précise et retrace la carrière de Politien au *Studio* de Florence en lui restituant sa figure de *professor* (XXVIII) dans ce qu'elle a de plus original et de plus novateur: l'invention d'une philologie rigoureuse et systématique. Dans la note au texte qui suit l'auteur expose ses critères d'édition et notamment de normalisation ortho-typographique aux usages de Politien. Une liste des éditions imprimées collationnées est également jointe. On passe ensuite aux textes de Politien. Le premier et immense mérite de cet ouvrage est d'avoir regroupé les œuvres qu'on pourrait appeler «didactiques» de Politien et d'offrir ainsi au lecteur des textes dont on n'avait jusqu'ici

que des éditions plus ou moins anciennes, plus ou moins scientifiques et surtout dispersées. Ce groupe de textes offre une illustration d'évolution de la méthode philologique de Politien: avec l'*Oratio* sur les *Sylves* de Stace c'est tout le programme de la *docta varietas* qui est ici annoncé et qui sera plus abouti dans les *Praelectiones* sur Perse et sur Suétone. Ce qui est dessiné par les choix de l'auteur c'est aussi la figure intellectuelle de Politien qui, dans l'*Oratio* sur Homère ira jusqu'à dépasser, par la science et la connaissance, les simples connaisseurs du grec par leur origine. C'est un vrai manifeste poétique et scientifique que Giorgia Zollino nous met à disposition mais aussi un outil de travail qui permet de voir l'originalité de Politien dans la pensée humaniste de l'époque et son rapport à l'Antiquité. L'édition des textes en elle-même est scrupuleusement critique, elle donne les variantes principales et recourt le moins possible à l'émendation. La philologie s'y fait intelligente: toutes les citations et tous les renvois du texte, explicites ou implicites, sont développés en note et il est ainsi très facile de vérifier les textes anciens. On regrettera peut être que l'auteur n'ait pas spécifié si la version donnée par Politien est la même que celle qui est citée en note car cela aurait pu donner un témoignage de plus sur l'histoire de la transmission des textes. En effet, dans le texte latin de Politien les citations sont données vraisemblablement dans la version qu'il avait sous les yeux et en note seule la référence aux éditions modernes est donnée, sans qu'on sache si elle est identique. La recherche et l'analyse des sources est cependant plus que remarquable dans ce travail: 154–155 par exemple les rapprochements avec les *Miscellanea* permettent d'identifier des sources implicites dans la *Praefatio* sur Suétone, montrant aussi combien les œuvres de Politien se répondent. En définitive il faut saluer cet ouvrage et, évidemment, la collection entière qui offre, à travers un parcours de textes édités avec les critères les plus rigoureux, l'image d'un humaniste protéiforme qui défendait, justement, la variété. (Florence Bistagne, Université d'Avignon)

♦ *Vernacular Translators in Quattrocento Italy: Scribal Culture, Authority, and Agency*. By Andrea Rizzi. Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 26. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. x + 233 pp. + 5 illustrations. €75. When we think of the development of humanistic

studies in Quattrocento Italy, we think naturally of writing in Latin: Latin was the language of learning in the early modern period, and when Greek works were translated so that they would become more accessible, they were translated into Latin, thereby reinforcing this same point. As Rizzi notes, however, at least eighty-one humanists who worked during the fifteenth century produced vernacular texts simultaneously with Latin ones. The linguistic barrier was porous, so that the revival of classical Latin transformed both the Neo-Latin writing of the period and its vernacular literature as well.

Rizzi devotes his primary attention to the paratexts that the Quattrocento translators used in order to influence how their works were read, both as an exercise in the history of reading and as a way to determine how these translators perceived their roles. Chapter 1 offers an overview of the translators, the texts they translated, and their motivations. Chapter 2 zooms in on a group of lesser-known scholars from the court in Naples, providing a case study in how they worked and what their goals were. Chapter 3 addresses explicitly the status of the vernacular and how it was perceived during this period. The next three chapters focus on four key themes found in the translators' paratexts: authority, eloquence, collaboration, and friendship. Chapter 4 centers on Leonardo Bruni, a key figure in this story, and chapter 5 shows how the translators created a balance between elegance and comprehensibility to establish their scholarly authority. Chapter 6 turns to the relationship between the translations and their dedicatees, with the hope that the dedicatees would collaborate in improving the works. Chapter 7 considers the use of these translations as gifts. A useful appendix offers a list of Quattrocento vernacular translators for the years 1392–1480, and the book concludes with the usual list of manuscripts consulted, bibliography, and index.

What becomes clear in this book is that translation did not cease at the end of the Trecento, but that it came to serve a different role, aimed not toward the unlettered but toward readers who could appreciate the new learning. This led to a change in the way the translators presented themselves, not as humble and ill-equipped to obliterate ignorance in their readers, but as authoritative and eloquent. This argument contributes to a recent general trend of offering a more nuanced view of the early modern period, one in which scholasticism, for example, remained alive even while humanism flourished. Similarly, as Rizzi shows, the new learning extended out from its base in Latin to embrace the vernacular as well. Any time a book softens binaries

and complicates the received opinion, we must welcome it, and that is certainly the case here. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Elogio del cane – Canis laudatio*. By Theodore Gaza. Introduction, translation, and notes by Lucio Coco. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2016. 32 pp. €5. Born in Thessalonica, Theodore Gaza (*ca*. 1410–1475) migrated to Italy after the fall of his city to the Turks (1430) and contributed significantly to humanist culture with his grammar, translations, orations, and philosophical essays. His *Canis laudatio* (Praise of the Dog), however, has attracted little attention. Therefore, Lucio Coco's Italian translation, the first into a modern language, is a welcome addition to the scholarship on Gaza and, more generally, Renaissance culture.

The *laudatio*, dated to the 1460s, probably accompanied the gift of a female puppy to a "most illustrious man" who has been incorrectly identified as Sultan Mehmed II. The mention of the capture of Byzantium and its consequences in the oration provides some historical context. Moreover, Gaza was interested in zoology: he read Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* before translating Aristotle's treatises on animals.[1] However, the *laudatio* is essentially a rhetorical exercise and, as such, can be compared to other products of Byzantine and Renaissance rhetoric dedicated to dogs. Craig A. Gibson has recently examined Gaza's *laudatio* along with an encomium by Nikephoros Basilakes (*ca*. 1115–after 1182) and a funeral speech by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), emphasizing their close relationship with the praises of dogs in ancient literary texts and, especially, the precepts of late antique manuals of rhetoric.[2]

Gaza praises the dog for its traditional virtues (faithfulness, devotion, affection, courage, and strength) and its usefulness to humans in hunting and guarding. He reinforces his arguments with anecdotes taken from Pliny the Elder and Greek authors that were widely read by

[1] See P. Beullens and A. Gotthelf, "Theodore Gaza's Translation of Aristotle's *De Animalibus*: Content, Influence, and Date," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007): 469–513, at 487.

