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Gary Kuchar. *George Herbert and the Mystery of the Word: Poetry and Scripture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. $109.00. xvi + 288 pp. Review by Jonathan Nauman, Vaughan Association.

Literary studies produced during the past few decades often proceed under the assumption that texts and their historical backgrounds are best appreciated through a process of demystification, in which transcendent or supernatural motives are minimized in favor of postulating psychological and socioeconomic drivers for aesthetic activity. Gary Kuchar's book on George Herbert's poetic response to *sacramentum* and *mysterion*, though enabled by and largely an instance of the present fashion for cultural studies, manages to open a somewhat different angle, bringing the concept of mystery itself sympathetically and historically to the fore. Kuchar examines developing trends in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Anglican Bible-reading and maintains that early seventeenth-century readers tended to balance impulses toward interpretive certainty, inherited from the early Reformers and reinforced by incipient Baconian rationalism, with impulses toward a more participatory and mystery-oriented exegesis that hearkened back to Augustine. Kuchar in turn holds that the experiential and dialogical ethos of seventeenth-century Anglican devotional verse, and of George Herbert's *The Temple* in particular, manifests a movement of retreat by Herbert's contemporary leading Anglican divines from "the exaggerated certainties that had developed within Protestantism over the previous century" (11). The thesis thus seeks to modify an emphasis on "sixteenth-century contexts most often adduced by recent critics" (11).

Kuchar's initial chapter on "Herbert's Neatness" spells out his basic contention that George Herbert's poetry should be read in terms of a preference for "interpretive wonder and spiritual participation" over "exegetical control or purely objective meaning" (10), a position Kuchar correlates with moderate Puritan divines such as John Preston and Richard Sibbes as well as with Herbert's friend and sponsor Lancelot Andrewes. Chapter Two clarifies Kuchar's take on the term "mystery," noting Augustine's inclination to use the Latin words "sacramentum" and "mysterium" interchangeably, a conflation that

"helped convey the paradox that Biblical mysteries remain obscure or hidden even in the very process of being revealed" (35). Kuchar's readings from Herbert's poetry throughout the book generally track failures and successes of Herbert's lyrical personae to achieve the "dialectical and immanentist view of revelation" (35–36) needed in order to approach such mysteries, and they portray Herbert's speakers as undergoing initiations into an "experience of divine love" that must begin "with an avowal of non-understanding" (50).

In his third and fourth chapters, Kuchar surveys the development of Protestant opinions regarding personal assurance of eternal salvation, mentioning an interesting controversy over the fate of Italian Protestant Francis Spiera, who fell into despair "after renouncing a number of his Protestant beliefs before the Inquisition" (85). Kuchar again considers Andrewes and Sibbes to have approached such questions as Herbert would, Andrewes modifying "Calvin's highly focused emphasis on Paul's assurance through faith with the Johannine emphasis on assurance through love" (80) and Sibbes emphasizing as redemptive the fact that "human beings want to be holy in the first place" (96). Kuchar then reads Herbert's Williams Manuscript lyric "Perseverance" and Herbert's lyric "Assurance" from *The Temple* as revealing how "Herbert deftly balances the desire for spiritual confidence with the realities of doubt" (101), finding "Assurance" to be "less flamboyantly dramatic" but "more doctrinally wary" than "Perseverance" (103).

In his fifth and sixth chapters, Kuchar contrasts the dialogical and immanentist views of Scripture-reading that he ascribes to George Herbert with the utilitarian and rationalist sidelinings of the Bible practiced by John Valdesso and by George Herbert's brother Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Valdesso's lack of interest in continued experience of the Scripture, his opinion that it acted as an elementary lesson that could be dispensed with once learned, Kuchar pairs with Cherbury's inclinations to cast the Scriptures as the highest manifestation of universal Common Notions, effectively reversing Augustine and giving reason priority over faith.

Kuchar's seventh and eighth chapters, which I found the most rewarding in his volume, address further implications of the Augustinian approaches to Scripture-reading attributed to Herbert in this study. In

"Truth and Method: Error and Discovery in *The Temple*," Augustine's willingness to countenance "a failing that is laudable or desirable" (205)—i.e., a straining toward comprehension of God without actual success—is contrasted with Bacon's directive to harness error as one aspect of process control. In such poems as "The Thanksgiving," "Jordan [II]," and "Easter," a corrected error looks forward, not to a future of methodical process improvement, but to a strengthened and open-ended relationship with God. In "The Mystery of Hearkening: Listening for *The Odour*," issues of oral versus visual culture are intriguingly fielded and also successfully linked with the "dialectical and immanentist" Augustinian reading advocated earlier. "Sound and scent," Kuchar notes, "offer modes of discovery that enhance the participation of knower with known" (238); Donne's differentiation between *hearing* and *hearkening* is cited: listening "becomes hearkening when sound is translated into action, when what is heard actually transforms one's relation to the world, one's mode of attunement" (245). Relations between touch, taste, scent, and sound, rendered in seventeenth-century context, considerably enhance Kuchar's reading of Herbert's "The Odour."

The book ends with a conclusion reiterating and enlarging on the author's placing of Herbert's poems in the context of Augustinian reading, in a "space between understanding and ignorance, precognition and knowledge" (262). Kuchar adds a final gesture toward Herbert's disciple Henry Vaughan, whose emulation of Paulinus of Nola probably contributed to the Augustinian strategies Kuchar notes in Vaughan's "H. Scriptures."

George Herbert and the Mystery of the Word makes a welcome turn in cultural studies, successfully reinstating a category and a mode of reading that has tended to drop out of sight in contemporary criticism. As is often the case in such restorations, I found the thesis more convincing in its affirmations than in some of its expressed negations; I rather doubt that George Herbert saw quite so deep a divide as this study occasionally does between Scripture as a "site of ongoing, prayerful meditation" and a document providing "information-transfer" (132). There are readings with which I argued—the interpretation on page 133 of Herbert's metaphorical presentation of his heart as a bee and the letters of Scripture as flowers in "The H. Scriptures [I],"

for instance, and the reading of line 27 in "The Bunch of Grapes" (145). But the theological and phenomenological peripheries offered will make this text valuable to read for all who study Herbert's poetry.

Joseph William Sterrett, ed. *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word and Devotion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. xii + 275 pp. $85.00. Review by P.G. Stanwood, University of British Columbia.

This exceptionally thoughtful and well-focused volume addresses a universal theme in thirteen discrete essays, each one supporting the other and altogether forming a coherent whole—a rare quality in edited collections. "What kind of an act is a prayer?" asks Brian Cummings in the first essay of the book, "Prayer, Bodily Ritual and Performative Utterance," which effectively anticipates and embraces the issues of the essays that follow (19). He leads us succinctly from J.L. Austin to J.R. Searle. What gives an act its meaning? From the theory of speech acts, Cummings leads his discussion into "the nerve ends of the Reformation" (21), and to Martin Bucer's reflections on performance and prayer, action and word, and his interventions with Cranmer and the *Book of Common Prayer*. Calvin would subsequently extend these concerns by urging the necessity of interior feelings, which must corroborate external action and utterance. At issue here is the Protestant realignment of prayer in public worship with "an ardour of thought" and intentionality.

These fundamental issues that Cummings so cogently defines form the principal and overarching theme of the book against which the dozen essays that follow provide special and applied insight. Graham Parry is first of the essayists to open and study this theme of private and public prayer in his well-argued "Tradition of High Church Prayer in the Seventeenth Century." He places Lancelot Andrewes and John Cosin next to each other—the one notable for his *Preces Privatae* (as *Institutiones piae* 1630, *Private Devotions* 1648), the other for his *A Collection of Private Devotions* (1627). The comparison of the two describes not a difference in ecclesiology or religious orientation but rather a private, interior mode of prayer against a public formulation of

one. Andrewes gathered prayers and meditations from many sources, patristic and medieval and later, together with his own translations and reflections into a kind of personal manual that he never intended for publication, but it was published fortuitously after his death. Cosin set out his *Devotions* quite traditionally, framing them in accordance with the canonical hours of prayer. His compilation was probably occasioned by the arrival of Charles's new queen Henrietta Maria and purposively designed for the ladies of the French court. John Evelyn is the principal authority for this knowledge, and Parry quotes the relevant entry from his Diary for 1 October 1651 (quoted also in the modern edition of Cosin's *Devotions*, ed. P.G. Stanwood, Oxford UP, 1967). One may compare Andrewes and Cosin in terms of a personal yet loosely organized, hymn-like structure in the one, and traditional liturgical form in the other; for Andrewes and Cosin move in collateral kinds of worship and prayer (see Stanwood, "Liturgy, Worship, and the Sons of Light," in *New Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century English Religious Lyric,* Missouri UP, 1994). Both works gained popularity: Andrewes's, *Institutiones piae: or directions to pray*, a 7th edition by 1684, and many subsequent editions and translations; Cosin's, *Devotions,* 8th edition by 1676. While both offer "private" prayers, Cosin's work received noisy objections by evangelical Protestants for suppressing spontaneity, and it largely disappeared after the Restoration, while Andrewes's manual, in numberless editions, has continued to hold favor into our own time.

How to pray is, in many ways, the defining issue of the Reformation. In the following chapter, Sterrett describes features of nonconformism at issue. He traces the influence of the English church in Frankfurt whence many of those fleeing Marian persecution went. Here one heard John Knox, his more fearsome and strict opponent Richard Cox, and worshipped principally in accordance with the Order of Geneva. Style and manner of prayer, even personal and social conduct, must have importance in this configuration of the drama of worship. Such painful deliberation was met by ridicule and contempt by "Martin Marprelate," who was in turn condemned, for example, by the strident and tenacious Richard Bancroft in his energetic sermon of 1588 (not noted here, but see *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521-1642 ,* Oxford UP, 2017, sect. 13—a full, modern text

of this famous sermon).

The three following essays address prayer in the dramatic literature of the period. Chloe Kathleen Preedy visits the situation of Mercury in George Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris,* Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido Queen of Carthage,* and perhaps unexpectedly Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *Troilus and Cressida.* Instead of showing Mercury's traditional quick wit, deftness, and ingenuity, these plays describe him as a failing intermediary and messenger. His failure to enable communication suggests "a deeper cultural anxiety about the nature of prayer and reception" (83). Mercury may often be associated with fraudulent words and with the false performance of prayer, as Thersites shows (*Troilus and Cressida* 2.3.6–14). The argument is ingenious and unconvincing. Similarly factitious is Alison Findlay's essay on "Prayer, Performance and Community." She quotes King Iarbus's prayer from Marlowe's *Dido,* which engages the audience, the whole community of hearers, at a deeply unconscious level. His prayer of pain and misery gives voice "to the cultural traumas of separation and uncertainty experienced by the nation," with the very "shock waves of the Reformation" resounding (90–91). This bold and ingenious argument calls for an imaginative response. In less capacious terms, the last of these essays to explore dramatic literature turns to *Hamlet.* Christopher Hodgkins writes cogently and with fresh insight on the familiar, often studied scene of Claudius at prayer. The King begins well, in good reformist terms that echo the *Homily of Repentance and True Reconciliation unto God.* But Claudius is in fact impenitent and his "prayer" invalid.

Simon Jackson describes the history and development of the verse anthem in his fine essay on prayer and musical performance—of Byrd and Gibbons and an emerging form of "rhetorical *amplificatio"* that vividly presents scripture to the ears and minds of the listening congregation (113). In a surprising but significant recollection of John Cosin, previously discussed by Graham Parry in a different context, we are now further reminded that Cosin includes in his *Devotions* adaptations of a Gibbons's anthem, as well as lyrics from Byrd, and others, notably Jonson's "A Hymne to God the Father" (but see the extended note in the *Devotions*, ed. Stanwood, page 340). Cosin presents as prayer what has also been heard as musical performance. Jackson's argument

is plausible but not quite convincing, perhaps here too briefly offered and therefore somewhat adventitious. A very different sort of discussion is Effie Botonaki's examination of "The Protestant Diary and the Act of Prayer." She affirms that set prayers, as contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, were opposed by Protestant believers in favor of extemporaneous ones. The times and the culture were thus favorable for the keeping of diaries of personal devotion, and acts of prayer might otherwise be performed within one's spiritual diary.

Five essays on as many significant literary figures occupy the remainder of the book, each in turn specifically illustrating the theme of the whole volume. Katrin Ettenhuber records the circumstances of Donne's great *Encaenia* sermon, preached at the dedication of Lincoln's Inn chapel in 1623, which well demonstrates the nature and function of sacred space in Jacobean times, and in its occasion and dedication reveals a harmony of preaching, ceremony, and prayer. In her graceful essay, Helen Wilcox recalls the fourteenth stanza of Donne's "The Litanie," wherein the poet invokes the universal Church in triumph that "Prayes ceaselessly" (157). She continues her essay by glancing at several devotional poets, turning finally to Herbert's "Redemption" in which he "inscribes God as performer" (167), and so all humanity experiences prayer and its performance.

Charles I is not designedly literary, but he bequeathed the remarkable *Eikon Basilike,* a book presumably of his own prayers and meditations, prefaced by a frontispiece showing him at prayer before an altar, awaiting his crown of glory. This image of kingly prayer and performance, while probably familiar to most readers, might well have been reproduced in the present text. But Robert Wilcher's essay does review and clearly describe the enormous contemporary popularity and importance of the "King's book." Not so well known are the prose works of Henry Vaughan, splendidly described and placed in their context by Donald Dickson, who rightly declares these works "when considered together ... private devotional aids as well as acts of political resistance" (182). He describes Vaughan's prose works with authority and sympathy, often quoting the author's own words. Prayer and politics show one sort of performance that leads easily to the final essay of this book—a kind of coda, wherein we leave in Milton's company. Noam Reisner turns perceptively to the invocations of *Paradise Lost*

and discovers in them, and in Adam and Eve's prayers, the outward performance of the poet's self-imposed and sacred office: "to pray efficaciously on behalf of others through poetry" (211). Reisner's final statement not only ends his own fine essay, but also reflects the theme of this excellent book: "The public poet [Milton] presents to the world always stands within our line of vision, like the blind Samson in the Philistine theatre, "as one who prayed,/ Or some great matter in his mind revolved" (*Samson Agonistes,* 1637–38).

Paul Hammond. *Milton's Complex Words: Essays on the Conceptual Structure of Paradise Lost.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. xviii + 479 pp. $88.00. Review by John Mulryan, St. Bonaventure University.

This book is a beautifully written essay on Milton's use of language, but it is not without its flaws. It seems to me, for example, that one cannot discuss Milton's use (and mastery) of words without making some comparisons with other wordsmiths. How did, say, Spenser, Donne, Lancelot Andrewes, or George Herbert handle complex words?

Perhaps it would be best to begin with a listing of the "complex words" and then explore their significance. There are 30 "words," although some of those listed are not words at all. For the most part, single nouns have been chosen, but there are also adjectives, punctuation marks, doublets and triplets, antithetical nouns and adjectives, a single prefix and a single pronoun: complex indeed! Here is the list: 1. Alone. 2. Art. 3.Chance, Fate, *and* Providence. 4. Change. 5. Choice. 6 Dark *and* Light. 7. Desire. 8. Ease. 9. Envy. 10. Equal. 11. Evil. 12. Fall. 13. Fancy *and* Reason. 14. Free. 15. God. 16. Grace. 17. Hope. 18. I. 19 Idol *and* Image. 20. If *and* Perhaps. 21. Knowledge *and* Wisdom. 22. Love. 23. Naked. 24. New *and* Old. 25. Not. 26. Re-. 27. See *and* Seem. 28. Self-. 29. Within. 30. ?

It is now fashionable to gloss Milton through writers and thinkers he could not have known and was probably not in sympathy with. Or as Hammond puts it: "in attempting to explicate theological concepts I have drawn eclectically on the Christian tradition, often citing works which Milton would not have known—nor approved if

he had known them—if they seemed to me to provide illuminating reflections on the questions which the poem raises" (vii). I find this ahistorical approach to be indefensible, for its real purpose, I feel, is to impose current critical theory on earlier writers; often the theory takes precedence over the writings of the author and is of dubious value toward real engagement with the author's own work.

Hammond seems to feel that Milton can do no wrong and the rebel angels can do no right. There is not a hint of criticism of anything Milton ever wrote or said, sometimes to the point of absurdity. In a very oxymoron-ic fashion, the distinguished minority of English men are allowed to "force" the sullen majority to be free: "To Milton, it seemed that the majority of the English people had turned their backs on true freedom, preferring tyranny. As a consequence, the minority who wish to embrace liberty have the right, and perhaps even the duty, to compel the slothful majority to be free" (202). Two writers whom Milton could not have known, Karl Marx, and Lenin, would certainly have approved of this sentiment!

The Christian message is assumed to be right, and the rebel angels are held accountable for the precepts of a religion that does not yet exist, in all of its manifestations, including the Pauline interpretation of scripture. Here Milton is caught in an anachronistic time warp, which, at the very least, confuses the reader.

While Hammond freely admits that *Paradise Lost* is one of the most carefully conceived works of art in the language (16), he also supports Milton's view that art (especially Satanic art) is diabolical, although Milton's own art is exempted from scrutiny because it is inspired by the muse Urania (16).

I wish to conclude with an analysis of some of the thirty terms or marks that Hammond has selected for discussion, according to their meaning and complexity. First, single and related terms: Love, and Desire. Second, doublets, one of antithetical terms (New and Old) and the other of terms that are closely related (Idol and Image). Third, the one and only triplet employed by Hammond (Chance, Fate, and Providence).

Love and Desire. While Milton extols sexual love in the Love chapter, it seems to me that Milton the Puritan remained uncomfortable

with physical sexuality. We must, according to Milton, move toward heavenly love, and not remain "sunk in carnal pleasure" (*Paradise Lost* 8.593 [327]). Somehow Adam is permitted to enjoy Eve's physical beauty but as he does so, he remains on the brink of poisonous passion: "If Adam is fixated upon Eve's physical beauty he risks drinking the sorceress' intoxicating potion rather than the charming cup of virtue; he thus becomes a slave to passion rather than love, degrades wisdom and higher knowledge to a subordinate position, and degrades himself too from his proper rung in the divine and natural order" (332). Similarly, desire is seen as spiritual (good) or physical (bad): "is desire an intellectual and spiritual quest for enlightenment, or is it a passion over which the reason has no control?" (63). Again, after eating the forbidden fruit, desire has become synonymous with lust: "Now that both have eaten of the fruit, sexual desire, which has previously been celebrated as a proper element of married love, has metamorphosed into mere 'Carnal desire' which enflames and burns; 'desire' has narrowed to become synonymous with 'Lust'" (70).

New and Old. Although these are antithetical terms, Milton does not employ them antithetically. There seems to be a predisposition toward the old, but the new covenant, which closes the poem, is obviously an improvement on the old. The narrator praises the old and Satan the new, but, as mentioned above, that order is reversed in the closing lines of the poem. "There is, however, an evocation by the narrator of a deep antiquity in creation" (352), and "Satan resents the begetting of the Son as an offensive novelty, and this proves to be the occasion for his revolt because he regards it as imposing new laws on the angels and exacting new reverence and submission" (354). "But long before that, in mundane time and in the time scheme of the poem, man seeks for novelty in a way which brings disaster, and the connotations of the word 'new' metamorphose into darker and darker shades" (359). In the end, however, Adam tells Eve to expect ''New Laws to be observ'd," and the new dispensation is signaled when he sees a rain "Betok'ning peace from God, and Cov'nant new" (360).

Idol and Image. Hammond is not very clear on the distinction between idol and image, save that the former is bad and the latter

good. Of course the Protestant reformers who destroyed priceless works of art were in fact "iconoclasts" or "image smashers." "And so the religious upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were often manifested in the breaking, repairing, and breaking again of those works which had been crafted to turn men's minds to devotion, but which seemed to the reformers to be nothing but idols" (272). To belabor the obvious, most Protestants thought almost all images were idols, although they had difficulty with the notion that the human being is the image of God.

Chance, Fate, *and* **Providence.** We conclude with a triplet. Hammond tends to mix up the three terms, but I'll try to keep them separate.

Chance can refer to fortuitous circumstances that can accidentally change the natural course of events, or help us to succeed without actual merit. So says Belial and Satan, but "Mammon is clear that chance is not going to unthrone God" (18).

As for Fate, after the Fall, Eve assumes that she and Adam will remain in Paradise,

> but Fate
> Subscrib'd not; Nature first gave Signs, imprest
> On Bird, Beast, Aire, Aire suddenly eclips'd
> After short blush of Morn (*Paradise Lost* 11.181-84).

"Fate here seems to be the will of God acting through nature, which begins to show the signs that death has entered the world; and death we know is another of the meanings of 'fate'" (23). And in glossing *Paradise Lost* 12.646–7, Hammond fudges on the term Providence, turning it into a synonym for God: "Here in the world which opens up outside Eden—which is the world as we know it—'Providence' seems primarily a synonym for God himself, God acknowledged and experienced as a beneficent guide" (25).

To be fair to Hammon, aside from a few linking terms like "and" and "but," every word in *Paradise Lost* is complex, and selecting terms to discuss from the enormous vocabulary Milton employs in the poem is an almost impossible task. But Hammond has made an interesting selection, enriched by trenchant analysis and eloquent prose. This is a seminal work, worthy of attention by any and all Milton scholars.

Jacomien Prins and Maude Vanhaelen, eds. *Sing Aloud Harmonious Spheres: Renaissance Conceptions of Cosmic Harmony.* Warwick Studies in the Humanities. New York: Routledge, 2018.. xii + 294 pp. $155.00. Review by Eugene D. Hill, Mount Holyoke College.

The notion of "world harmony" can mean very different things in different learned contexts. When Leibniz talks about a "preestablished harmony," he has in mind the relation between body and soul in accordance with which the doings in both realms always correspond with one another.[1] Altogether divergent is the account given by Leo Spitzer in what for readers of this journal will be the most familiar study: *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony* (1963), in which Spitzer's "Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word 'Stimmung'" (the subtitle) develops a vast Pythagorean pantheistic tapestry of Western thought from the pre-Socratics through the Romantics and beyond. The German, in exile from Cologne (via Istanbul) in Baltimore, made it his project "to unravel what in ancient and medieval thought was woven together: the ideas of the 'well-tempered mixture' and of the 'harmonious consonance,' [of the well-tuned soul] which fuse into the one all-embracing unit of the world harmony."[2]

Spitzer's memorable book was published after his death by a colleague at Johns Hopkins as an expanded version of a pair of journal articles (*Traditio* 1944-45) and must be read as a product of the war years. Of course the German Romance philologist had been working for decades on undercutting national and linguistic as well as temporal boundaries. (He once characterized his "procedure" as one "of antedating semantic phenomena by about 1500 years."[3]) But there is something quite moving in the heroic scholarly effort to create a unified field of philosophical and literary texts in which well-tuned souls

1 Rudolf Eisler, *Kritische Untersuchung des Begriffes der Weltharmonie und seiner Anwendungen* (Berlin: Calvary, 1895), 27.

