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John Donne. *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne, vol. 5 The Verse Letters*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2019. cxi+ 1370 pp. \$120.00. Review by DENNIS FLYNN.

The Verse Letters is Volume 5 (sixth in order of appearance) of a projected eight volumes of the Variorum Edition of Donne's poems, preceded by Volumes 6 *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (1995), 8 *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems* (1995), 2 *The Elegies* (2000), 7.1 *The Holy Sonnets* (2005), and 3 *The Satyres* (2016). Also published have been Volumes 4.1 *The Songs and Sonnets: Topical and General Commentary* (2017); and 1 *Digital Donne* (2010) <<http://donnevariorum.dh.tamu.edu>>, an online volume containing various scholarly tools and resources (e.g., concordances; electronic access to the four volumes of John R. Roberts's *John Donne: An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism*; and Digital Facsimile Editions, an online selection of early print and major manuscript collections of Donne's poems as well as of the 1654 edition of his prose letters). Yet to appear in print are two volumes of *The Songs and Sonnets* (4.2 and 4.3) and *The Divine Poems* (7.2). Almost all this work had been designed by 1981 and was issued during decades under the leadership of Gary A. Stringer, General Editor.

The Verse Letters is the first Variorum volume edited by new leadership. Within the imposing but familiar red book-jacket, much of the architecture of Volume 5 is also familiar: the front matter includes a General Introduction (largely identical in all volumes); and, in three-section format, an Introduction to Volume 5 (composed of two parts, the General Textual Introduction and The Critical Tradition) plus the two standard sections of Texts and Apparatuses and of Commentary.

Except here to acknowledge the diligence and good judgment of the commentary editors, this review will say relatively little about The Critical Tradition (5: xcvi–cxi) or the Commentary it introduces (5: 516–1295); both these parts of Volume 5, brilliant and in accord with procedure established in past volumes, observe policies set forth in the General Introduction (5: liii–lvi) and are a pleasure to read and use. The remainder of this review will dwell briefly on certain textual achievements of Variorum volumes previously published and

will compare to these some of the textual work in *The Verse Letters*.

I

Since 1995, the Variorum textual editors' study of the early manuscript transmission of Donne's poems has shown throughout all published volumes until now that two different kinds of circulation prevailed. In one of these, some genres of poems (Epigrams, Elegies, Satyres, and Holy Sonnets) circulated in authorial sequences, sequences later revised and reissued by Donne, also including revised versions of individual poems. In Volume 8 (1995), the editors showed that groups of from seven to twelve Epigrams circulated "from some fairly early point in their history, if not from the very beginning" as sequences arranged by Donne and copied by scribes into various manuscripts (H₅, H₈, and HH₁). Later, LR₁ expanded the sequence to sixteen and NY₃ expanded it to twenty. A still later sequence of Epigrams was then reduced to sixteen in the final version of the sequence (WN₁).

These distinct sequences were printed successively in Volume 8, followed by a General Textual Introduction to the Epigrams presenting "compelling evidence that Donne revised the texts of individual poems over the course of time and that each of the sequences in which the epigrams are arranged in various major artifacts reflects the author's controlling hand" (8: 14). More specifically, the hand of the author can be seen in both "the continuity in the ordering of poems observable at the points of major expansion or contraction of the work, but also the existence of distinct forms of individual poems at the three separate stages through which the larger whole evolved" (8: 16). This analysis has been recognized as a major development in the history of editing Donne's poems. It was followed by further such developments in Volumes 2 (2000), 7.1 (2005), and 3 (2016), where respectively the editors showed that Donne's Elegies and Holy Sonnets were also written, circulated, revised and issued again in authorial sequences, and that the sequence of Satyres was revised in its individual poems.

The Variorum textual editors have also shown, just as clearly though with less acclaim, that manuscript transmission of Donne's occasional poems reveals a second general pattern. While the Epigrams, Elegies, Satyres, and Holy Sonnets were circulated as authorially constructed sequences, some later revised and reissued, for the

most part Donne's occasional poems (Verse Letters, Anniversaries, Obsequies and Epicedes, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and miscellaneous poems) circulated not as prepared or revised sequences but as individual poems, prompted by successive events and written in chronological order to express those moments. In Volume 6 (also published in 1995) the editors showed that Donne's funeral poem for Elizabeth Drury and his two Anniversaries were a special case: "No manuscript transmission of the three poems independent of printed copies appears to have existed" (6: 39). Probably the manuscript tradition was short-circuited because these three poems all were written with the intention of sending them to the printer directly.

Donne's remaining funeral or commemorative poems, the seven Epicedes and Obsequies, "as occasional poems, were written one at a time over a period of years, making it unlikely, if not impossible, that they should have come into the hands of the earliest scribes and copyists as a distinct group" (6: lii). Accordingly, they circulated less often as a sequence than as individual items: "most of the manuscripts, for whatever reasons, do not contain full, coherent groups" (6: liii). The Anniversaries and commemorative poems (unlike the Epigrams, Elegies, Satyres, and Holy Sonnets) were not written as authorially-sequenced, generic groups, issued for manuscript transmission, and revised for reissue as new groups. Instead they "were written one at a time," having as occasional poems been prompted by historical events and then published or circulated individually soon after each was written.

The editors of Volume 8 (1995) also showed that, like the funeral poems, Donne's Epithalamions were a group of poems deriving "from widely different periods of his career" (8: lxi). These poems tended not to be grouped in manuscripts, and "relatively few artifacts contain all three," suggesting that their transmission too was individual rather than as arranged units. Rounding out Volume 8 with Donne's Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and miscellaneous poems, the editors concluded that generally Donne's occasional poems (unlike most of the Epigrams, the Elegies, the Satyres, and the Holy Sonnets) "can be dated with considerable precision; we have thus grouped them here generically and, within generic groups, chronologically" (8: lxii). Donne's poems in these genres were not grouped or sequenced in manuscript circula-

tion but have the character of all occasional poems, having entered the stream of transmission at certain points in time as individual items rather than as sequences.

This brings us to Volume 5 and the greatest number of Donne's occasional poems, his forty-two Verse Letters. Like his Anniversaries, Epicedes and Obsequies, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Incriptions, and miscellaneous poems, the Verse Letters seem all to have been written by Donne one at a time and sent to their addressees not for the most part in any order other than their original order. The one exception is a group of five Verse Letters that appear originally to have been sent as single poems to three different addressees: Thomas Woodward (*TWPreg* and *TWHence*), Rowland Woodward (*RWZeal* and *RWMind*), and Christopher Brooke (*CB*). At some point following the dates of origin of all five poems, a sixth headed "To L. of D." (at first assigned *Variorum* short-title *ED*, because of the heading common in several early manuscript and print artifacts, "To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets") was sent to another addressee, "L. of D." This sixth poem mentions enclosing the other five poems, those first sent individually to their addressees, then re-entered into the stream of transmission as a sequence of poems. The Volume 5 editors make much of this sequence, which had first been discussed by the textual editors of *Variorum* Volume 7.1 as an important factor refuting Helen Gardner's theory dating the Holy Sonnets. In part 3 below, this review will return to the six-poem sequence and to what the Volume 5 textual editors have made of it.

2

Representative of their genre, Donne's Verse Letters manifest one, original, authorial sequence, all of them connected in chronological order as a chain of events in time. The individual dates of origin of the Verse Letters, like those of the commemorative poems, span all the decades of Donne's poetic career. These are poems addressed in the course of events to individual readers at, and for observance of, moments in time throughout Donne's life, not mainly written for circulation in authorial sequences. Some manuscript revision of these poems may have taken place, but their transmissional histories do not show much evidence of lost revised holographs, and variant readings

classifiable as authorial are rare. Nor is there evidence that any except the sequence of five already mentioned were ever reissued by Donne for further transmission. The Verse Letters are distinctly occasional poems.

The General Textual Introduction to the Verse Letters begins with some reflections on “the capaciousness or porousness of the generic label.” At a minimal starting point, the editors admit, verse letters may be defined by two characteristics: “they must be set in verse and have implied addressees” (5: lxxi). That verse letters must be in verse may seem mere tautology; but that they have *implied* addressees is a challenging thought. As they are occasional poems, Donne’s Verse Letters do have, and must have had, addressees; but why these persons should be called *implied* is not clear. Among the manuscript or early print artifacts, all but one of Donne’s Verse Letters have headings that denote not implied but *real* persons; the single exception is *Calm* (“A Calme”) which as is implied in its first line circulated as a companion poem for *Storm* (“The Storme to Mr. Christopher Brooke”). The great majority of these headings denote persons most of whom we can identify if only by their initials and by internal or external evidence substantiating their relations with Donne. These identifications and pieces of evidence are important contextual components of the text’s meaning and should not be set aside or ignored.

The editors next continue discussing the amorphousness of verse letters, noting that “verse letters prove rather difficult to define in practice” and “can easily overlap with” several other genres Donne also practiced. Among these, they suggest, are “epigrams, inscriptions, verse satires, Ovidian elegies, funeral elegies, and commendatory verse” (5: lxxi). Notably absent from the descriptions in this list is the word *occasional*, though Donne’s Verse Letters are no doubt occasional, while most of his Epigrams with his Satyres (as well as his Elegies and Holy Sonnets) surely are not. A related line of thought may surface later in the General Textual Introduction, where the editors observe that “verse letters purport to be occasional” (5: lxxviii), as if they need not be but may merely claim or seem to be so. This tendency to regard Donne’s Verse Letters as somehow unconnected to specific occasions or not entirely occasional poems is never explained in *The Verse Letters* but is related to a further disinclination of the Volume 5 textual editors.

Whereas their own version of the Variorum General Introduction continues to urge the policy of all Volumes that “The introduction to each poem briefly locates the poem in the context of Donne’s life or poetic development (where possible)” (5: lxxv), the Volume 5 textual editors, in their own introductory materials, clearly though silently depart from the policy stated. These editors for the most part do not try to establish the dates of poems and often never even estimate or mention them. Throughout the Volume they have chosen not to assign *any date at all* to most of Donne’s Verse Letters. Instead they usually introduce the poems they edit without estimating or referring to their dates of origin. The Volume 5 editors simply avoid dealing with such matters. This departure is a defect that makes *The Verse Letters* much less useful than Milgate’s 1967 Oxford edition of these poems.

The editors’ General Textual Introduction acknowledges that Donne’s Verse Letters were written over a “span of years” (5: lxxi), but goes on to omit all mention of dates of origin for any Verse Letters except two of the forty-two poems it introduces: *HWHiber*, 1599 and *HWWenice*, 1604 (5: xcvi). Slackening of interest in dating poems is most apparent in the forty-two individual Textual Introductions, which mention dates of origin for only five more poems: *Storm*, late summer 1597; *HWNewes*, 20 July 1598; *HWHiber*, April–September 1599, *GHerb*, January 1615; and *Tilman*, March 1620 (5: 7, 57, 215, 424, and 435). Apart from the seven poems listed here, little or no effort is made in the individual introductions or anywhere in Volume 5 to date or contextualize the occasions of the remaining thirty-six Verse Letters, nor does there appear any appetite to discuss or practice the kinds of dating that the editors of all earlier Variorum volumes scientifically pursued and repeatedly mentioned with admiration in discussing the work of Grierson and others—e.g. “Dating the Elegies” (2: lxi–lxvii); “Dating” (3: lxvii–lxviii); and “The Dates of the Holy Sonnets and their Relationships to Other Poems” (7.1: lxxxviii–ci). Such work is absent in *The Verse Letters*, though in a few places the textual editors helpfully refer the reader to the commentary editors’ useful summaries of work by others.

A kind of explanation for this failure to date the Verse Letters is offered in a final subsection of the General Textual Introduction, headed “Ordering and Canon of Verse Letters in this Volume”:

There is no wholly satisfactory way of ordering the 41 authentic Verse Letters printed in this volume. Ideally, we could reproduce an authorial sequence or grouping like those identified for Donne's Epigrams, Elegies, Holy Sonnets, and Satyres. But the manuscript tradition does not reveal any such sequence or grouping for the Verse Letters, save for the *Storm-Calm* pair and the six-poem *LD* collection. Although a dozen of the Verse Letters can be confidently dated and clusters of Verse Letters can be safely assumed to be early (e.g., the shorter poems to male friends) and others assumed to be late (e.g., the longer poems to female patrons), any attempt to place all the Verse Letters in a precise chronological order would simply require an unwarranted amount of pure conjecture (5: xciv).

These four sentences, expressing wistful frustration and confessed inability to deal with the task of editing the Verse Letters, call for careful parsing.

The first of them singles out one poem, *HuntUn* ("To the Countess of Huntingdon"), which the editors have twice "designated as a poem of disputed canonicity" (5: lxxi) and "classified as a poem of disputed canonicity" (lxxxvi), without presenting evidence or argument, and which they here for a third time simply subtract as somehow less canonical than the rest of the Verse Letters. Throughout the rest of the volume, in both the General Textual Introduction and in the Textual Introduction to *HuntUn*, they keep trying to remove it from the Donne corpus as somehow inauthentic, despite stubborn evidence to the contrary. It becomes something of a white whale for them, an objective earnestly and relentlessly pursued, the object of an obsession. On this puzzling impeachment, see part 5 of this review.