[2] "In Praise of Dogs: An Encomium Theme from Classical Greece to Renaissance Italy," in L. D. Elfand (ed.), *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 19–40.

humanists: Homer, Aesop, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plato, and Plutarch. The *laudatio*'s light tone and Gaza's concluding words demonstrate that it was conceived as pure entertainment; attempts to interpret it as a satire have not led to convincing results.

Coco's translation is preceded by an introduction (7–11) divided into three sections: a short biography of Theodore Gaza, an outline of the history of the text, and a description of the contents of its nine chapters. In the second section, Coco relies on Kindstrand's study to describe the relationship between the *editio princeps* (Paris, 1590) and the edition by Angelo Mai (Rome, 1853), whose source is MS. Vaticanus Reginensis lat. 983.[3]

The translation is based on the edition printed in the *Patrologia Graeca* (vol. 161, cols. 985–98), which reproduces, with slight changes, Mai's Greek text and Latin translation. The text is divided into chapters, each equipped with a short title summarizing its contents. Coco's translation is enjoyable and, at the same time, faithful to the original text, which is written in a very plain Greek style.[4] Some footnotes account for historical references, literary quotations, textual variants, and *realia*; unfortunately, several passages that may be quite puzzling to modern readers are left without clarification.[5]

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[3] J. F. Kindstrand, "Notes on Theodore Gaza's *Canis laudatio*," *Eranos* 91 (1993): 93-105.

[4] However, in ch. 6 (23): "Il cane è un ottimo custode, tale, dice, sia il guardiano della mia città" may be improved by translating more closely to the original: "Il cane, custode così eccellente– dice, – diventi custode della mia città." In ch. 8 (26), the sentence "presi gli uomini e avendoli messi alle strette, confessarono etc." should be: "gli uomini, presi e messi alle strette, confessarono etc." (Gr. συλληφθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ βασανιζόμενοι, ὡμολόγησαν κ.τ.λ.)

[5] For example, the Macedonian usage confusedly described in ch. 3 (19), "a chi aveva cacciato il cinghiale senza le reti, [i Macedoni] concedevano di mangiare non seduto ma disteso" (a faithful translation of Gaza's text), can be understood by taking into account a passage by Hegesander (*ca.* 150 BCE) quoted by Athenaeus (1. 18a): a Macedonian could not recline at dinner until he had killed a wild boar without using nets. Also, in ch. 9 (29), it should be specified that "Albania" is not the modern country in the Balkan Peninsula but an ancient region on the Caspian Sea.

The book is printed very accurately, with only a few insignificant typographical errors.[6] Both the topic and Coco's fluent translation contribute to making Gaza's work accessible to a general public. At the same time, scholars interested in Renaissance culture and the reception of the classics in early modern Europe can benefit from the rediscovery of a neglected work by one of the most important Byzantine humanists. (Federica Ciccolella, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Utopia & More. Thomas More, de Nederlanden en de utopische traditie. Catalogus bij de tentoonstelling in de Leuvense Universiteitsbibliotheek, 20 oktober 2016 – 17 januari 2017.* Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016. 466 pp. €49.50. In 2016, the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven commemorated the five hundredth anniversary of Thomas More's *Utopia* with an exhibition. Considering that More's *Utopia* hailed from the press of Dirk Martens in Leuven, it was only fitting that the University mark the occasion. The University Library is home to a collection of unique material, which in this case highlights the many-sided character of Sir Thomas More.

The title of this book, *Utopia & More*, can be deceiving (perhaps intentionally so, in a spirit of jest that More would appreciate): is this a hendiadys? Not so, for in the introduction, Dirk Sacré emphasizes that Utopia and Thomas More are inseparable; he also says that although the *Utopia* is central to the exhibit, More is "more, much more that that" ("meer, veel meer," X). The book's subtitle reflects the exhibition's focal points and gives name to the tripartite essay chapter headings: Thomas More; More and the Low Countries; *Utopia* and the Utopian tradition.

After an introduction and detailed timeline of events, the book falls into its three-part format. Essays with a brief bibliography at the end of each are offered in Dutch by various contributors; each section is followed by lengthy catalogue descriptions that can stand as essays (with bibliography) themselves. A full bibliography appears at the end. The reader is referred to Romuald Lakowski's website (http://www3.telus.net/lakowski/Morebib0.html) for an updated, general overview of bibliography on Thomas More.

[6] P. 19, n. 5: "*égesis*" (for "*hégesis*"); n. 6: "Nieceforo" (for "Niceforo"); p. 26, n. 20: "Putarco" (for "Plutarco")

Part I deals with More as a humanist immersed both in the classical tradition and in English language and literature, and as a man of faith who ran afoul of his patron, King Henry VIII. Scholarly treatment does not diminish the portrait that emerges of a lively and sympathetic human being, which is accentuated by a chapter on More's posthumous fame.

Part II narrows its focus to the bond between the Englishman More and the Low Countries. More preferred home and family above all else, and his travels to the Low Countries were limited; fortunately for More, the spacious house his position as chancellor afforded him allowed him to entertain guests in London. After his friendship with the oft-invited Erasmus blossomed, he made acquaintance with Hiëronymus Busleyden (Mechelen), Pieter Gillis (Antwerp), Frans Cranevelt (Bruges), Jan Fevijn (Bruges), Marc Lauwerijns (Bruges), and the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (then in Bruges). When More did travel to the continent on diplomatic missions, he visited or stayed with his new Erasmian friends. Part II explores the timing and nexus of these friendships.

Part III begins with a discussion of More's *Utopia*, whose roots have been clearly explained in the previous essays. The author, Erik de Bom, presents a thorough and refined study of the character, evolution, and context of More's most famous work. The follow up, on the Utopian tradition, is the most diffuse essay in the book, tracing Utopian themes in ancient and medieval literature, formulating the Utopian genre, and describing atopias, dystopias, and ucronias. It is fascinating, but the least-satisfying read; the scope was presumably easier to lay out and see in the exhibit. Selecting works cannot have been easy: in a 2016 collection of essays edited by Leuven professors Eric de Bom and Toon Van Houdt (*Andersland: In de voetsporen van Thomas More*), Van Houdt listed 1400 titles of Utopian compositions.