2 Leo Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1963), 7.

3 Leo Spitzer, *Essays in Historical Semantics* (New York: S.F. Vanni, 1948), 8.

across two and a half millennia vibrate in sympathy. How gratifying indeed to cherish the fond illusion (if such it be) that, to quote Spitzer from 1948, "in regard to fundamentals, there has been less cultural change than is commonly supposed ... in our *Greco-Roman-Judeo-Christian*-civilization, which has been allowed to continue without any too-drastic interruptions" (Spitzer 1948, 8-9).

The valuable collection of consistently able new papers offered by Prins and Vanhaelen, originating in a conference sponsored by the University of Warwick at a Palazzo in Milan, bespeaks a changed learned world. Thirteen scholars from nine countries address individual areas of specialization ranging from the ancient Greeks to the Newton-inflected mathematical acousticians in the decades around 1700. As with Spitzer, much of the material under discussion is Platonic in nature, but here the material is frequently viewed through an Aristotelian lens. In Book Two of *On the Heavens*, the Stagirite formulated what Francesco Pelosi in the lead paper calls "the most authoritative refutation of the existence of cosmic harmony" (20). Aristotle blandly (Pelosi says "ironically") investigates the physics that must underlie such notions as Plato's fable of tuneful cosmic Sirens and concludes that none of it can be true—that is literally the case. For subsequent thinkers discussed in the collection under review, the issue became to tease apart the Platonically metaphorical from the literal. The question of the literal and the metaphorical of course did not arise for Spitzer, for whom to interrogate the responsive *Stimmung* or entunedness of a good reader—an Aeolian harp of a soul—would be altogether beside the point, and in itself would constitute evidence of deficient aesthetic culture.

Literalness of a qualified sort can be found in in the Neoplatonists: "Both Porphyry and Iamblichus attribute to Pythagoras the experience of listening to the cosmic harmony, linking the theme to practices of music therapy"; "each stresses the contrast between" the "extraordinary man . . . and his disciples . . . common men who cannot hear the world harmony" (Pelosi, 23). A sixteenth-century rabbi named Judah Moscato agrees that "purification of the sense of hearing will ultimately lead to an experience of the music of the spheres," though Moscato is also to be found "attacking Pythagoras, whom he says ... 'used to glorify himself with the pretention'" of hearing these sounds

(55). Earlier in that century, Isaac Cohen held that "the harmony of the spheres belongs to the realm of speculation, and as perfect 'harmony', it is devoid of any physical reality." Indeed, "Cohen argues that belief in the music of the spheres is indefensible ... it is merely a projection of ideas about earthly music onto the heavens, and thus has nothing to do with the archetypal harmony of God's Creation" (53). (These passages from Jewish thought come from the fine paper by Amnon Shiloah, which also treats Arabic sources.)

The center of the collection, devoted to several philosophers of the Italian Renaissance, will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. Editor Maude Vanhaelen provides a most valuable account of Ficino's adoption of the intermediate beings of Neoplatonic theurgic lore—"angels, demons heroes" (102)—through whose mediation "religious rituals, including prayer, song, and music" (113) can effect a purification of the soul. She explains: "By adopting Iamblichus' conflation of the doctrines of cosmic harmony and recollection Ficino could describe music as a trigger for the soul to remember the cosmic harmony it heard before entering the material world." So "the notion of the world as a musical scale is more than an image; it functions as a powerful tool to describe instrumental music as a gift from the gods that can be used to ascend the ladder of beings" (113).

Similarly, cosmic music is neither quite literal nor entirely metaphoric in welcome essays on Francesco Giorgi (by Leen Spruit); Francesco Patrizi (by editor Jacomien Prins); and Andrea Torelli (by Concetta Pennuto). We are shown how "Giorgi's interpretation of *musica humana* as the belief in the harmonic creation of the soul and the accompanying belief in the divinity of man" (133) exposed him to vigorous censorship from the Roman Congregation for the Index. We find that while "Patrizi no longer believes in the real existence of the harmony of the spheres, he deliberately uses it as a metaphor in the context of his aesthetics of music to evoke all kinds of associations with traditional conceptions of world harmony" (152). Patrizi may be said to transfer "the concept of the harmony of the spheres from the realm of the mathematical sciences to the realm of the rhetorical arts" (146). A similar aestheticizing move is made by Torelli in his 1627 volume *Orphei lyra sive De harmonia triplicis mundi* . . ., according to which "the Orphic lyre is to be understood as a speech (*oratio*) deal-

ing with the three types of harmony present in the universe: divine, ethereal, and elementary" (185).

With a collection of this sort, the temptation to jump to papers nearest one's own areas of specialization may prove irresistible. But there are fascinating materials in nearly every chapter, one good example being Linda Báez-Rubí's well-illustrated discussion of cosmologically symbolical games and automata in seventeenth-century New Spain. Let me conclude rather by commenting on the title the book carries. One might, upon a quick initial glance, think: that sounds like Milton. It does. But it comes in fact from a contemporary poem sometimes ascribed, though uncertainly, to a minor poet of Royalist affiliation named William Strode, who died in 1645. What interests the present reviewer however is the manuscript from which the song setting (by an unknown composer) of the poem is taken.

The learned musicologist whose edition Prins and Vanhaelen cite identifies the manuscript as a typical product of English musicians working at the midcentury French court, many English musicians having taken refuge on the Continent during the Civil War and beyond.[4] The delicate lyric moves in its three seven-line stanzas from the "old lessons" of the spheres to which "lays" the "gods do listen ... As they are passing,/Over the Milky Ways" (first verse); through the middle air purged of "unwholesome creatures" to maintain "passage fair" as "ye blest spirits,/Wander in the air" (second verse); through the reverently invoked appearance of the deities which concludes the poem: "I hear their fluttering sound,/And now, now, now;/They touch the ground." This could well be the climax of a ceremony at court in honor of a young royal prince. At the same time, it might also well be a fantasy of the return of exiled monarchy—the same fond exilic longing at work in Spitzer's book. In brief comments on the poem, our editors say only that "when the prayer is answered and the gods approach, nothing more than a 'fluttering sound' is heard. As soon as the heavenly harmonious sound 'touches the ground' mortal beings are unable to hear, recognize or understand it" (2). That would be the long-view Aristotelian reading, altogether correct in its own terms.

4 Gordon J. Callon, ed., *Songs with Theorbo (c. 1650-1663)* (Madison: A-R Editions, 2000), xii; see also pp. xvii, 35-36, 86, 92.

Readers of this journal are however permitted to suspect that, for the English performers c. 1650, a local contemporary political application was very much in mind.

Abraham Stoll. *Conscience in Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. ix + 216 pp. $99.99. Review by Margaret J. Oakes, Furman University.

Parsing a term as abstract as "conscience" has obvious limitations and hermeneutic problems, and could cover centuries of thinking and dozens of writers, even if only limited to Western European Christianity. The size of Abraham Stoll's *Conscience in Early Modern English Literature* immediately indicates that this must be a focused examination; the title does not reflect the analytical scope of the book, and the author struggles to be both sweeping in his conclusions and specific in his examples. Further, a reader should not approach this text as a developmental argument, as it posits itself to be. Stoll arranges the discussion of conscience in roughly chronological terms but then often finds himself redefining phases in an intellectual, theological, and political overhaul of this concept, as the few writers he has selected do not show a movement or consistent avenue of change in their thinking. This attempt to show a progression of thought is flawed; furthermore, it is unfortunate because unnecessary and limits an authentic examination of the subject.

Stoll sets out a hermeneutic based in St. Jerome, threading up through Aquinas and St. German, to set out a distinction that he later wants to dissolve: that of the higher, perfect faculty of synderesis (which is discarded by Luther in Stoll's argument) for a faculty which he terms "destructured," requiring a constant process of self-reflection. He argues that in William Perkins' theory of conscience it is a thought process: "Such imperfection cannot be summarized, but must be won anew for each person, and in successive moments of each person's life" (43). A number of characters in *The Faerie Queene* and *Macbeth* are loosely addressed through this interpretive lens; the somewhat disjointed and tangential feel to these chapters may result from their being portions of separate articles published elsewhere.

The struggles of the Redcrosse Knight and Artegall are bookended to show the struggles of the Protestant conscience to make decisions, first inwardly to relieve despair and later outwardly to administer equitable justice. The Macbeths are the subject of a free-ranging treatment that includes twentieth-century psychoanalysis, not an unlikely locus in which to examine their actions but one which contradictorily removes the theorized Protestant relationship between sinful behavior and the conscience on which the book is based. Stoll's analysis then moves from the literary to the political, an arena in which the creation of conscience as a public activity has a clearer reading. He sets Milton within a context of the Hobbesian awareness of the sovereign, and the limitations on conscience, which may be rightly required to serve "the complexities of communal relations" (187).

In clarifying the fabric of Catholic thinking on conscience, Stoll is useful in outlining the nature of scholastic theology from Aquinas. However, he wants to advance a thread of "destructuring" which is not as successful. This is partly because the very term indicates the possibility that description is not going to be possible, and partly because it seems more to be an inevitable result of the massive theological changes put into motion by Luther, Calvin, and others. When the authority of doctrine and practice of Roman Catholicism in England were removed, new conceptual structures were not developed and ready to be put in place. Henry VIII resisted Lutheran and Calvinist ideas; Edward VI did not; a systematic theology could not have been available in the mid-1500s to replace the magisterial weight and elucidation of centuries of Jerome, Aquinas, or even St. German. Moving away from an institutional authority that defines *synderesis* to tell believers how they should act creates a problem in definition: Stoll admits that "the perfect and nameable conscience of the scholastics disintegrates in the Reformation" (29). For better or worse, part of the nature of Protestantism is the application by some internal process of the individual—whether that be from the soul or the mind, or whether it is considered hermeneutically to be a habit or an act to theological issues. In addition, we know that much of the English populace were either theologically or sentimentally committed to Roman Catholicism right through the sixteenth century into the years of Charles I's reign, and opinions and beliefs varied widely across

and up and down England. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are more much different theologically and politically than Stoll has space to address here; he gestures broadly at "conscience [becoming] an increasingly important political force" in the early 1600s (111) but does not explain why that may be the case.

The problem surfaces as Stoll refers to the thinking about conscience of the post-Reformation decades as "inchoate" but then has difficulty fulfilling the assertion that the inchoate was "perfected" or organized in any of the English texts he discusses. Stoll delves into the various works of William Perkins, whom he argues replaces the synderesis/consentia relationship to an internalized process of reflection on one's own actions: "Conscience enables self-consciousness" (42). But Perkins is not so neat in his thinking, as Stoll later acknowledges that Perkins, as might actually be expected of a thinker developing an emerging theological position, is not clearly outside of the scholastic model. The framework of "destructuring," followed by his argument that Spenser and Shakespeare make moves to "restructure" conscience within the mind that reflects back on thoughts and actions (both, incidentally, by people who are arguably not even in their right minds), dissolves into a discussion of Judith Butler's work on subjectivity. While enlightening, this shift seems an enormous conclusory jump, both in size and chronology, from two or three examples.

Stoll turns his attention to politics and the public sphere as he moves into the middle decades of the seventeenth century. The trickling of literary production during the Commonwealth period will create problems for any study purporting to focus on literature. Perhaps for this reason Stoll leaves behind literature for most of the rest of the book and focuses on Milton's political writings in this interpretive framework. The three particular political events he chooses enable Stoll to hit his interpretive stride, as the liberty and constraint of individual conscience by political and religious authority were repeatedly examined and tested in the decades surrounding the Civil Wars. Stoll is insightful in tying the idea of the "knowing with" of the private conscience to Cromwell and Hobbes' efforts to untie private decisions of conscience from the public realm, and hence the public good: "In Hobbes' commonwealth, conscience cannot be private. Private conscience threatens the sovereign precisely because it has

itself become sovereign" (151). As he turns to Milton, the choice of literature is temptingly perfect but also somewhat problematic as a sole example. The discussion of Eve's self-knowledge and reflection, both before and after the fall, casts light on the individual decisions of conscience that have at the same time (in an ultimate way) private and public ramifications.

Stoll's work is not a study, but a case study with highlights. This approach could be a successful approach to this large and abstract topic, but a case study also requires a careful and justified selection of texts, especially the literary ones. Poems and plays other than the ones selected spring immediately to mind. Why not Donne, who engaged in deeply self-aware struggles of conscience in his own life, and whose poetry and prose reflect his awareness of those issues for emerging Protestantism? Why not Marlowe? *Doctor Faustus* seems in some ways the most obvious literary example of this time period. Why not Ford? *Macbeth* is not the most useful choice. While connections can be made to the Gunpowder Plot and equivocations of conscience, and Freudian ideas of the uncanny, the ties to the "Protestant conscience" and the "Protestant understanding" are thin. Why not other Shakespearean plays that seem to deal with the casuistical questions raised by Perkin's theorizing of conscience as Stoll posits it: *The Merchant of Venice*? *Measure for Measure*? Both are set in a context of Catholicism by virtue of their geographical setting, but both also seem to raise clearer questions of Stoll's phrase "knowing with" within Christian thinking: the self knowing that it is doing something and reflecting on it. Limiting the later literature to Milton is again a restrictive choice: *Paradise Lost* was *sui generis* in the Restoration field of satire and domestic comedy. Bunyan would seem to be a clear endpiece to harken back to Spenser, especially if Stoll is interested in exploring whether conscience has indeed become inchoate and something other than a subjective experience.

The book ends abruptly with Milton, and there is almost no reflection or summation of the sweeping scope of the development process suggested by the earlier chapters. The brevity of the book does not allow Stoll to examine the other factors that undoubtedly came into play in addition to the shift from scholastic theology, such as the disputes between the various early denominational splits on English

soil: "Protestant" as an umbrella term does not accurately describe the theological landscape of Britain in any part of the seventeenth century, and this is not a sufficient historical analysis to be drawing the conclusions that he does. However, the very questions that are raised by these gaps can be useful to scholars. While Stoll might have better chosen either to do more or less under this title, the book nevertheless is a fine start to further study.

Thomas Keymer, ed. *Prose Fiction in English from the Origins of Print to 1750*. Vol. 1 of *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, general editor Patrick Parrinder. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. xxxi + 637 pp. $125.00. Review by Margaret J. Oakes, Furman University.

While not the first of the series to be published, the first volume of *The Oxford History of the Novel in English* is an exhilarating and potentially seminal work. The series, now completely in print, consists of twelve volumes that extend through contemporary writing and covers Anglophone writings from Europe, Asia and the South Pacific, the Caribbean, Canada, and Africa. This volume has the challenging job of laying the groundwork for those that follow, and the contributors rethink the ways that literature that is not poetry or drama conveys the "full and authentic report of human experience" (xx) that Ian Watt did not include in his own foundational, if contested, work. The volume is divided into three sections. Part I: "Fiction in the Marketplace" includes six chapters, two on authorship, publication, and reception, and four that examine in detail snapshots of five-year periods of literary production. Part II: "Early Modern Fiction—Sources and Modes" expands both backwards and forwards in time to address, in twelve chapters, the collection of historical antecedents that comprise prose fiction in some guise. Characterizing prose fiction as "modes" is a helpful critical tool because it allows the elements that we might see as "novelistic" in writers such as Lyly, Sidney, and Bunyan to be highlighted within the genre in which they are traditionally placed. Part III: "Restoration Fiction and the Rise of the Novel" has sixteen chapters, each addressing some quite different area of prose output. The first three chapters are on narrative form and theory, and eight

following chapters cover different geographic locations or topical areas of prose production, ranging from the epistolary form and "Oriental" subject matter that might be expected, to pornography, the Irish novel, and the relationship between print fiction and theatrical production during the Restoration. The final five chapters scrutinize the "traditional" subjects of early novel study: Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding, contextualized within the previous chapters to show what was innovative and what was adapted or connected to other subject matter, genres, and formats.

Every critical work that includes the word "novel" has to respond in some fashion to (or against) Watt's *The Rise of the Novel*. The very existence of Watt's work speaks to the problematic but alluring nature of prose fiction in this period: the rich and sprawling variety that operated outside of a notion of "fiction" as we think of it in the last three centuries. Keymer and the contributors wisely do not take the contrary path of castigating Watt, but acknowledge his purpose and necessary function and the context in which Watt was writing and they do not attempt to impose a different but equally unsatisfactory systematic approach that maintains a different but potentially equally Whiggish rigidity. The contributions in this volume acknowledge that the form recognized as the "novel" is both something more than and different from the category eighteenth-century English literature of narrative realism.

The critical strategy of the essays is to circle around the idea of "novel" to create a more expansive and accurate picture. What it replaces in Watt—and those who oversimplify him—is the notion of a mid-eighteenth century "rupture" in favor of "confluence," with the connecting thread being the fact of print production and the book trade as a necessary factor for the proliferation of vernacular stories of all kinds. Paul Salzman, the foremost editor of early modern prose fiction, sets the tone by declaring that he will consider fictions from 1470–1660 not as precursors to the novel but as works significant in their own moment and distribution mechanisms. The ongoing popularity of the romance and the picaresque novel are traced through the seventeenth century, the latter ironically creating an unlikely appropriation of literature from England's political archenemy. Robert Hume goes on to attempt a catalogue of the bewildering range of true

crime, pirate stories, chapbooks, pamphlets, and supposed autobiographies of the period up to 1750, focusing on the economic aspects of printing and author compensation, the establishment of readership by assessing pricing, and the rise of lending libraries. Hume concludes expansively that "'the novel' did not exist in 1750 as twentieth-century critics constructed the novel" (44), setting the stage for the remainder of the volume to explore the intersections of textual production, historical accident, and influx of non-English subjects and genres.

The four "Cross-Sections" that follow are an inspired way to make the sheer variety of material more comprehensible, taking advantage of the extraordinary bursts of literary output in certain decades throughout the period. While the final decade of the sixteenth century is an obvious choice, the other three five-year segments of 1516–1520, 1666–1670, and 1716–1720 explore aspects other than quantity of production. The last period picks up the definitional problem asserted by Hume: Pat Rogers marks this period as the time in which novels "purport to represent the everyday experience of relatively ordinary individuals" (91), hence moving toward gathering the elements of novelistic form together. Several factors, including international wars, the English slave trade, and an increasing market for all kinds of print publications, provide the environment for elements such as psychological realism, tales of ordinary people, and the consequences of real political and social events as seen in Rogers' examples of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Love in Excess*.

The second section begins with Alexandra Gillespie tracking medieval book production to indicate reader interest: devotional texts, public and private, are joined by a surprising number of French translations in the late fifteenth century. But the Reformation created a demand for institutional religious books that was unprecedented, as well as vernacular texts and a steady stream of polemic pamphlets and books from all angles of the religious debates raging through Europe. Robert Carver shifts from process to content, taking on the onerous task of locating connections between ancient prose fictions and later French, English, and Spanish in their topoi of travel, romance, and realistic heroes, even what we might identify as anti-heroes. The other chapters in this section do not reveal any surprises in their topics, which range from romance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Helen

Moore, R. W. Maslen, and Steven N. Zwicker), to utopia, comedy, and the seemingly sui generis *Pilgrim's Progress*. The common thread in all of these chapters is a Bakhtinian heteroglossia that is the most productive way of approaching the early novel; definition gives way to describing unique features and noting where continuities exist and then stop. Occasionally the chapters engage in historical lists of texts, as with the many spin-offs from and reactions to *Don Quixote*, but this is necessary to reflect what Brean Hammond calls "the smorgasbord of novelistic possibility" (286) rather than tracing a sterile and unrealistic line of descent.

To benefit most from the third section of the volume, a reader will ideally have absorbed the background of the earlier sections. This is because Part III covers the period and the many texts that are the traditional fodder for studies of the early novel. Nicholas Hudson points out an understandable reason for thinking that eighteenth-century fiction was breaking new ground, specifically English: the authors proclaimed repeatedly that they were doing something new, with no rules tied to the past (299). Hudson, however, rejects the simplicity of realism replacing romance and notes that changing forms also required changes in aesthetic assessment and a different way of looking at genre. Tracking Part II, this section includes chapters that add pieces to the pie rather than creating a lineage: while the expected topics of the epistolary novel and satire are covered, Stuart Sherman explores the fascination with recording and presenting the interior self of Pepys, the *Spectator*, and Margaret Cavendish's selective and agenda-ridden autobiography, among others. Paul Baines addresses the obvious but sometimes elided topic of teeming realism in the form of sexuality, even pornography, in the early novel before legal action against John Cleland and others for the publication of his *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*. Other chapters bring in concerns of "Englishness" as opposed to exploration and colonialism, the Oriental world, and the differentness of the Irish, both as subject matter and as author. Suggestions of intrigue, enormous opportunity for wealth or power, and xenophobia combine with poorly disguised curiosity about the outside world to provide new novelistic possibilities for setting, exploration of the self in contrast to foreigners, and a sense of the political problems that stem from negotiating relationships without the common ground of nationality or ethnicity.

The final chapters in this section are then poised to consider the usual authorial cast of characters with new depth, taking Watt's position for its value but freely incorporating prior influences and circumstances to flesh out the picture of the novel form. As J. Paul Hunter says in exploring Defoe's role as a journalist in his career as a fiction writer, he "remains elusive in many ways because he does not conform to formal narrative expectations before or since, going on his own unpredictable narrative journeys" (520). Disagreements about the fascination with *Pamela* are framed by Thomas Lockwood within a "crucial preoccupation with character" (551), giving rise to the narrative voice that directs, challenges, and sometimes perturbs readers through novels such as *Clarissa*, *Tom Jones*, and the host of stories of the life and adventures of a bewildering cast of characters published in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The bibliography of the volume is as exhaustive as should be expected from a critical offering in a series such as this. Tellingly, Keymer does not attempt to divide the sources topically in any way, maintaining the volume's emphasis on the novel as a polyglot rather than a form that can be broken down into a taxonomy.

The contributors to this volume all face the challenge of having to decide when to use the word "novel," in terms of form, content, and chronology. Each of them expresses this tension, sometimes with a bold statement of "novel-ness" or a more hesitant approach so as not to apply misleading labels prior to the mid-eighteenth century. Like Watt, they reveal the richness of prose fiction output on all levels: the awareness of generic specificity can cause either a desire to sort and label, or diffidence in applying just one (or any) label. This volume should inform any study of prose writing across several centuries and is easily accessible even to the advanced undergraduate student. It will be a source of reference as well as further research and formulation of all kinds of prose fiction and nonfiction.