The ideal to which the editors appeal in their second and third sentences, something they wish "we could reproduce," suggests their unawareness of the simplest reason why there might be no trace of any such generic "sequence or grouping for the Verse Letters": because Donne wrote and circulated his Verse Letters one at a time as occasional poems, not as poems he himself arranged for circulation.

In their fourth sentence, the textual editors next state in passing that a dozen of the Verse Letters "can be confidently dated." This as-

surance, however, is countermined by a casual failure here or anywhere else in Volume 5 to specify these twelve letters or their dates. Though confident, the textual editors don't seem to care about dating and thus fall short of due diligence, not even attempting to date most of the poems edited in their volume, even when they claim to know the dates.

As for their further claim in this sentence that "any attempt to place all the Verse Letters in a precise chronological order would simply require an unwarranted amount of pure conjecture" (5: xciv), this raises a question: what is "an unwarranted amount of pure conjecture"? The phrase as used in this context expresses unwillingness to embrace the difficulty of discovering the dates of occasional poems, a form of risk management foreign to the work of earlier *Variorum* volumes and, indeed, of most scholarly editions of letters, including the forthcoming Oxford edition of Donne's Prose Letters. The Volume 5 editors evidently think such dating *cannot* be done and wish to work not with these poems but instead with some generic sequences or groups of poems arranged to circulate in various orders that are not chronological. Such a position amounts to a kind of denial, in effect declining to allow that occasional poems can or should be dated.

On the other hand, the Volume 5 editors themselves develop, but do not use for the purpose, some common-sense approaches for dating three Verse Letters that Donne mentioned in three datable Prose Letters. For each quotation from these Prose Letters in the General Textual Introduction (5: lxvii–lxviii), the editors cite the page numbers on which they first appeared in seventeenth-century printings. Doing little more than this, they lose an opportunity to discover the dates of the three Verse Letters mentioned by Donne. Instead they divert attention from the dating problem, stating only that the value of these Prose Letters is to show how Donne's Verse Letters "were written, shared, and collected" (5: lxvii) and that, "whatever they tell us about his intimate friendships or relationships with patrons, potential and actual, Donne's Verse Letters were part of an irregular trade among him, his addressees, and other readers" (5: lxxviii). Fascinated with manuscript commerce, the editors of Volume 5 turn away from the three Prose Letters themselves and from the friendships they could tell us about if studied with patience. Instead the editors ignore what may easily be learned about the dates of the three poems the Prose

Letters mention.

One of the Prose Letters (quoted on 5: lxxvii) is addressed to Magdalen Herbert, published on pages 24–25 of Izaak Walton's *Life of George Herbert* (1670). This letter mentions enclosing certain "Holy Hymns and Sonnets" that are "ushered" by an additional enclosed sonnet about St. Mary Magdalen. This ushering poem is the Verse Letter *MHMary* ("To the Lady Magdalen Herbert, of St. Mary Magdalen"), which describes its addressee as the saint's namesake. The Volume 5 textual editors do, in their Textual Introduction to *MHMary*, cite Walton's dating of the Prose Letter (i.e. 11 July 1607), as having been disputed by other editors and scholars (5: 261). They do not themselves pause to dispute or otherwise investigate this date or the date of the Verse Letter enclosed.

Walton's date for this first Prose Letter must be at least partly wrong and has indeed been disputed. In any case, even if Walton was quite wrong, both internal and external evidence indicates that the date of the Prose Letter cannot have been later than March 1609. Simply as a matter of logic, the date of origin of *MHMary*, although the textual editors make no effort to date it anywhere in their volume, cannot be later than the date of the Prose Letter that refers to enclosing it. Neither in the General Textual Introduction of *The Verse Letters* nor in the Textual Introduction to *MHMary* is there any mention of its date of origin; it would have cost little effort to state what one knew if one at all took an interest in the matter. Instead the Volume 5 editors not only do not date this occasional poem; they also order it meaninglessly between two other Verse Letters, *EdHerb* ("To Sir Edward Herbert"), addressed to Herbert during military service at Juliers in 1610, and *MHPaper* ("To Mrs. M. H."), addressed to Magdalen Herbert shortly before her wedding to Sir John Danvers in March 1609), neither of which they date but both of which are surely datable later than *MHMary*.

The General Textual Introduction also quotes (5: lxxvii) from a second Prose Letter, to Sir Henry Goodere, published on pages 116–17 of Donne's *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (1651), mentioning an enclosed Verse Letter addressed to Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, probably *BedfRef* (one of Donne's nine Verse Letters to the Countess). By internal and external evidence this second Prose Letter can

be dated in August 1608, although the editors quote it without any effort to date it, and again we can logically date *BedfRef* as an enclosed Verse Letter whose date of origin cannot be later than August 1608. Not only do the editors not date this occasional poem; they also order it meaninglessly between two other Verse Letters they do not date, *BedfHon* (not dated by Milgate in his Oxford edition of the Verse Letters) and *BedfWrit* (dated in the latter part of 1609 by Milgate on p. 262). The editors also fail to mention that Milgate (on his p. 256) ventured to date *BedfRef*, on the evidence of the second Prose Letter, as written earlier than August 1608.

The General Textual Introduction also quotes (5: lxxvii–lxxviii) from a third Prose Letter, again to Goodere, published on pages 194–98 of the 1651 *Letters*, in which Donne asks Goodere to return one of his Verse Letters. The Volume 5 textual editors confidently though unusually date this Prose Letter as Donne’s “famous 1614 letter from just prior to his ordination.” In the letter Donne asks Goodere to lend him “that old book,” which evidently contained Donne’s “letter in verse, *A nostre Countesse chez vous*” (*Letters*, p. 197). The textual editors identify this poem as a Verse Letter “thought to be *HuntMan*” (5: lxvii), without supplying any reference, argument, or evidence for the identification. In neither the General Textual Introduction nor the Textual Introduction to *HuntMan* (“To the Countess of Huntingdon”) do they say anything about the date of *HuntMan*. Nor do they ask any of several obvious questions that might be asked in order to discover the date of the Verse Letter Donne asks for. When was it given or sent to Goodere? Who was “*nostre Countesse chez vous*”? By asking these questions about Donne’s Prose Letter the editors might have contextualized the original transaction and thus helped to date the Verse Letter Donne requests be returned in the 1614 Prose Letter they quote.

Ongoing work on the Oxford edition of Donne’s Prose Letters has shown that *HuntMan* is indeed the Verse Letter Donne requested in his 1614 letter to Goodere. Donne had written this poem in response to a request from Goodere mentioned in Donne’s letter of 3 July 1610, published on pages 100–105 of the 1651 *Letters*:

I have obeyed you thus far, as to write: but intreat you by your friendship, that by this occasion of versifying, I be not

traduced, nor esteemed light in that Tribe, and that house where I have lived. If those reasons which moved you to bid me write be not constant in you still, or if you meant not that I should write verses; or if these verses be too bad, or too good, over or under her understanding, and not fit; I pray receive them, as a companion and supplement of this Letter to you; and as such a token as I use to send, which use, because I wish rather they should serve (except you wish otherwise) I send no other; but after I have told you, that here at a Christening at Peckam, you are remembered by divers of ours, and I commanded to tell you so, I kisse your hands, and so seal to you my pure love, which I would not refuse to do by any labour or danger (*Letters*, pp. 103–105).

This letter has been accurately discussed by Daniel Starza Smith in *John Donne and the Conway Papers* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), p. 207; as he points out, in the passage quoted above, Donne's words "these verses" refer to a holograph of *HuntMan*, written (in response to Goodere's request in a letter not extant) and enclosed by Donne in his letter dated by I. A. Shapiro (in unpublished draft commentary for his OUP edition) as sent from Peckham to Goodere at London on 3 July 1610, the Tuesday following the 28 June baptism at Camberwell of Donne's nephew Thomas Grymes. On this evidence, *HuntMan* may be dated in late June or early July 1610.

Not only do the Volume 5 editors not date *HuntMan*; they also order it meaninglessly between two other Verse Letters they do not date, *BedfCab* (not dated by Milgate) and *Carey*, dated by Donne from "Amyens" and on this basis by Milgate (p. 274) between the end of November 1611 and the beginning of March 1612.

3

Before conclusion of this review, there remain two thorny matters for brief comment. The first of them (broached above) is the Verse Letter *LD* with the five others it enclosed as a sequence. The existence of the *LD* sequence was first discovered by the Variorum textual editors of *The Holy Sonnets*, who noticed that *LD*, in two early manuscripts (H6 and WN1) and invariably in all editions since 1633, had been given versions of a misleading heading, "To E. of D. with six holy

Sonnets.” (For the same reasons, *LD* had been given the Variorum short-title *ED* in all previous Variorum volumes.) The 7.1 editors also noted, however, that two other manuscripts (NY₃ and B11) headed this poem as addressed simply to “L. of D.” and that “in both these manuscripts [*LD*] appears at the head of the same six-item sequence of verse letters ... of which [it] is the introductory first member” (7.1: xcv–xcvi).

The textual editors of *The Verse Letters* accept all their colleagues’ findings and order the six-item sequence in accord with its order in NY₃. They proceed to make this their basis for adopting what they call “a hybrid approach” to ordering all the Verse Letters:

on the belief that NY₃ and WN₁ are the two superior manuscript collections of Donne’s Verse Letters, in terms of both the quantity of poems and quality of their texts, we have adopted NY₃’s ordering of Verse Letters and followed it with WN₁’s (minus, of course, the poems from NY₃). Although other than the *LD* collection, there is no discernible organizational principle for NY₃’s ordering of its Verse Letters, there is also little justification for rearranging its ordering” (5: xcv).

In this off-hand choice, i.e. to follow the NY₃ and WN₁ orderings for all the Verse Letters they contain, the Volume 5 editors again depart from Variorum policy and implicitly admit that they have “no discernible organizational principle” for their choice of these orderings, not merely for the *LD* sequence but for all the Verse Letters inscribed either in NY₃ or in WN₁. They do not seem to recognize the ordering principle used in other Variorum volumes containing occasional poems, an organizational principle that *is* discernible, though not considered by these editors: i.e. to use the order in which the poems were written, their chronological order, something the textual editors of *The Verse Letters* have declined to attempt. The “superior” status of a manuscript is not in itself dispositive for ordering a set of occasional poems.

At this point it seems worthwhile to compare, to the explanation offered by the Variorum editors of *The Verse Letters*, Milgate’s stated rationale for ordering these poems: “I have printed the poems in an order which will, I hope, seem more logical than that in former edi-

tions, ... for which there was no particular authority." All previous editions of more than two centuries had "no particular authority" for their ordering of the Verse Letters, with one exception noticed by Milgate: *The Complete Poems of John Donne* (1942), edited by R. E. Bennett, the first editor to attempt ordering the Verse Letters (along with all Donne's other poems) chronologically. Milgate decided that the order of the Verse Letters in his edition should follow the form of Bennett's edition, according "except in a few obvious places" to "the order of their composition" (p. lxxiv). Milgate published thirty-eight Verse Letters, dating twenty-six of them; of the twelve he did not date, for five he devoted considerable attention to evidence that he found inconclusive but that he thought nevertheless warranted mention.

By choosing the order of NY₃ (and for that matter of WN₁ for those Verse Letters not included in NY₃), the Variorum textual editors of Volume 5 have chosen an order without much logic, without particular authority, and with far too much dislocation of the chronological order that is natural to occasional poems. It is also an ordering that departs from earlier Variorum policy and practice.

4

On a more positive note, a welcome development in *The Verse Letters* is the appearance in the General Introduction of two transplanted subsections, "The Evolution of Methodology Within the Edition" (5: lxi–lxiv) and "On Stemmas and Revision" (5: lxiv–lxv). These first appeared in the 2016 Volume Introduction to *The Satyres* (3: lxii–lxv), explaining that volume's "thoroughgoing use of the stemmatological method," a result of evolution through four previous volumes. The textual editors of *The Verse Letters* claim that their work "adheres to the same editorial procedures as *The Satyres*" (5: lxi) and warrants placement of the two methodological subsections into the General Introduction, implying assurance that these dynamic editorial policies are to continue in volumes yet to be published.

However, another subsection has been omitted from *The Verse Letters*, having appeared in all the General Introductions of previous volumes: "Procedures for Choosing and Emending Copy-text" (6: xlvi–xlvi; 8: lii–liii; 2: liii–liv; 7.1: liv; and 3: lv–lvi). According to the editors, this is omitted from Volume 5 because the two new sub-

sections both “replace and supersede” it (5: lxi). But comparison of the three subsections shows that this claim is mistaken. One omitted paragraph analyzed principal procedures in each previous volume as having examined “every surviving seventeenth-century manuscript and multiple copies of seventeenth-century printings,” entering “the texts of all manuscript and early print copies into computer files,” and comparing them, “by means of the Donne Variorum Collation Program.” Oddly, the volume here under review is the first Variorum volume not to mention the Collation Program, which (especially if truly replaced and superseded) should not in this way have gone unreferenced anywhere in *The Verse Letters*.