Utopia & More includes thirty-six illustrations of the one hundred and twenty catalogue items. Many of the items on display were as one would imagine: maps, portraits, and paintings; correspondence (manuscript and print); and editions of the works of Thomas More and various contemporaries and followers. The exhibit included unique material such as a 1511 book from the personal library of Pieter Gillis (no. 50) and handwritten letters by Fevijn, More, John Clement,

and Vives (nos. 59–65). The book fills in the gaps in the exhibition, where the guiding principle was "less is more" (X) in order not to overwhelm the visitor. At 454 pages, this is an academic book rather than a catalogue per se. I have counted thirty-three names of contributors to this volume, and numerous libraries and museums loaned items to the exhibit. The result is a testament to the ever-high regard for Thomas More and to the effort of the faculty in Leuven, who clearly saw the exhibition and companion as a labor of love. (Angela Fritsen)

♦ *Melanchthons Briefwechsel.* Vol. T 17: *Texte 4791–5010 (Juli – Dezember 1547).* Edited by Matthias Dall'Asta, Heidi Hein, and Christine Mundhenk. Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2016. 356 pp. Melanchthon's prolific correspondence, with friends, colleagues, rulers, and universities, was most active in the turbulent year 1547, from which more than 500 letters survive, all but 59 of them by Melanchthon himself. These were too many to bring into one volume, so the editors of *Melanchthons Briefwechsel* (Melanchthon's Correspondence, hereafter MBW) broke with their customary practice of producing every year one volume of texts corresponding to one calendar year of Melanchthon's life, and produced instead two volumes to cover the year of the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League and the occupation of Wittenberg by imperial forces. Volume T 16, covering January through June, appeared in 2015, and volume T 17, covering July through December, appeared in 2016. The latter includes 232 Latin and German letters, of which twenty-six had not been published in their entirety prior to this volume.

In July 1547, Melanchthon and his family were war refugees.[7] They had left Wittenberg in November 1546, shortly after the university was evacuated to Magdeburg, and were waiting out the occupation of the city in Nordhausen. Melanchthon received job offers from several universities, including Frankfurt (Oder), Leipzig, and his alma maters Heidelberg and Tübingen. Foreign monarchs had invited him to join the faculty at their universities. But Melanchthon was eager

[7] "Auch Melanchthon war ein Kriegsflüchtling," noted Christine Mundhenk in her introduction to vol. T 16 in October 2015. Mundhenk also acknowledged that Melanchthon encountered better circumstances in his exile than recent refugees to Europe from the Middle East and North Africa.

and active to see the university reestablished at Wittenberg, now part of the expanded territories of Albertine Saxony and its ruler, Elector Maurice of Saxony. "Home is where my colleagues are," Melanchthon wrote in an admirable flourish of collegiality.[8]

By the end of July, he would be back in Wittenberg attending to the publication of a new textbook on logic, *Erotemata dialectices* (which sold 3000 copies within a month of publication in September), and by October he would be giving lectures once again in both the theology and arts faculties (to name only his official duties). His best friend Joachim Camerarius, the noted Hellenist, would return from Nuremberg to Leipzig, where the university was also being reestablished under the new Elector.

But throughout 1547 the future of the university and the fortunes of evangelical doctrine were far from certain. Among the greatest concerns were the scarcity of funds and the probably unfriendly designs of Charles V in the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, which opened in September and threatened "fresh exile" (MBW 4904.4–5). Amidst this uncertainty, Melanchthon consoled himself and his friends with reminders of God's providence and his assurance of God's favor for the evangelical doctrine that had flourished in Wittenberg.

The events of 1547 were distressing for Melanchthon, but they were not mysterious. The catastrophic defeat of the Schmalkaldic League, the capture of the Protestant princes John Frederick I and Philip of Hesse, and the closure of the university were signs of God's wrath for the sins of false security, idleness, and negligence. The war and its ruins were warnings to repent and renew discipline. And right doctrine and moral rectitude ("lehr und zucht" MBW 4800.10) were the means to restore order, a responsibility that resided with secular rulers. Consolation must be sought in the Scriptures, not in philosophy and certainly not in Stoic philosophy with its fatalism.

Notes and indices in this volume record Melanchthon's fondness for citation – of Greek and Latin literature, Scripture, and his favorite source of lapidary wisdom, Erasmus's *Adages*. Indices of addressees and contemporary authors make the volume accessible and give readers

[8] "That is my homeland, wherever is found that gathering of virtuous and learned men, among whom I have lived for so many years, and whose writings are dispersed widely in this region" (MBW 4803.4–6).

a window onto Melanchthon's broad network of learning and counsel. In 2011, the HAW-Forschungsstelle Melanchthon-Briefwechsel made available online the extremely helpful *Register* of the more than 10,000 letters in the correspondence. With its intuitive interface, reliable hyperlinks, and horde of information, this database is a welcome companion to the *Texte* volumes that appear annually. A revised edition of the Melanchthon biography by Heinz Scheible, founding editor of MBW, is also a timely guide.[9] (William Weaver, Baylor University)

♦ *Jacques Cujas (1522–1590) jurisconsulte humaniste*. By Xavier Prévost. Preface by Anne Rousselet-Pimont and Jean-Louis Thireau. Geneva: Droz, 2015. xvi + 864 pp. As clearly expressed in the title, Jacques Cujas is one of the leading figures of so-called Legal Humanism. Prévost's extensive study illustrates Cujas' life, works, and thought, highlighting the relationship between his excellent humanist education and his consistent dedication to jurisprudential studies.

The *Prolègomènes* (18–133) offer fresh information about the jurist's life and works, and correlate with the data that emerged from previous scholars' reconstructions, carefully revisited by Prévost. Archival research allows the author to clarify, for example, that there is neither enough information about Cujas' pre-university education (30) nor enough about his alleged participation in the Reformation, which rests on very fragile foundations (75–84). The study of the documents is integrated with the humanist's entire body of work, from which Prévost draws information on the amplitude of Cujas' readings, which were not limited to legal texts, but included Greek and Latin classics, medieval glossators and commentators, and contemporary humanists (a typical Renaissance encyclopaedic approach).