Sarah Hogan. *Other Englands: Utopia, Capital, and Empire in an Age of Transition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018. xii + 256 pp. $60.00. Review by Joseph P. Ward, Utah State University.

The central observation animating Sara Hogan's thoughtful new book is that early modern English works of social criticism, rather than being primarily nostalgic, frequently imagined that a better future could be found, either within or beyond England's shores. The quickening pace with which market forces undermined established social relations was both cause and consequence of the broadening of English engagement with oceanic exploration and mercantile endeavors. Utopian authors recognized the shifting economic and cultural terrain on which they stood, and they embraced the change they hoped would lead to progress in social relations.

Hogan grounds her argument in a reading of More's *Utopia* that reconciles the New Historicist and the Marxist treatments of the text. She locates the cultural power of this early sixteenth-century work in its ability to look both backward and forward, to engage with—as it observes—the changing nature of social and economic relations in England as well as the emergence of a capitalist world system. For Hogan, *Utopia* is "fundamentally a book about pronounced socio-spatial transformations, past, present, and future" (69). This emphasis on disjuncture is most obvious in the decision of fictional King Utopos to create an island by ordering a fifteen-mile wide trench to be dug across a peninsula that he had recently conquered. This spectacular undertaking, made possible through the coerced labor of vanquished people, would have struck More's readers as an example of the power of men to remake the world in their image. In this way, Hogan emphasizes, More's text is a striking statement of the role of (elite) human agency in ushering in the age of capitalism—there was nothing inevitable, or divinely directed, about this break with the past.

Islands often serve as metaphors for separation, but for early modern authors they also could be viewed as way stations for oceanic voyages, thereby making the distance between continents easier to traverse. This duality is evident in Hogan's reading of the island of Bensalem in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, which she sees as the manifestation of a fantasy of an emergent, early modern capitalist thought, with sci-

ence being the special provenance of a self-empowered elite bent on exploiting knowledge in pursuit of their own desires. Bacon's island is a sanctuary, a refuge from which engagement with the outside world could be manipulated with careful calculation. From Hogan's perspective, Bensalem is "both of and apart from the world" in a way that "negotiates anxieties about a burgeoning world system" by benefiting from "global relations without actually participating in them" (74). Although it is profoundly a fantasy about accumulation, *New Atlantis* also presents an ideal of the nation-state in its secure borders, its boundedness highlighting the importance of material control to an age of increasingly precise calculation: how can the value of a nation be determined without it being firmly bounded?

As desirable as boundedness may have been, it collided headlong with the ambition for colonial expansion. Here, Hogan reads Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* as a utopian text because it imagines a reconstituted Irish society built upon English principles for the purpose of promoting English enterprise. Creatively borrowing from Naomi Klein's critique of neoliberalism following World War II, Hogan suggests in this chapter's title that Spenser's text reflected the sensibility of a "Tudor Shock Doctrine" in which the violent subjugation of Ireland would pave the way toward a promising future for the Irish as well as their English masters. Unabashedly aimed at promoting a new form of social stability in pursuit of commercial prosperity, *A View* "openly gives voice to the goal of replacing Irish and Anglo-Irish lords with improving landlords, eradicating customary claims to property through extra-economic force" (110). In its view of custom as an obstacle to progress, it serves as a participant-observer in the transition to a new stage of historical development.

Hogan's final two chapters focus on utopian works that project alternative forms of social relations to those found in early modern England. Isabella Whitney's "Wyll and Testament" offers a "future-oriented, urban, commercial ideal" while Aemilia Lanyer's "Description of Cooke-ham" represents a "more nostalgic, enclosed rural retreat of aristocratic repose" (138). These female poets help Hogan to identify a significant strand of utopian writing among those who see the ideal society not in a far-away land but rather in a form of existence that is inaccessible to those without standing and indepen-

dent, economic means. She then turns to Gabriel Plattes's *Macaria* and Milton's *Areopagitica*, which offer challenging critiques of the power relations in mid-seventeenth-century England as well as those found in More's *Utopia*. Unlike More, however, they were writing in an age of inflamed political tension and ideological ferment, so these authors were engaging in debates about how a commonwealth should be organized that had the potential to be far more than theoretical exercises. Ultimately, for Hogan, Milton's "restless, mutable representation of truth may itself be understood as a testament to the emerging bourgeois ideology" present throughout his work (187).

And yet Hogan does not give Milton the last word. Instead, she uses the conclusion of her book to shine a light on the radical vision, and continued relevance, of Gerrard Winstanley. She insists that his *The Law of Freedom* "continues to possess a utopian function, educating our desire for a world without walls, classes, starvation, and violence" (190). She then notes how today's students who encounter early modern Utopian writings are inspired to look at contemporary issues in new ways, opening up the possibility that one path toward a brighter future would involve drawing inspiration from early modern texts rather than by following the guidance of "elites, and the capitalist state, to address the needs of the dispossessed, the jobless, the ill, the vagrant, and other precarious or marginalized populations" (191). Perhaps, after nearly four hundred years, Winstanley's time has finally arrived.

Hogan is skilled at interweaving her criticism with discussions of work by other scholars; very clearly, she sees her research as expanding upon and offering modifications to an established field of analysis. This approach makes for an erudite work that will benefit advanced students in Renaissance literature as well as established scholars. Compelling as her argument may be, Hogan's analysis at times rests needlessly heavily on sweeping generalities concerning the economy and society of early modern England. She is adept in discussing well-established, theoretical considerations of the emergence of capitalism—the works of Robert Brenner and Immanuel Wallerstein seem especially influential here—but much less comfortable engaging with the recent findings of scholars such as (among many others) Paul Griffiths, Alex Shepard, and Patrick Wallis, whose

research sheds valuable light on the lived experience of social and economic change at the level of the community. Similarly, although Hogan is careful to assert that "early English utopias, taken as a genre, narrate and reimagine the social and spatial transformations of the new world of emergent capitalism, though their politics, forms, and intentions are far from singular" (149), in her analysis non-material forms of human interaction, such as religion, are too readily assigned a subordinate station. It is very difficult to determine whether Hogan thinks anyone other than the highly literate authors she discusses had agency in early modern England.

It is certainly true that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries comprised, as the book's subtitle suggests, an "age of transition," but so, too, did the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A relative lack of concern to identify with greater precision the nature and timing of the transition in question casts a fuzzy shadow across the sharper contours of Hogan's research. This is especially the case when it comes to the function of culture in the lives of the non-elite, who seem to huddle just beyond the reach of Hogan's vision.

Andrea Walkden. *Private Lives Made Public: The Invention of Biography in Early Modern England*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2016. x + 206 pp. + 6 illus. $70.00. Review by Tanya Caldwell, Georgia State University.

Typically, the invention of biography in early modern England is associated with James Boswell and Samuel Johnson in the eighteenth century. In this important study, *Private Lives Made Public*, the title reflecting her fundamental notion of "biographical populism" or the impact of published lives on revealing and shaping the individual as a social force, Andrea Walkden shifts the parameters for thinking about biography as a genre (14). Focusing on the political and social shifts engendered by the civil war and Interregnum, Walkden demonstrates the broader, less hagiographical processes at work already in the life writing of such as "John Milton, Izaak Walton, Samuel Clarke, John Gauden, Thomas Fuller, John Aubrey, Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clar-

endon, and Daniel Defoe" (5). Two of the four chapters focus on what Walkden calls "pseudo" biography. Her focus highlights the creative power of the writer in each case and his sense that the private life of the individual as written for the public can shape the public sphere.

As a foundation for her argument, Walkden explores afresh the use of the term "biography." As John Dryden used it during the Restoration, descriptively, in his *Life* of Plutarch, he effectively prescribes "the features of an identifiable genre" (15). The importance of his distinction between "biography and other kinds of historical writing" lies in his anticipation "so brilliantly [of] the now classic account of the intellectual life of the period developed by Jürgen Habermas, in which an idea of public reason comes to replace the ostentation of sovereign power" (14). The key element of Dryden's simultaneous backward-facing and prescient view of a new genre, Walkden observes, is his view of its action "plotted" horizontally rather than vertically: the pageantry of life is less its purpose than the suffering so that "the beholder discovers that the singled-out personhood of a great man belongs for better or worse, with the mass of universal humanity" (17).

Walkden examines the word as it comes into Restoration printed lives, suggesting that "biography" possibly "carried a distinctly royalist inflection" (19). Her book begins with two examples of lives that were products of the political climate. *Abel redivivus; or, The dead yet speaking* issued in late 1651 or early 1652, reprinted, as Samuel Clarke pointed out, "verbatim out of my first Part of *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, and divers more, with little variation" (1). This was in the tradition, Walkden remarks, of "Foxe's martyrology or Eusebius's ecclesiastical history" (2). Ten years later, in 1662, Thomas Fuller, the "editor-compiler" of *Abel redivivus*, published anonymously *The History of the Worthies in England*, which Walkden describes as a "county-by-county description of all the notable people throughout England's history" (2). These two works, she observes, are more notable for their differences than their similarities, as the latter can be seen less in the tradition of the ecclesiastical lives and more as a "precursor to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB)" started in 1885 (2). Published as it is, during the Interregnum, *Abel redivivus* assumes the centralizing power of a polity and functions as an "established church" in bringing together lives that create tradition and reverence (4).

The first chapter juxtaposes Charles I's *Eikon Basilike* and John Milton's response to it, *Eikonklastes*, as Walkden demonstrates how both in effect affirm the age of individualism engendered by the political sea change that accompanied the civil war and fate of Charles I. The first of the so-called pseudo biographies that Walkden addresses, *Eikon Basilike,* appeared, as she notes, "within hours of the king's execution on January 30, 1649," and became an immediate "best seller" (29). Walkden later remarks, that if readers were able to attain a copy in bookstalls, "they may well have found … right alongside it" Milton's *The Tenure of King's and Mag*istrates which went on sale on or before February 13, during the first wave of the *Eikon's* success," as a precursor to the defense in *Eikonklastes* of the popular right to depose a monarch (45). At this crucial moment, Walkden posits, political opposition "calcified," emerging in the literary as the "ideological standoff between Parliament and monarchy was now embedded within a formal distinction between arguing an impersonal claim and telling a personal story" (45). As a text editorially structured in stages and speaking the "common language" of the book of Psalms (36), *Eikon* ultimately affirms an "individualism" that "is affirmed by sacred kingship" (38). Walkden goes beyond existing discussions of *Eikon* in arguing that its fictive elements were not divorced from a political agenda but rather fulfilled it (34). The last part of the chapter examines the *de casibus* (or fall of princes) motif in Milton and others finally to demonstrate Milton's "gesturing" toward a popular version of the hero's story in the *de casibus* legend—unsuccessfully (59).

The focus of the second chapter, Izaak Walton's book of *Lives*, was constantly revised and enlarged between 1653 and 1676 as *The Compleat Angler*. It is important for its prominence, its manipulation of biographical and historical structures, and as the product of a tradesman. Calling this chapter "A Servant's Life," Walkden recognizes Walton's Anglican authority amongst the Restoration governing class. She argues, however, that in his presentation of lives appealing to readers outside the elite, in various ways, he "repoliticiz[ed] biographical discourse" (92).

Chapter Three shifts this focus on the more "modest" and "familiar" to John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, composed between 1680 and 1692 (96). Walkden's argument here rests on the life in miniature: most

of Aubrey's *Lives* were "no more than three or four paragraphs and the shortest just two words in length" (96). As a founding member of the Royal Society, Aubrey's approach and subject interests were scientific, and his *Lives*, as Walkden observes, were presented as part of a "collecting culture, material objects to be examined under the closed conditions of friendship and mutual interest, rather than as part of a publicly circulating discourse" (107). Aubrey also stressed the importance of mingling across classes in his praise of the London coffee houses. As Aubrey prepared Milton's life—and Milton is a constant presence in this book as manipulator of the political instability and biographical subject—his concern was consequently not with the public figure, the "product of ideological clashes," but rather with the private man and his daily affairs (113). This "minuting" of lives is epitomized in Aubrey's sketch of Robert Hooke, who, Walkden argues, influenced the biographer's thinking in laying out specimens for inspection and inventory.

The "pseudo" biographies of the prolific and versatile early eighteenth-century writer, journalist, and novelist are the foundation of the last chapter that Walkden calls "Parallel Lives." Here she examines Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (1720) alongside Edward Hyde's sprawling biographical narrative. As an eighteenth-century responder to seventeenth-century politics and fictionalized biography, Walkden argues, Defoe undertakes through his royalist Cavalier, in particular, "a joint interrogation of the literary form and of the historical events that had occasioned its rise to prominence" (131). Within this discussion of the "flexible apology for Stuart monarchy" that underscores the book as a whole, Walkden momentarily invokes—through another critic—Aphra Behn's presentation of "inalieanable majesty" in a "romance ideal" through her *Oroonoko* (1688) (139). Behn's fictionalized memoir by a Royalist appealing constantly to broad audiences and manipulating generic conventions may well have been worth dwelling upon at length to diversify the chapter and the book.

Walkden ends with Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon's, *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, which was composed during the civil war period and after the Restoration, both of which were periods of exile for Hyde. The lives comprising this vast narrative, Walkden

argues, offer an essentially "anti-heroic characterology" that upends or indicts aristocratic politics (150). In their evocation and disruption of classical antecedents, like Milton's, Hyde's portraits disrupt history in their anti-heroism, offering no explanation for rebellion. Walkden observes that while "Clarendon was still writing from within a culture of biography that had eclipsed open debate and the accepted protocols of political argument" while Defoe, by contrast, with his "fictionalized biographies" of Crusoe and the Cavalier, was "writing from outside it" (159). The resulting historicization of "sociopolitical conditions" is that the "national tale" is now "inarguably" a "personal one" (159).

Walkden proceeds in part by close examination of the language and grammatical structures of the Lives she discusses. She maps carefully how Aubrey's depictions of James Harrington, Thomas Hobbes, and John Denham, for example, echo Hooke's procedure in his scientific descriptions as both practice "minuting" of samples (121). Similarly, she notes the structure of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon's, *History of the Rebellion* with its "death of favorites" framing the "vast narrative" in order to present "recent history through the lens of biography" (149). Walkden also observes Hyde's grammar in a passage on the warring sides. Having quoted the passage in question on "anti-heroic characterology" she observes, "Balanced clauses draw up the future battle lines, diagnosing the split psychology, not as we might expect, the divided political sympathies, of the English people. A single semicolon separates their orderly ranks from the ensuing spectacle, when all demarcations break down and the individual becomes indistinguishable, 'like so many atoms'" (150).

As a self-declared return to traditional scholarship, this is an important study in re-thinking the public and political function of the many lives that appeared during the seventeenth century and the beginnings of modern biography. Due to its *modus operandi*, Walkden's book is canonical and male-centric in its focus. Her argument about "biographical populism" with its emphasis on generic dexterity and political inclusion opens up ways of thinking about such central but elusive writers as Margaret Cavendish and Aphra Behn, who are often, as here, overlooked in discussions of biography and its relation to political shifts and generic experimentation. Amidst the continuing discussions of life writing, Walkden's study is valuable in anchoring

biography as a modern genre in the political and social dialectic of the mid-seventeenth century.

Emile L. Bergmann and Stacey Schlau, eds. *The Routledge Research Companion to the Works of Sor Juana Inés De La Cruz*. London: Routledge, 2017. xxi + 320 pp. + 6 illus. $235. Review by Patricia M. García, The University of Texas at Austin.

This volume in the *Routledge Research Series* is designed for the scholar interested in Sor Juana studies who would benefit from both historical contexts of the ways in which Sor Juana's life and works have been analyzed and debated as well as a discussion of current trends and future directions for such research. Bergmann and Schlau begin their introduction by describing Sor Juana, the seventeenth-century nun and poetess of Mexico, as "nun, rebel, genius, poet, persecuted intellectual, and proto-feminist" (ix). Such a description speaks also to how Sor Juana has been studied, presented, and transformed as a historical figure and author whose life, at times, overshadows her works. In a telling footnote at the end of the introduction, the editors comment, "what is authentic about Sor Juana is not the anecdotes, but rather her work" (xx). By analyzing the field of Sor Juana studies with this precept in mind, the editors present questions of gender, nationalism, transnationalism, identity, interdisciplinary approaches, and popular culture as they are applied to her life and her works. While literary approaches dominate the field and, as they acknowledge, their own focus, they argue for the richness of considering other fields, including creative responses and comparative studies.

Part 1: "Contexts" speaks less to the biographical data about Sor Juana (noted in the introduction, including discussion of the accuracies and mythmaking surrounding her life story) and more to the historical and intellectual milieu, which helped to develop Sor Juana as a writer, and to which she contributed as well. Alejandro Cañeque's "The Empire and Mexico City: Religious, Political, and Social Institutions of a Transatlantic Enterprise" utilizes Sor Juana's visual work, a triumphal arch over the Mexico City cathedral designed to welcome the arrival of the new viceroy in 1680. Her work on this

project reflects the importance of the viceroy system in Mexico City at this time and also shows the patron relationships Sor Juana, like other writers, held with the government. Moreover, it demonstrates Cañeque's larger argument that citizens of New Spain "saw themselves as inhabitants of a polity that was larger than the viceroy of New Spain" (10), thus questioning a view of Sor Juana and her work as separate from imperial politics and identity. Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel's essay "The Creole Intellectual Project: Creating the Baroque Archive" complicates this idea by noting how creole identity, that is individuals of European descent born in the Americas, sparked some sense of a "distinct American identity" that lead to both celebratory discourses and, eventually, revolution and independence. Speaking more directly to Sor Juana's written works and providing a thoughtful reading of her use of both Spanish and Nahuatl, Martínez-San Miguel also returns to the triumphal arch, noting that while the companion arch utilized Aztec cosmology, Sor Juana's use of Roman demonstrates these conflicting identities she, like other citizens of New Spain, worked to inhabit. The Baroque aesthetic, with its emphasis on "representation of a diversity of voices, ethnicities, and ways of knowing that establish an interesting dialogue with imperial centers of power" (19) is a fitting lens with which to read Sor Juana's interrogation of her multiple identities as Catholic, creole, woman, and writer. Stephanie Kirk takes on this discussion of gender in the final essay in this section entitled "The Gendering of Knowledge in New Spain: Enclosure, Women's Education, and Writing," beginning with examples from *Autodefensa espiritual* (*Spiritual Self-Defense,* 1681) in which Sor Juana famously defends her education, seen unfit for women by her confessor, as part of her work towards spiritual salvation. This argument for women's agency is what has lead many feminist and gender scholars to examine her work, and Kirk presents a useful and critical overview of such scholarship, ending with an acknowledgement that any study of her work must also consider the intersection of gender and knowledge within sites of knowledge production, such as the convent system, and how that affects the work produced. Taken together, these three essays help provide an understanding of the world of New Spain that produced Sor Juana in ways that invite critical discussion about how she presents this world.

Part II: "Reception History" speaks to the volume's strengths: its treatment of the interdisciplinary nature of the field of Sor Juana studies. Mónica Díaz's essay "Seventeenth-Century Dialogues: Transatlantic Reading of Sor Juana" offers a comprehensive review of scholars working in this area, focusing on gender and ethnicity as an essential component of this scholarship. Martha Lilia Tenorio's "Readings from the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries: Hagiography and Nationalism" tracks Sor Juana's reputation through the responses to the published works in her lifetime and beyond, noting the risks this has for those critics who ask her to be the standard bearer for their representative issues (feminist, nationalist, victim/hero of Catholic hierarchy, indigenous). As the section moves to "Twentieth-Century Readings: Schons, Pfandl, and Paz" by Marie-Cécile Bénassy-Berling, we again see the transatlantic nature of the field by focusing on these three important scholars who hail from the United States, Germany, and Spain respectively. In the 1920s, Dorothy Schons asserted a feminist view of Sor Juana as an accomplished writer and thinker of her age. Unfortunately, an alternative view of Sor Juana put forward by Ludwig Pfandl in the 1930s read Sor Juana's passion for learning and writing as "neurotic" and an example of "feminine Oedipus complex," resulting in disorganized and at times narcissistic and inferior writing (56). Tenorios denounces such a view, much as the field has. The great Mexican writer Octavio Paz told Sor Juana's story in his 1982 book *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o Las Trampas de la Fe* to great acclaim for his extensive research and storytelling style. Its place within Paz's canon is unsure, but Tenorio sees its value as evidence of Paz's love for his subject.

Amanda Powell's "Passionate Advocate: Sor Juana, Feminisms, and Sapphic Lovers" reviews both feminist and lesbian critiques of her life and work, always aware of the issues in conflating the two, especially in a contemporary use of the terms. Isabel Gómez's "Translations of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Ideology and Interpretation" close reads various translations of her work to view the ideological framework of the period of each translation, noting that we can learn much about Sor Juana and her reception through such an analysis. J. Vanessa Lyon's "'My Original, A Woman': Copies, Originals, and Sor Juana's Iconic Portraits" views her portraits as a fashioning and even self-fashioning

of her image, one that can be read much as her poetic works and can benefit from similar feminist and cross-cultural critical lenses. The last essay, Emily Hind's "Contemporary Mexican Sor Juanas: Artistic, Popular, and Scholarly" presents re-imaginings of Sor Juana, especially as she is held as both a Mexican and Chicano/a icon, a reminder of Sor Juana's ever-evolving legacy.