Use of the DV Collation Program has been and will have been (one assumes and hopes, despite puzzling omission of its mention from Volume 5) a continuing and essential procedure used by Variorum editors throughout all volumes of the edition. It is still available for online readers of Volume 1, at *Digital Donne* <<http://donnevariorum.dh.tamu.edu>>, “Collation and Transcription Software for Windows 95, 98, 2000, XP, Vista, 7, and DOS.” The software was created and modified by Stringer and a series of consultants at the University of Southern Mississippi and Texas A&M Universities, later copyrighted by the then General Editor, now Professor of English, Emeritus, of the University of Southern Mississippi. Although not referenced anywhere in *The Verse Letters*, the Donne Variorum Collation and Transcription software is surely an indispensable aid to developing Variorum stemmas as a means for realizing a key goal still aspired to in Volume 5: to illustrate “the familial relationships discernible among the existing textual artifacts” (5: lxii). Stemmas further constitute “integral parts of the analysis itself, tracing down a genealogical tree the step-by-step deterioration of the text from the lost holograph (or holographs, in cases involving revision) to its various embodiments in the extant manuscripts and prints” (5: lxii). As is acknowledged in *The Verse Letters*, in *The Satyres* Donne’s poems were edited for the first time through “a policy of emendation that is commensurate with the stemmatological approach, emending as necessary the copy-text of each poem—whether of an original or a revised version—up the genealogical line toward the readings of the lost holograph” (5: lxiv). This stemmatological approach to editing the poems, including use

of the Collation Program, has been the main achievement of the Variorum; the resulting text and apparatus for the poems, as one reviewer has stated, “will be the basis of all future Donne scholarship” dealing with the poetry.

5

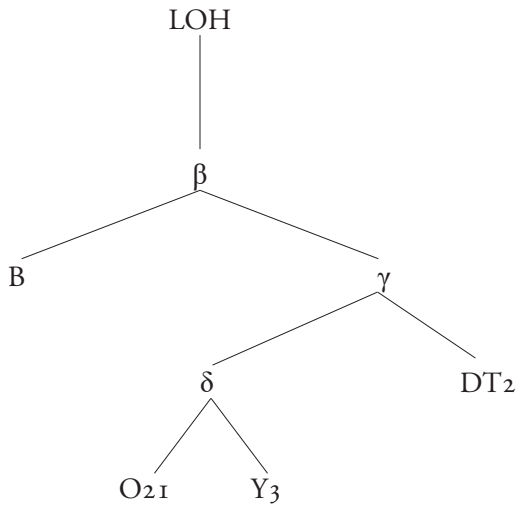
A second thorny matter is the canonicity of *HuntUn*. The Volume 5 textual editors in their General Textual Introduction repeatedly claim that this “is a poem of disputed canonicity” (5: lxxi and lxxxvi), adding the claim that it is “now considered dubious or spurious,” having been “attributed in manuscript to Sir Walter Aston” (5: lxxxvi). On the same page, the editors also claim that Grierson “vacillated” about having excluded *HuntUn* from the canon in 1912 but restored it “in his 1929 edition.” After reviewing the general acceptance by later editors (Hayward, Bennett, Milgate, Shawcross, and Patrides; 5: xcii–xciii) of Grierson’s self-correction in 1929, the Volume 5 textual editors inform us again that “*HuntUn*, as a poem of disputed canonicity, has been placed after the canonical poems” (5: xciv). In other words, they do not quite remove it from the canon to a dustbin of Dubia, although they seem to wish they could. In their General Textual Introduction, the textual editors do not cite any dispute or doubt of canonicity apart from Grierson’s momentary reservations and their own consideration of manuscript attribution to Aston.

Given their unsupported contention that *HuntUn* is “now considered dubious or spurious” having been “attributed in manuscript to Sir Walter Aston” (5: lxxxvi), the editors might have chosen to mention the edition of *HuntUn* by Robin Robbins, who published a modernized version of the poem headed “Sir Walter Aston to the Countess of Huntingdon” and *did* consign it to a section of “Dubia” (in *The Complete Poems of John Donne* [London: Longman, 2008], pp. 956–64). But the editors make no mention of this feature in Robbins’ edition, which elsewhere they characterize as “an important edition” that “deserves mention” (5: xciv).

In their Textual Introduction to *HuntUn*, the Volume 5 editors seem to adopt an altered tone. Having ordered the poem last among the verse letters in the volume, rather than creating a section for Dubia, in effect they do include *HuntUn* among poems by Donne, although they order it last, stating that “Donne’s authorship of *HuntUn* is not

certain" (5: 454). They state also a tentative conclusion that, given "the absence of further bibliographical evidence, determination of the authenticity of *HuntUn* ... comes to rest in a judgment about style" (5: 454).

At this point, before concluding their Textual Introduction to *HuntUn*, they interpose a stemma (5: 454), repeat that "All three manuscript witnesses of *HuntUn* attribute the poem to Sir Walter Aston" (5: 455), and assert that "the three manuscripts can be shown to derive their attribution—along with a dozen other verbal variants that distinguish their shared texts from the text of B [i.e. the printed text of 1635]—from a single source γ " (5: 455). They then interpose three tables of variant agreements and disagreements between B and the three manuscripts that attribute the poem to Aston, as if these attributions with these variants could challenge the authority of B.



However, this stemma, interposed by the textual editors, renders the three tables of variants irrelevant, because it clearly shows B to be closer to the lost original holograph than are the three manuscripts containing the ascriptions to Aston (DT2, O21, and Y3).

In a concluding subsection headed "The Canonicity of *HuntUn*," the editors go on to one more review (5: 458–59) of the publication

history of the poem, treating Grierson's part with a few further second thoughts. They note that Grierson "was the first to open the question of *HuntUn*'s canonicity" but that "already in the introductory material to his 1912 edition, Grierson expressed some regret" about having thought *HuntUn* was not a poem by Donne. They quote the explanation in his introduction (1912, 1: cxliii) that "had I realized in time the weakness of the positive external evidence," i.e., the three manuscript attributions, "I should not have moved the poem" out of the canon; and they add that in his 1929 Oxford Standard Edition (p. li) Grierson explained further that he had wanted to readmit *HuntUn* even before he had sent the proofs for the 1912 edition to OUP but had not had "the heart to ask [his] long-suffering publishers to permit a last reconstruction" (5: 459). Next the editors again acknowledge the acceptance by Hayward and Bennett of *HuntUn*'s canonicity, but they attack Milgate's rejection of the three manuscript attributions to Aston (5: 459–61). Once more they make no mention of Robbins.

All things considered, the case put by the Volume 5 editors cannot rest on the stemma they offer, which they claim "provides limited information about the canonicity of *HuntUn*" (5: 461). In the stemma, the postulated existence of β

moves both B and γ one more generation away from the LOH. The stemma cannot show conclusively that the Aston heading was added in γ , only that it was present there (and handed down to DT2 and δ). Similarly, the stemma cannot show conclusively that an attribution to Donne was *added* in B, only that it is present there (and handed down in the print tradition) (5: 461–62).

It is not persuasive to challenge the authority of an extant artifact such as B by adducing the authority of an artifact symbolized by γ but not extant. The editors claim that while one cannot say the Aston heading was introduced in γ , one can say that it was present there. In fact, all one can say is that the Aston heading had to be introduced by a scribe somewhere in the line of transmission, in a line that is distinct from the one that produced the text in B. We do *not* know that the Aston attribution was present in γ , only that it is present in DT2, O21, and Y3. The claim that "we have one third-generation witness, B, testifying against three manuscript witnesses derived from another

third-generation source γ " (5: 462), is an exaggerated one, asserting something that the editors do not know. Here if anywhere we have "an unwarranted amount of pure conjecture" (5: xciv).

In the end, the textual editors conclude that *HuntUn*'s canonicity "must be considered uncertain" (5: 464), rather than "dubious or spurious" (5: lxxi) or "not certain" (5: 454). Without mention of Robbins, the editors have not cited any dispute or doubt apart from Grierson's momentary suspicion and their own choice to disregard the comparative authority of B, although it is illustrated in their own stemma. Instead they still seem to favor the testimony of three manuscript attributions descended not only from the postulated but missing witness β but from the second and third missing witnesses γ and δ .

6

The editors of *Variorum* Volume 5 have departed from their predecessors in three main ways. First they avoid dating the Verse Letters, then they fail to order them in accord with any logical organizing principle, and third they posit a valid stemma for *HuntUn* and then proceed to argue *against* the conclusion that their own stemma logically implies, undermining their whole procedure and presenting a deeply incoherent argument about the canonicity of this poem. These policy departures by the current textual editors seem to warp the course of remaining *Variorum* volumes in a direction inconsistent with the stemmatological achievements of earlier leadership.

David V. Urban. *Milton and the Parables of Jesus: Self-Representation and the Bible in Milton's Writings*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2018. xii + 316 pp. \$89.95. Review by JASON A. KERR, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

The centrality of the Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25:14–30) to Milton's practices of self-representation has been long familiar, owing especially to Dayton Haskin's *Milton's Burden of Interpretation* (Pennsylvania, 1994). David V. Urban's recent book aims to build on Haskin's work in two ways: by connecting it to Stephen M. Fallon's study of Milton's self-representation in *Milton's Peculiar Grace*

(Cornell, 2008) and by adding the Parable of the Laborers (Matthew 20:1–16), the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew 25:1–13), and the Parable of the Householder (Matthew 13:52) as points of significant engagement for Milton. The book is divided into three sections. The first section argues that Milton often uses the Parable of the Laborers to offset the stern reckoning central to the Parable of the Talents with some grace. The second section uses the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins as a jumping-off point for considering Milton's views on the relationship between wisdom and virginity. The third section then uses the Parable of the Householder (who brings "out of his treasury things new and old") to reflect on Milton's practice of scriptural interpretation. In my estimation the book's contribution rests primarily on this final section, although the other two have their strengths.

Urban situates his book in the history of parable interpretation, which he divides between a pre-19th-century penchant for elaborate allegorizing, a subsequent anti-allegorizing "Sitz im Leben Jesu" movement, and, more recently, what he calls a "restrained allegorical" approach that reads parabolic characters as exemplifying categories of people. He finds this last approach at work in Milton, alongside a range of other writers working in the broader Reformed tradition, beginning with Calvin himself and including Matthew Poole, Richard Sibbes, James Ussher, John Owen, and John Bunyan. Urban acknowledges, though, that his methodological interest in Miltonic self-representation takes him beyond the restrained allegorical approach, as his argument moves "from Milton's explicit self-identification with parabolic figures to his more pervasive implicit manifestation of these figures in his self-referential characters" (24). He admits that readers might object to this method, and he declares himself in partial sympathy to such an objection, given the appropriateness of "some healthy skepticism toward any approach to literary studies that appears to take undue interpretive liberties by connecting particular scriptural texts to particular literary works," although he considers that his own approach does not go "against the spirit of a broader scriptural warrant" (24). Urban here candidly acknowledges a problem that will inform my evaluation of the book's first two parts—and especially the second—both of which stray unhelpfully away from scriptural warrant, in the

sense that the particularities of the relevant biblical texts become less relevant to the analysis at hand. Urban's candor is to his credit, though, and the book's third section ruminates helpfully on the conceptual complexities attending the concept of scriptural warrant in Milton's own work. In a sense, Urban in the first two sections may be hewing fairly close to Milton's own practice, which does not always entail sticking fastidiously to the scriptural particulars.

One way of putting the hermeneutic question at issue here would be to ask how far one allows the biblical text to push back against one's own uses of it. This question arises in the first section, whose three chapters track Milton's tandem engagements with the parables of the talents and of the laborers in the vineyard. Urban reads Milton as using the latter to mitigate the former, such that the relative proportion of the two indicates Milton's relative openness to grace. Following Haskin, Urban's first chapter reads Milton as using the parable of the talents to reflect anxieties about his own calling, initially to ordination in the Church of England (Sonnet 7 ["How soon hath time"]) and the "Letter to a Friend" and then to a prophetic role carried out through writing ("Ad Patrem," *The Reason of Church-Government*, and Sonnet 19 ["When I consider"]). Milton pairs the two parables in the sonnets, but not in the prose tract, which leaves it as the high-water mark of his anxiety.