Despite its monumentality, the analysis of Cujas' work is not limited to the edition published in Paris in 1658 by the French humanist Charles-Annibal Fabrot (which is the reference text for Prévost's research). With notable philological rigor, the edition encompassed a ten-volume in-folio *corpus*, including both the works edited by Cujas and those published posthumously. Moreover, Prévost studies Cujas' work as an editor of texts, which began with the concrete search for new

[9] *Melanchthon: Vermittler der Reformation. Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016).

witnesses – new sources or different variants of already known texts, attested by the manuscript and printed tradition – mainly in French and Italian libraries. This continuous *collectio* lead him to assemble a vast library, which in 1590 (the year of Cujas' death) numbered about two thousand volumes, of which 371 were manuscripts. Although partial lists of Cujas' library have been published by Henri Omont (in 1885 and 1888), as reported by Prévost (88–89), some additional details on the thematic consistency of this library could be useful for the analysis of the humanist's cultural background.

The last section of the *Prolègomènes* is entitled *Jacques Cujas édité*. Here Prévost provides a detailed analysis of all of the editions of Cujas' works, which allows him to clarify some aspects of the humanist's European *fortuna*. Like many other materials provided in this book, this section also allows the reader to anticipate further paths of research. It would be interesting, for example, to place the publication of the first Italian editions in Naples within the frame of the eighteenth-century Legal Enlightenment of southern Italy, clarifying the public for which these works were intended.

The body of the book is divided into two parts. The first is entitled *L'humanisme juridique de Jacques Cujas* (135–354), and it represents a broad interpretation of the data presented in the previous section. The first chapter (*La porsuite de la critique humaniste*) brings into focus Cujas' role in the juridical tradition. Following in the steps of the best humanists, Cujas rejects any dogmatism towards tradition: he confronts the ancient, medieval, and contemporary traditions without any sense of inferiority, expressing "sa liberté, en particulier celle de recourir à toutes les sources disponibles." In line with this assumption are Cujas' relentless search for sources, his in-depth study of Greek, and the development of a critical method to analyse all the textual witnesses. Among the sources, Cujas does not reject *a priori* any exegetical works of the previous era. In fact he knows the works of medieval glossators and commentators, particularly the texts of Accursius, whose *Great Gloss* is presented by Prévost "comme base de travail" for the humanist. This is one of the main differences from his contemporaries, who often fiercely opposed the medieval interpretation of law in its entirety. Indeed, Cujas starts an extensive dialogue with Accursius, in which his work is appreciated or strongly criticized

according to the specific circumstances, mainly due to methodological differences. Because of his errors, Accursius could also be included in a list of *semijurisconsulti* (159, n. 66), a term reminding the reader of the *iurisimperiti* or *legulei* frequently reproached in Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae latinae*.

Cujas' classical knowledge, made apparent by the diversity and the quantity of quotations present in his *opera omnia*, is impressive. His readings primarily help him in the understanding of Roman law, which Cujas believes cannot be studied outside of the context in which the law itself was written. Therefore all of his texts are enriched by quotations from many different fields and free from any chronological restrictions, from rhetoric to poetry and grammar to religion and history. Quotations include, indeed, the works of medieval and contemporary European scholars, all used for the benefit of the law: philological analyses and historical studies are indispensable for understanding legal texts. Almost surprisingly, the role attributed to Italian humanists, like Valla (mentioned just once) and Poliziano (mentioned three times), is not prominent in Cujas' work, even if Prévost shows their influence on the humanist's thought. Nevertheless their presence is not comparable to that of Andrea Alciato and Gregor Haloander, for example, which cumulatively account for more than three hundred citations.

The second chapter (*L'apogée de l'humanisme historiciste*, 233–351) shows how Cujas' use of history is "une véritable rupture" (156) that separates the humanist from preceding jurists. Among the different currents of Legal Humanism, Cujas fits precisely in with the historical one. Putting history at the core of his investigation, he bases his interpretation of Roman laws on the historical context. From this assumption, Cujas establishes his work method, founded on three main stages: *collatio*, *emendatio,* and *interpretatio*. *Collatio* and *emendatio*, which provide reliable critical texts, are based on what Prévost calls the "critique externe" (238, i.e., the search for new sources and their comparison with Latin and Greek predecessors) and the "critique interne" (265, namely the correction of the texts on the basis of stylistic and grammatical analyses, of historical reconstructions, and logical criteria, which allow for the elimination of possible interpolations). The subsequent exegesis has historical interpretation at its core. Of

course, this approach was not completely novel among the scholars of the 'philological line' of the so-called *scuola culta*. Nonetheless this methodology is rigorously systematized in Cujas' work. Law, therefore, is not interpreted as a timeless reality with universal validity. Rather, it is always connected to a specific context. This results in an intense focus on history that went far beyond Rome, as Justinian's reign is not a time limit for Cujas: Byzantine and medieval sources are just as important as those of the previous period for rebuilding different chronological frames.

The second part of the book, as clarified by its title *La pratique juridique chez Jacques Cujas* (356–500), focuses more specifically on the humanist's forensic practice by analysing several of his *responsa*. Reversing many conclusions of previous scholars – who did not give any weight to practice in Cujas' work – in the first chapter (*Le droit des successions en pratique*) Prévost shows not only Cujas' commitment to legal practice and the pragmatic purpose of his theories, but also his great fame: the case of the succession to the throne of Portugal, for which Cujas was consulted around 1570, is a clear example. Moreover this underlines, once again, that Cujas' study was not limited to Roman law, although it nonetheless constituted his primary reference, but he was deeply interested in successive legal practices, especially those related to the French kingdom and the feudal regime. Indeed Cujas mentions both French and feudal practices several times in his texts, and he also dedicates an entire work to this last specific topic: the annotated edition of *Libri feudorum* (published in 1566), carefully studied by Prévost in the second chapter (*Le droit féodal. Entre pratique et critique historique*).

The volume concludes with several pages of *Conclusion* that give the reader a useful synthesis of the impressive amount of research conducted by Prévost, a wide bibliography, and very helpful indices of the subjects that were studied, including the names and all the legal sources quoted in the book. (Clementina Marsico, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, Innsbruck)

♦ *Ancient Libraries and Renaissance Humanism. The De bibliothecis of Justus Lipsius*. By Thomas Hendrickson. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 265 = Brill's Texts and Sources in Intellectual

History, 20. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017. xiv + 336 pp. $158. In 1602, the famous Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius dedicated his treatise *De bibliothecis syntagma* to Charles of Croÿ, the fourth duke of Aarschot (1560–1612). With this small treatise (34 pages) he no doubt hoped to persuade the duke to leave his library to the University of Louvain. This did not happen, but the treatise met with immediate success and set the standard for library history for several centuries, so that it can truly be characterized as the first major library history of modern times.