Part III: "Interpretations and Debates about the Works" reviews criticism of Sor Juana's prose, verse, theater, and public art. The prose section includes Marie-Cécile Bénassy-Berling's "The Afterlife of a Polemic: Conflicts and Discoveries Regarding Sor Juana's Letters" and Grady C. Wray's "Challenging Theological Authority: The *Carta Antenagórica/Crisis Sobre un Sermón* and the *Repuesta a Sor Filotea";* both examine Sor Juana's famous response to Antonio Vierira's sermon and subsequent reply to "Sor Filoeta" (actually the Bishop of Puebla) who critiqued her argument and urged her to return to a more serious religious life. The response has been viewed as an early feminist manifesto, and both of these scholars work to provide more contextual information about the debate, its publication, its contemporary reception, and its reception today. The verse section contains four essays: Emile L. Bergmann's "Sor Juana's Love Poetry: A Woman's Voice in a Man's Genre"; Rocío Quispe-Agoni's "Sor Juana's *Romances*: Fame, Contemplation, and Celebration"; Luis F. Avilés' "Philosophical Sonnets: Through a Baroque Lens"; and Alessandra Luiselli's "*Primero Sueño*: Heresy and Knowledge." Bergmann and Quispe-Agoni examine the sonnet and romance forms as moments where Sor Juana engaged with traditional forms in non-traditional ways, especially as the desired subject or dedicatee of these works is often female. Avilés and Luiselli analyze her more philosophical verse forms, seeing both the sonnets and the longer romance as indebted to Baroque style and forms but, as with her romantic works, adapting such forms to reflect her own intellectual inquiries as a thinker, nun, and poet. The final section on her works examines theater and public art and is the longest of the three, encompassing six essays, demonstrating the increased attention to her public works. Verónica Grossi ("Writing for the Public Eye: The Theological Production, Church Spectacle" and State Sponsored Art [the *Neptuno Alegórico*]"), Mario A. Ortiz ("Sor Juana as Lyricist and Musical Theorist"), and Ivonne del Valle ("*Loa* to *El Divino Narcisco*:

The Costs of Critiquing the Conquest") review her use of allegory as a way of honoring and critiquing those political and religious leaders whose influence in her world provided the space she occupied but also limited it. Linda Egan ("The *Autos*: Theology on Stage"), Susana Hernández Araico ("*Los Empeños de Una Casa*: Staging Gender"), and Guillermo Schmidhuber de la Mora ("*La Segunda Celestina*, a Recently Discovered Play, and *Amor es más Laberinto*") further these arguments, but consider the transatlantic nature of her writing, especially in how she depicts Mexico/New Spain to audiences straddling both worlds.

The final section, Part V: "Future Directions for Research," includes one essay: "Understudied Aspects of Canonical Works and Potential Approaches to Little-Studied Works" by George Antony Thomas. Thomas sets an agenda for the future of Sor Juana studies while recognizing some of its unique challenges and opportunities. First, the vast and diverse number of texts she produced in her life and the multiple approaches to studying them can, at times, be overwhelming and has lead to more intensive studies of fewer selected works. Some of this results from critical judgments of her more traditional verse forms or occasional pieces that see them as too ceremonial or even "uninspired" (261). As the essays in this collection show, more attention is being paid to less-canonical works, and Thomas argues that much could be learned in seeing these works in dialogue with her canonical texts as well as other writings from the period. As the field continues to embrace feminist, hemispherical, and transnational approaches, Thomas argues that it should also pay attention to her use of genre and occasional works to reflect the intellectual history of the period. The volume, I believe, heeds this call in its thoughtful organization and representation of the field in its extensive reviews of past scholarship and its influence on the interpretation and reception of Sor Juana's works. New arguments are presented in many of the essays, but with a sense of a challenge to the reader of this research companion to put these ideas forward. The volume is geared to scholars familiar with her works but likely newer to the field. As such, it is especially useful to graduate students and emerging researchers. Overall, *The Routledge Research Companion to the Works of Sor Juana Inés De La Cruz* is a well-researched, carefully organized, and thoughtful analysis of the life and work of its subject.

Helen Vella Bonavita. *Illegitimacy and the National Family in Early Modern England*. London and New York: Routledge, 2017. ix + 196 pp. $140. Review by Renée Bricker, University of North Georgia.

Helen Vella Bonavita has explored in previous works the meanings and significance of birth status in early modern England, both literally within a family and metaphorically. In this fascinating study, she focuses on the intersections of political and dramatic discourses on il/legitimacy to argue that more than a reflection of socio-economic realities, bastardy serves as a metaphor in drama to express sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century concerns about the monarch and the nation (166). To demonstrate this, she analyses the figure of the bastard in three plays by William Shakespeare, *King John*, *Richard II*, and *King Lear*, to produce an analysis that reveals connections between literal birth status and that of the nation. This is a discursive exploration of the mutability of the functions of bastardy using interdisciplinary methods that draw upon literature, history, and anthropology. *Illegitimacy and the National Family in Early Modern England* is arranged chronologically which allows investigation of the historical conditions of the protagonists, Kings John and Richard II, while connecting effectively to early modern dramatic and political discourse. *King Lear* is located in contemporary debates about a newly unified kingdom and fears of losing national identity (9). Bonavita argues that "the dynastic conflicts that appear [in the plays are] articulated through metaphors of genealogy and bastardy" (37).

In the Introduction, Bonavita situates her work within the extensive scholarship on England's national identity and il/legitimacy. Building on previous Cultural Materialist and New Historicist approaches to reading Shakespearean drama, she adds historical formalism (3-2). In doing so, she regards each play's connection with England's past and the genealogies evoked in the dramas themselves with particular attention to "the rhetoric of personal and national identity, and the metaphor of il/legitimacy" (3). It is that metaphor, she argues, which effectively connects the past to create a national identity in the present while simultaneously revealing contemporary social and political concerns (3). Her departure point is an assertion by early twentieth-

century anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski, that distinguished between the biological and sociological importance of paternity as a binding link between child and society (ii).

Each of the dramatic works Bonavita examines expresses dynastic conflict and in this way acts as a critique that exposes political anxieties. An illegitimate child disrupts the family household; the illegitimacy of the monarch or heir threatens to destabilize a nation. Political discourse from the period assumed the family as a model for the state, in what Bonavita explains is a vertical representation of social hierarchy. The father is in charge of the household as the king is in charge of the nation. This construction functions on a horizontal level as well, connecting individuals to one another in a national family. England, Bonavita asserts, was both nation and family hence both required a genealogy (87).

Chapter one explores the meanings of the word *bastard*, including its connotation with evil in sixteenth-and seventeenth-century drama to reveal its relationship to English social stability and national identity (13). Alison Findlay's extensive study of early modern drama equates bastardy, female sexuality, and subversion and Bonavita expands this to suggest that il/legitimacy is also a challenge to patriarchy revealing the cleavages of paternal political discourse (14). This is particularly relevant for the obvious reason of Henry VIII's canny Acts of Succession. Though these did not restore legitimate birth status to the King's two daughters, these did restore Mary and Elizabeth to the line of succession. Moreover, Bonavita asserts that these expose Henry's innovation to allow legally illegitimate daughters to legitimately inherit, promising the allegiance of the English people to them. Indeed, Bonavita tells us that in declaring the Acts of Succession, Henry made irrelevant the presumed reliance on paternity to confirm legitimacy. Indeed the king alone, by his innovative measure, was the sole parent, hence the sole arbiter of legitimacy (30). It is within this historical maelstrom that Bonavita pulls us to examine questionable birth status. She amplifies that fact in a carefully nuanced reading of the rhetorical uses of bastardy to reveal a relationship to English social and national identity.

In chapter two, Bonavita takes up the interpretations of King John in three sixteenth-century English plays, John Bale's *King Johan*, George Peele's *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, and William Shake-

speare's *King John*, to place them in the context of religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants. Bonavita asserts that King John had importance as a figure of Protestant national identity and legitimate succession (44). Moreover, she effectively connects Elizabeth to King John by noting that each survived conspiracies and invasion or its threat. Her central thesis is that illegitimacy functions in the dramas of King John to "reflect the loss of national identity [and] disintegration of familial ties" (46). Further, she suggests that Shakespeare's rendering of the king presents a commentary on "kinship and kingship" relevant to Elizabeth's uncertain successor. This is buttressed by her observation and discussion of the importance of genealogy to define oneself, or in the case of (re)writing the past, a nation (51).

The Bastard Faulconbridge, in Shakespeare's play, is representative of John's imperiled kingship because it conjoins family disintegration with national destruction (46). Bonavita avoids conflating Elizabeth's succession reductively with that of King John. Instead, she argues for a broader dramatic treatment of what qualities constitute a monarch or nation to conclude that "Kinship rather than Kingship" is critical to analyzing dramas about the monarch and state (76).

While with *King John* Bonavita takes up the personified role of illegitimate birth in the Bastard, the third chapter explores its use as rhetorical strategy in *Richard II.* In this analysis attention is drawn from the language of il/legitimacy and parenting to authorship. The rhetorical strategy of being fatherless "illustrates the extent to which the *topos* of il/legitimacy could operate as a powerful discourse," to articulate anxieties about social disunity and indeterminate national identity (90). Bonavita highlights the particular challenges for producing history that confronted efforts by authors in the sixteenth century to produce a history of continuity for England. Using the example of Polydore Vergil, she explains that illegitimacy was used to disparage his credibility as an author, while his ethnicity as the son of Italian parents meant he was not legitimately English. Consequently, his unflattering history of England was rejected as an illegitimate version of England's past. Indeed, citing Andrew Escobedo, Bonavita points out that the defining developments that distinguished sixteenth century England, especially the foundation and independence of the Church of England, were each breaks with the national, particularly

Roman Catholic past (88). In response to these fractures, or historical discontinuities, early modern histories endeavored to create a past both unbroken and glorious. By contrast, Polydore Vergil's dismissal of King Arthur as fairy tale combined with his attacks of Geoffrey of Monmouth earned hostilities that dismissed him both as an historian, who plagiarized making himself father to others' works and disloyal Englishman. Together these show, Bonavita says, that Vergil was illegitimate or "a cuckoo in the national, rather than the family nest" (89–90). Nations require genealogy; Vergil's history destabilized that with resultant marginalization (90).

In this analysis, *Richard II* serves to draw our attention to the language of il/legitimacy and parenting to authorship. Bonavita explores the dynamics between Richard, Bolingbroke, and Gaunt to demonstrate the polyvalent meanings and uses of legitimacy, or its lack. Richard is legitimately monarch, yet his actions suggest he is an illegitimate king, while Bolingbroke endeavors in vain to reclaim his patrimony and his legitimacy. Like *King Lear*, the fragility of kinship is a recurrent theme. Indeed, Bonavita argues persuasively that for Shakespeare the family is political; because masculine identity depended upon the continuity of the paternal link through generations demonstrated through inheritance among other things, the family was critical to maintain. Thus, using the example of Gaunt's refusal to oppose his king's banishment of his son and his unwillingness to avenge his brother's death, Bonavita suggests the paternal connection is broken. The consequences of that is the destabilization of "paternal connection and places the entire principle of legitimacy at risk" (99).

In summation Bonavita suggests that history is genealogy in Shakespeare's play writing that a broken history is a broken genealogy, "[t]hus bastards become emblems of national disintegration," that can be rewritten and changed (116). She points to Henry VIII's Act of Succession as proof.

When turning to *King Lear*, in chapter four, Bonavita acknowledges the extensive scholarship on that play. However, she scrutinizes its specific context relative to the perceived problems of the naturalization of English and Scottish subjects, and the thorny question of the *ante-nati*, that is, those born in Scotland prior to James' accession to the English throne (123). *Lear*, she writes in agreement with other

scholars, should be read in the "context of this very topical concern (124). This chapter is the culmination of the arguments made before it, as it hones in on the specific problem of using familial language and categories as mirrors of the state.

Henry Petowe's poem illustrates that Elizabeth and James refashioned their kinship to one of maternal and filial devotion. This worked to mark a kind of restoration of the correct balance of national natural legitimacy, of inheritance, and identity (128–29). Correspondence between Elizabeth and James confirms this. Bonavita shows the gradual manipulation of the language of family specifically James' use of "maternal-filial metaphor," in order to seem more closely related to Elizabeth than he was (127).

Once James VI became England's king as well as Scotland's, his fervent project was to unite the kingdoms. He deployed marital language to describe his relationship to the nation; he stood as husband, while Scotland stood as wife; Elizabeth used similar linguistic tropes but because she envisioned a conciliar marriage, Bonavita says, her style allowed room for counsel to the monarch (130). Following the language of marriage, James saw himself as father to his subjects and as father/king he had the power to create denizens through naturalization, something of particular social anxiety (136) This capacity to create children, as it were, in the national family in particular is a theme Bonavita notes in each of the plays she considers. It is the monarch's power to legitimize or delegitimize at that is at issue. It was amidst these conditions of destabilized national identities that *King Lear* emerged (139). Bonavita suggests then that this play can be read as a response to conditions of threatened invasion of England by Scottish aliens threatening the English way of life. Viewed through this lens, she says, *King Lear* can be seen to address all of these issues in its "treatment of the monarchy, family, and inheritance through the trope of il/legitimacy" (139).

Despite an introduction that at times can seem more an earnest defense of its subject, this book makes a compelling argument that bastardy is threatening because it exposes the vulnerability of national identity. This volume would be of interest to scholars and upper level students alike across a range of disciplines. Meticulously researched, *Illegitimacy and the National Family* adds to our understanding of the

rhetorical uses of the language of family and household in early modern political discourse because it draws our attention to the outsider.

Rosemary O'Day. *An Elite Family in Early Modern England: The Temples of Stowe and Burton Dassett, 1570-1656*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018. xvii + 499 + 12 illustrations + 13 tables + 6 Genealogies. $120.00. Review by Ty M. Reese, University of North Dakota.

From 1603 to 1637, Hester and Sir Thomas Temple, 1st Baronet of Stowe, ruled over their family. It is this family, including the time before their assumption of control and then after their deaths, that Rosemary O'Day intimately investigates within this work. By closely focusing upon the family, especially the 'dynamics' within it, O'Day expands our understanding of how elite families in Early Modern England interacted and how, on occasions, family affairs, often through the legal system, became public.

To understand the Temple family, and the relationship between Hester and Sir Thomas, O'Day organizes the work into five parts that each examine specific themes within this microhistory of the Temple family. Part one, which consists of three chapters, provides an introduction to the family while relating the family life of this 'better sort' to larger historiographical themes and debates. The first chapter constitutes a general introduction to the family while the second focuses upon the myriad connections that defined their status and allowed the family to grow and prosper in the period under study. An important aspect here, and throughout the study, concerns the Temple family's, and especially Sir Thomas Temple's, role as patrons. Throughout the work, we learn a lot about the patron dominates while the various Temple clients remains on the periphery. The final, and very brief, chapter of part one demonstrates how the Temple family utilized inheritance laws to not only maintain the family but also how the family used them to protect female family members, a subject to which O'Day pays particular attention. From this introduction to the Temple family, the book moves to the partnerships that affected the family during the time under study. Within this, like the rest of the

book, O'Day diligently works to show how all members of the family, especially Hester Temple, were involved in these larger connections. While English society and laws were patriarchal, O'Day skillfully demonstrates how women could maneuver and effectively operate within them. The first chapter provides an understanding of the place of Hester within the family and how her relationship with her husband worked and developed. The next chapter explores Hester's role while Sir Thomas was injured. This expanded Hester's responsibilities within the family as she took on some of her husband's responsibilities but this also created complications especially within the household. The section ends by examining Hester as a widow which, while it was a role she was prepared for, also created new challenges as O'Day demonstrates. Especially important here was that as widow her power and authority within the family changed. The final chapter places the life of Hester within the larger historiographical debates concerning elite women.

After thoroughly surveying the relationship between wife and husband and the fluid nature of patriarchy within an elite family, the work turns to the larger family and the relationship between siblings. O'Day explores the relationship between Hester and her brothers, and the loans that they provided to the Temple family, along with Sir Thomas and his siblings. While Sir Thomas' father worked hard to ensure that all children were taken care of, tensions develop between Sir Thomas and his siblings as he, as executor, settled the estate. An important theme within this section demonstrates the role that external family members, in this case siblings, had on the immediate family and especially the children of Hester and Thomas. Added to this was the stress caused by Thomas becoming the new patriarch of the family and, while there was competition for wealth and power, they remained a family that dealt with both joys and sorrows like almost every family. A final aspect of this section involves how family affairs, especially squabbles, become public through the legal system thereby adding another element of complexity to these relationships. O'Day works diligently through the records to understand these relationships while admitting that the nature of the surviving records imposes limitations on truly understanding all of the dynamics within the family.

The final two parts of the work first review the place of daughters within the family and then sons. Here, especially in regards to

daughters, O'Day addresses some of the gaps in the literature where relationships with married daughters have not been fully explored. A big reason why involves the lack of sources to investigate this subject especially if one tries to look beyond birth, marriage, and death. To understand this dynamic within the Temple family, O'Day utilizes what historiography exists to provide an overview of these issues before moving on to a specific examination of the relationship between the Temple parents and daughters. From there, O'Day explores wardship. The section on daughters concludes with the problematic marriage of Anne Temple to William Andrewes and the place of abuse within marriages and families. The work ends by examining the place of sons within the Temple family and how they were prepared for their future roles. Important here is O'Day's examination of how elite boys, especially those who might inherit positions of power, were raised. She follows this by explaining the tensions that existed with their eldest son and how their relationship with their two younger sons differed. In this section, O'Day continues to illustrate how Thomas and Hester, as a couple, maneuvered through the highs and lows of familial relationships, the role that household staff played in all of this, and the varying relationships that existed between parents and children and between siblings.

This is a long, heavily researched and detailed work on one family in Early Modern England. If this is what one studies, then they will find much as O'Day expertly utilizes the existing sources to present as broad and complete understanding of the Temple family as possible. Throughout the work, she clearly connects all parts of the book to the existing historiographical debates about families, especially elite families, patriarchy, and gender for the place and period under study. For those looking to develop a basic understanding of elite families within early modern England, there will be much that is useful and much that is not. One issue with the work is that it is strictly a history about the internal workings of a family. Beyond case studies of individuals, such as Peter the Lunatic and Lady Anne Andrewes abusive marriage, and the places where the law was utilized to settle family members, there is little attempt to provide any larger contextualization about the place of the Temple family within English society. The book's temporal framework covers a rather tumultuous period of political,

economic, religious and social change within England but there is little mention of this. As one reads the work, one quickly starts to wonder how external affairs affected the family. An elite family such as this did not live in a vacuum yet the work presents them as such. At the same time, the work does an excellent job of advancing our understanding of the complexity of marriage within an elite family where patriarchy dominated. O'Day skillfully demonstrates the important roles that Hester served within the family and the ways in which she both found, and protected, individual agency within the family. This of course leads to the question as to how unique the relationship between the two was with the example of Lady Anne demonstrating another alternative. Throughout the work, O'Day's focus on the female members of the family demonstrates the fluid nature of structures that were once thought to be rigid. And, in the end, shows that while an elite family had very specific issues to deal with based upon their status, they were still a family.

Sir Paul Rycaut. *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire: Sixth Edition, 1686*. John Anthony Butler, ed. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2017. viii + 440 pp. + 22 illus. $80.00. Review by Robert Batchelor, Georgia Southern University.

This edition of Sir Paul Rycaut's (1629–-1700) *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* is based on the 1686 corrected, sixth edition and has a long (114 page) introduction, extensive footnotes, and bibliography. Rycaut visited Constantinople with the Levant Company in 1661, 1664, and 1665, and he also visited the Ottoman regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers in 1663, with information about treaties signed with the Ottoman Emperor. He wrote one anonymous text, *Narrative of the success of the voyage of the right honourable Heneage Finch, earl of Winchelsea* (1661), and the first English text published in Constantinople, *The capitulations and articles of peace between the majestie of the king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland &c. and the sultan of the Ottoman empire* (1663), about the Adrianople treaty of January 1662. The three-part *Present State* was first printed in London in August 1666, but it was only published (with a new title page) in

1667 because of the Great Fire. In anticipation of its release, Rycaut was elected to the Royal Society in December of 1666. The book went through several editions and was translated into numerous European languages (French, Italian, Polish, Dutch, German, Russian). Although Rycaut, like many other English authors, translated continental works, an English author having his book translated abroad was relatively new. It came with extensive illustrations, something increasingly common in the thriving print world of Restoration England where a market for lavishly engraved books and cheap newspapers had emerged out of the Civil War and Interregnum.

John Anthony Butler is the author of a number of such edited volumes of seventeenth-century travelers, including John Greaves's *Pyramidographia* (Cambridge Scholars, 2019), Sir Jerome Horsey's *Travels* (Cambridge Scholars, 2018), and Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels* (ACMRS, 2012). His introduction to *The Present State* is comprehensive and readable. It includes a detailed biography (1–36), a summary of English diplomatic relations with the Ottomans between the late Elizabethan period and the end of the reign of Mehmet IV in 1687 (36–65), an assessment of Rycaut's sources (65–81), an assessment of fiction about the Ottomans (81–86), a summary of the text (87–91), speculations about Rycaut's political motivations (92–105), and a brief account of its subsequent impact on writers like Locke, Bayle, and Montesquieu (105–111). There are extensive footnotes to the text itself, explaining a number of otherwise arcane or historically specific aspects of the text that a modern reader might find challenging. By all measures, Rycaut's *Present State* is an important seventeenth-century text. It is also emblematic of a kind of extensive English travel writing about particular places that, especially during the Restoration, replaced the earlier ambitions of Hakluyt and Purchas to collect and compare travel narratives. Testifying to this significance, there have already been a surprisingly large number of reprints of Rycaut, most of which have not had an editorial apparatus. At least four reprints of the 1668 edition (2nd) have appeared over the past half-century: Memphis: General Books, 2009; Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arab-Islamic Science, 1995, with Arabic parallel text; Farnborough/Westmead: Gregg International, 1972; and New York: Arno Press, 1971. Before these, the 1679 edition was also reprinted once—New

York: AMS Press, 1970. There is also evidently a 1977 Romanian edition, based on the 1741 St. Petersburg translation into Russian.

Butler's is the first modern edition to appear of the 1686 edition. He seems to have used the Early English Books Online version (2011) as the source for his transcription. Yet, there is little sense of the extensive digital life of the text today. Readily accessible (circumventing the EEBO paywall) are digital scans of the second edition (archive.org/details/presentstateofot00ryca_0/page/n4 and catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/101716428, Getty Research Institute; and EEBO itself quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A58003.0001.001?view=toc); third edition (1670, archive.org/details/presentstateofot00ryca/page/n4, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto; and catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100219478, Ohio State); and sixth edition (books.google.com/books/about/The_History_of_the_Present_State_of_the.html?id=KKMuTmW98DEC and catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001861295, University of Michigan). No doubt there are others, and the press, ACMRS, would be wise in the future to encourage authors to include a section in their printed books about digital resources that can supplement the text.