Appropriately enough, Urban uses this first chapter to lay an argumentative foundation for the next chapters in the section. In his discussion of "Ad Patrem," Urban rightly connects that poem's engagement with the parable of the talents to Milton's father's profession as a scrivener and his consequent familiarity with the language of debt. Beyond his reading of this poem, though, Urban mostly treats debt as a metaphor, which Milton, who made much of his living through debt instruments, could not entirely. This slippage does not particularly pose problems for this chapter, but it lays foundations for some missed opportunities in the chapters that follow. Although Urban does not frame it in these terms, both the parable of the talents and the parable of the laborers traffic in the time-value of money: the former assumes that the passing of time should bring financial increase, and the latter works directly against this assumption. Milton's Sonnet 9 uses the figure of Patience to mediate between these views, in a way

that builds on the Milton's assurance in "Ad Patrem" that his father will eventually recoup the investment in Milton's education. That is, even though Milton identifies as the unprofitable servant in the poem's octave, the sestet (on Urban's reading) in effect argues that the reader has the wrong parable, and that the day's wage will be forthcoming even if the laborer isn't called until the 11th hour. Thus, both the laborer and the one to whom the laborer is indebted must stand and wait. The effect is to evoke debt as a concept only to argue it away.

The argument becomes more complicated in the next chapter, on *Samson Agonistes*, where Urban takes the framework of the preceding chapter as a lens for reading the closet drama. The result is that Urban argues more by analogy than allusion or direct reference, which raises the question of biblical warrant. Indeed, I'd argue that Sonnet 19 becomes the framework rather than either of the parables it invokes, which makes good sense as a reading of Milton, but requires more nuance if Urban is to claim it as a reading of Milton reading scripture. Staking out a series of what he admits are minority positions regarding the play's endorsement of redemptive violence and the reliability of the chorus, Urban reads Samson as waiting patiently until God "hires" him in the eleventh hour, at which point he uses his "talent" to maximum effect. Granting Urban's priors, this is persuasive enough, if only as a different gloss on a mostly familiar redemptive reading of the play. Pulling the parables themselves more explicitly back into play could, however, potentially pay larger dividends. Urban rightly finds echoes of Sonnet 19 in Samson's query "To what can I be useful" (line 563), but the next phrases raise the question of to whom Samson owes the "use value" of his gift: "wherein serve / My Nation, and the work from Heav'n impos'd" (lines 563–64). Samson conjoins Nation and Heaven as his debtors, but they need not be the same. The distinction emerges when Urban contrasts the patience urged by the Chorus (line 654) with the kind of pagan heroism celebrated in classical epics. Here the critical voices on the other side of Urban's minority position reassert themselves, asking to whom Samson must account for the talent he was lent, which would involve tackling the poem's political-theological alignment of Nation and Heaven and reckoning with the notion of paying a debt via mass slaughter (corpses as currency). Reading through the lens of Sonnet 19 keeps debt safely metaphorical in a way that

the biblical parables do not quite—and that the sonnet arguably does not do either, even though the directly economic nature of its anxiety might be less pronounced than in “Ad Patrem.” By agreeing up front with Michael Lieb and David Loewenstein about redemptive violence in the play, Urban has missed an opportunity to use the parables as an occasion to think carefully about the poem’s theology of debt.

Urban’s treatment of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Part 2 similarly begins by addressing a poem that engages directly with the parable and then using that as a framework for reading other Miltonic texts. This time the poem is Sonnet 9 (“Lady that in the prime”), which invokes the parable by way of calling on its addressee to be a “Virgin wise and pure.” Here Urban’s interest in Miltonic self-representations leads him into an argument that the “Lady” is both Milton and (per Urban’s dating) his soon-to-be first wife Mary Powell, such that their companionate “one flesh” will entail a marital chastity that still counts as a kind of virginity worthy of God’s approbation. This line of argument produces a discussion of Milton’s own complexly evolving sexual identity and then, in the ensuing three chapters, a series of arguments about the role of virginity in several Miltonic texts (*A Mask*, *Paradise Lost*, and the 1671 poems). Here the question of fidelity to the biblical witness rears its head. Arguably the parable in Matthew 25—especially read in context of the parables of the talents and the sheep and the goats that follow—is more about apocalyptic expectation and what one must do to meet with divine approval at the Lord’s coming than anything to do with virginity per se. The Greek text identifies the women waiting for the bridegroom as *parthenoi*, a word that does imply sexual inexperience, but the difference between the wise and the foolish *parthenoi* has to do with provision of sufficient oil for their lamps, not with sexuality per se. They are not awaiting the bridegroom as prospective brides, but as members of the wedding party. Milton’s obsession with virginity is well known, but Urban’s book still leaves me wondering how much that has to do with the Matthean parable. It could well be that Sonnet 9’s concluding address to a “Virgin wise and pure” makes the “deeds of light” that “fill [the] odorous Lamp” of such a virgin have to do with chastity, even though “pity and ruth” are the virtues that the poem explicitly names, along with “Wisely ... shunn[ing] the broad way and the green,” none of

which seems reducible to chastity per se. Similarly, in the chapter on Eve and virginity, the parable's emphasis on individual preparation is not obviously compatible with the gender hierarchy within which Urban finds Milton framing Eve's (un)wise virginity. (Urban reads Eve more with Diane McColley than with, say, Mary Nyquist.) In other words, perhaps it is Milton who wrenches the parable toward chastity and its attendant social structures, or perhaps it is Urban—and thus the matter of fidelity to the biblical witness presents itself with renewed urgency. (For the record, I think it is Milton, but I also think that Urban could have been clearer about the ways that the biblical parable resists what Milton tries to do with it.)

Happily, the book's final section takes up the question of interpretative fidelity to the Bible via the parable of the householder who brings "out of his treasury things new and old." Here Urban begins with two texts—*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* and *De Doctrina Christiana*—that both use the parable to justify what might be called eccentric practices of scriptural interpretation as "new treasures" that accord with the biblical witness despite breaking with tradition. Indeed, Milton considers the new treasures necessary if the biblical witness is to be recovered from the encroachments of tradition. Arguing again by analogy, Urban then uses this framework to make sense of the relationship between Milton's major poems and the biblical text, showing how they can be biblical even as they expand on the Bible by appeal to spiritual inspiration. This argument leads Urban to a nuanced reading of Milton's approach to such inspiration that strikes me as right: that even as it goes beyond the normative approaches on evidence in contemporary preaching or commentaries, it nevertheless builds on and indeed requires a prior fidelity to the Bible. Urban articulates this approach using *Samson Agonistes*, holding that Samson's renewed obedience to Mosaic law enables him to recognize further revelation through the Spirit. In all the major poems this process results in controversial ways of "fulfilling the Bible," but Urban is right to argue, I think, that Milton understands these results as biblical, albeit in a complex and idiosyncratic way.

This third section in particular makes the book worth reading for anyone interested in Milton's practices of biblical interpretation. The preceding sections benefit from reading backward through this

concluding framework, which provokes rich and fascinating questions about Milton's relationship to these parables of Jesus and his practices of exegesis more broadly. Urban's readings of Milton tend toward the traditional, but he, too, brings new things out of his treasury, and readers will be glad to have them.

Thomas Festa and Kevin J. Donovan, eds. *Scholarly Milton*. Clemson, South Carolina: Clemson University Press, 2019. viii+ 295. \$104.96. Review by JOHN MULRYAN, ST. BONAVENTURE UNIVERSITY.

Thomas Festa's and Kevin J. Donovan's "Introduction" offers an admirable summary of the essays that follow, and a rationale for the collection itself: "Taken together, the chapters in this collection enrich our understanding of Milton's self-conscious commitments to scholarship and his engagements with the learned traditions that influenced him the most—of 'scholarly Milton' as a formidably learned writer of poetry and prose" (15). Unfortunately, the use of an unnecessarily complex and difficult vocabulary in many of the essays clearly discourages the general reader from engaging with the arguments presented by the authors. Finally, the tripartite division of essays on "Milton and the Ethical Ends of Learning," "Milton and the Trivium," and "Milton and Scholarly Commentary," seems forced and arbitrary.

In "High Enterprise: Milton and the Genres of Scholarship in the Divorce Tracts," Sharon Achinstein praises Milton's deep learning, but lets Milton off the hook for ignoring plain facts with the argument for "inner scripture," an unverifiable, unarguable source for Milton's pseudo-arguments: "How did Milton cope with the philological work on the Bible that was discrediting the authority of biblical texts? Indeed, Milton came to a position where he could both use the tools of philology and disavow the textualism on which philology depended by his notion of 'inner scripture'" (22). In my opinion, if Milton is permitted to play the spiritual card whenever he runs into scholarly difficulties, then he is bending the facts to justify his preconceived point of view; this is not scholarship, but propaganda. As Achinstein herself notes, "Milton's deployment of commentary and philology was thus selective, chosen to serve his argument" (30). I understand the

reluctance of Milton scholars to discredit his scholarship. For his time, Milton's manipulation of scholarly materials was the rule rather than the exception, but it was not up to (current) contemporary theories of scholarly exactitude.

One of the challenges for readers of *Paradise Lost* is finding a way to grasp the structure of the poem, how to piece together the segments of this immensely complicated account of the rise and fall of humanity. In "Typology and Milton's Masterplot," Sam Hushagen suggests that typology is the structuring principle of the poem: "A pattern of incremental advances, recurrent scenes, and textual analogies organizes *Paradise Lost* and unites the books of the poem with its central argument: 'to assert eternal providence,' and in so doing, 'justify the ways of God to men' (1.25, 1.26) (57). "The ways of God take the form of the gradual articulation of the Logos, through the dialectic of types and antitypes" (57). One can argue with this interpretation of the poem, but at least it gives the reader a window through which to view the unity of the poem and define the relationship of its parts to the coherent whole that is *Paradise Lost*.

James Ross Macdonald's "The Devil as Teacher in *Paradise Lost*," attempts to establish a connection between *Paradise Lost* and Ecdicius Avitus's sixth-century Latin poem *De spiritualis historiae gestis*. Macdonald admits that the connection is "circumstantial but suggestive" (63). What I find troubling is that the alleged connection with Avitus leads Macdonald to blame Adam and Eve for using their intelligence to seek knowledge he claims they are not entitled to: "In choosing an autodidactic approach, Adam and Eve forfeit their privileged access to divine truth, and the attainment of the knowledge they desire becomes the just punishment for improperly seeking it" (79). "Adam's growing awareness of the fallibility of his own mind reminds him that empirical knowledge must be received within the epistemological context of divine intentionality and human obedience" (80). In my opinion, this is to accuse Milton of anti-intellectualism and discouragement of intellectual independence on the part of both Adam and Eve. Perhaps so, but one hopes not.

In an otherwise persuasive essay, "*Paradise Regained* and the beginning of thinking," J. Antonio Templanza, like almost all other Milton scholars, ignores the fact that Milton's polemic against pagan learning

has nothing to do with the historical Jesus, but is really about his own stance on the temptation to learning. For starters, the historical Jesus was probably not literate in any language, including his own. He probably had no Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, and no knowledge of their literatures. The thought that he knew enough about Greek poetry to make comparisons with Hebrew poetry, about which he was equally ignorant, is laughable in the extreme. The historical Jesus was not, as far as we know, learned in any language and probably illiterate in all languages. It's time to end this parlor game and acknowledge that Milton is using this mythical Jesus as a stand-in for his own views about classical and Hebrew learning.

Templanza's peculiar definition of thinking as a process antithetical to the acquisition and employment of knowledge is, in my opinion, a romantic fantasy more applicable to Wordsworth than to Milton: "In this universe orientation toward the Good, or toward the idea of ideas, or toward that which legitimates the ideas with which we are presented access to the world, is not something one can prove by citing date, but by thoughtfully participating in the dialogue (perhaps the *agon*) of living. This is what is called thinking" (104). Thus, thinking does not seem to be *about* anything, except the shared experience of humanity.

To end on a positive note, Templanza writes beautifully and enthusiastically about ideas I cannot share. In "Learning, Love, and the Freedom of the Double Bind," Gardner Campbell explores the rarely discussed subject of Milton's sense of humor, particularly in the line "Our voluntary service he [God] requires" (*Paradise Lost* 5.529), a seemingly playful contradiction that has serious consequences for the person receiving the command and attempting to resolve the "double bind." A "double bind," as [Gregory] Bateson explains it, arises when mutually incompatible injunctions are given by an authority figure within a relationship that matters intensely to the person who is subject to that authority" (109). It is an open question whether this is an example of divine black humor or a directive that is impossible to fulfill. Perhaps it is up to the reader to decide.

In "Revisiting Milton's (Logical) God: Empson 2018," Emma Annette Wilson joins Empson in indicting the Christian god for creating an evil world, and praising Milton for creating such a powerful poem from such unpromising materials: "*Paradise Lost* is an epic founded

on identifying and exploring personal logical accountability in a divine system which is harsh and intolerant, as Empson lucidly drew out in 1961 and again in 1965, and it is indeed Milton's unflinching willingness to explore and lay bare that system which makes the poem terrifying and tragic" (143).