This volume begins with a fifty-eight-page introduction that starts with underlining the importance of this treatise and the need for a new edition. After a brief presentation of Lipsius's career and an overview of library historiography in the ancient world, during the Middle Ages, and in the age of humanism, the author focuses on the treatise itself, dealing with its title, structure, and purpose, along with its ancient and contemporary sources. The introduction concludes with discussions of the printing history, the editorial principles on which the present critical edition is established, and a note on the commentary. After this long introduction come the Latin text and English translation on facing pages (59–163) and a substantial commentary of 140 pages (164–304), followed by a rich bibliography (305–19) and several indices (320–36).

In presenting the Latin text, the editor has chosen to keep Lipsius's orthography, punctuation, and even diacritical marks, because in his view they do not present a real obstacle for the reader. This may be true for the experienced reader of (Neo-)Latin texts, who has no difficulty with the long *s*, with the alternating use of *i/j* or *u/v*, or with the ligatures for *ae/oe*, but surely it could sometimes throw someone into confusion. Conversely, in order to improve readability and make cross-referencing more effective, Hendrickson has introduced numbered paragraphs and a sectioning of the text. For this matter, line-numbering would have been still more effective. Furthermore the editor presents Lipsius's practice as the normal one in early modern times (55), which is simply not true: it is not that because in Lipsius's text "the comma indicates the shortest pause, the semicolon a slightly longer one, the colon slightly longer than that and the period longest of all", this is also the case in other Neo-Latin works, such as for instance in those

of Juan Luis Vives. The Latin text is quite accurately edited, if not for a few typographical errors, the first of which unfortunately occurs at the very beginning (60, pr. 1): *Bibiliothecis* instead of *Bibliothecis* (moreover, the small capitals of the 1602 and 1607 edition have not been rendered, and in the translation "Libraries" is not in bold, as is the editor's practice in the rest of the text!). Very few typographical errors occur in the English translation and the commentary as well. In general the translation reads smoothly and proves to be faithful to Lipsius's ideas, but occasionally there might be some room for a different or better interpretation.

Admittedly the most important and innovative part of this volume is the generous commentary, which not only provides the reader with abundant material on the ancient libraries discussed by Lipsius, but also on ancient and modern authors who have contributed to the subject. The volume closes with no less than four indices: manuscripts, inscriptions and papyri, ancient authors and works, and a general index. A superficial checking revealed the absence of several names, such as Jeanne of Hallewyn (161), Philippe of Croÿ (161), George of Hallewyn = Georgius Haloinus (166), Johannes Oporinus (not: Operinus!) (186 and 188, n. 91), Alexandre Bosquet (229), and Jean Scohier (229). But despite these small imperfections, this volume is a valuable contribution to the fields of library history and of Lipsian scholarship. (Gilbert Tournoy, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

♦ *Selected Letters*. By Francesco Petrarca. Translated by Elaine Fantham. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 76–77. 2 vols. xlvi + 747 + 807 pages. *Humanism and the Latin Classics*. By Aldus Manutius. Edited and translated by John N. Grant. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 78. xxxii + 414 pp. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017. $29.95 per volume. Anyone who sets out to make a selection from among Petrarch's letters faces a daunting task: there are two major collections, the *Familiares* and the *Seniles*, from which the letters must be chosen, and the fact that these letters have roots both in contemporary culture and in the classical past in which Petrarch also lived vicariously makes them doubly difficult to understand and appreciate. Fortunately Petrarch has found in Elaine Fantham a translator who is unusually sympathetic to the program of cultural

renewal for which he was working and is also unusually skilled in bringing out the nuances of a Latin that is polished but not always perfect by classical standards. The result is two volumes that come to a rather shocking 1,600 pages, organized not by chronology but by topics. All the well known letters are here, along with a good many others. Part 1, "On His Letters," includes several selections about writing and collecting letters, while Part 2, "His Life and World," includes the famous account of Petrarch's ascent of Mt. Ventoux, the description of his first encounter with Boccaccio, and his rebuke of his son Giovanni, who proved a disappointment to him. Part 3, "The Scholar and Man of Letters," includes letters describing Petrarch's hunt for ancient manuscripts, his receipt of the laurel crown in Naples, his frustration at not being able to read Homer in Greek, his defense of Dante, his relationship with Boccaccio, and his allegorization of the *Aeneid*. Part 4, "The Moralist," contains Petrarch's ruminations on various ethical issues, while Part 5, "Education and the Prince," includes both discussions of education in general and advice on the training of specific princes. Part 6, "Rome, Italy, and Its Rulers," covers Petrarch's efforts to influence politics in the Italian peninsula, while Part 7, "Religion and the Church," includes a letter to his brother Gherardo praising his life of worship and solitude and exhortations to the Pope to move the center of the church back to Rome. Part 8, "Letters to the Ancients," contains a generous selection of letters to famous people of antiquity, which shows the intimate terms on which Petrarch felt himself to be with the classics, while Part 9, "Memory," includes his famous unfinished autobiography, the *Letter to Posterity*. While anyone who knows Elaine Fantham will not be surprised at the fluid, elegant translations, the reader would not necessarily expect an introduction that offers a portrait of Petrarch that is more incisive and nuanced than most of what we read from scholars who have spent their entire careers laboring in this vineyard. Part of what makes this introduction so successful is that here, too, the translator has chosen topics that open up her subject: travel, which stimulates a discussion of Petrarch as a man of the world who nevertheless saw himself first and foremost as an Italian; language, which includes some fascinating meditations on which idiom Petrarch must have used at various points in the day; education and classical studies, which allows references to his love of

Cicero, his textual work on Livy, and the list of his favorite authors; and the letter collections themselves, which are shown to be literary constructs as well as records of life events. The section on "Petrarca and Gherardo: Man of the World and Man of God" contains the best paragraph I have ever read on Petrarch's spiritual shortcomings, while "Death and Mortality" explains well what to a modern reader must look like a morbid preoccupation with death. Finally I should note that it is a tribute to the translator's modesty that one of the preeminent Latinists of our day would go for help to younger scholars for material that falls beyond her areas of expertise. The result is three extremely helpful appendices, containing a chronology of Petrarch's life, a bibliographical discussion of his literary works, and biographical notes on his correspondents. As is customary with volumes in this series, the second volume closes with notes to the text and translation, a bibliography, and a detailed cumulative index. These two volumes exemplify in every way what is best about the series.