For his understanding of Rycaut, Butler relies heavily upon the extant secondary literature. In relation to this, Butler does not appear to include any major new archival finds, in part because the ground has been so well covered by Sonia Anderson, Colin Heywood, Linda Darling, and others. He alludes to the fact that the actual history of the Ottomans in this period could be more developed, but he limits himself to consulting English sources. The complex exchanges in relation to Arabic and Turkish manuscripts and the history of science in this period, often in Latin, described by Gerald Toomer and others, get only cursory treatment. No Turkish or Arabic sources are brought to bear to help with the annotations of the text itself. And nowhere is there an overall assessment of the scholarship on Rycaut. Nevertheless, Butler's bibliography is relatively complete, and he does make reference in passing to the important broader work of scholars like Nabil Matar and Ros Ballaster. The historiographical target of this edition seems to be Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), with the claim that Rycaut is more strongly connected to the "political reality of diplomats, statesmen and soldiers," than the "realm of the imagination … of poets,

dramatists, and theologians," who had not actually travelled (36). More interestingly, Butler at times sees a kind of "polemical sub-text" about both commercial and diplomatic geopolitics abroad and, despite Rycaut's royalism, "absolutist tendencies" at home. But Butler hesitates to explore that too deeply because he wants to portray Rycaut as a realist, mostly concerned with "objectivity" and "facts" (92–93, 111).

The real missed opportunity here is attention to the publication history of the text itself, which as the flurry of modern scholarship suggests, remains an important artifact and has not been examined closely in the secondary literature. But there is a strange insensitivity to editions in this edition. Butler's cover indicates that this is the sixth edition, entitled *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, but uses the older title from the first edition and includes an image of the title page of the second edition (1668) entitled *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. The title shifts from "The Present State" to "The History of the Present State" in the fifth edition, which was also corrected by Rycaut. Nowhere is this history of editions and publishers clarified—first (n.p., 1666), second (John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668), third (Starkey and Brome, sold by Robert Boulter, 1670), fourth (Starkey and Brome, 1675), fifth (Thomas Newcombe for Joanna Brome, 1682), sixth (Brome for R. Clavell, J. Robinson, and A. Churchill, 1686), seventh (J. D., 1687), as well as before 1686, French (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1670), Italian (Venice: Combi and La Noù, 1672), and Polish (1678).

There is important historical significance to this printing complexity, as with Rycaut's contemporary, the translator John Ogilby. The corrected edition (with the new "History" title) emerges after the death of Henry Brome (d. 1681), when his widow Joanna (d. 1684) takes over the business. Following her husband's association with the controversial Tory Roger L'Estrange, she published his new newspaper *The Observator*, a return to journalism after abandoning it in the 1660s. Rycaut's fifth edition thus appeared during the same year as political tensions over a possibly Whiggish coup by Monmouth and Shaftesbury, savagely attacked by L'Estrange, and when the celebrated Moroccan embassy came to London to negotiate the status of the Tangier colony, which was ultimately abandoned in 1684. As Butler does note, 1682 was also the year that Leoline Jenkins, Charles II's

Secretary of State, asked Rycaut to go on a secret mission to Algiers, a mission aborted when a negotiated peace emerged (29; Butler here closely paraphrasing Anderson). The sixth edition, which was very similar to the fifth, actually appeared after both Joanna Brome had died and a newly knighted Rycaut (1685) had moved to Dublin for a year (January 1686–February 1687) to serve as Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon's chief secretary. The fact that the sixth edition appeared while Rycaut was in Dublin has indeed led to some loose speculation among scholars about the overall imperial themes of his work. The only way to avoid a kind of twenty-first century 'Orientalism' in this regard is to be highly precise about the material contexts of textual production.

As to the text itself, there are many useful explanatory footnotes, but at times, the footnote apparatus veers towards the excessive. On the first page of the text, "polity" ("the state or government") and "rude" ("rough, sketchy") receive footnotes. There are odd choices at times—is a *tekke* best defined using the loaded words "dervish convent" (342) or a perhaps a "Sufi residence, hospice, or lodge," as the *Oxford Dictionary of Islam* has it. At the same time, modernization of spelling, punctuation, and even breaking up of sentences, not to mention differences between the seven plus editions, all go unnoted. So this is not really a reference book for scholars or even graduate students, who would be better off consulting the various digital scans, and it is hard to imagine undergraduates cracking it. As Butler himself admits, it is not a very "accessible book for modern readers" (92). What is most impressive about Butler's work is the way it highlights the ongoing need for these kinds of volumes in the digital age. The next generation of scholars (and publishers) should look at this work as a kind of cautionary tale. What are we paying attention to and what are we leaving out as various "editions" of texts multiply? To what extent is "Orientalism"—a process of creating static images of the East—still intertwined with the apparatuses of mechanical and digital reproduction?

Kenneth Fincham, ed. *The Further Correspondence of William Laud*. Church of England Record Society 23. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018. lii + 304 pp. $120.00. Review by Nathan Martin, Charleston Southern University.

The Further Correspondence of William Laud, edited by Kenneth Fincham, provides new depth and significance to the collection of printed sources on the life and career of William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury from 1633–1645. Fincham is a well-renowned scholar on Laud and has presented in this volume an array of source material that will certainly raise the prominence of Laudian study and provide better access to primary sources on the influential churchman. The collection itself includes two hundred twenty-three letters that have not until this point seen publication, spanning from the early phase of Laud's career in 1614 to 1645, right before his execution. As Fincham himself writes: "what *The Further Correspondence* does contain is new information, fresh insights, and a fuller appreciation of the character, career and impact of William Laud" (xxii).

Fincham's effort in editing this work is indeed impressive. As is the case with so many topics of historical inquiry during the early modern era, relevant sources are scattered throughout archival depositories and libraries in various locations. According to the bibliography, Fincham accessed at least thirty-eight different archival sources in creating this volume. Without that painstaking effort, this collection would not hold as much significance as it does.

Perhaps the biggest contribution this collection makes is that it greatly expands source material in certain eras of Laud's career. Between 1847 and 1860, William Scott and James Bliss published several volumes of Laud's letters in *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud*. Those volumes contained five hundred forty-eight of his letters (xxi). Relatively few, however, date to the 1620s. Fincham's collection adds thirty-nine to the thirty-eight in *Works* covering that period (xxii). Most of the letters of that period include correspondence with Sir John Scudamore and William Smyth and involve collegial politics at Oxford University. This portion provides new insight into Laud's activities during that phase of his career.

Several letters in this collection are noteworthy. In a letter dated 4 December 1631, Laud wrote to Elizabeth of Bohemia, Charles I's sister, who had married Frederick V, Elector Palatinate (63–64). In the letter, Laud discusses the role of Griffin Higgs, Elizabeth's chaplain whom Laud had promoted earlier in his career. Laud also informs Elizabeth that he is sending a book of collected sermons from Lancelot Andrewes, the former Bishop of Winchester. In another letter, from 12 September 1621, Laud complains to Lord Cranfield, who had recently been promoted to high advisory position with Charles I, that a majority of fellows at St. John's College, Oxford, had chosen a successor to the presidency of that college without his recommendation (4–5, xxiii). Lastly, Fincham points out that a 29 August 1627 letter addressed to the Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge University is the first documented occurrence of the Crown interfering with the religious direction of the university during Laud's career. In this letter, Laud announces that the king is "resolved to take some course to revive that ancient discipline which made the member…honoured both at home and abroad…" (27). Laud demands that the Vice-Chancellor "cause a search to bee made in all your records for all directions, orders, iniunctions, admonitions, or the like concerneinge learneinge or manners which have beene sent in the happy and blessed raigne of Queene Elizabeth and Kinge James" (27). Of course, the implication here is that Laud's staunch anti-Calvinism and his promotion of Arianism through more elaborate ceremonial and ritualistic expression is developing at this early point.

Beyond the inclusion of these consequential letters, Fincham's volume holds importance for controversy and debate within the field. One of the long-standing issues in this regard is the question of whether Laud was carrying out Charles I's agenda or whether Laud was using the Crown as a vehicle for his own. It is clear from Fincham's work that Laud had "easy access to Charles and this enabled him to move very rapidly, if necessary, to protect his interests or advance his own agenda" (xxvii). At the same time, as Fincham points out in his Introduction, "the easiest way for Laud to cut through disputes and ensure compliance was to cite the king's wishes" (xxviii). These letters indicate that most often there was significant overlap between the king's aims and the archbishop's.

These letters also show some of the normative church administration employed by Laud. In the Introduction, Fincham does well to describe some of the methods of operation used by the archbishop. For example, in a chastisement of the practices of the bishop of Hereford, Laud threatens that he should reform his ways or "be more wary for Hereafter and I shall forebeare to acquaint the King with it; Unless farther Complaint, or Other Necessity urge me to it" (xxviii, 196). Such a threat motivated reform; Laud used this tactic in other scenarios as well (xxviii).

Many of the letters are addressed to bishops and other high-ranking clergy as most of Laud's day-to-day correspondence centered around church governance and administration. Figures such as John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, John Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, and others like James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, and Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, fill out a majority of the two hundred twenty-three letters. University administrators play an important role in this collection, too. The first forty pages of the collection, most dating from the 1620s, are dominated by correspondence with Sir John Scudamore and William Smyth, warden of Wadham College, Oxford. Other significant political figures have a place in this collection as well: Thomas Wentworth, earl of Stafford, and John Stewart, earl of Traquair, for example, have important presence in the collection.

On the balance, this edited collection of letters from William Laud is a significant work in that it expands the general understanding of the archbishop, advances the study of religious policy during the reign of Charles I, and provides important source material for the furtherance of discussion of debate surrounding this controversial churchman. Because of Fincham's efforts, scholars will be able to access with ease important material on Laud. Fincham's "Introduction" is impressive too; it contains thirty-one pages worth of deep historical context on Laudian study while providing a general roadmap and guide for understanding the source material contained within. Fincham also provides a bibliography for those interested in obtaining the original sources (most of the letters were not written in Laud's own hand).

In conclusion, *The Further Correspondence of William Laud* is a significant contribution to the study of this era of English religious history. I would recommend this work for anyone interested in early

modern history, both for the professional and the student, as well as specialists with theological or intellectual history interests. This work is sure to have a lasting impact on scholarship in this field.

Moria Coleman. *Household Inventories of Helmingham Hall, 1597–1741*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018. xxxvii + 342 pp. + 30 illus. $60.00. Review by Brett F. Parker, Isothermal Community College.

Historians have long recognized the importance of household inventories in understanding consumption habits, cultural tastes, and social status and change in a particular period. This is especially true of early-modern England, when the political and economic fortunes of the aristocracy rebounded in the seventeenth century after years of falling rents and entry fines. As a result, the Stuart era, as well as the Hanoverian, are marked by conspicuous consumption by the peers, whose extravagant houses and furnishings testified to their material well-being. Moria Coleman's work on the four inventories of Helmingham Hall, compiled over five generations of the Tollemache family, offers a riveting glimpse into these cultural and social changes. Moreover, her meticulous research explains the events that likely led the family to inventory their possessions and make periodic changes to the home.

The inventories of Helmingham Hall in Suffolk are unique in part because there are four sequential records extant (1597, 1626, 1708, and 1741). In addition, the Suffolk house dates back more than five centuries and the inventories were produced by descendants of the founding family (xv). This alone would make the Helmingham Hall inventories a historian's treasure. But as Coleman rightly emphasizes, household inventories, while not as plentiful, differ significantly from probate inventories. The latter were required by law in order to assess value on a property and simply captured a fixed moment in time, while the former served to record the location of items and "could continue in use as a working document, recording the outcome of periodic stock-checks and amendments until superseded by a new version" (xix). Coleman notes that the motives for each of the four

compilers may never be known for sure, but it is likely that the family was either preparing for a temporary absence from the home or, as the evidence suggests, responding to a significant family event (a death, birth, or debt obligation).

In this vein, the Tollemache family and the history of Helmingham Hall were profoundly shaped by two events that ensured the social and financial security of future generations—the noble marriage of Lionel Tollemache to Catherine Cromwell (great-granddaughter of Thomas Cromwell) in 1580 and his elevation to baronetcy in 1612 (xxiii–xxv). These events transformed Helmingham Hall from a residence "dedicated to self-sufficiency" to one of comfort and luxury (xxv). This transformation was one of two major changes for the Tollemache family based on the 1626 inventory. The other was their move to a second home, Fakenham Magna, in Suffolk, where the family raised four daughters and, as Coleman notes, began to remodel Helmingham Hall.

The last two inventories reflect the continued wealth and status of succeeding generations, but they also reveal the idiosyncrasies of financial planning and maintaining a large estate. It is worth noting that the 1708 inventory records a house "a world apart from the one recorded in the 1626 inventory" (xxix). For example, the hall had now become the "Great Hall," with over fifty pictures adorning the walls. The 1741 inventory was also compiled at a time when debt obligations were relieved and inheritances had cleared probate. It too reveals extensive remodeling efforts as well as a growing preoccupation with ornate gardens.

The inventory entries are numerous, organized by area or room, and often quite detailed in description. The 1626 inventory alone has over 1,500 items, including "one little rounde hooped boxe wthout a cover to send morning milk cheese to ffakenham or London" (95). As Coleman notes, this entry suggests that Helmingham Hall continued to function as a supplier of cheese while a new dairy was being readied at Fakenham Magna (95). Another notable entry is the first designation of a library in the 1741 inventory, despite the existence of a collection of books at the house before then (134). The entries, and the work as a whole, are greatly aided by the addition of a cross-referenced index and a substantial glossary of household goods. These inclusions build on

Maurice Bailey's work and are a welcomed addition to understanding how one family's domestic and social life changed over generations. It is through Coleman's work that one can peek into the life of the Tollemaches and appreciate their tastes and interests, and ultimately discern their thoughts and concerns.

Peter Edwards. *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish First Earl of Devonshire (1551–1626), and His Horses.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018. xv + 256 pp + 6 illus. + 21 graphs. $130.00. Review by Ellen J. Jenkins, Arkansas Tech University.

William Cavendish (1551–1626) was a Derbyshire landowner who became the first Earl of Devonshire in 1618. He was also a son of Bess of Hardwick (1527–1608), the four-times-married and extremely wealthy Countess of Shrewsbury, who was erstwhile needlework companion to her fourth husband's prisoner, Mary, Queen of Scots, who built Hardwick Hall, and who was an astute businesswoman in her own right. Through his mother's marriages into the St. Loe and Talbot families and the marital unions of his siblings and himself, Cavendish was related to some of the most prominent landed and aristocratic families of the realm. In the course of his lifetime, Cavendish served as a magistrate, bailiff of Tutbury Castle, High Sheriff and then Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire, and Member of Parliament for Liverpool and Newport, Cornwall. He became Baron Cavendish of Hardwick in 1605 and Earl of Devonshire in 1618. By the time he died at 74, Cavendish owned over 100,000 acres in thirteen counties, including London property and the Chatsworth estate.

Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England comprises two books in one—nearly seventy percent of the volume is about Cavendish's holdings and methods of estate management, while only three of the ten chapters in the book, plus the conclusion, actually focus upon breeding, buying, or caring for horses. In the preface to this book, Peter Edwards explains his use of the odd-fitting title by explaining that horses were central to nearly all activities of aristocrats like William Cavendish and his contemporaries. Still, Edwards's argu-

ment settles unconvincingly, and the reader may find the juxtaposition of subjects awkward. Edwards, a Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Roehampton, has written two other books about the role of horses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2004) and *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), but those books appear to feature horses throughout. His other publications address seventeenth-century rural life, farming, and the English Civil Wars. Despite the odd title, however, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle*, based upon dispersal account books, maps, and other archives held at Chatsworth House, is a work of impressive expertise and a detailed examination of the activities of William Cavendish and his relations and neighbors, though the chapters that address horses are by far the most fascinating.

While his land generated most of his income in rents, tithes, livestock—including sheep and cattle—and agriculture, Cavendish also owned lead mines, smelting works, and mills, and he invested in the East India, Virginia, Muscovy, and Somers Isle (Bermuda) companies, collecting dividends in imported pepper and tobacco. On his extensive and ever-growing catalog of properties, land improvement was a major and ongoing enterprise. This was particularly the case as enclosure, the new and highly-controversial method of combining common areas or small fields, required that acreage be cleared of trees, shrubs, and stumps, while the resulting holes had to be filled, drainage ditches dug, and hedges, palings, or stone walls established. In the spring of 1612, for instance, it took six of Cavendish's men "several weeks" to clear just over 85 acres at his Owlcotes property. Much of the enclosed land was then used for pastures or for growing the oats and hay fed to his livestock.

With such far-flung holdings, Cavendish's management, administrative, and oversight responsibilities were vast, requiring that he or his representatives or officials travel throughout England. He also had business interests and, as a courtier of some prominence, responsibilities in London. His horses and stables were certainly of primary importance to the running of his estates, as well as to the maintenance of his social standing, though the records supplied are almost eclipsed by Edwards's reports of the prices paid for accommodation, food,

recreation, servants, and other living and operational expenses.

Fine horses were symbols of status and power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Cavendish bred them in his extensive stud, keeping some, giving others as gifts, and culling those beyond his needs by selling them. Over the years, essential and ongoing processes for the management of his stud operations were extensive, not only because of the widespread geography of Cavendish's properties, but also because of the realization that horses, unlike sheep and cattle, must be carefully reared, moved seasonally to the most advantageous pastures or paddocks, and separated by age or cohort for their safety. The Cavendish stud kept meticulous records of breeding, shoeing, injuries, and illness, as well as the expenses incurred for each horse. Identified in the chronicles by color and acquisition source, the horses were listed in shoeing records from 1605 under such names as "Bay Dutch," "Black Evans," "Grey Hinshaw," and "Sorrel Wortley," which names (the reader will hope) must surely have been augmented by informal and affectionate ones provided by their caregivers and riders. That Cavendish and his employees valued their horses is clear.

While a man of Cavendish's wealth and position certainly owned coaches, splendid coach horses were easily acquired at fairs, such as that in Melton Mowbray, or from reputable London dealers. Cavendish's stud bred fine saddle horses, with breeding stock that focused upon Spanish Ginetes (jennets), excellent all-around mounts, and sometimes Irish Hobbies, small but agile horses prized for their "ambling" gait. The foals produced on his estates, however, were often crossbred. According to the theories of the day, a foal inherited the sire's traits to a greater extent than the dam's, so the brood mare's primary contribution to the breeding process was her status as a vessel. The traits of the sire were of more importance.

Friends and neighbors often loaned their stoned horses to each other for breeding purposes. According to the 1597 edition of Thomas Blundeville's work, *The Foure Chiefest Offices Belonging to Horsemanship,* which was one of the primary contemporary guidebooks on equine husbandry, young horses should not cover mares until they reached five years of age and were best "retired" at fourteen. The English did not always heed such expert advice however: while Gervase Markham's 1607 manual, *Cauelarice* advised that mares be bred no

more often than every two years, Cavendish, like many of his peers, bred his annually, and between 1597 and 1623, his estate increased its number of foals born each year from two to fourteen. As his receipt books have been lost, Edwards points out, it is impossible to determine whether Cavendish made any profit on his horses.

Such a sizable enterprise as his required the work of many hands, and Cavendish employed a stable-master, as well as laborers, stable-lads, grooms, stablers, smiths, and farriers. Not only did these estate workers care for the horses, but they were also responsible for moving their charges between properties and between Cavendish's country and London homes. Records of Cavendish's travels are fascinating. Not only did he travel with a retinue of retainers as well as the wagons which transported the vast amount of baggage that went along with, say, an extended stay in London, but accommodations for his employees and stabling and fodder for his horses were expensive and sometimes difficult to find. Much of the time, it was less cumbersome and more cost-effective to have the horses driven back home or sent to one of his closer properties, with the entire entourage repeating the trip when it was time for Cavendish to leave for home.

There is no denying that Edwards's book makes two valuable contributions to the history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The administration of a great estate is revealed to have been a vast and unending enterprise, with countless responsibilities to be balanced and recorded. In addition, Edwards illuminates the period from a fresh and fascinating angle through the detailed record of equine husbandry at Cavendish's stud, opening an entirely new perspective upon the role of the horse in history.

Theresa Varney Kennedy. *Women's Deliberation: The Heroine in Early Modern French Women's Theater (1650-1750)*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018. xii + 202 pp. $109.95. Review by Mary Mcalpin, University Of Tennessee.

The "deliberation" of Theresa Varney Kennedy's title is to be understood in a quite specific sense, linked to a play on words with "women's liberation." Kennedy's argument is that by producing hero-

ines in opposition to those found in the work of male playwrights, seventeenth-century women writers laid the foundation for a new type of heroine who would triumph in the eighteenth century: the "deliberative heroine." This type of heroine, the central character of her play, is "an independent free agent who drives the plot via deliberative action" (13). In short, she produces the play's resolution through choices based on the exercise of her rational faculties, in accordance with the guidance of her heart.

The emergence of the deliberative heroine in the eighteenth century represents, for Kennedy, a liberation from the constraints that had bound her three older sisters: the "irrational," the "dutiful," and the "bold and brazen" heroines. Although the products of female playwrights who by representing them on stage "questioned traditional views on women and rationality" (9), these three types are said to remain under the sway of "negative female stereotypes and/or social norms" (140). Kennedy indissociably links the struggle of women playwrights to enter a male-dominated field to the evolution of their heroines, making this narrative of the rise of a new theatrical character type also a teleological story of the shedding of negative images of women, especially those tied to the Aristotelian tradition that had so influenced French classical theatre. But Kennedy also presents women playwrights as coming over time to a feminist enlightenment, tied to the Enlightenment itself, and above all to the increasing rejection of Cartesian dualism as the eighteenth century progressed.

The book's chapters present in turn the three types of characters that prepare the way for the deliberative heroine. Chapter one considers the irrational type, with Racine's Phèdre the key anti-model. As will be the case in each succeeding chapter, Kennedy gives us a useful summary of often obscure plays by women, divided into four parts: an analysis of how the play fits the topic at hand, its sources, its performance history, and finally, a plot summary with selected quotations. The five irrational heroines featured in chapter one may be driven by lust or vengeance but, in contrast to Phèdre, are said to "take full responsibility for their actions" (18). In the next chapter, dedicated to the dutiful heroine, the model against which women playwrights are said to be working is of course Chimène, of Corneille's *Le Cid*. For Kennedy, "Chimène reinforces the patriarchal framework

instead of questioning it" (56), as opposed to the heroines of the six women-authored plays presented in this chapter. The latter occupy central, rather than auxiliary, roles and their intellect and eloquence are highlighted, rather than their obedience to authority. Kennedy sees a direct link between this characterization and the works' lack of success; for example, she writes of Françoise de Graffigny's *La Fille d'Aristide* (1758), shut down after only four performances at the Comédie-Française: "Contemporary spectators likely disapproved of the play's underlying message that women deserve financial independence" (86).