In "God's Grammar: Milton's Parsing of the Divine," Russell Hugh McConnell wrestles with the problem of describing the nature of the divine through the lens of traditional grammar. For example, "God's perception of the world is not partial or temporal, but simultaneous, taking in all things in all times and all places 'at once.' Yet this point clashes almost immediately with the requirements of linear narrative ..." (152). As Rosalie Colie notes, "God is beyond time and outside it, as well as in it" (160). A clash occurs between Milton's discussion of grammar in his *Accidence Commenc't Grammar* and his actual treatment of grammatical structures in *Paradise Lost*: "The contrast between his grammar text and his endlessly subtle epic poem indicate the importance to Milton of manipulating normal grammatical structures in order to convey adequately the nature of the divine" (162). That Milton would refuse to be bound by the constraints of traditional grammar, even though he was himself the author of a grammar text, should surprise no one, although we are in McConnell's debt for his comprehensive treatment of Milton as grammarian. In "Balancing Rhetorical Passion in Virgil and Paul," Joshua R. Held attempts to combine the pagan and Christian traditions of rhetoric through the peroration, the concluding portion of a speech. "Thus Raphael's *peroration* becomes a master index of *exempla*, designed to transfer to Adam the central motivations of epic heroes and Christians of all eras, and thus heightening its logical and emotional force" (166).

Emily E. Stelzer's "Euphrasy, Rue, Polysemy, and Repairing the Ruins" focuses on the concepts of vision, sight, and perception in *Paradise Lost*: when they succeed and when they fail: "Considered together, as eye-quickening herbs, euphrasy and rue represent the need for and the possibility of an improvement in human vision, and in doing so they draw the reader's attention to Milton's imagery, to his successes and perhaps even to his failures; in turn, in drawing attention to the importance of imagery and vision, euphrasy and rue further validate the first half of Adam's experience on the Mount of

Speculation, what Adam sees but does not always interpret to Michael's satisfaction" (205). Lurking always in the background, of course, is Milton's own lack of physical sight and how it affects his own "vision" of the universe.

In "Paradise Finding Aids," Nicholas Allred theorizes about how finding aids, like the subject index, the table, and the verbal index both contribute to and detract from our understanding of the poem. This may be true, but I think Allred puts too little faith in the reader's good judgment, and is unduly concerned about the "informational overload" such finding aids can cause (227). It is true that a "finding aid" can affect our interpretation of *Paradise Lost*, but it can also keep us "on track" in forging out way through the intricacies of the poem.

It is a pleasure to conclude this review with an account of David Jones's magisterial "Political diplomacy, Personal Conviction, and the Fraught Nature of Milton's Letters of State." The key question about authorship is introduced in Jones's opening sentence: "Can the authorship of documents created and approved by government committees be attributed to the individual assigned to translate them into the official language of diplomacy?" (229). The answer seems to be "no." "Instead it appears more prudent to understand Milton's state papers as the products of a shared or composite notion of authorship. He had a part, but not the only part in creating them" (237). "Since scholars still lack any kind of evidence that Milton ever created the official English text of a state paper for which he then produced a Latin translation, the assumption must stand that someone else created the base text from which Milton worked" (238). Jones concludes his account by noting that much work remains to be done on these texts: "There are over two hundred of them that have remained, because of fraught circumstances, in a state of neglect" (239). As always, Jones reminds his fellow scholars to focus on the scholarship that underpins all speculation about what Milton wrote and how it should be interpreted.

In sum, this disparate collection of essays explores many different approaches to "Scholarly Milton," with varying degrees of success.

Musa Gurnis, *Mixed Faith and Shared Feeling: Theater in Post-Reformation London*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019. vii + 257 pp. \$59.95. Review by SARAH K. SCOTT, MOUNT ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY.

Mixed Faith and Shared Feeling explores the interplay of diverse religious life in Post-Reformation London and the commercial theater to argue for a fuller understanding of the complex imaginative processes that Londoners brought to their theatergoing experiences. Gurnis follows a cultural materialist approach that recognizes a “dense, formative matrix” to the human condition. She acknowledges that while some may find the theory out of fashion, it has remained culturally relevant and is essential to challenging the “creeping neoliberalism” of our time: “A country that elects a billionaire, reality television star as president cannot dispense with Marxist cultural studies” (6). Throughout the work, the author invites readers to re-envision the religious diversity of early modern English people as something far more nuanced than the too-often utilized binary of Protestantism and Catholicism. Early modern English playwrights wrote for their audiences, and their plays invited and responded to their polyvocal, confessional (religious) milieus. Dramatists encouraged audiences of mixed faith to share in theatrical experiences that produced affective piety and invited study of predestinarian issues from divergent points of view. Gurnis’s work is thoroughly researched, incorporating the work of theatre practitioners, reception theorists, cultural materialists, gender theorists, and scholars of early modern drama and religious studies.

In chapter one, “Mixed Faith,” Gurnis breaks down monolithic conceptions of religious identity of the theatergoing audience to suggest that scholars of the period recognize the multivalent confessional identities of individual playgoers. She argues that religious differences within individuals is similar in nature to variations of gender identity as expressed by Judith Butler, and, true to the theoretical position Gurnis utilizes, she emphasizes that what one professes in terms of their religious faith depends upon a variety of forces that are in constantly shifting positions. Numerous studies on playgoers and their families follow a general discussion. For instance, readers are encouraged to imagine theatergoer Sir Humphrey Mildmay’s reac-

tions to watching *Volpone* along with those imagined by his brother Sir Anthony Mildmay and cousin Sir Francis Wortley as Puritan actor John Lowin performed the title role and as actors playing Nano and Androgyno discuss a Pythagorean approach to the transmigration of the soul. The discussion serves as an object lesson on the complexity of the spectator's experience to show that "real-world religious positions of audience members were part of the generative, confessional polyvocality of the commercial theater scene" (14). Gurnis's coupling of playgoers' social, political, and religious complexes, such as that of Lady Anne Clifford, help to illustrate the "unstable processes of cross-confessional appropriation" to further illustrate the problems created by present-day oversimplifications of audience beliefs and the meaning of a play, scene, or speech. Highly useful to navigating the complex of material within the chapter are subject divisions that describe various playgoers' confessional intersectionalities: "Mixed Audiences, or, People are Different"; "Playgoing Puritans"; "No One Is Normal"; "Catholics, Church Papists, and the Curious"; "Conversion and Mixed-Faith Families"; "Ungodly, Occult, Foreign, and Urban"; and "Shared Theatrical Experience of a Mixed Religious Culture." Such divisions appear in subsequent chapters, as well, and lend a reference-work quality to *Mixed Faith and Shared Feeling* that many scholars may find helpful as they navigate the volume.

The second chapter, "Shared Feeling," examines how post-reformation theater invited mixed audiences to "cross confessional boundaries" by reshaping religious discourses and theatergoers' experiences of their faiths (39). Here, Gurnis discusses the transformational and transactional power of theater through its multiple forms and levels of representation (costume, stage properties, performance gestures, speech acts). The author provides historical accounts from the period, including Barnabe Riche's pamphlet *Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell* to demonstrate ways in which dramatic performance can disrupt normative religious and cognitive mindsets. Especially illuminating is her discussion of Nathaniel Tomkyn's account of *The Late Lancashire Witches*. She then moves to discuss the role of scripts in performance and the collaborative dynamic between audience members and the dramatic experience, with an emphasis on emotional reaction. A case study on Spanish Match plays concludes the

chapter with a treatment of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish types that are figured and reconfigured through such tropes as the calamitous wedding in dramas including *The Noble Spanish Solider*, *Match Me in London*, and *The Spanish Gypsy*.

“In *Mixed Company: Collaboration in Commercial Theater*,” the third chapter, examines the diverse faiths of theater practitioners, beginning with a discussion of the varied religious positions of playwrights. Just as audiences were known to possess a range of confessional positions, so too do the dramatists who created their entertainments. Playwright’s personal beliefs do not seem to have significantly impacted their professional collaborative practices or other conditions of production. Gurnis finds that this conception of professionalism extended to the King’s Men performers, as well. She illustrates the point by observing the religious associations of Edward Alleyn, Nathan Field, John Lowin, Eyllaerdt Swanston and the confessional characters they played, which, for instance, included Alleyn’s Marlovian atheists. Later in the chapter, Gurnis observes how Will Kemp’s roles of Sir John Falstaff and Sir John of Wrotham create a “shared personhood” (82). Especially noteworthy in the chapter is the author’s examination of the hot Protestant play *I Sir John Oldcastle* (a collaboration of at least four playwrights—Michael Drayton, Richard Hathway, Anthony Munday, and Robert Wilson) and the hagiography of Catholic martyr *Sir Thomas More* (Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Munday, and William Shakespeare). Chapters four and five turn to extended discussions of ways in which two plays operate within the mixed-faith worlds Gurnis has foregrounded to this point. Chapter four, “Making a Public Through *A Game of Chess*” investigates how Thomas Middleton’s King’s Men play utilizes action, dialogue, props, humor, staging, and stage directions to create a self-consciousness in its Protestant audience for the purpose of challenging their positions on religion and politics to yield a tangible cultural response. The author’s careful exegesis is especially well-informed by her use of contemporaneous reports as it explains how mixed-faith playgoers’ cultural and religious positions are shaped through shared experience. “*Measure for Measure: Theatrical Cues and Confessional Codes*,” chapter five, complements the work of the previous chapter by showing how theater can interrogate religious habits-of-thought

by inviting audiences to reimagine their assumptions about other's beliefs through the lens of drama. Once more, Gurnis challenges monolithic conceptions as she carefully articulates how Shakespeare's play provides multiple perspectives on predestinarian positions. Her movement through literal, metaphorical, and anagogical levels of the play's interrogations serves as a model for articulating affective piety in early modern scholarship.

Mixed Faith and Shared Feeling deftly challenges oversimplified confessional assumptions about people of the period by demonstrating through a wide array of lenses and perspectives the nuances of post-Reformation political, social, and religious practices. Through meticulous, sophisticated study, the author details how the power of theater shapes and is shaped by audiences of the time to reveal "a way of moving around, inside and out of, between, or aslant of rigid confessional binaries" (154). This volume requires careful reading for students and scholars of drama. It is a remarkable resource for our time.

Arran Johnston. *Essential Agony. The Battle of Dunbar 1650*. Warwick, England. Helion and Company, 2019. xxx + 220 pp. + 59 illus. + 12 maps. \$37.95. Review by EDWARD M. FURGOL, MONTGOMERY COLLEGE.

Johnston presents a masterful analysis of how the terrain dictated and impacted the armies' maneuvers and positions in a campaign that decided the fate of Great Britain and Ireland for a decade. Although based only on printed primary sources (and secondary ones) this work adds to our understating of what the author rightly calls a battle whose "outcome changed the course of British history" (198). The battle is hardly understudied, being analyzed in numerous accounts since W.S. Douglas' *Cromwell Scotch Campaigns* (1898). Johnston manages to contribute to the subject in a work of eight chapters, plus an epilogue, and appendices.

While the English events of the period from December 1648 through June 1650 are readily accessible, the Scottish developments are less well known. In first two chapters Johnston remedies that lacuna. He sets the scene of growing political divisions in Scotland, and the

policies of the ruling kirk party. Although like most he ignores discussing the other possibilities the kirk party could have selected after the execution of Charles I—declaring a republic or selecting Elizabeth of Bohemia or one of her sons as monarch. He rightly stresses the kirk party's pacific inclinations toward the English Commonwealth in the months after Charles' death. While it had declared the Prince of Wales and Duke of Rothesay heir to his father's thrones on 5 February 1649, its levying of military forces over the next seventeen months was enough only to quell Scots Royalists. Only on 3 July 1650 did the Scottish estates declare a national levy. Just nineteen days later Oliver Cromwell invaded with an English Commonwealth army, giving the kirk party an incredibly brief period in which to levy and train its forces.

The five chapters on the 1650 summer campaign and the battle of Dunbar dominates the book. Johnston is equitable in his account, although the English perspective seems to pre-dominate. Missing from his sources are James Balfour's *Historical Works*, as well as J. Lamont of Newton's and John Nicoll's diaries, which would have enhanced the Scots' viewpoints. By relying on fortifications and interior lines Lieutenant General David Leslie was able to outmatch Cromwell for over a month. The success, dealt with in chapters 4 and 5, before 3 September of Leslie's campaign against Cromwell is graphically recounted. Perhaps more attention could have been made to the rationale of the kirk party members in favor of the purging their army of politically and morally questionable personnel? In addition to scriptural references (such as Gideon's Israelite army), they could reference the recent victories at Balvenie (1649) and Carbisdale (1650) when godly forces handily defeated larger opponents. Or a deeper examination of Leslie's force structure would have revealed that the offensive actions of his cavalry units arose from their greater cohesion. Fourteen of his seventeen cavalry regiments had at least partly existed before the English invasion. While for the infantry regiments nine of the twenty-one units were only raised after 3 July. Further analysis of the opposing cavalry regiments would have been beneficial. Johnston properly gives the English units (71) a superior rating to the covenanters'. That was based not on the quantity of the horsemen's armor, which was similar, but on the quality of English horses. Since 1639 the covenanters had

contrived to compensate for that disadvantage by arming at least part of a cavalry regiment with lances, which had otherwise disappeared from western Europe. The author rightly describes Cromwell's army on 2 September as one in desperate straits, although supply problems undermined the capabilities of both armies.