John N. Grant's *Humanism and the Latin Classics* was designed as a companion volume to N. G. Wilson's *The Greek Classics*, I Tatti Renaissance Library, 70 (2016). Both volumes contain the prefaces to Aldus's editions of the classics, distributed between the two books according to the language used by the ancient authors. Aldus is justly famous for the many first editions he published for Greek authors, which allows him to claim an important role in the return of Greek learning to the West, but in 1501 he turned his hand to Latin texts as well, undoubtedly in part because they were a more certain source of income. Here, too, he plays an important role in the development of Renaissance humanism, by taking the octavo format that had been used primarily for works of private religious devotion and converting it to a carrier of secular Latin texts, clearly set out without the distraction of learned commentaries. The prefatory material in these editions allows us to trace the evolution of this part of Aldus's publishing program, tentatively at first, then with greater confidence. The prefaces served as marketing tools, but they also provide guidance to Aldus's editorial principles, which unfortunately do not always measure up to their lofty claims. What becomes clear in Grant's introduction is that this prefatory material is the best witness we have to the nature and quality of Aldus's learning, for it is here that he also tackles some of the

scholarly questions that were of interest in his age. The prefaces have been available for almost forty years in Orlandi's fine edition, which served as the source for Grant's text and some of his notes, but this book is hard to find outside the largest research libraries, and many of the people who are interested in Aldus's prefaces will need the English translation along with the Latin text. Grant has also added nine useful appendices that shed light on this material, along with the customary notes to the text and translation, a bibliography and index, and a concordance that allows the reader to find the material treated here in Orlandi's edition, the catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy collection of Aldine editions at UCLA, and Renouard's Aldine bibliography. Wilson and Grant, along with James Hankins, the general editor of the I Tatti Renaissance Library, are to be commended for extending the series to volumes like this, whose subjects are not immediate candidates for inclusion. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*. Edited by Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Julia Haig Gaisser, and James Hankins. 11 vols. to date (Washington, DC and Toronto, 1960–). Volume XI, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016. xl + 416 pp. $95. The present volume is an exciting addition to this essential series. As the Editor in Chief observes in her Preface (vii), it was a fortunate result of chance that the main articles deal with historians, on the one hand, the Hellenistic authors Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, and on the other, from late-antiquity, Zosimus Historicus, Procopius of Caesarea, and the fictitious Dares Phrygius, the latter once believed to be *primus fere historicorum*. There are interesting overlaps between Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, and contrasts between the radically anti-Christian, Byzantine pagan Zosimus and Procopius, who may well have been Christian, despite his skepticism. Dares is an outlier, with a different, earlier, pattern of reception.

Both Polybius and Diodorus began to become known in the West to humanist scholars in Florence at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In both cases it was a piecemeal process, but also in both cases the first (partial) translations were done at the behest of Nicholas V by well-known humanists (Niccolò Perotti, Poggio Bracciolini) and

remained current for some time. Jeroen de Keyser begins his treatment of Polybius (1–60) with Leonardo Bruni's *De primo bello Punico* after "an eclipse that lasted more than a millennium" (3). De Keyser is generous in quoting the dedications of commentaries and translations, but his introductions to them are less informative than Monfasani's.

John Monfasani's contribution on Diodorus Siculus (61–152) is the most substantial. He can be forgiven the occasional lapse and bibliographical oversight (especially as regards the updating of Giovanni Tortelli—nothing after 2000), given the wealth of interesting detail and new observations he provides. In fact, the reason Tortelli is included at all is that his hand has recently been recognised in the "extraordinary" MS Barcelona, 628 of Iacobus de Sancto Cassiano's translation of Bks 11–15.85, and Monfasani himself goes further to suggest that Tortelli also translated the chapter headings he wrote for Bks 11–20 (108, 121–22). Engagingly, he does not cover the tracks of his research, but shows it in action.

Zosimus, who preceded Gibbon in telling the history of the Roman empire as one of decline and fall, does not appear to have been much used in the West even before he was banned and hidden (between 1565 and 1572). It is hard to resist Francesca Niutta's story, from this period, of Marc-Antoine Muret having a copy "torn from his hands and dismembered" (164). There is much to learn from Niutta's excellent account (153–209).

Réka Forrai on the three works of Procopius, *De bellis*, *De aedificiis*, and *Arcana historia*, strikes me as perfectly efficient, but overly brief (211–36). Luckily she can soon be supplemented by B. Croke's "Procopius, from Manuscripts to Books, 1400–1850," forthcoming in G. Greatrex (ed.), *A Guide to Research on Procopius* (supplementary volume of *Histos*, vol. 10). There, for example, the reader will find more detail on Biondo Flavio's use of Procopius in his *Decades* and *Italia illustrata*, and on Beatus Rhenanus's reluctant involvement with Herwagen's 1531 Basel edition, for which he wrote the prefatory letter, not mentioned by Forrai (220).

In the Middle Ages the so-called Dares Phrygius had an enormous circulation and influence, both for his invented historical and "eyewitness" credentials, and for his subject-matter, the Trojan War. A prose narrative, it often accompanied and/or was confused with a

Latin epic in six books on the Trojan theme, composed by Joseph of Exeter in the twelfth century, but said to be 'Daretis Frygii'. Dares' *De excidio Troiae* lent itself to further continuations and elaborations, and spawned vernacular translations in the sixteenth century, of which Frederic Clark chooses a selection. He gives a clear exposition of this ramifying transmission (237–306).