As this late date demonstrates, Kennedy is not arguing that the older types disappear with the birth of the deliberative heroine. But given that Graffigny's play bombed in 1758, we are justified in asking: Why then was her novel *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*—published in 1747, with its similar ending—such an enormous hit? One weakness of Kennedy's critical method is that it elides an important question: Could Graffigny not simply have written a bad play? Chapter three, on bold and brazen heroines, is more satisfying. Kennedy again includes a play by Graffigny, *Phaza*, first staged in a private home in 1753. Kennedy argues, convincingly, that the brazen and bold heroine could have developed only in such settings, and was indeed the product of salon culture. Her description of these heroines is nuanced; while driven by love, they are not presented as irrational. Rather, they allow themselves to act on their romantic desires, initiating amorous relationships, rather than "playing 'hard to get'" (100). Most significantly, they do not regret their behavior, in sharp contrast to the woman-created female characters explored in chapter one.

The deliberative heroines of Kennedy's fourth chapter differ most from this third type in that they take on more serious matters. Two of her five examples are even, in Kennedy's words, "deliberative rulers"; that is, they are caught up in political intrigue at the highest level, while the other three "negotiate the travails of ordinary life" (141). The most important aspect of their characterization, in terms of Kennedy's general argument, is that these heroines balance rationality and emotion in a novel way. In addition to Graffigny's *Cénie* (1750), which enjoyed a record number of performances at the Comédie-Française for a woman playwright, Kennedy considers Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni's *Les Caquets* (1761) and its highly successful run at the

Comédie-Italienne. Kennedy argues that this type of heroine was by far the most appealing of her four types, in terms of audience reception, in that she refuses to succumb to pressure, instead remaining faithful to herself and to those she loves.

This study is a useful and well-researched addition to the critical corpus on early modern women playwrights, and as such it is deserving of praise. I do take issue, however, with two aspects of its general argument. The first, mentioned above, is the outdated assumption that any evidence of conservative or even misogynist rhetoric on the part of a woman writer must be attributed to patriarchal oppression, while any echo of contemporary feminist beliefs demonstrates that the woman playwright is "consciously aware" (13) of what she is doing with her play. However dear feminist principles may be to us, we need to avoid attributing a total lack of agency to women whose creative works exhibit different views. My second point is rather a desire for more development of the claim by Kennedy that her deliberative heroine "inspires the modern-day heroine, who wins audiences' esteem precisely because she is the most well-rounded and complex type" (141). In many ways, the deliberative heroine as Kennedy describes her is indeed "a multifaceted, modern protagonist" (141), but proving a link between this eighteenth-century type and such twenty-first-century heroines as Katniss Everdeen of *The Hunger Games* (Suzanne Collins, 2008) would require a lot more analysis of the socio-political environment of both eras, not to mention of what came between (174). But again, and in conclusion, this study is a highly useful contribution to its field, despite the weaknesses I have just raised.

Agnès Lachaume. *Le Langage du désir chez Bossuet: Chercher quelque ombre d'infinité*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2017. 730 pp. €125. Review by David Eick, Grand Valley State University.

Arch theorist of divine right absolutism, author of orations ensconced in the French literary canon, preacher at the court of Louis XIV, tutor to the Grand Dauphin, proponent of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and professor of desire, according to Agnès Lachaume, author of *Le Langage du désir chez Bossuet: Chercher quelque ombre*

d'infinité. Bossuet's elucubrations on the nature of desire formed the crux of the lawyer Sénard's defense of Flaubert on trial for obscenity in *Madame Bovary*, and Serge Gainsbourg called them his line of conduct in the 1965 pop song "Un poison violent, c'est ça l'amour," yet his writings in this domain have received little scholarly attention until Lachaume's opus. Lachaume argues convincingly that Bossuet does not condemn desire; for Bossuet, to be and to live *is* to desire; our innate and universal sense of lack can be fulfilled when that desire is channeled away from the physical and toward the spiritual. Anticipating the Enlightenment's emphasis on happiness, Bossuet, according to Lachaume, posits that happiness is possible when one seeks and sees God. Lachaume's magisterial, capacious, and exhaustive study considers Bossuet's philosophy and rhetoric of desire throughout his entire oeuvre, both his publications and those sermons whose outlines, in the author's hand, are extant.

In Part 1, "Un élan vers Dieu analogue à la passion pour les choses sensibles," she limns Bossuet's nuanced psychology of desire then situates it with regard to those of Saint Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, François de Sales and Descartes, all of whom influenced him. Part 2, "L'Imaginaire au service du désir spirituel," comprises an analysis of his use of images, figures, and themes: darkness, clarity; what Lachaume aptly calls a veritable bestiary, a Noah's Ark of animals, not to mention plants and elements; natural disasters and nuptial love; the struggle against carnality as violent combat, sexual temptation as ambush (lain by women); even spiritual regeneration as akin to maternal labor, as in this passage from the "Sermon pour le 3e dimanche après Pâques":

> J'ai assisté quelquefois à l'accouchement des princesses, et quand on a ouï leurs douleurs encore faibles et des cris encore languissants, on dit : "Elle n'accouche pas encore"; mais quand un cri qui perce les oreilles les déchire pour ainsi dire et pénètre jusqu'au cœur, alors on se réjouit et on dit : "Elle est délivrée" et on apprend un moment après l'heureuse nouvelle qu'elle a mis un homme au monde; et on la voit consolée de son travail. Ainsi mes bien-aimés, si la douleur que vous cause vos péchés n'est vive, pénétrante, déchirante, vous n'enfanterez jamais votre salut (361).

"Résonances du désir: Dynamique de la parole chez Bossuet" is the title of Part 3, in which Lachaume considers the musicality of Bossuet's texts: rhythm, sonority, phrasing and rhyme. As appendices, Lachaume includes seven full-page tables (639–45) indicating the frequency of words like *désir, désirer, passion, passionner, concupiscence,* and so on in all of his writings; a thirty-page (651–81) index of images, from *abeilles, abîme,* and *accouchement* to *volcan, voleur, voûte, voyage/voyageurs*. The bibliography of primary and secondary sources is comprehensive.

Lachaume focuses on Bossuet's work, not his life, though she devotes considerable attention to his famous polemic with Fénélon. Her writing is elegant and lucid. This highly readable text will interest Bossuet specialists and *dix-septiémistes*. For non-specialists, her concise and cogent introduction would probably suffice.

Christopher Carsten. *Jean de La Fontaine: 25 Fables: Bilingual illustrated edition*. Tangrams by Edith de Tarragon. Preface by Sir Michael Edwards. Afterword by Pierre Lieutaghi. Paris: Librairie Éditions Tituli, 2018. 224 pp. + 22 illus. 21 €. Review by Rev. Gregory I. Carlson, S.J., Creighton University.

Christopher Carsten joins a large and growing group of translators of La Fontaine's fables: Robert Thomson (1806), Elizur Wright (1841), Walter Thornbury (1867), Dame Marianne Moore (1954), Francis Duke (1965), Norman Spector (1988), Norman Shapiro (2007), and Craig Hill (2008). They translate all of La Fontaine's fables. Recent editions of a selection of fables, like Carsten's, include James Michie (1979), C.J. Moore (2006), Christopher Betts (2014), and Rowland Hill (2015). Translators know an inviting poet when they see one!

The subtitle on this paperback book's cover and title page is "A new translation." That phrase can be misleading. Carsten co-authored a large-format illustrated edition of fables with Constantine Christofides in 2006. A number of the twenty-five translations occurring in this 2018 book seem based on the translations—many with changes—in that *Fables of La Fontaine Illustrated* (University of Washington Press). Then, in 2015, Librairie Éditions Tituli published the same fable texts

as those in the present edition in a paperback generally identical with the present one, but with engravings by Sophie de Garam. It is curious that the present edition makes no mention of either earlier translation until a brief mention in the Afterword of the 2015 edition as a "first edition." The present reviewer will offer a suggestion on this curiosity later in this review.

Michael Edwards' preface characterizes the book well. He praises its "unexpected rhymes," "snappy turns of phrase in familiar speech," and occasional updates. He finds the translations "lively and full of pep" (7–8). I concur with these judgments. Examples of pleasantly surprising rhymes come, for example, in "Frog and Ox": "Though confident at first, / Poor little froggy huffed so much she burst" (31). Similarly, in "The Mountain Giving Birth," a fable about bombastic poets, La Fontaine has been speaking of epic poets announcing Titanic battles. He finishes: «C'est promettre beaucoup; mais qu'en sort-il souvent? / Du vent» (108). That short two-syllable line puts down the bombast beautifully! Carsten's translation catches the effect well: "And I think, oh really? What usually results there? / Just hot air" (109). La Fontaine would have enjoyed this English.

A good example of a contemporary turn of phrase comes in "Sponge Donkey, Salt Donkey." This translation finishes strong with "Different strokes / For different folks" (55). Carsten cleverly sets up that strong finish by using "strokes" earlier in this fable to describe the river-crossing efforts that relieved the salt donkey of his burden. This reader, at least, had to stop and think what "strokes" would be like for a splashing donkey, but that very reflection helped to prepare for the strong aphoristic ending to the fable, perfectly aligned with La Fontaine's shaping of the story. Well-used, contemporary, familiar phrases abound, from "Thieving Joes" (131) to "Scot-free" (191). La Fontaine sums up our critique of others and pardon of ourselves in "The Beggar's Bag": "On se voit d'un autre oeil qu'on ne voit son prochain" (38). Carsten makes the observation more specific with two present-day colloquial images: "For them we're eagle-eyed, / But for ourselves, as blind as bats" (39).

One of the "updates" mentioned by Edwards comes in "Monkey and Leopard." After the leopard has boasted about his pied skin, the monkey boasts of his pied mind:

Not only can I dance, and jig, and stoop
To every sort of trick
But can astound you with the hula-hoop;
And all this for a mere two cents! (167–69)

Readers wanting to check what in La Fontaine gave occasion to hula-hoops will be happy for the bilingual character of this book, where the French is on the left-hand page with the English on the right. Those readers will be happy to find the French monkey boasting he can "Faire des tours de toute sorte, / Passer en des cerceaux; et le tout pour six blancs…" (166–68).

La Fontaine's application at the end of "The Camel and the Floating Sticks" shows the kind of lively pep Edwards notices when the poet applies the fable's lesson—that things seeming great in the distance often turn out to be paltry—to a sample human being: "Afar, you'd say he's someone with a flair, / Up close, it's clear, there's no one there" (95). Translations of this liberal sort into American English will have readers of La Fontaine missing some favorite niceties. They will miss the lovely three parallel verbs in "Dove and Ant" as the latter's biting a hunter alerts the former to flee: "La Colombe l'entend, part, et tire de long" (60). This lovely threesome becomes "The dove takes wing, and off into the day!" (61).

The search for the perfect occasional rhyme may not always succeed. La Fontaine in that poem about bombastic poets had listeners to a groaning mountain believing

Qu'elle accoucherait sans faute
D'une cité plus grosse que Paris.
Elle accoucha d'une souris. (108)

The Paris-souris rhyme fits perfectly. Carsten translates that the listeners

Were sure that she was giving birth
To a city twice as big as Paris.
What came out was a mouse as heiress. (109)

The poet labels the mouse as an heiress and so gets the strong rhyme with Paris. Is it worth reaching to a new image in "heiress" in order to establish this rhyme?

Carsten's lively rendering provoked some questions in this reviewer. In "The Hound Who Left His Prey For A Shadow" (123), Carsten

has the dog "in hot pursuit" of, apparently, a running prey and seeing the image of that prey in the water. Most translators take the "prey" to be what the dog has already captured, just as it is in "Crow and Fox." In that case, the prey is not running; it is, in fact, already in his mouth. In "Hare and Tortoise," is not La Fontaine's emphasis on starting rather than on knowing when to start? «Rien ne sert de courir; il faut partir à point» (114). Carsten translates "It's not the speed that counts / But knowing when to start" (115). Perhaps this reviewer is just another tired teacher who wishes students concerned themselves less with knowing *when* to start writing a paper and just *started* it!

A test case for readers eager to enjoy Carsten's fresh approach might come in "Frog and Ox," when he adds a whole six-line stanza, brash and adept, to La Fontaine's fable:

> Folks today show symptoms of her flaw:
> Like Pharoah, this one bids
> The raising of glass pyramids;
> For every senator, *"L'État, c'est moi"*,
> And all those tiny governors, though dopes,
> Nurse presidential hopes. (31)

When this reviewer blogged a comment on the 2015 edition, it included criticism of the engravings as not up to the quality of the translations (http://www.creighton.edu/aesop/books/individualbooksbydate/2015to2019). May the hoped for improvement of the illustrations be a reason for the curious lack of mention of the earlier edition? The present colored tangrams are a clear upgrade. The art ranges from the simpler "Crow and Fox" to the more complex and suggestive "Farmer, Dog, and Fox." As with La Fontaine's texts, there is here in the tangram images always something more to enjoy. A personal favorite is "Frog and Ox," in which the frog, framed in a colorful stained glass arrangement, expands and explodes into tangram pieces (27). Unfortunately, three of the twenty-five fables here are not illustrated.

In an effusive ten-page afterword, reedited from the "first edition," Pierre Lieutaghi recognizes that "To translate is to attempt the impossible" (209) but praises Carsten's deft "fidelity to the *orchestral colouring* of the whole" (214). Lieutaghi takes note of the strong tangram images in this later edition: "This bilingual edition of the *Fables*, in its language as well as its figures, is a return to native emotion" (218). Picky readers

will wonder at the varying orthography concerning capital letters in titles that can produce both "The Camel and the Floating Sticks" and "The Hound Who Left His Prey For A Shadow."

This translation of a set of fables does not limit itself to those most usually translated. Readers will enjoy fables they may seldom otherwise encounter. Readers for whom one language is not as strong as the other will also be happy that all the commentary sections are also bilingual. This book may be less for those experiencing La Fontaine for the first time but may particularly please those who already have serious experience of the great French fabulist. He is indeed ever fresh!

Florence d'Artois and Anne Teulade, eds. *La Tragédie et ses marges: Penser le théâtre sérieux en Europe (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*. Travaux du Grand Siècle 44. Geneva: Droz, 2017. 464 pp. + 1 illus. 59 CHF. Review by Michael Meere, Wesleyan University.

This impressive and wide-ranging collection of twenty-eight essays (written in French) explores the complex relations between tragedy and other forms of serious drama that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century playwrights inherited from Antiquity (tragedy) and previous generations (such as the mystery play), on the one hand, and new forms of drama that emerged toward the end of the sixteenth century (such as pastoral), on the other. As the editors suggest, these relations include proximity and imitation, but also rivalry and contestation ("rapports complexes […] de proximité et d'imitation, mais aussi de rivalité et de contestation" from d'Artois and Teulade, "Introduction" [7]; all translations in this review are mine). Despite the volume's title, *La Tragédie et ses marges* (Tragedy and its margins), the editors are sure to underline straightaway that they are not promoting a hierarchy of "genres," with tragedy at the center and other forms on the margins; rather, they provide the reader with the geographical metaphor of a map—with its "center," "margins," and "borders"—onto which we can envision a contextual framework for dramatic production as well as trace the relations among forms of early modern serious drama (7). In other words, rather than adopting a top-down approach, for instance, from theory to practice, or thinking of tragedy as the a priori

center against with other forms have been thought of as marginal, they conceive of this "map" relationally and consider the ways in which tragedy interacts with neighboring forms ("formes voisines," 7).

At bottom, three issues are at stake in the volume. First, the collection questions how we think about dramatic forms that are not associated with explicit norms of writing ("formes auxquelles ne sont pas associées des normes d'écriture explicites," 11). Second, it aims to provide a representative inventory ("recensement représentatif") of the variety of dramatic forms from the period in order to revisit the uses and functions ("usages") of serious theater. Third, it examines the ways in which poets modified the ancient form of tragedy to their world in order to think about the role of serious theater in early modern Europe. Moreover, because the situation is not homogenous throughout francophone, hispanophone, italophone, anglophone, and germanophone Europe, the collection includes region- and/or language-specific essays as well as comparative ones in order to nuance the ways in which tragedy and other serious forms of drama interacted.

Given the large number of essays, however, I will not attempt to review each individual one; instead, I will outline the volume's structure and the different categories in which we find the contributors' essays. Hence, the next couple of paragraphs will include quite a few lists, but they should be helpful to see which contributor is writing about which topic(s).

The book is divided into four main sections (*parties*) that deal with: 1) tensions between theoretical and non-theoretical writings, 2) questions of translation and imitation, 3) the effects of hybridization, and 4) relations between early modern drama and culture. Within these sections, we find ten sub-sections—which the editors, or the press, have called *chapitres*—that each contain two to five essays. These *chapitres* include the following themes, with the names of the authors in parentheses: 1) the negotiation of treatises with modern forms (Florence d'Artois, Enrica Zanin); 2) the ideas of tragedy found in non-scholarly discourse (François Lecercle, Lise Michel); 3) scholarly experiments (Marie Saint Martin, Line Cottegnies); 4) the tragic spectacle between gentleness (*douceur*) and violence (Danielle Boillet, Zoé Schweitzer); 5) the use of epic *topoi* (Jean Canavaggio, Fausta Antonucci, Tiphaine Karsenti); 6) the renovation of tragedy by the

absorption of mixed genres (Fabien Cavaillé, Alban Déléris, Bénédicte Louvat-Molozay, Françoise Decroisette); 7) the integration of comical effects (Juan Carlos Garrot Zambrana, Stéphane Miglierina, Marcella Trambaioli); 8) the porosity between drama and non-dramatic discourse (Enrica Zanin, Guillaume Navaud, Christine Sukic); 9) the modification (*accommodation*) of serious theater to post-Tridentine culture (Bruna Filippi, Cécile Berger, Isabel Ibáñez, Yves Germain, Barbara Selmeci Castioni); and 10) serious drama and current events (Anne Wagniart, Anne Teulade).

Three essays focus on the sixteenth century (Saint Martin, Cottegnies, Astonucci), twelve on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (d'Artois, Zanin, Schweitzer, Canavaggio, Karsenti, Déléris, Garrot Zambrana, Trambaioli, Zanin, Navaud, Wagniart, Teulade), eleven on the seventeenth century (Lecercle, Michel, Boillet, Cavaillé, Miglierina, Sukic, Filippi, Berger, Ibáñez, Germain, Selmeci Castioni), and two on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Louvat-Molozay, Decroisette). Seven essays deal exclusively with French theater (Lecercle, Michel, Schweitzer, Karsenti, Cavaillé, Louvat-Molozay, Selmeci Castioni), six with Spanish (Canavaggio, Antonucci, Garrot Zambrana, Trambaioli, Ibáñez, Germain), five with Italian (Boillet, Decroisette, Miglierina, Filippi, Berger), three with English (Cottegnies, Navaud, Sukic), and one with German (Wagniart). As I mentioned above, some essays are comparative: four essays are on French, Spanish, and Italian theater (Saint Martin, Teulade, two essays by Zanin), one is on French and English theater (Déléris), and one is on Italian and Spanish theater (d'Artois). Thus, although the scope of the collection is very large, it is a cohesive whole that refreshingly decenters tragedy in order to approach serious drama from a variety of vantage points.

In the remainder of this review, I will give two general critiques of the volume. First, the term "Europe" in the volume's subtitle is slightly misleading. While the contributors do address plays written in French, Spanish, Italian, English, and (to a lesser extent) German, it would have been more exact with regard to the subtitle had the volume included serious drama by other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European writers, such as Dutch, Swedish, or Polish playwrights. This is not to say that the volume needed to include all European languages and traditions; this would have been a nearly impossible

task. However, subtitling the collection this way implicitly marginalizes other languages and traditions by erasing them from the "center" of the collection's focus. This result is rather ironic, since the editors (as I have already pointed out) problematize the notion of "center" and "margin" in the volume by disrupting the notion that tragedy occupies the center while other genres reside on its margins. This problem could have been easily avoided by simply removing "en Europe" from the subtitle.

Second, and this might in some ways be a corollary of the first, all of the contributors work in French universities except for five: three are based in Italy and two in (primarily French-language) Swiss universities. (In fact, the collection is the product, at least in part, of an international conference held March 19–21, 2015 at Paris-Sorbonne University [today called Sorbonne University] as well as a series of discrete seminars in 2014 –2015.) As a result, a rather "Franco-French" perspective dominates; while there is nothing wrong with that, of course, the collection might have benefited from more international representation among its contributors. One consequence of this lack of diversity can be found in the Bibliography. It is rather extensive, divided neatly by primary and secondary sources, as well as by region (France, Spain, and so forth), but it does not contain some important works. (I will only point out three works written in English on French drama.) For example, although one article by John D. Lyons and one by Andrea Frisch do appear in the Bibliography, their books on tragedy—Lyons's *Kingdom of Disorder: Theory of Tragedy in Classical France* (West Lafayette (IN): Purdue University Press, 1999), for instance, and Frisch's *Forgetting Differences: Tragedy, Historiography, and the French Wars of Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017)—, as well as Donald Stone's seminal study that surveys precisely the questions the preoccupy this volume, *French Humanist Tragedy: A Reassessment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), are unfortunately absent.

Nonetheless, this is a very rich collection that succeeds in rethinking the place(s), functions, and uses of tragedy within the landscape of early modern serious drama. Readers will find the Introduction valuable with regard to the current state of the field and the individual essays useful for their specific research interests on French, Spanish,

Italian, English, and/or German drama. There is also a quite extensive (yet, as I have argued, in some ways limited) Bibliography and a helpful Index to aid readers in navigating the collection's contents.

Jean de Guardia. *Logique du genre dramatique.* Travaux du Grand Siècle, 46. Genève: Librairie Droz, 2018. 495 pp. €79.00. Review by Suzanne Toczyski, Sonoma State University.

How do authors create coherence in dramatic fiction, and when and why do spectators and readers seek such coherence? These are the underlying questions of Jean de Guardia's *Logique du genre dramatique,* an impressive exploration of what De Guardia deems the most classically "coherent" period, authors, and genres of French literature, namely, the comedies and tragedies of Pierre Corneille, Jean Racine, and Molière dating from 1637 to 1687 (26). This fifty-year period, De Guardia maintains, offers a body of texts grounded in a classical aesthetic of maximal structural coherence and serves as a basis upon which De Guardia builds his *Logique*. De Guardia's goal is not so much to offer analyses of particular dramatic works as it is to explore a precise set of theatrical phenomena: the coherence of the individual texts under consideration, the theoretical models of coherence elaborated by writers of the time period, and the logical relationship between text and representation on the stage. While his approach may be off-putting to readers uncomfortable with the formalistic language and diagrams of syllogistic logic, De Guardia's prose is relatively straightforward and accessible with helpful charts and diagrams; his work offers a fascinating and novel dissection of the notion of dramatic coherence and its usefulness as a lens with which to consider some of the most well-known plays of seventeenth-century France.