Leslie's plans for 3 September 1650 still seem unclear to the reviewer. If Johnston is correct about the siting and elements of Major General Sir James Lumsden's infantry brigade on the right flank of the army, which would lead an assault on the 3rd, then Lumsden must have been severely dismayed. Six years earlier at Marston Moor he had watched one of his trained brigades rout at first contact; facing the prospect of launching the decisive infantry attack with a largely raw brigade would have sent him to the bottle or a night of agony. In any case the author rightly stresses covenanter failures in leadership and discipline in laying the foundations for their defeat on 3 September. In such close physical proximity to an enemy army just a few hundred yards away establishing a well-manned picket line regularly inspected by captains, if not senior regimental officers would have been at least prudent both for defensive security and obscuring the covenanters' plans. When that army was led by such an aggressive military commander as Cromwell the failure to create such a warning system verged on and was indeed catastrophic. Johnston's attention to detail on how the landscape effected plans, lines of sight, and potential movements is superb. Equally, his analysis and use of Fitz-Payne Fisher's contemporary illustration of the battle is impressive. Particularly, the recognition that image presents not a single moment in the battle, but a compendium of critical episodes allows greater appreciation of a work familiar to historians since 1900 when C.H. Firth used it for his article on the battle. Johnston's account of the battle (144–62) provides enough detail for even a military history neophyte to understand the challenges and responses encountered on 3 September 1650. While some may be unmoved by such a meticulous approach the consequences of Cromwell's victory deserve that degree of intense discourse.

The concluding sections—chapter 8 and the epilogue—continue the story of the Anglo-Scottish war to its denouement at Worcester on 3 September 1650. While one may argue that these pages allows

the reader to appreciate the end of the story, the material is too compressed. The scale of the mortality disaster (treated 165–9) experienced by the soldiers captured at Dunbar seems underplayed. Their death rate surpassed that of Soviet prisoner of war held by the Nazis. The description of the battle of Inverkeithing on 20 July 1651, as usual, omits the slaughter of the Presbyterian Highlanders of Buchanan's Foot, while the Episcopalian Highlanders of Clan Maclean who were also destroyed alone receive recognition. While the author rightly refers to the "unaccustomed brutality" the English storming of Dundee in September 1651 (195), there is no mention of the following two weeks of pillage and atrocity perpetrated by the Commonwealth soldiers in that burgh. The limited space also prevents deeper investigations into Worcester, such as did David Leslie experience acute stress disorder, preventing him from adding his thousands of cavalrymen to the desperate fight?

The publisher generously allowed for supporting materials. In addition to contemporary images the author's photographs inform the text. A useful collection of detailed maps enables the reader to follow the author without recourse to an atlas or other books. Prime among them are four maps for the battle of Dunbar. Modern renderings of the soldiers' clothing and equipment along with their flags add to the text. Oddly one finds the occasional grammatical error, which sadly detracts from an otherwise superior product. The only factual error spotted were references to Major General John Middleton as the earl of Middleton in 1648 (37, 177)—by the author's own statement (196) that elevation to the peerage only occurred in 1656. That flaw exceptionally stands out in an otherwise impressive publication. Although the statement that Charles I "was benign by instinct" (31), leads one to wonder how that could be squared with his desire to prosecute the 2nd Lord Balmerino to the verge of death for knowing about a petition, or the catalogue of grievances he amassed across religious and social groups in the Scottish political nation between 1625 and 1637. Fortunately, the notes appear at the foot of the page. Equally, useful there is a bibliography. In terms of Scottish sources, the omission of manuscript ones does not detract from the quality of the research, since few of them directly relate to the subject. The book is further enhanced by appendices, reprinting relevant primary sources, as well

as useful orders of battle for the two armies.

Both historians and students will find the book valuable. Johnston's attention to how geography impacted the campaign will provide insights to the former. The latter will benefit from a well-written, sometimes dramatically engaging work that will carry them through the often-neglected military operations of the 1648–51 period in Great Britain. While Helion may aim its publications at wargamers and historical re-enactors, this volume at least appeals to a larger audience. Regardless of the issues raised in the review the book still stands as one worthy of reading and will tempt the reader to arrange a battlefield tour with the author, who is the manager of the Scottish Battlefields Trust.

John Henderson. *Florence under Siege: Surviving Plague in an Early Modern City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019. xviii + 363 pp. + 38 Illus, 4 maps, 9 figures, 4 tables, \$45.00. Review by R. BURR LITCHFIELD, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

This is a thorough and very detailed discussion of the plague epidemic in Florence Italy in 1630–33. The plague had spread into Lombardy by troops of the Thirty Years War in 1629. The city of Venice lost 33 per cent of its population of 140,000 and Milan 46 per cent of 130,000. In Venice the huge church of Santa Maria della Salute was built in thanksgiving for the plague's passing. In Milan this plague features in Alessandro Manzoni's great nineteenth century novel *I Promessi Sposi*. In Florence the victims were fewer, about 9,000, 12 per cent of the population of 75,000. There are several accounts of the plague in Florence: contemporary accounts, including Francesco Rondinelli's *Relazione del contagio stato in Firenze l'anno 1630 e 1633* (1634), and more recently studies by Carlo Cipolla (1973–76) Giulia Calvi (1984), earlier articles by Henderson (1988–2001) and briefly in a section of the present reviewer's book *Florence Ducal Capital, 1530–1630* (2008). Henderson utilizes all of these earlier works besides archival sources such as the archive of the Sanità (the Florentine health office that corresponded throughout the state and was founded at the time of the plague of 1527), the confraternity of the Misericordia (which

buried the dead in Florence), various hospitals, and other institutions.

Aware of the plague in Lombardy, the Sanità closed passes through the Appenines in 1629, but cases of plague appeared north of Florence in July 1630 and the contagion soon spread into the city. Earlier studies of the plague had focused just on the epidemic itself while Henderson takes a broader approach aiming at a “total history” encompassing the response of Florentine society as a whole. Whether it was plague or not was at first unclear to the magistrates of the Sanità. They thought the transmission was from person to person (that rats and fleas were also involved was unknown). This conditioned the response of the authorities. Streets were vigorously cleaned and cesspools emptied. Suspected persons, beggars, prostitutes, washerwomen and Jews from the Ghetto, were confined. Butchers and barber shops were closed. Matrasses and clothing in the houses of victims were burned. Understandably the mortality was highest among the poor. Wealthier Florentines fled the city to country villas. Deaths reached their height in November-December 1630. Lazaretti (pest houses) were opened in structures outside of the city and any thought infected were confined in them (“a fate thought worse than death itself”)-about half of those sent to Lazaretti died. Burials were in plague pits outside of the city, which people also tried to avoid preferring to be buried in family tombs or local Campisanti. Galileo (whom Henderson ignores) lived south of the city away from the source of contagion (a daughter brought him supposed remedies). The Ducal government was soon involved. A quarantine began in January 1631 keeping people inside houses—one member was licensed to procure food from warehouses established by the Ducal government. Any others leaving home were arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned. Further problems appeared since staff members of the Sanità stole items from empty houses. People tried to sell clothing from the dead. Appeals were made to churches (was God angry?). Masses were celebrated in streets and people were told to watch from windows. Appeals were made to individual saints: to the shrine of St. Anthony in the church of San Marco (he had been active in fifteenth century plagues), to Domenica da Paradiso a tertiary Dominican nun (active in the plague of 1527), and ultimately to Santa Maria dell’ Impruneta in a church south of the city who had often been thought to protect Florence from disasters. Her image was

carried into and through the city in procession in the spring of 1633. On this occasion church bells rang and cannons were fired to warn the populace to remain indoors. Throughout the secular and ecclesiastical responses were closely linked. The plague waned in the summer and autumn of 1631, and the quarantine was lifted, but it returned briefly in the autumn of 1632 reaching a new peak in the spring of 1633. It did not spread much south of Tuscany. This was Florence's last serious plague, although plague spread in southern Italy later in the seventeenth century.

Henderson's presentation is enhanced by tabular presentations of the data, showing maps, the number of plague burials in the city by month in 1630–31, and particularly the number of incidents in the large parish of San Lorenzo, the number of admissions and burials in hospitals and Lazaretti, and the number of individuals arrested for breaking the quarantine (people who tried to return to their usual activities). But on the whole Henderson thinks the Sanità was rather tolerant in enforcing its regulations. The illustrations enliven different neighborhoods of the city, the protective clothing used by plague doctors, monuments in churches later built in honor of the saints involved, and photographs of buildings where Lazaretti were established.

A possible criticism of Henderson's study is that it focuses just on Florence, although the plague spread widely through the Florentine state and the Sanità corresponded with local offices elsewhere. Conditions could be somewhat different in different places as the earlier work of Carlo Cipolla (*Cristofano and the Plague* [1973])—a study of Prato) has suggested. Not much attention is given either to the return of plague to Florence in 1633. Also, it is unclear from Henderson's study why plague mortality was so much less in Florence than it was in Venice or Milan. Were the measures taken by the Sanità in Florence more effective than those in Lombardy? And why did the plague not reappear in Florence later in the century? Nonetheless this is a very interesting study for anyone interested not only in plague epidemics but also in seventeenth-century Florentine social history.

Livia Stoenescu. *The Pictorial Art of El Greco: Transmaterialities, Temporalities, and Media*. Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 322 pp. \$130. Review by FELIPE PEREDA, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

It is certainly nothing new to say that Domenikos Theotokopoulos, better known as ‘El Greco,’ is one of the most intriguing, complex and at the same time intriguing painters of that period that we still call the Renaissance. Few other painters of the sixteenth-century speak with such a clear voice to some of the major concerns, if not debates of this particular field of the discipline of Art History: the geography of art, for example; the coexistence of diverse and conflicting temporalities within one and the same historical period—in other words, how painters reflected on the relation of their art to the past, and maybe also to their future viewers; and, last but not least, the way artists’ mobility in this period challenges the nationalistic burden that shaped art history since it was born as a modern humanistic discipline.

Trained in Crete as an expert in a school of painting that had remained stagnant for several centuries, the young Domenikos moved abruptly in the 1560s to Venice, one of the most dynamic, experimental and no doubt competitive cities of the century. After working and the circle of Titian (how close to him it is still hard to know), and after intensely studying the works of artists such as Tintoretto, by the early-seventies, the painter had enthusiastically converted to the modern *maniera*. El Greco did not only transition across two very different geographies, he also travelled across two worlds that had very different, if not opposite ways to think of the place of the art of painting in relation to the traditions that legitimized its practice: the evangelical fathers for the Cretan icon-painters of the *maniera greca*, on the one hand; the authority of nature and the legendary traces of a remote, lost, antiquity for his Italian contemporaries, on the other. To make things even more complicated, the Greek artist finished his days in the distant Spain ruled by the Catholic Monarchy, at a time in which a “conservative” cultural policy responded to the challenge of Reform with the authority of tradition. The rest of El Greco’s career was, as it is very well known, a bittersweet story of popular success and repeated official disappointments when not failure.

As will by now be obvious, one of the big challenges to write a book on the painter El Greco's is to articulate his work with his biography, to provide a model for how his work negotiated between different geographies, cultural horizons and even temporalities. And this is not at all easy. In recent years, new interpretative books on some aspects of his work (Nikolaos Panagiotakes' or Andrew Casper's for example), important exhibitions (like the ambitious one just opened at the Art Institute of Chicago more recently) and an important documentary and biographical reconstruction (Fernando Marias' work most notably) have changed dramatically El Greco studies, precisely for incorporating some of the big questions mentioned above. But the task is big and the nature of El Greco's immense creativity and polyedric personality make this at least as complex as it is promising or stimulating.

Livia Stoenescu's most recent book is an ambitious response to this challenge and one that is very much welcome. The main goal of the book—and its greatest merit in the opinion of the present reader—has been to try to break with the “compartmentalized” Greco that comes out of much of the past literature in order to “demonstrate the breadth and depth of his thinking as a painter aligned with the major artistic trends of his time” (18). The book reads not as a biography, neither as a collection of articles. Organized instead around five major problems or topics, Stoenescu goes over El Greco's career drawing some of the biggest arguments that run across a 50-year-long artistic career. Mainly three: Sacred portraits, History painting and the nude.