Almost from its inception the series has included Addenda and Corrigenda. This volume has four: Marijke Crab on Valerius Maximus, Bratislav Lučin on Petronius, Marianne Pade on Martial, and Sinéad O'Sullivan on Martianus Capella. All contain new information as well as revisions and additional bibliography. It is helpful that since vol. X indications have been given of digitised copies of older printed books, where these exist. (Frances Muecke, University of Sydney)

♦ *Quinto Orazio Flacco: Annali delle edizioni a stampa secoli xv–xviii*. By Antonio Iurilli. 2 vols. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 574. Geneva: Droz, 2017. 1538 pp. + 39 illustrations. €131.75. This is an extraordinary book, a monumental contribution to scholarship that will never be redone. The heart of the project rests in brief descriptions of 2,372 editions of the Roman poet Horace that were printed in or before 1800. This information is of value to scholars in a number of fields, one of which is Neo-Latin. From its beginnings, Neo-Latin has privileged the relationship between later writings in Latin and the classical authors to which these writings invite comparison, but many early influence studies have proceeded from the unexamined assumption that earlier readers saw the same things in the classics as we do. The burgeoning field of reception studies has shown us that this is not always true and that we need to focus our attention on the filters through which earlier readers were encountering the classics. These filters took a variety of forms, but the most important ones were the paratextual materials found in the early editions of the classics: commentaries, to be sure, but also dedicatory letters, letters to the reader, even indices and word lists. It is one thing to recognize the importance of these materials, however, and another to be able to make effective use of them. Many early editions survive in only a handful of copies—the most common number is one for fifteenth-century books, and approximately five for books from the next century—and these copies

are spread out literally all over the world. Digitization is making more and more of these copies accessible every day to anyone who wants them, but for major classical authors like Homer and Cicero, there is no bibliographical source that even approaches complete coverage of the works in question. Now, however, one major author, Horace, has been covered.

Each of Iurilli's descriptions begins with a transcription of the title, not in the Anglo-American quasi-facsimile style, but in the italicized version preferred by Italian bibliographers. This is followed by basic publication data and things like format and pagination, along with information about the paratextual contents of the volume, as available; each entry concludes with references to the standard bibliographical sources and a list of libraries where the book may be found. It is not possible for anyone to see copies of all of these volumes, and Iurilli has made a series of wise decisions that balance the bibliographer's drive toward accuracy and completeness with a practical assessment of what can be accomplished in a reasonable amount of time. In some cases, for example, he has not been able actually to see a copy, but he has wisely chosen to include the book anyway and to allow others to build on his work. As a result, the basic list of editions is more complete than the accounts of the paratextual material, which is generally not described in detail in any of the secondary sources, but there is no help for this and what is present is nevertheless a veritable gold mine of information.

If the book consisted only of these descriptions, its publication would have been more than merited, but that is not the case. The first volume begins with an introduction that exceeds 300 pages, in which we can trace the reception of Horace over more than three centuries as it unfolds in the pages of the printed editions. Iurilli's account of the 'protoeditorial' period of the fifteenth century is followed by equally detailed analyses of the sixteenth century, with a focus on key printers (Aldus Manutius, the Estiennes, and Chrisopher Plantin), philological exegesis, the *Ars poetica*, the rise of the vernacular, and the 'musical translations'; the seventeenth century, which follows Horace's place in Baroque poetry, the schools, and higher exegesis along with how the author was viewed and how his works were printed by the Elzeviers; and the eighteenth century, which contains sections on translations,

exegesis, the great publishers of the age, and the many parodies, imitations, and collections of aphorisms that characterize Horace's place during this period. This introduction serves as the best account I know of Horace's reception, one that should be required reading for anyone who wants to work in this area in the future.

This is not all, however. Lists of secondary sources and libraries referenced in the annals are valuable, but even more so are the ten indices, which together make up the entire second volume. A biographical index containing capsule biographies of the editors, commentators, and other contributors to these editions will be useful to any Neo-Latinist with interests similar to Iurilli's, since most of these scholars worked on other authors as well. The printers of these editions receive similar treatment, which again will provide information to scholars interested in the publication history of classical authors in general. Authors of imitations, paraphrases, parodies, and translations are pulled out in a valuable list, and their works are the subjects of another index, this one chronological; these indices are followed by three more devoted to translations and the musical renderings.

Everyone who has attempted a work like this is aware that completion is elusive and that mistakes slip in. I suspect that very few of the latter will be discovered, for Iurilli is a very careful worker, but new editions will inevitably turn up: I did a similar, but less ambitious, bibliography of the early printed editions of Virgil a few years ago, and I have found dozens of previously unknown editions since then. I would encourage Iurilli to do what I did and to go to Bibsite, hosted by the Bibliographical Society of America, or as an alternative to the new parallel initiative launched by the Bibliographical Society (London), http://www.bibsoc.org.uk/publications/e-publications, and open a file in which updates and the occasional correction can be recorded. But in any event, I would ask all the readers of this journal to extend their appreciation and congratulations to Antonio Iurilli, who has performed an enormous service to every Neo-Latinist. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton.* Ed. by Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing. 2 vols. Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions, 18. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

LVIII + 1,082 pp., 100 figures, 5 tables. €243. While not everyone would initially define Anthony Grafton's primary field as Neo-Latin, a moment's thought suggests that we should. He asked for, and got, a tutor in classical Greek at age ten, won the Caitlin Prize in classics at Phillips Academy, and headed off to the University of Chicago, where he found Hanna Holborn Gray's introduction to the world of Renaissance Latin to be more to his taste than the curriculum offered by the undergraduate program in classics. The rest, as they say, is history. The volume under review is a Festschrift for the man who has become one of the preeminent Neo-Latinists of his generation, with major books on Joseph Scaliger, Gerolamo Cardano, and Leon Battista Alberti to be found among his eighteen major monographs, seventeen coedited volumes, three collections of essays, and 150 scholarly articles. The essays in this Festschrift, which were commissioned to complement Grafton's interests, come from scholars on whose doctoral committees the honoree served, or who organized a conference with him, published a book to which he contributed, coauthored a publication with him, taught alongside him at Princeton, or served with him on the editorial team of a journal or book series.

Part I conisists of six essays on two figures, Scaliger and Casaubon, who have been at the center of Grafton's work: Dirk van Miert, "Confidentiality and Publicity in Early Modern Epistolography: Scaliger and Casaubon"; Nicholas Hardy, "Religion and Politics in the Composition and Reception of Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*: A New Letter from Paolo Sarpi to Isaac Casaubon"; Joanna Weinberg, "Chronology and Hebraism in the World of Joseph Scaliger: The Case of Arnaud de Pontac (Arnaldus Pontacus)"; Mordechai Feingold, "Joseph Scaliger in England"; Kasper van Ommen, "What Does an Oriental Scholar Look Like? Some Portraits of Joseph Scaliger and Other Sixteenth-Century Oriental Scholars: A Selection"; and Henk Jan de Jonge, "Joseph Scaliger's Treatise *De apocryphis Bibliorum* (*ca*. 1591)." The next six essays use studies of individuals to illuminate the codes of conduct in the nexus of relationships within which they lived and worked: James S. Amelang, "Streetwalking and the Sources of Citizen Culture"; Nancy Siraisi, "Baudouin Ronsse as Writer of Medical Letters"; Sarah Gwyneth Ross, "Performing Humanism: The Andreini Family and the Republic of Letters in Counter-Reformation Italy";