De Guardia enters into the conversation around dramatic coherence with easy familiarity, drawing upon the works of Aristotle as well as those of seventeenth-century dramatic theorists François Hédelin, abbé d'Aubignac, and Georges de Scudéry. De Guardia also engages in fruitful dialogue with more contemporary theorists, from Anne Ubersfeld, Gérard Genette (with particular reference to Genette's work on *vraisemblance*), and Paul Ricoeur, to Georges Forestier and Gilles

Declercq. Most interesting, perhaps, are the myriad ways De Guardia brings ideas around coherence from different eras into dialogue with one another, synthesizing them into a new and valuable understanding of unity in dramatic fiction in general.

The first (and longest) section of *Logique du genre dramatique* explores the notion of "la cause fictive," taking as its point of departure the fundamental principle that, "*la fiction doit fournir les causes de chaque fait qui la compose"* (38), a law of fiction that will hold at least to the end of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes,* after which point, De Guardia notes, coherence is no longer a dominant law in art. Distinguishing between "causes" and "reasons" in order to develop a taxonomy of causality, De Guardia contrasts the work of Corneille and, to some extent, Molière (wherein *causes* are related to what is "necessary" in terms of nomological explicability) with that of Racine (where we find a more pronounced use of *reasons* in the context of deliberative explicability). Ultimately, De Guardia suggests, fictional causality is essentially a language game ("un jeu de langage") that takes place in the mind of the reader or spectator, if that individual is willing to participate; logic and verisimilitude are contrasted with structural complications that make the reader-spectator work harder at the interpretative process. Although all modalities can be found in classical French theater, De Guardia posits that total intelligibility is the consummate goal.

Part II of De Guardia's *Logique* focuses on the three conditions necessary to create a true sense of unity in dramatic fiction: (1) *integration*, such that there is nothing extraneous or unexplained outside of the causal network; (2) *liaison*, the condition requiring that various elements of the dramatic work be clearly linked one to another; and (3) *schema*, the process by which, taken together globally, these elements give form and unity to the piece. The most fascinating sections of this part of De Guardia's *Logique* focus on predictability and surprise, with a particular attention given to the "formes étranges et hybrides" (269) of Corneille's early comedies contrasted with his reflections on unity in *Horace* and *Cinna*. Part II of the *Logique* concludes with a lengthy "généralisation du théorème de Valincour" (331 ff.), in which De Guardia, grappling with Genette's work on the topic, examines a later paradigm shift to a non-binary, more subjective approach to

theatrical composition. In the classical age, De Guardia notes, "*un ensemble de belles pratiques mal agencées (non vraisemblables ou non fonctionnelles) ne constitue pas une belle oeuvre"* (331); dramatic authors thus choose to vary their models at their own peril, striving always for "l'inaccessible fantasme classique" (361). De Guardia's strength here is his combinatoric approach, which allows him to examine all possible logical models of fictional unity, contrasting, for example, plays as widely different as Corneille's *Cinna,* Molière's *L'Avare,* Racine's *Iphigénie,* and Yasmina Reza's *Art* in one diagram.

In the third and final section of his study, De Guardia examines the relationship between *histoire* and *représentation* in an effort to identify the implicit rules that cause a spectator to recognize the unity of a given stage performance. Here, the notion of coherence is predicated on an acceptance that there are always elements of the dramatic work existing outside of the representation itself; it is therefore a question of determining what *constitutes* the action of the play and what *denotes* that action. In the end, considerations of logical *vraisemblance* and pragmatic *vraisemblance*, along with a well-regulated, fitting sequence of scenes, result in theatrical coherence and unity. The rhetoric of theatrical discourse is not neglected; De Guardia devotes considerable space to J. L. Austin's concept of speech acts and their functioning to confer unity in the dramatic representations as well.

Readers seeking insights into specific works by Corneille, Racine, and Molière will be disappointed to find that these names are left out of the *Logique*'s index (although their contemporary Rotrou is there and can be found as a counterexample throughout the book; Rotrou's *Les Cosroès* receives limited critical attention at various stages of De Guardia's argument). Nor are significant conceptual terms catalogued; the index consists solely of surnames and is, thus, of limited usefulness. For the patient reader, however, Jean de Guardia's *Logique du genre dramatique* insightfully develops a valuable theory of fictional coherence in the context of French seventeenth-century theater, a construct useful in judging the unity not only of works of *le Grand Siècle,* but also of the aesthetic production—both literary and cinematographic—of today.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Vol. 67, Nos. 1 & 2. Jointly with SCN. NLN is the official publication of the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies. Edited by Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University; Western European Editor: Gilbert Tournoy, Leuven; Eastern European Editors: Jerzy Axer, Barbara Milewska-Wazbinska, and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, Centre for Studies in the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, University of Warsaw. Founding Editors: James R. Naiden, Southern Oregon University, and J. Max Patrick, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Graduate School, New York University.

♦ *Les arts poétiques du XIII^e^ au XVII^e^ siècle: tensions et dialogue entre théorie et pratique.* Edited by Grégory Ems and Mathieu Minet. Latinitates: Latin Culture and Literature through the Ages, 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. 338 pages. €90. When I wrote the entry twenty years ago on "Poetics" for the *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, 6 vols. (New York, 1999), 5:64-69, the field was so moribund that several of the often-cited works dated to the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. When I returned to the area over a decade later to prepare the "Art of Poetry" entry for the *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, ed. Margaret King, http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0396.xml, accessed 1 April 2019, it had become clear that the subject was moving from the margins of scholarship toward the center, especially among French speakers. The volume under review here, which began at a conference held in Brussels in October, 2011 but contains several essays in addition to those presented then, confirms this trend. The aim in this collection is to problematize the tension between authorial innovation and conformity to preexisting models, especially in the famous *artes poeticae* that were designed to govern poetic composition, and to interrogate the categories that have tended to govern scholarship in this area: medieval versus Renaissance, Latin versus vernacular, and theory versus practice.

The first section, "Enjeux critiques de la relation entre théorie et pratique," contains five essays: Olivier Delsaux, "Défense et illustration des arts 'poétiques' français de la fin du Moyen Age"; Elsa Marguin-Hamon, "Entre conservatoire et espace de liberté: la poésie médiolatine et ses implications théoriques en question"; Adrian Armstrong, "Théorie et pratique, aller et retour: l'art de rhétorique et la poésie de Jean Molinet dans deux recueils manuscrits"; Jean-Charles Monferran, "De l'anthologie et de l'art poétique français à la Renaissance"; and Michel Jourde, "La poésie *avant* la poétique: enjeux d'une antécédence chez Jacques Peletier du Mans et quelques auteurs du XVI[e] siècle." There are four papers in section two, "Par-delà la problématique théorie-pratique": Annelyse Lemmens, "Le frontispiece, mise en scène de la poésie néo-latine. Étude de cas de la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle"; Jane H. M. Taylor, "A Grammar of Legibility: Pierre Fabri's *Grant et vray art de pleine rhetorique* and Its *Mise en Texte*"; Nathalie Hancisse, "'*I'ay mis le main au papier pour escrire / d'un different que i'ay voulu transcrire*': Translation, Politics and Mary Stuart's Poetical Voice"; and Tom Deneire, "Reconsidering *Imitatio Auctorum*: A Dynamic-Functionalist Approach to Imitation in Neo-Latin Poetry." Section three, "L'étude des pratiques à l'aune des theories," contains the last five essays in the volume: Ludmilla Evdokimova, "L'art de la parole et la gradation des styles dans les poèmes lyriques de Deschamps"; Michiel Verweij, "La comédie scolaire néo-latine ou comment écrire des textes classiques sans modèle théorique?"; Aline Smeesters, "Le *Genethliacon Salonini* et le *Genethliacon Lucani* comme modèles pratiques (et théoriques?) du poème généthliaque néo-latin"; Virginie Leroux, "Théorie et pratique de l'élégie latine au XVI[e] siècle"; and Perrine Galand, "Jean Salmon Macrin éditeur et lecteur de *L'art poétique* de Jérome Vida (1527)."

While the individual essays each merit attention by themselves, the conference organizers and editors deserve credit for the special efforts they have taken to nurture relationships among the chapters and to avoid easy generalizations and questionable binaries. For example, it seems logical to assume that theory precedes practice, but as a number of the essays in this volume show, theory can also be articulated after poetry has been written, as a justification for it. The essays also remind us that the *ars poetica* does not exist as a genre in an ideal Platonic

form but within the human and material conditions that shape its production, so that poetic theory can be found in a preface or an exchange of letters as well as in a treatise. Finally several of the essays stress the genetic and material aspects of the art of poetry, aspects that are controlled at least in part by editors, printers, and copyists. All in all, this is a timely, well-executed collection that contributes nicely to a reemerging field that deserves the attention it is once again attracting among Neo-Latinists. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Description of the Aegean and Other Islands, Copied, with Supplemental Material, by Henricus Martellus Germanus: A Facsimile of the Manuscript at the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.* Edited and translated by Evelyn Edson. Italica Press Historical Travel Series. New York: Italica Press, 2018. x + 294 pp., 94 color facsimile pp., 1 map. $100. This book has its origins in a description of the Aegean islands that was written in 1420 by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (ca. 1385-ca. 1430), as copied by Henricus Martellus Germanus (d. 1496). The environment in which the project was born and nurtured was the humanism of Renaissance Florence, which shaped it in several complementary ways. Buondelmonti began traveling in the Aegean in search of Greek manuscripts for humanists like Niccolò Niccoli, and as the report of his travels to Niccoli indicates, he marveled at, and mourned, the ruins of antiquity that he encountered there. Buondelmonti was a real traveler, but like most of the early humanists, he processed what he saw through classical texts, in this case Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Livy's histories, and the myths of Ovid found in Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus*, which he retold in their geographical settings. Martellus added to what he found from Buondelmonti and enriched it with quotations from Isidore, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Strabo along with humanist writers like Giovanni Tortelli and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Unlike Buondelmonti, Martellus was not a traveler, but a map collector who worked from humanist libraries to satisfy humanist readers.

The book being reviewed here is a lavish production. It contains an appropriate introduction, one that explains the significance of the work for readers in different fields without belaboring the relevant points. A two-page map on which Buondelmonti's journey can be traced comes

next, followed by a full-color facsimile of the Minnesota manuscript. Next comes a critical edition of the Latin text, which is more than what its label, 'Transcription,' suggests, followed by a readable English translation, a bibliography, and the index that is necessary to use such a volume. The textual descriptions do not follow a model rigidly, but they tend to present distance and direction from the previous island; then a measurement, usually the circumference of the island but occasionally length and width; next an explanation, sometimes fanciful, of how the island got its name(s); then a description of any prominent features, classical ruins, and resources that a business person might find valuable; and finally, an account of the island's history, including myths connected to it, along with occasional personal details.

It is tempting to consider this as primarily a coffee table book, but that would be a mistake: it does indeed meet the highest aesthetic standards, but it is also a work of scholarship, carefully prepared over a period of several years. In addition it is a valuable reminder that Neo-Latin includes not only poetry and plays, but also less obvious genres like travel literature. Italica Press, which recently moved its editorial office to Bristol, has been a good friend to Neo-Latin studies over the years, and I am looking forward to more books like this one to come. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *On Human Worth and Excellence.* By Giannozzo Manetti. Edited and translated by Brian F. Copenhaver. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 85. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. lii + 362 pp. $29.95. The reader who approaches Manetti's *On Human Worth and Excellence* in 2019 would normally do so with several assumptions: first, that the treatise was written in response to Pope Innocent III's *On the Misery of the Human Condition*; second, that it is in some way a predecessor to, and compatible with, the more famous *Oration on the Dignity of Man,* by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola; and third, that Manetti's concept of *dignitas* maps closely onto what the word connotes for us today. By way of introduction, Copenhaver shows that each of these assumptions should be modified or rejected.

It is true that in one sense, Manetti's treatise can be seen as a response to *On the Misery of the Human Condition*—indeed Lotario dei Segni, who wrote *On the Misery* before he became Pope, had promised

to write a companion volume *On the Worth and Excellence of Human Life*, although he never did so. Manetti, however, did not come to his task directly from Innocent III's treatise. The project was begun by one Antonio da Barga, in a work entitled *On Mankind's Worth and the Excellence of Human Life*, and continued by Bartolomeo Facio's *On Human Excellence and Distinction*. Translations of both of these works, which are short, appear in this volume as appendices, which is appropriate, since Manetti took up where Facio had left off.

Pico's work presents a more substantial detour, since its title was given by an eighteenth-century editor and it mentions *dignitas* only twice in a 7,400-word text, with neither usage tied to a property of human beings. Pico did not give the speech a title, nor did he allow it to be printed, presumably because its real subject was inflammatory: Pico did not base his speech in conventional Christian piety, but in the idea that people should use the Jewish magic found in the Kabbalah to escape the body and become angels. This has nothing to do with *dignitas*, so neither the word nor any complex of ideas associated with it plays a major part in the oration.

This brings us to the question of what, precisely, Manetti was writing about in the first place. For us post-Enlightenment readers, *dignitas* conjures up the role of 'dignity' in Kant's theory of value, where it applies to all people, it cannot be lost, it cannot increase, decrease, or be measured, and it is not relative to anyone or anything outside the individual person. For Manetti, however, *dignitas* had two reference points, ancient Rome and medieval Christianity, and it refers to rank, status, value, and / or worth. Copenhaver's philological work here (xxxi-xxxv) is a real tour de force and colors our understanding of the entire treatise.

On Human Worth and Excellence is not an easy read: as Copenhaver admits, "Manetti's presentation is orderly, repetitive, rigid, and dull: the pleonasms are annoying; outlining and signposting are incessant, though not always successful. Sentences are frequently longer and more convoluted (I hope) than their versions in this translation" (298). Nevertheless the treatise is worth reading, in that its exaltation of the body is original and progressive, and its treatment of the body / soul union is "impressive … even novel" (xxvi). Copenhaver's introduction is a bit leisurely, especially by the standards of the ITRL series, but I

suspect that this is because the material being summarized is repetitive to begin with. All in all, this is another worthy contribution to what has become the venue of choice for publishing Neo-Latin texts with English translations. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Cristoforo Landino: His Works and His Thought.* By Bruce McNair. Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts, 21. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019. VIII + 228 pp. $143. Cristoforo Landino (1424-1498), the subject of this book, is a Florentine humanist whose importance has been recognized for several generations but not fully explored. Beginning in the eighties, Roberto Cardini in Italy, Manfred Lentzen in Germany, and Arthur Field and this reviewer in the United States focused a renewed attention on Landino, which resulted in studies of several key aspects of his substantial scholarly oeuvre, especially his lectures and commentaries on Dante and Virgil. Within the last decade attention has shifted to his poetry and creative work, giving us Mary P. Chatfield's I Tatti Renaissance Library edition of Landino's Latin poetry (Cambridge, MA, 2008) and an excellent monograph on the *Xandra*, Christoph Pieper's *Elegos redolere Vergiliosque sapere: Cristoforo Landinos "Xandra" zwischen Liebe und Gesellschaft* (Hildesheim, 2008). The book under review here will take its place as the latest entry in this discussion.

Now that individual issues have been researched, what has been needed is a more synthetic effort that incorporates what has been learned into a broader discussion of the development of Landino's thought. This is precisely what McNair's book is designed to provide. It goes systematically through Landino's Latin works, several of which are quite important, beginning with the *Xandra*, moving through the records of Landino's teaching in the 1450s and 1460s, developing full discussions of *De anima* and the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, and ending with the 1488 Virgil commentary and the Dante commentary. In this way McNair follows the evolution of Landino's thought as key themes are set forth and developed over time. This allows him to conclude with the two key commentaries on which Landino's reputation rests, but to discuss them in relation to the broader evolution of Landino's thought rather than exclusively within the commentary tradition to the *Aeneid* and the *Divine Comedy*, as much earlier work

has done. The result is a work of traditional intellectual history that makes the case that Landino, who has been overshadowed by such flashy colleagues as Ficino and Poliziano, is in fact a scholar-thinker of real significance in late fifteenth-century Italy.

McNair's monograph is of value in itself, as a systematic study of an important Neo-Latin writer, but its presentation is nuanced in such a way that it also contributes to two important lines of discussion in current scholarship about Quattrocento Italian humanism. First, there has been a tendency until recently to view Florentine intellectual life during this period through the lens of Neoplatonism, as instantiated by Marsilio Ficino. Landino certainly knew what Ficino was doing, but he was his own man, and in McNair's book, his scholarly independence comes through clearly. Second, the humanists in general did a good job of convincing succeeding generations that they had discarded their medieval past and done something totally new. Through painstaking source study, however, McNair has shown that Landino continued to rely on the traditional scholastic education he had received along with the avant garde humanist ideas that were circulating around him. This conclusion will, I think, contribute to a reevaluation of Italian humanism in general over the next few years, one that acknowledges the very real innovations offered by men like Landino while at the same time uncovering the medieval roots that many of them sought to hide as they positioned themselves as innovators in their search for jobs in government and the universities.

All in all this is a solid contribution to Neo-Latin studies, one that fills a noticeable gap in scholarship and that will serve as the 'go to' source on its subject for years to come. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Greek and Latin Poetry*. By Angelo Poliziano. Edited and translated by Peter Knox. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 86. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. xx+ 418 pp. $29.95. Angelo Ambrogini (1454–1494), called Poliziano after his home town (Lat. *Mons Politianus*, Ital. Montepulciano), was one of the shining lights of the Italian Renaissance. He lived and worked under the protection of the Medici in Florence, serving as secretary to the ruler and tutor to his sons, then finally obtaining through political influence the chair

of rhetoric and poetry at the University of Florence. From this position he lectured and prepared commentaries on an unusually wide range of authors, becoming one of the first scholars in the West whose facility in Greek approached that of the Byzantine emigrés. Poliziano was a poet as well as a scholar. His *Stanze* hold a significant place in the history of Italian literature, while as a Latin poet he is best known for his *Silvae*, which has already appeared in The I Tatti Renaissance Library (vol. 14), but he also wrote a good number of other poems in both Latin and Greek, collected here together and translated into English for the first time.

Both Poliziano's temperament and his times have impeded the collection and publication of his Latin and Greek poetry. He began composing as a very young man, but he got caught up in the political vicissitudes of his Medici patrons, which led to a series of upheavals. He also had a tendency to begin projects like his translation into Latin of Homer's *Iliad*, but to abandon them when he lost interest. He was in the process of collecting and publishing his Greek and Latin poems when he died in 1494. Shortly afterward the French king Charles VIII invaded Florence, ended Medici rule, and brought the great achievements of Florentine humanism to a conclusion. Poliziano's papers were dispersed, but his literary executors, Pietro Crinito and Alessandro Sarti, intervened and delivered his Greek and Latin works to Aldus Manutius in Venice for publication.

This edition and translation contains several works. *An Elegy for Albiera degli Albizzi* was written as part of an anthology of testimonials to the memory of a young woman who died on the eve of her wedding. *The Book of Epigrams* followed immediately after the *Elegy* in the Aldine edition, and Knox has restored the order of the poems as found there, preferring that to the rearrangement by genres in the modern edition of Isidore Del Lungo even though the earlier order probably reflects the preferences of Crinito and Sarti, who may or may not have followed Poliziano. We are on more solid ground with *The Book of Greek Epigrams*, which we know that Poliziano was working on at his death; indeed Poliziano's former student Zanobi Acciaiuoli reports that the collection as it appears at the end of the Aldine edition is just as Poliziano left it. To finish out the volume, Knox includes several shorter works: an elegy to Bartolomeo Fonzio, whose authorship

was not recognized until the eighteenth century; *A Silva on Scabies*, a description of a horrible wasting disease that had afflicted Poliziano, which was discovered in 1952 by Paul Oskar Kristeller; and several other poems that were probably left out of the Aldine edition by Crinito and Sarti because they were obscene or because they contain unflattering references to Poliziano's bitter enemy Michael Marullus and a number of other individuals, references that were politically inexpedient after Charles VIII assumed control of Florence.

Now that the Edizione nazionale delle opere di Angelo Poliziano has gotten up and running, we can expect the number of modern critical editions of Poliziano's works to increase significantly. This ITRL volume, however, will retain its value as a way of providing access to the works of a major scholar-poet for an educated general audience, in an easy-to-use format at a modest price. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Five Centuries Later, Aldus Manutius: Culture, Typography and Philology.* Edited by Natale Vacalebre. Biblioteca di bibliografia, 207. Florence: Casa editrice Leo S. Olschki, and Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2018. XXXVI + 244 pp. €35. Five hundred years after his death, Aldus Manutius continues to attract an extraordinary amount of attention, both among scholars and the educated general public—indeed the CERL records nineteen conferences and twenty-eight exhibitions and other events to mark this anniversary. The volume under review here began as a cooperative effort spearheaded by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan to mark this anniversary. Aldus was an innovative printer, to be sure, whose pioneering use of the italic font and octavo format left an indelible mark on what Greek and Latin texts looked like in the Renaissance, but he was also a scholar who, along with his successors, published a wide variety of Neo-Latin texts to accompany the publishing program in Greek for which he remains justly famous. The fourteen essays in this volume attest to the range of his activities and impact.

In "Venti anni dopo," Piero Scapecchi looks at the work that has been done during and after the five hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Aldine press in 1495. G. Scott Clemons uses "Pressing Business: The Economics of the Aldine Press" to move away

from the image of Aldus as culture hero to the realities of the business world, where problems of economics and marketing had to be solved before attention could be turned to reviving the classics. In "The Ahmanson-Murphy Catalogue Revisited," Nicolas Barker offers a brief examination of the building of the largest Aldine collection in North America and the development of a catalogue worthy of it. "La scrittura di Aldo e il suo ultimo carattere greco (con uno sconosciuto esemplare di tipografia)" of David Speranzi returns to a much-discussed topic, the evolution of Aldus's Greek fonts, by comparing them to other fonts of the Quattrocento and to several manuscripts with marginal glosses in Aldus's own hand. In "«La grammatica insignata da mi ad vui vi farra honore & utile». Il volgare nelle *Institutiones grammaticae*," Patrizia Bertini Malgarini and Ugo Vignuzzi remind us that, like Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Aldus was a teacher as well as a scholar-printer and that he continued looking for the right *volgare* examples to translate Latin verbs in successive editions of his grammar manual. "Johannes alter Aldus? Giovanni Tacuino e l'editoria umanistica nella Venezia di Manuzio" places Aldus's work in the context of printing history, with Alessandro Ledda and Luca Rivali showing how Tacuino came to represent the generation that succeeded Aldus. In "The Binders Who Worked for the Bookshop «Al segno dell'anchora et dolphin»," Mirjam Foot shifts the focus to Venetian bindings, especially those associated with Fugger and Mendoza and their relationship with Aldus and Giolito, another major printer of the day. Dorit Raines turns to collecting, using "Becoming Collectable: Collecting and Selling Aldines in Early-Modern Venice" to show how Aldines were collected in the antiquarian market during the Sette and Ottocento, in Venice but also abroad. Andrea De Pasquale develops this theme further in "Il collezionismo di aldine nelle biblioteche dell'Italia nord-occidentale del XIX secolo: i casi delle biblioteche nazionali di Milano e Torino," which leads to a better understanding of the interest in Aldines in Lombardy and Piedmont. In "Aldus, Grolier and Erasmus," Robin Raybould traces the motto *festina lente* through the French Renaissance, while Susy Marcon follows the images of three generations of Aldus's family in "Ritratti aldini." The last three essays focus on Aldine collections in several Italian libraries: the Biblioteca Trivulziana of Milan, whose collection was studied by Isabella Fiorentini; the Biblioteca Ambrosiana

in Milan, whose collection was catalogued by Marina Bonomelli, who is also the author of this essay; and the Aldines found in two little-known Sicilian libraries, the Biblioteca comunale "Santa Maria La Nuova" and the Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile "Ludovco II De Torres" di Monreale, as described by Marzia Sorrentino. The book concludes with an extensive index of names.