The Pictorial Art of El Greco opens with a chapter looking into one of the genres of his work that has traditionally being explored and considers how El Greco's Byzantine heritage shaped his later career, or even how some of his paintings can be seen as responding critically to the past he left behind. I am referring of course to the Portraits of Christ, particularly those visualizing relics of the imprint of his face (from the Veronica to the Mandylyon) and how these relate to Byzantine icons. Instead of just confronting the two genres, Stoenescu does two things that are paradigmatic of the methodology displayed in the rest of the book. First, she considers portraits of sacred subjects (and not only illustrations of the relics), therefore extending the breadth of her analysis beyond the trope of the Byzantine icon-painter who

became a Renaissance artist. Second, the book compares El Greco's strategy to that of other contemporary painters such as Federico Zuccaro (a painter with whom El Greco did not only come across both in Spain and in Italy, but might have been responsible for giving him a copy of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* in whose margins the Greek would later scribble his thoughts). By breaking with Hans Belting's rigid—and at least in El Greco's case unnecessary if not artificial—dualism between an era of the image (the *past* Byzantine world) and a *Renaissance* era of art, Stoenescu brings El Greco out of his historiographic exceptionalism: Not only was El Greco confronting similar challenges as other contemporary artists, the traces of the pictorial remedy developed to navigate in a period when there was an increasing concern with the cultic function of sacred images is something that affected his whole oeuvre. The argument developed in this first chapter extends in the next one with a closer analysis of one specific example: the portrait of Saint Ildefonso (Illescas, Toledo) where the legendary Bishop is shown writing on his desk while looking for inspiration from the Miraculous Image of the Virgin of Illescas that tradition considered a work of Saint Luke.

The second big topic addressed in the book is that of History painting. The chapter is devoted entirely to one single biblical story, the Purification of the Temple, that El Greco repeatedly depicted mostly in a small, cabinet-painting format that he began painting during his Roman years probably for an educated elite of art-connoisseurs. Stoenescu, however, again expands the list to include now an altar version of the same typology today still at the Parish Church of San Ginés (Madrid). This allows her to interpret the paintings under a new light, showing how El Greco's success relied to a certain extent on this ability to adapt his language and style to his audience: From the refined version of the 'Purification' in Minneapolis including the portraits of the artists that were bringing art to perfection (Titian, Michelangelo and Giulio Clovio) to the late, much straight-forward religious composition in the church of San Ginés which shows Christ's body against the tabernacle in what looks like an un-equivocal Eucharistic statement.

The third and final topic covered in the book is the nude, which is developed along two complementary chapters: one more general

devoted to the Counter-Reformation critique of the representation of contorted naked bodies (mostly on anti-Michelangelesque sources) and El Greco's struggle to continue investigating the formal and narrative possibilities of this subject in his Spanish compositions. As in the first part of the book, the last chapter now continues with a specific case study, the extremely provocative *Laocoön*, where the tragic fate of the priest of the Troyan priest and his sons is placed in the outskirts of the city of Toledo, with its symbolic buildings perfectly recognizable to the viewer. Once more, Stoenescu illuminates El Greco's flexibility to "bridge the gap between Eastern and Western traditions," between "two modes of artistic practice," (204) and in the latter case, even between the ancient pagan past and the sixteenth century, deploying the *Laocoön*, "as a classical reference in a preeminently Christian context" (289). The author considers El Greco's language as one shaped by a determined flexibility and pictorial intelligence to navigate within the realm of fiction to make those connections possible. In the opinion of this reader the book is sometimes (the case of the *Laocoön* is an exemplary case of it) more suggestive and thought-provoking than argumentative, inviting to think further, more than giving a concluding response to some of the always pertinent questions raised by the author. Another minor critique refers to frequent misspelling of Spanish names and sources (*Carduchio* for "Carducho," *Villaneuva* or "Villanueva," *linenzos* for "lienzos" or the Italianism *San Felipe Reale*, to give some examples). The book would have benefited from a Spanish-speaking editor. Overall, however, Livia Stoenescu's *The Pictorial Art of El Greco* is a thoughtful and stimulating introduction to the art of the Cretan artist, filled with intuitive and subtle observations that—meeting the author's promise in the introduction—succeed in presenting El Greco's radical originality, his "extravagant" style as some of his contemporaries put it, as the result of a dynamic while critical dialogue with the art of his time.

Marcia B. Hall. *The Power of Color: Five Centuries of European Painting*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019. ix + 293 pp. + 210 illus. \$45. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

This comprehensive study of color in a survey of five centuries of European painting marks Marcia B. Hall's return to a topic that she made it her own with *Color and Meaning* (1992), her first foray into this examination. Expanding on the role played by color in the Italian Renaissance that was her focus in 1992, Hall takes a sweeping approach to techniques, materials, media, and theories that positioned color at the center of modern art practice. The main takeaway is that color emerged free of art theoretical prejudice and of the competing claims between painting and sculpture only in times much closer to contemporary art, times in which the art community was prepared to rise above misconceptions and, according to Joseph Beuys, able to function as a means of evoking a world at odds with prevailing realities.

The book comprises of an introduction and six chapters, each devoted to the artists' response to color over a century beginning in the 1400s. A postscript concludes the book, returning the reader's attention to the Renaissance and Baroque painters, Titian, Caravaggio, and Rembrandt whose interest in advancing color inspired countless generations. A salient point is Hall's discussion of the painter's effective practice with color, a medium by definition optical, immaterial, non-containable, and non-tactile. Hall focuses on the contribution of color to define the tinted layer below the paint, called *imprimatura* (4). Used as an expressive device to enhance the composition's tonality and to add unity and atmosphere, *imprimatura* ceased being of interest for the Impressionist painters who relied to an unprecedented extent on color and thus returned painting to the unprimed canvas. Equally important is Hall's examination of the materials with which painters mounted their colorful compositions. From the supports in wooden panel, canvas, or wall, to the binders in egg, oil, or water; the pigments and mineral, earth, and organic dyes; and the brushes made from animal hair, the painter's using all these materials added to the final composition a sense of invisible, yet penetrating, materiality inherent in the liquid nature of color.

A careful discussion is devoted to the peculiarities of dark *imprimatura*, which both Tintoretto and Caravaggio evolved from the teachings of Sebastiano del Piombo and Giulio Romano, the latter synthesizing the experience he accumulated in Raphael's studio (97). Michelangelo's own *imprimatura* varied from dark reddish browns to dirty browns to almost black. The fruits of an extensive practice with dark *imprimatura* are visible in Caravaggio's technique of painting directly on the dark primed canvas, with the model posing before him (99). Chiaroscuro, achieved with the dark *imprimatura*, would remain the popular means to manipulate light and to create a sense of drama right up until the rise of Impressionism in the mid-nineteenth century (101). Hall remarkably illustrates a creative approach to the disposition of light and shadow that led seventeenth-century painters to come up with dead coloring, a new invention on variations of tonality (125). Whereas tinted *imprimatura* was used for the colored under-painting, dead color became a medium of excellence for the monochrome sketch. Hall exemplifies dead color with Rubens's unfinished *Henry IV in the Battle of Paris* (1624-26) in which the optical effects were not achieved by direct painting with color.

The idea that reliance on color precludes drawing has become a mainstay of art historical discussion, not in the least because of Titian and Rembrandt who worked directly on the canvas without any preliminary drawings. Rembrandt used a rough texture to make things appear close and a smooth surface to recede, and on occasion applied a thick impasto with the palette knife, the latter responsible for his realization in the *Return of the Prodigal Son* (c. 1668) of bright red tonalities that push the father forward while drawing the viewer to him (129). In a distinct manner, another outstanding Netherlandish master, Rubens, made his oil sketches with the goal to prepare for the final composition and to test the possibility for synthesizing chiaroscuro, tonality, and composition to enthrall his patrons who requested to see the painting in progress.

Hall tackles the relative merits of color when compared to drawing, stressing the quintessential role played by Italian man of letters and theorist of painting, Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568), in defending the properties of color to describe human flesh and object surface (154). This theoretical discussion is, however, kept brief and limited

to the common refrain that “color ends up being only the means to verisimilitude, whereas drawing is capable of capturing the essence of things and depicting the ideal” (154). An undisputable feature of Hall’s book is exhaustiveness at the expense of relevance. To highlight the significance of color for painting is to evaluate the specifics that constantly elevated the use of color in painting over sculpture in a range of art historical debates that took momentum just in the duration from the fifteenth- through the nineteenth-centuries covered by Hall’s book. One such important debate referenced Quatremère de Quincy’s apologia for polychromy in the dawn of the nineteenth-century, an apologia that coincided with the Italian Renaissance tradition becoming the model. In the ensuing debates over the relative merits of painting and sculpture, the former maintained leadership but at the same time the loosening of the formal injunction against color in sculpture became a truism. In this respect, an examination of Degas as a painter cannot overlook the innovative aspects of his modelling of *Little Dancer of 14 Years* (1880–81). In this work, color combined with wax, bronze, and garments and became inseparable from the realism of modern writers. Color thus evoked comparisons with the novels of Zola, whose work, just as Degas’s, was of course more than a medical and scientific reproduction of contemporary life.

Mary Jo Muratore, ed. *Molière Re-envisioned: Twenty-First Century Retakes/Renouveau et renouvellement moliéresques*. Paris: Hermann, 2018. 633 pp. 36.00€. Review by STEPHEN H. FLECK, EMERITUS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY LONG BEACH

This laudably ambitious bilingual volume seeks to “re-envision,” or at least to “renew,” Molière for our century: no small objective for a playwright with over three and a half centuries of critical examination by fellow writers, scholars, and theater professionals. Comprised of work by thirty-one contributors, some very well-known, many less so or even apparently new to this field, the volume has an inevitable range of significance across articles, and in this case a considerably more-than-typical range. It is divided into five sections: “Introductory Essays,” “Historical/Philological/Linguistic Studies,” “Studies

on Genre and Theory,” “Textual Analyses,” and “Post 17th Century Resonances and Influences.” Since it is not feasible to discuss each of the articles in a brief review, I shall endeavor simply to point out some of the most noteworthy in the different sections, then to make a few general observations.

Offering an overview of the field of the volume, Alain Viala contributes with “Molière homme de spectacle” an elegant perspective on Molière as canonic author and “saltimbanque entrepreneur;” a “socio-poetics” of his various spectacles; contrasts of court and town practices; and a tripartite division of “tonalités”: those of comedy-ballet, those distinguishing (mainly) social status, and two varieties of *galanterie*. While breaking no new ground, the essay offers a useful overview of Molière’s rapidly evolving circumstances and esthetics.

Among the historical and philological essays, Jan Clarke offers a thoughtful consideration of the material consequences of Molière’s troupe’s command-visits to court, in particular a rather frequent loss of income from canceled performances at the Palais-Royal. The security of the royal appointment as the “Troupe du Roi” was bought, then, at the price of disruption of steadier income and presence to audiences in town. In another fine article, Laura Naudeix’s “Une Politique de la présence” asserts an “omniprésence du corps” at the heart of Molière’s theater, an unmasked and profound physicality central to his poetics, intense enough to ground an “effet de réel” *avant la lettre*—and specific enough to stir up trouble from those who believed themselves personally ridiculed.

In the section on genre and theory, Marie-Claude Canova-Green poses the question: “*Les Fâcheux*: début ou fin d’un genre?” The article evokes the *Fâcheux*’s structure of a series of revue-sketches later echoed in the *Critique de L’École des femmes*, *Le Misanthrope*, and *Dom Juan*. Evoking predecessors from Florentine *intermedi* to *ballet de cour* and Italian opera, and noting the comedy-ballet’s juxtaposition of its two major components beginning with *Le Mariage forcé*, the author concludes that, while *Les Fâcheux*’s revue-structure became something of a model for those three later plays, it also represented the final stage of an evolution of a heteroclite theater centered on play-text and accompanied by music, rather than the founding of a “conception nouvelle du théâtre” more fully represented by Lully’s *tragédie en musique* that

thoroughly displaced comedy-ballet upon Molière's death.

The next section, textual analyses, presents Nick Hammond's "Molière and Song," a welcome consideration of a greatly neglected topic: the place of song in Molière's *œuvre*. Recalling that Molière sang in his works not just in later comedy-ballets but already, and tellingly, in the *Précieuses ridicules*, we are compellingly reminded that singing was a frequent and clearly central part not just of the "mouth-body" nexus (in Steven Connon's formulation), but of the omnipresence of the body discussed by Laura Naudeix, in which Molière was, as much testimony of the time reveals, unparalleled.

In another aspect of materiality in the works, Ralph Albanese reminds us of the "rôle primordial" of both hunger and penury in the seventeenth century, consciousness of which may be discerned in both "la scène du Pauvre" of *Dom Juan* and in the workings of *L'Avare*; a most useful reminder of too-often neglected historical aspects informing the plays. In the course of analyzing precisely that scene of *Dom Juan*, Giovanni Dotoli characterizes the play, to which he has devoted a great deal of critical attention, as a "continent encore à explorer" and indeed four articles set forth directly into this territory. Outstanding among these efforts is that of Marcella Leopizzi on "La Figure féminine dans le *Dom Juan* de Molière: faiblesse et force d'âme," evoking the centrality of Elvire, the one woman in the work actually seduced by the eponymous hero and a moral and dramatic force throughout this ever-problematic play.