Daniel Stolzenberg, "A Spanner and His Works: Books, Letters, and Scholarly Communication Networks in Early Modern Europe"; Laurie Nussdorfer, "Managing Cardinals' Households for Dummies"; and Richard Serjeantson, "Francis Bacon and the Late Renaissance Politics of Learning." The eight essays in Part 3 explore the intersection of scholarship and religious commitment: Margaret Meserve, "Pomponio Leto's *Life of Muhammad*"; Arnoud Visser, "Erasmus, Luther, and the Margins of Biblical Misunderstanding"; Scott Mandelbrote, "When Manuscripts Meet: Editing the Bible during and after the Council of Trent"; Stuart Clark, "Theology and the Conditions of Knowledge in the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Discernment of Spirits"; Martin Mulsow, "John Selden in Germany: Religion and Natural Law from Boecler to Buddeus (1665–1695)"; Bruce Janacek, "'Crouch for Employment': Unleashing the Animal Kingdom in the Popish Plot"; Alastair Hamilton, "Lutheran Islamophiles in Eighteenth-Century Germany"; and Jonathan Sheehan, "The Sacrificing King: Ancients, Moderns, and the Politics of Religion." Part 4 contains eight essays that cover the ideals and institutions of collecting as seen in libraries, encyclopedias, or museums of paintings or curiosities: Roland Kany, "Privatbibliotheken antiker Christen"; Christopher S. Celenza, "An Imagined Library in the Italian Renaissance: The Presence of Greek in Angelo Decembrio's *De politia literaria*"; William H. Sherman, "A New World of Books: Hernando Colón and the *Biblioteca Colombina*"; Urs B. Leu, "The Rediscovered Third Volume of Conrad Gessner's 'Historia plantarum'"; Helmut Zedelmaier, 'Suchen und Finden vor Google: Zur Metadatenproduktion im 16. Jahrhundert"; Paul Nelles, "The Vatican Library Alphabets, Luca Orfei, and Graphic Media in Sistine Rome"; David Ruderman, "On the Production and Dissemination of a Hebrew Best Seller: Pinḥas Hurwitz and His Mystical-Scientific Encyclopedia, *Sefer Ha-Brit*"; and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "For the Birds: Collecting, Art, and Natural History in Saxony."

Part 5 begins with a section devoted to the practices involved in becoming learned, like reading and note taking, visualizing and composing, and proofreading and publishing: Paul Michel, "Visualisierungen mittels Tabellen"; Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Paduan Extracurricular Rhetoric, 1488–1491"; N. M. Swerdlow, "Cardano's Malicious

Horoscope and Gaurico's Morbid Horoscope of Regiomontanus"; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "*Lingua Adamica* and Speculative Philology: Philo to Reuchlin"; Peter Stallybrass, "Petrarch and Babylon: Censoring and Uncensoring the *Rime*, 1559–1651"; Kristine Louise Haugen, "Campanella and the Disciplines from Obscurity to Concealment"; William R. Newman, "Spirits in the Laboratory: Some Helmontian Collaborators of Robert Boyle"; and Arthur Kiron, "Cutting and Pasting: Interpreting the Victorian Scrapbook Practices of Sabato Morais." The next section contains ten essays on the study of antiquity, especially as seen through the lenses of early modern humanists and later historians: Ingrid D. Rowland, "King Arthur's Merry Adventure in the Vale of Viterbo"; Hester Schadee, "Ancient Texts and Holy Bodies: Humanist Hermeneutics and the Language of Relics"; James Hankins, "Europe's First Democrat? Cyriac of Ancona and Book 6 of Polybius"; C. Philipp E. Nothaft, "The Early History of Man and the Uses of Diodorus in Renaissance Scholarship: From Annius of Viterbo to Johannes Boemus"; Thomas Dandelet, "Imagining Marcus Aurelius in the Renaissance: Forgery, Fiction, and History in the Creation of the Imperial Ideal"; Jill Kraye, "Marcus Aurelius and the Republic of Letters in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp"; Brian W. Ogilvie, "Stoics, Neoplatonists, Atheists, Politicians: Sources and Uses of Early Modern Jesuit Natural Theology"; Robert Goulding, "Henry Savile Reads His Euclid"; Jürgen Oelkers, "Natur und Zeit: Antike Motive im Umfeld von Rousseaus *Emile*"; and Diane Greco Josefowicz, "The Whig Interpretation of Homer: F. A. Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* in England." Part 7, on past practices of history writing, contains eight more essays: Salvatore Settis, "Quae vires verbo quod est 'classicum' aliis locis aliisque temporibus subiectae sint quantumque sint eius sensus temporum diurnitate mutati"; Virginia Reinburg, "History and Antiquity at French Pilgrim Shrines: Three Pyrenean Examples"; Paula Findlen, "Inventing the Middle Ages: An Early Modern Forger Hiding in Plain Sight"; Peter N. Miller, "Goethe and the End of Antiquarianism"; Suzanne Marchand, "Georg Ebers, Sympathetic Egyptologist"; Glenn W. Most, "The Rise and Fall of *Quellenforschung*"; Lorraine Daston, "Authenticity, Autopsia, and Theodor Mommsen's *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*"; and Daniel Rosenberg, "Time Offline and On." The two essays in the brief epi-

logue examine key moments in Grafton's career: Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for Action' Revisited"; and Jacob Soll, "The Grafton Method, or the Science of Tradition."

With the exception of the occasional volume that unexpectedly becomes a publication *in memoriam*, Festschrifts are happy occasions. The books produced in this genre, however, are not always of the highest quality: authors are often selected primarily for their relationship to the honoree rather than for their own scholarly reputation; essays have to be produced on a publication schedule, without regard to when a contributor has really finished and processed the results of his or her research; and the finished essays often escape peer review, due largely to the demands of a publishing environment that has become increasingly skeptical of this genre in general. It would be an irony of the most distressing sort, however, if a volume of essays in honor of someone like Anthony Grafton had fallen victim to any of these dangers, and I am happy to report that this one has not. There are a couple of short contributions, but the contributors were clearly given a reasonable word count, and a couple of lengthy essays confirm that the editors were committed to quality, first and foremost. The volumes are not cheap, which may make this a better candidate for purchase by libraries than by individuals, but there are more than a thousand pages of riches contained in them. Any serious Neo-Latinist will find many delightful gems here. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)