As this volume shows, the torrent of publications about Aldus shows no signs of letting up—indeed I just requested another from the same publisher on the same day as I wrote this review. Stay tuned…. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Annotations on Galatians and Ephesians*. By Desiderius Erasmus. Edited by Riemer A. Faber. Collected Works of Erasmus, 58. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015. xx + 256 pp. $150. Erasmus's scholarship on the New Testament can be divided into two parts, the *Paraphrases* and the *Annotations*; both drew their author into the center of the theological controversies of the day, but they have different forms and characters. The *Annotations* began as marginal comments that Erasmus entered into his copy of the Vulgate, as early as 1514, in order to justify his emendations of the text and to explain anything that might be obscure. They were first published in 1516 at the end of the *Novum Instrumentum*, which is the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation. New editions appeared in 1522, 1527, and 1535, each with significant changes and additions; the *Annotations* were published separately in 1519, and a fifth and final edition appeared in 1535. For his notes on Galatians and Ephesians, Erasmus relied initially on Jerome, Origen, and Ambrosiaster, with additions in later versions from Theophylact, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, with Thomas Aquinas, Lorenzo Valla, and Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples serving as more recent sources. Behind some of his notes lay controversies with various Catholic theologians, who are identified when possible in the footnotes to this translation.

Galatians and Ephesians, with their clear presentation of the doctrine of justification by faith, were crucial to the reform movement, and therefore to Erasmus as well; indeed he exchanged words with Luther over the interpretation of Ephesians 2:3. The main purpose of

the *Annotations*, however, is not polemic against the Lutherans or the advancement of Erasmus's own ideas about devotion and piety, but rather to address interpretive *cruces* that can often be traced back to the beginnings of Biblical exegesis. In addition to summarizing and evaluating textual exegesis and its history, the *Annotations* explain Erasmus's Greek text along with the meaning of Greek and Hebrew idioms, the connotation of words, and features of syntax and style. Word choices that convey the nuances of theological meaning get special attention.

As is always the case in this series, the translation is precise and readable, and the format is quite user friendly, which is difficult to do when publishing annotations. Each annotation is printed as a separate unit, introduced by a *lemma*, or phrase, from the Vulgate along with chapter and verse number. Erasmus's translation of the Greek appears first, then an English translation of that, then the Vulgate text in Latin and English, then Erasmus's annotation followed by the editor's footnotes. The result is a work of serious scholarship, one that will be used and cited by anyone with a significant interest in Erasmus and the Reformation. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Emma the Porter: A New, Educational Comedy, Useful and Delightful to Read, Acted at the Collegium Illustre of Tübingen, 3 March 1625*. By Frederic Herman Flayder. Edited and translated by Mark Riley. San Bernardino, CA: Sophron Editor, 2017. xxx + 185 pp. Beschäftigt man sich mit dem deutschen Humanismus, dann zumeist mit den im späten fünfzehnten und frühen sechzehnten Jahrhundert wirkenden Vertretern dieser Geistesepoche; aus der Spätphase findet nur Nikodemus Frischlin häufigere Erwähnung. Zu den späten protestantischen Dichterhumanisten, denen gemeinhin weniger Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird, gehört Friedrich Hermann Flayder (1596–1644), der neben seinen Tätigkeiten an der Universität Tübingen auch als Lyriker und Schuldramatiker in Erscheinung getreten ist, und als solcher unter anderem die Komödie *Imma portatrix* verfasst und zur Aufführung gebracht hat. Das Stück greift eine fiktive Episode aus der Karolingerzeit auf: die Liebesbeziehung zwischen der angeblichen Tochter Karls des Großen, Imma, und seinem angeblichen Sekretär und tatsächlichen Biographen Einhard.

Der titelgebende Höhepunkt der Komödie besteht darin, dass die Hauptfigur ihren Liebhaber aus ihrem Zimmer trägt, um Fußspuren im frischen Schnee zu vermeiden. Das heitere Stück, das durch den Einschub einer Dienerhandlung zusätzlich an Komik gewinnt, ist es auf jeden Fall wert, in Erinnerung gerufen zu werden. Mark Riley hat sich dieser Aufgabe angenommen und 2017 eine Edition des Texts samt englischer Übersetzung bereitgestellt. Die Arbeit basiert auf dem Erstdruck der Komödie (Tübingen, 1625). Die bis dato einzige moderne Edition des Stücks hatte Gustav Bebermeyer 1925 in seiner Publikation *Hermann Flayders ausgewählte Werke* vorgelegt.

Edieren bedeutet bekanntlich Entscheidungen treffen, denen nicht ausschließlich wissenschaftlich Argumente, sondern auch persönliche Präferenzen zugrunde liegen. Riley entscheidet sich für die Reproduktion der orthographischen Textgestalt der Erstausgabe; eine Vorgehensweise, für die sich gute Gründe finden lassen. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass der originale Text über das online-Portal der Münchner Staatsbibliothek bequem und öffentlich zugänglich ist, hätte man freilich auch Normierung in Betracht ziehen können. Neben der originalen Lautung behält der Herausgeber auch die Groß-/Kleinschreibung und sogar die uneinheitlichen Sprecherkürzel (Eg., Eginh.) bei. Modernisiert wurde die Zeichensetzung, allerdings fehlt vor Anreden oftmals ein Beistrich (z.B. V. 369, V. 373); bei der Interpunktion fällt zudem auf, dass der Herausgeber auf das Exklamationszeichen sowohl in Imperativ- als auch in Optativkonstruktionen fast durchgehend verzichtet. Etwa eigenartig ist auch seine Entscheidung, den Zirkumflex auf Ablativendungen häufig zu eliminieren, an vielen Stellen jedoch *for clarity* beizubehalten—auch dort, wo es vielleicht nicht nötig gewesen wäre (z.B. V. 136, V. 525). Sehr hilfreich ist, dass offensichtliche Quellen in einem Apparat angegeben sind, was deutlich werden lässt, dass Flayder viele Textpartien aus verschiedenen Plautus-Komödien übernommen hat. Umfassend ediert sind die Paratexte des Drucks von 1625: Riley hat das Widmungsschreiben ebenso mit abgedruckt wie die Begleitgedichte und das Schauspielerverzeichnis. Außerdem bietet er in einem Appendix den Auszug aus dem *Chronicum Laurihamense*, der die Episode schildert—mutmaßlich die älteste Version der Legende und mittelbare Quelle von Flayder.

Die englische Übersetzung des Textes liest sich angenehme und ist selbsterklärend. Nur vereinzelt hat Riley es für nötig befunden, kurze, pragmatisch formulierte Erklärungen im Fußnotenapparat vorzunehmen.

Dem Text vorangestellt ist eine zwanzigseitige Einleitung. In ihr bietet der Herausgeber zu Beginn eine knappe Einführung in das neulateinische Drama samt Überlegungen zu den Funktionen des lateinischen Schulspiels. Es folgt eine Darstellung zur Biographie des Dramatikers bzw. zu dessen literarischem Werk. Hier sind auch ‚Kostproben' aus Flayders Epigrammen abgedruckt. Anschließend wird die Komödie *Imma portatrix* vorgestellt: Riley präsentiert die Quellenlage, weist die dargestellte Episode als fiktional aus, bietet eine gut verständliche Inhaltszusammenfassung von Haupt- und Nebenhandlung sowie Ansätze einer psychologischen Interpretation. Eine knapp gehaltene Besprechung der (stark von der römischen Komödie geprägten) Latinität und der metrischen Struktur des Dramentexts schließt die Einleitung ab. Was nicht geboten wird, sind weitergehende Informationen zur Aufführung des Dramas bzw. zum Sitz im Leben des Texts.

Die meisten Abschnitte der Einführung ermöglichen es dem Leser, rasch und unkompliziert mit wichtigen Rahmeninformationen zum Text vertraut zu machen. Kritik zu üben ist einzig am einleitenden Überblick über das neulateinische Drama. Erstens wäre es wohl sinnvoller gewesen, das Drama vor Flayders literarsoziologischem Hintergrund in Deutschland zu verorten, als einen Überblick über das neulateinische Drama insgesamt zu bieten, der sich auf die Vorstellung mitunter arbiträr wirkender, mit dem literarischen Feld vor Ort nur lose in Verbindung stehender Exempla (Albertino Mussato, George Buchanan, Joseph Simons, Thomas Legge, George Ruggle) beschränkt. Zweitens fällt hier eine Reihe unreflektierter Werturteile negativ auf (*George Buchanan, the greatest of Neo-Latin writers* [...]; (S. iii); *The most famous and widely reprinted [comedy] is George Ruggle's* »*Ignoramus*« [...]; S. iii). Und drittens ist zu bemäkeln, dass der Abschnitt über Johannes Reuchlin inhaltliche Fehler enthält: Dass Reuchlin *several comedies* (S. iii.) geschrieben habe, wie vom Herausgeber formuliert, lässt sich nicht nachweisen. *Henno* und die *Scenica Progymnasmata*, von Riley als zwei unterschiedliche Texte dargestellt, sind ein und dasselbe Stück;

Sergius ist eher eine Satire als eine Komödie. Für weitere Stücke aus seiner Feder gibt es keine Belege.

Problematisch ist zudem, dass Riley den Dreißigjährigen Krieg offenbar als Zeit des geistigen Vakuums ansieht, während der kein Theater mehr gespielt wurde. Das suggerieren jedenfalls Formulierungen wie *the last dramatist to write before the disaster of the Thirty Years' War* (S. vii, siehe auch eine ähnliche Formulierung auf S. iii). Bekanntlich ist in der Zeit zwischen 1618 und 1648 trotz des Krieges in Mitteleuropa intensiv Theater gespielt worden—man denke etwa an das Jesuitentheater; auch *Imma portatrix* datiert ja aus dem Jahr 1625.

Trotz dieser kleineren Mängel ist das Buch ein praktisches Arbeitsinstrument, das beim Erstkontakt mit dem Flayder gute Dienste leistet und als Textgrundlage auf Jahre hin brauchbar sein wird. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass es auch dazu dienen kann, diesen interessanten Text und seinen Autor wieder größerer Bekanntheit zuzuführen. (Simon Wirthensohn, Innsbruck)

♦ *Walter Charleton's The Ephesian Matron / Matrona Ephesia*. Edited, with contextual studies, bilingual edition, and commentary by Nina Tomaszewski. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 102. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2018. 230* + 416 pp. €65. The story on which this work is based comes from Petronius's *Satyricon*, 111-12. A woman from Ephesus who is renowned for her chastity is suddenly widowed. Grief-stricken, she determines to starve herself to death and stays for several days in her husband's tomb with her maid. Some thieves are crucified near the tomb and a soldier is sent to ensure that they do not obtain a proper burial. The soldier finds the widow and tries to offer consolation; the widow initially resists, but accepts first some food, then the soldier's amorous advances. This continues for three nights, but since the crosses are unguarded, one of the bodies is removed. To avoid punishment for neglecting his duty, the soldier decides to commit suicide, but in order not to lose her lover right after she has lost her husband, the widow gives the soldier her husband's body, which he puts on the cross. The story has attracted considerable attention through the ages, in part because of the questions it leaves unanswered. Is it true? And more importantly, what does it mean? In Petronius, those who heard the story reacted in

different ways, leaving open several possible interpretations: the story parodies the resurrection of Christ or the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, or it attacks women or general social decay, or it celebrates the triumph of love and life over death—or maybe it is simply an entertaining story without any deeper meaning.

In part because Petronius left its interpretation open, the story has been taken up repeatedly through the ages, in the story of the *Seven Sages*, in theoretical treatises like John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, and in Chapman's *The Widow's Tears*. Walter Charleton's *The Ephesian Matron* inserts itself into this tradition, in an unusually interesting way. Charleton developed an interest in Epicurus in the 1650s and turned to this story in order to present the widow as an Epicurean counter-example to the ideal of Platonic love that was fashionable at the time. In other words, *The Ephesian Matron* uses a story and a philosophy from antiquity to craft an intervention into a seventeenth-century debate about love and the passions, in such a way that fiction blends with philosophy and Epicurus sits next to Thomas Hobbes.

Charleton's text was originally written in English, but it was translated into Latin in 1665, six years after it was originally published, by one Bartholomew Harris. This makes *Matrona Ephesia* of interest not only for its contribution to the ongoing scholarly discussion over the relationship between Neo-Latin and the vernacular, but also as an example of what seems in retrospect to be counterintuitive, the need to translate a work from the vernacular to Latin in order to make it accessible to a wider audience even in the seventeenth century. The English text was edited in *The Sensational Restoration* by James H. Jensen (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1996), 42-78, but there is no modern edition of Harris's translation, which means that this bilingual volume does a real service by placing both versions side by side for comparison.

Tomaszewski begins with a lengthy introduction that summarizes the reception of Petronius's story, provides an overview of Charleton's adaptation, presents a biographical sketch of the author, and offers a detailed analysis of the translation, leading to the conclusion that Harris did a reasonable job in conveying the essential features of the English text to an audience that did not read that language comfortably. An overview of this edition in comparison to earlier ones is fol-

lowed by the bilingual presentation, then by a detailed commentary, and finally by a helpful bibliography.

All of this work has been done to a very high standard. My only reservation has to do with a nagging doubt that a forty-five page Latin text may not require some 230 pages of introduction and 300 pages of commentary—indeed this almost seems like a parody of the thorough, minutely detailed German dissertation. But that reservation should probably be put aside, and we should instead be grateful for the painstaking work that has gone into the edition and its accompanying material. It is always good to see another little-known Neo-Latin work rescued from oblivion, by a philologically skilled, sympathetic editor. The series in which *Matrona Ephesia* was published has established itself as a primary outlet for such scholarship, and I am looking forward to seeing what Neo-Latin projects come from it next. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Lucubrationes Neolatinae: Readings of Neo-Latin Dissertations and Satires*. By Sari Kivistö. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 134. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2018. xii + 244 pp. €25. This volume contains twelve essays on various aspects of Neo-Latin from the period between 1500 and 1800. This interesting group of articles includes material from printed dissertations of the seventeenth century, from universities in Germany but also in Sweden, Estonia, and Finland, which maintained close relationships with German Lutheran institutions. Most of these dissertations were short, between twenty and sixty pages, and they generally aimed less for novelty than to demonstrate learning, which makes them excellent, but generally unmined, sources for the widely accepted knowledge of their day. "Sympathy in Rhetorical Persuasion at the Royal Academy of Turku," for example, examines two dissertations that show how the speaker's enthusiasm, plausibility of narration, and vivid description can generate a bond between speaker and audience that leads to successful persuasion. "Illegal Jesting in Two Late-Seventeenth-Century Legal Dissertations" shows how practical jokes can be harmful and how playful wedding vows can have serious consequences, while "On Agelast and Hypergelast Figures in Medical and *Quodlibet* Literature" continues the discussion of laughter by focusing on figures who never

laughed or died of laughter. "Georg Franck von Franckenau's Medical Satires," which analyzes a group of texts that challenge conventional ideas about bodies and sexuality, is followed by "The Desire for Novelty as an Academic Issue," which examines a group of dissertations that argue against the search for novelty for its own sake, since it could lead to the wrongful abandonment of all earlier doctrines.

Although it might not be immediately obvious from the title, the next essay, "Utopia as a Bird Affair: Georg Pasch's Brief Remarks on Cranes," marks a shift from early modern science to literary history, in that it focuses on the German theologian and philosopher Georg Pasch (1661-1707) and his turn to the crane community as a model for a utopian society. "The Eight Criteria of Evil Books" discusses how some writings came to be seen as dangerous in the early modern period, while "The Limits of Plagiarism in the Late Seventeenth Century" draws from Latin dissertations that offered distinctions between admirable imitation and unacceptable plagiarism. Another currently fashionable issue, forgeries and false texts, is the subject of the next essay, "Alfonso Ceccarelli's False Chronicles," while the last three contributions are concerned with Neo-Latin satire and related themes. In "Satirical Apotheosis after Seneca: Erasmus, Geldorp, and Heinsius," Kivistö shows how the apotheosis motif was used to examine conflicting value systems; "Poetical Monuments and the Dream of Immortality in Jakob Balde's Poetry" examines the topos of immortality achieved through poetry, with an eye on the Jesuit poet Jakob Balde; and "Epilogue: *Panem et circenses* in Finland" shows how themes from classical satire, e.g., the figure of the parvenu like Trimalchio and simple living in the countryside, became part of the nation-building process in early twentieth-century Finland.

The essays in this volume range widely, to the extent that the apparent effort to link them to a common theme does not strike me as fully successful. However there is a great deal of interesting material here, and the turn toward the dissertations is a useful reminder that there are entire genres of Neo-Latin literature that remain largely unexplored. This turn offers another way to show how the reliance on literary sources in early modern science came to be replaced by direct observation in the empirical mode. And finally, the dissertations offer a useful reminder that the temptation to write intellectual

history by leaping from the mountain top of one great intellect to another should be supplemented by some time in the valleys, where the generally accepted ideas of an age held sway. In short, this is a worthwhile collection of essays, one that may not be easy to obtain but is more than worth the effort to do so. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

♦ *Cicero in der Frühen Neuzeit.* Edited by Anne Eusterschulte and Günter Frank. Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten, 13. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2018. 400 pp. €68. I must admit that when I first looked at this book, I was confused: it contains the papers from a conference about Cicero in the early modern period, but the conference was sponsored by the Europäische Melanchthon-Akademie in Bretten and the volume was published in a series devoted to Melanchthon. What, as Tertullian once asked, does Athens have to do with Jerusalem? As I looked through the volume, however, things became clearer. It turns out that Cicero is the second most cited source, after Aristotle, in the writings of Melanchthon, which led the group of scholars associated with the 2011 conference and the proceedings derived from it to wonder why anyone who is interested in the reception of Cicero still ends up almost immediately with Tadeusz Zielinski's *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912), which was first issued in 1908 and reprinted six times, the last one a digital version in 2010. The answer they came up with is that Cicero has been a victim of his own success, in that his writings cover almost every imaginable field, from rhetoric, ethics, and politics to religion and anthropology, even medicine. Tracing Cicero's influence in all these fields, from late antiquity to the present, is an impossible task, yet things cannot simply be left as they were in Zielinski's time. The approach adopted here is not to write the encyclopedic history of Ciceronian reception that existing scholarship does not support, but to add exemplary case studies to that scholarship, in the hope that the panoramic overview can come later.

As one might expect given the origins of the volume, Cicero's impact on early modern theology receives special emphasis, but the range is broad, as a list of the chapters shows: Anne Eusterschulte and Günter Frank, "Cicero in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eine Einführung";

Günter Gawlick, "Die Cicero-memoria zwischen Verehrung und Verachtung"; Ursula Kocher, "Gasparino Barzizza (ca. 1360-1431)—ein Wegbereiter Ciceros als Ideal rhetorischer Praxis"; Felix Mundt, "Die Diskussion um die falsche »Consolatio« von 1583 im Kontext des Ciceronianismus"; Judith Steiniger, "Einflüsse Ciceros in Ortensio Landos »Forcianae Quaestiones« (Lyon 1535)"; Herbert Jaumann, "»… mihi solus Christus et Tullius placet«. Ortensio Landos »Cicero relegatus & Cicero revocatus« (1534) und das frühneuzeitliche Paradox …"; Anita Traninger, "Lose Kopplung. Zur Rolle von Ciceros *thesis* in Erasmus' Gattungspoetik der Deklamation"; Daniel Schäfer, "»Cato Maior«-Rezeption in der frühneuzeitlichen Medizin?"; Olivier Millet, "Die Frage der rhetorischen *imitatio ciceroniana* bei Philipp Melanchthon"; Günter Frank, "Cicero in der Theologie der Frühen Neuzeit. Von Philipp Melanchthon bis Hugo Grotius"; Gideon Stiening, "»Aus den innersten und tiefsten Gründen der Philosophie«. Zur Stellung Ciceros in Francisco Suárez' »De legibus ac deo legislatore«"; Ueli Zahnd, "Vom »philosophiae Romanae columen« zum »ethnicus ille«. Die Cicero-Rezeption beim jungen Calvin"; Andreas J. Beck, "Zur Rezeption Ciceros in der reformierten Orthodoxie, insbesondere bei Gisbertus Voetius"; Willem van Asselt, "The Reception of Cicero's Friendship Theory in Lambert Daneau (ca. 1530-1595)"; Frank van der Pol, "Cicero in the Interplay of Principle and Practice. A 17th-century Reformed-Pietistic Approach"; Bernd Roling, "Dämonen und Bühnenzauber: Ciceros Schrift »De divinatione« in der frühneuzeitlichen Debatte um das Orakelwesen"; Ronny Kaiser, "*Lumen verum* und *errores*—Sixt Bircks Kommentar zu Ciceros »De natura deorum« (1550)"; Anne Eusterschulte, "Zur Rezeption von »De officiis« bei Philipp Melanchthon und im Kreis seiner Schüler"; and Christoph Kraume, "J.E.D. Bernardis Supplement »De la République« (1798/1807): Eine politische Instrumentalisierung von Ciceros »De re publica« aus der Zeit der Französischen Revolution."

The essays contained here are substantive and thoughtful. Together they will not replace Zielinski, but they succeed admirably in what they set out to do, which is to provide a starting place for that larger project. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)