Issues of women's place and roles in wider contexts are also central to various other articles, notably in Theresa Varney Kennedy's "Revisiting the 'Woman Question' in Molière's Theater" which deftly evokes her theme, memorably accusing Philaminte in *Les Femmes savantes* of acting in an "abusively patriarchal" fashion by trying to marry off her daughter Henriette to the gold digger and fraud Trissotin. Perry Gethner's article on the "salon motif" enlarges on the place of salons not just in Molière's theater but also most appropriately in several works by women playwrights of the period. In "Splendeur et misère de l'homme dans *L'École des femmes* et *Les Rustres*," Ilda Tomas offers a lively and neatly presented discussion of two neoclassical-era versions of the "querelle des femmes," blinkered male chauvinism and brutal domination of women as exemplified in a play of Goldoni's as well

as in Molière's.

The final section, "Post-17th Century Resonances and Influences," includes work that most directly addresses, to this reviewer's mind, the aim announced by the volume's title. Ironic, perhaps, that one of the longer articles deals with "Reduced Molière: Rebooting the Master for a Twentieth-Century Audience," detailing Jeff Persels' mashup of elements from across the *œuvre* designed to draw in local Francophone audiences, perhaps somewhat inspired by Timothy Mooney's well-known one-man shows of both Molière and Shakespeare. In a most worthy follow-up to his contribution in the *Cambridge Companion to Molière*, Joe Harris revisits Rousseau's deeply problematic identification with Alceste, while Concetta Cavallini adds notably to the historically rich comparisons of Molière's and Jean Giradoux's treatments of the Amphitryon story.

It is extremely rare to be riveted by a work of criticism. Yet such was this reviewer's experience in reading Michael Koppisch's "Au début, nous voulions chanter': Turning to Molière in Auschwitz." This absolutely exceptional piece deals with Charlotte Delbo's memorialized experiences as a concentration camp inmate and her later ability to deal with the ensuing consequences. In her efforts not just to survive but to remain *living*, not one of the living dead, Alceste was a near-constant companion, advising, challenging, and inspiring in her the will to continue living. Delbo had worked closely with Louis Jouvet before the war, and the great actor/director's emphasis on *action* over character, and straightforward presentation over individualizing interpretation, appears to have been central to the moral and spiritual strength that Delbo found in Molière generally. She organized readings and enactments by fellow inmates both from collectively assembled memory and from the rare smuggled-in texts.

This most exceptional article alone would justify consulting this volume. Luckily, it is joined by a good number of articles of fine quality, despite the quite variable level of work overall. Then too, the volume overall provides — perhaps unsurprisingly — more often an updating of scholarship than a genuine "re-envisioning," and sometimes a sole reliance on older critics. Is this latter circumstance an implicit criticism and rejection of recent critics; a limitation of authors' access; or due to other causes? Especially in view of the volume's six hundred-plus

pages, the harvest of truly thought-provoking articles remains modest; the work's ambition of re-envisioning and renewing Molière for our time remains more than occasionally beyond its grasp.

Despite the wide range of quality, from excellent and thought-provoking to (in a very few instances) forgettable, and the deeply regrettable lack of sustained editorial attention (e.g., the absence of an index; the occasional typographic or even textual flub in both French and English, such as “Panuphle” for “Panulphe” or “Oronte” used twice for “Orgon”; and most glaringly, “Quoique” misquoted in an article's title citation of the *Dom Juan* incipit “Quoi que puisse dire Aristote...,” and repeated throughout in the article's headers—(an autocorrector's imposition?), this work deserves a place on university library shelves for those contributions that best achieve the volume's lofty aim.

Robert Garnier. *Hippolyte (1573). La Troade (1579)*. Ed. Jean-Dominique Beaudin. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019. 618 pp. 24 €. Review by MARC BIZER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

For the past fifteen years or so, sixteenth-century French tragedy has been experiencing a Renaissance of sorts: reborn during the French Wars of Religion, it affords insights into the ongoing relationship between tragedy and history but also into how seventeenth-century tragedy evolved from it. These texts of *La Troade* and *Hippolyte*, first published as part of Garnier's *Théâtre complet* in 1999 and 2009, respectively, are now being rereleased in this two-volume edition, accompanied by lengthy introductions, an *apparatus criticus*, notes, bibliography, and *indices verborum et nominum*. Garnier's *œuvre* is clearly a labor of love for Beaudin, who, in addition to publishing the playwright's complete works, has also written a number of articles on Garnier over the years. The timing of the appearance of this volume with the French *agrégation* exam doubtless explains some of the useful, albeit unusual (at least for a contemporary North American audience) emphasis on *Quellenforschung* where each introduction is followed by a comparative table showing correspondences between Garnier and his model (Seneca). Indeed, the introductions consist largely of act-by-act

summaries with detailed comments on principal differences between the tragedy and its source(s).

This approach obviously serves the general philological and thematic nature of the *agrégation* well. However, some of the remarks can be rather vague, such as when Beaudin notes that the dialogue between Phèdre and Oenone in the second act of *Hippolyte* “contient toutes sortes de développements moraux et métaphysiques” (20). But, perhaps more importantly, Beaudin fails to define what he means by “the tragic,” observing a little later, “Cet acte original établit donc des liens avec la suite du drame et augmente le tragique” (23). Questions of genre arise as well, such as when Beaudin speaks of “le lyrisme élégiaque” (353) and then, on the following page, of “les méditations lyriques” (354). Finally, Beaudin does have a tendency to make impressionistic remarks, such as when he comments “L’organisation de la tirade révèle en Garnier un authentique homme de théâtre” (34), or to yield to the temptations of the intentional fallacy, when he remarks “Garnier a trouvé plus naturel et plus efficace sur le plan dramatique de placer cet éloge dans la bouche de Phèdre” (20). Lastly, the deficiency of the mainly philological and thematic orientation of the commentary is that it does not always do justice to the specificity of these texts, written as they were during the Wars of Religion.

Even if had Garnier simply transposed Seneca and Euripides into French, these tragedies would necessarily acquire new meaning by virtue of their publication during the historical and cultural context of the Wars of Religion. To Beaudin’s credit (Garnier’s preface to the *Troade* leaves no doubt on this subject), he does at one point acknowledge that the “destruction de Troie par l’ennemi et le supplice d’Astyanax rappellent les atrocités commises dans les guerres de Religion” (338–39). But opportunities are missed, in the scholarly overview that he proposes, to delve more deeply into the historical connections with certain scenes. For instance, when Odysseus attempts to track down Astyanax in the *Troade* in order to insure that Hector leaves no descendants to avenge him, Beaudin finds the scene “une des mieux réussies” because of its “mouvement dramatique . . . remarquable,” but one might also wonder whether the scene hints at a kind of anticipation of *raison d’état*. These reservations aside, we owe Beaudin a debt of gratitude for his tireless contributions to keeping sixteenth-century French tragedies accessible to modern scholarly audiences.

Florence Boulerie and Katalin Bartha-Kovács, eds. *Le singe aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: Figure de l'art, personnage littéraire et curiosité scientifique*. Paris: Hermann, 2019. 516 pp. + 24 illus. 45. 00 €. Review by IVY DYCKMAN, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR.

When most of us encounter monkeys on a screen virtually, up close at the zoo or perhaps in the wild, our first reaction is to smile or give a little laugh. We see them as creatures remarkably like us in so many respects and are generally amused and amazed by their antics and expressions. Our fascination for the larger primates can be seen in the popularity of films like *King Kong* and *Planet of the Apes* as well as in the reported sightings of mysterious humanoid beasts in the Pacific Northwest and Western Canada, commonly identified as Sasquatch or Bigfoot. Jane Goodall introduced us to the life of chimpanzees at Gombe Stream National Park in Tanzania. Thanks to her groundbreaking studies of these primates in their natural habitat, we learned that chimps use and make tools, eat meat, have distinctive personalities, express emotions, and make use of verbal and non-verbal methods to communicate among themselves. Of course, we cannot speak about primates without mentioning Charles Darwin, who wrote that monkeys, apes, and humans must have a common ancestor due to their considerable similarities. As we shall soon learn, certain behaviors and physical characteristics shared by these mammals had already raised European eyebrows at least a century or more before Darwin exposed his controversial thoughts on evolution.

The attention given to *le singe* in the artistic and scientific realms towards the end of the early modern period is the theme of this volume. In the context of this review, the French term *le singe* will be used throughout to signify primates, meaning both apes and monkeys. The articles compiled by the editors, Florence Boulerie and Katalin Bartha-Kovács, originated primarily from papers presented on this topic at the international conference organized by CEREC, “Centre de Recherches sur l’Europe classique (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)” (8), which took place at Bordeaux in May 2015. The editors took a multidisciplinary approach in presenting and arranging the twenty-six contributions, which they classified under three major parts that were subdivided into specific sections. The first part attempts to

define *le singe* in relation to or differentiated from its human relative; the second considers the animal as an object of entertainment in the visual, theatrical, and literary arts; and the third speaks to the role of *le singe* in social, political, and ethical criticism. The methodical format simplifies the work of the researcher investigating one or more of these topics. However engaging this subject may be, reading the work in its entirety inevitably makes for a certain amount of repetition. To further assist the curious and the serious, extensive primary and secondary bibliographies, a compilation of artistic sources, indexes of proper and common nouns, and brief biographies of the contributors are included. The addition of twenty-four illustrations serves to complement their narrative counterparts. These particular images are far from amusing, though. Whether contemplating them at length or momentarily, they are at best disquieting. These representations of *le singe* display a great many of the mammal's characteristics that humans find conflicting. The following descriptions of the work's three divisions elucidate why, for example, monkeys and apes can be endearing yet frightening, even grotesque.

The first grouping of articles explores how Europeans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries defined and depicted *le singe*, noting not only the variety of types but also the uncanny similarities between themselves and this exotic creature. It is thanks to accounts from explorers, the curiosity of scientists and philosophers, and the imagination of artists of this period that we know how this animal from distant lands impacted Europeans of all classes. Two distinguished naturalists of the eighteenth century expressed their thoughts on the classification of *le singe*. Carl Linnaeus of Sweden, often known as the "Father of Taxonomy," initially placed the *Simia* (all species of monkeys) and *Homo* (man) genera in the same class of quadrupeds. In a later edition of his *Systema naturae*, he reclassified them as members among the mammalian order Primates. In his *Histoire naturelle*, the Comte de Buffon underlined the disparity between *le singe* and Linnaeus's *Homo sapiens*. Not unsurprisingly, the Enlightenment philosopher Rousseau spoke about primates in a social context, asserting that they were savages still in their primitive state. Neither a voyager nor a naturalist, James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, was a Scottish judge and linguistic scholar who is sometimes deemed a precursor of Darwin.

He argued that the orangutan was indeed human due to its physical and behavioral similarities to man. Both he and Rousseau boldly expressed their minority views on the link between man and monkey.

The remaining articles in this section define *le singe* from a more subjective perspective. For example, some authors examine *le singe* from an esthetic standpoint. Three of them analyze paintings which either portray the animals in a visually pleasing way without regard to reality, represent them authentically and empathetically in their natural settings or lastly, show the creatures in chains as prisoners of men. Other writers deal with characteristics of monkeys and apes as described in travel logs. These impressions were often negative, with Christian morality overtones of sinful lifestyles and lewdness. One author likens their harsh treatment to that of black slaves while another addresses the religious versus scientific explanations of their origins. The last article in this first section attempts to summarize the definition of *le singe* by addressing elements of art and science. Referencing specific paintings, the author discusses the iconography of *le singe* and *le perroquet*. Their differences from man are obvious, but in certain respects, these two animals are the best imitators of humans. The former mimics man's behavior and the latter his speech. This observation encourages theoretical discourse on traits shared by animals and humans as well as on who is imitating whom.

The second part of the compilation takes a lighter approach to *le singe*. Here, we see this anthropomorphic animal as an object of decorative, theatrical, and erotic pleasures. A discussion of *singe* mania in seventeenth-century Antwerp introduces the *divertissements* theme. Peeter van der Borcht, David Teniers le Jeune, Jan Brueghel le Jeune, and Nicolaes van Veerendael counted among the Flemish painters who portrayed *les singes* as human beings in a comic fashion. In France, the *singerie* vogue inspired Jean-Antoine Watteau to decorate the ceiling of 26 rue de Condé in Paris with *les singes* wearing *commedia dell'arte* costumes, creating the illusion of ludic human behavior. This *singe* craze even had an effect on the porcelain industry. The Meissen factory near Dresden produced *l'orchestre de singes*, with particular attention given to a figurine playing the hurdy-gurdy, which was intended to satirize upper-class women. The notion of *la singerie* also found its way to the stage. In Alfredo Arias's 1986 production of Marivaux's

Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard, all of the characters were transformed into *les singes*, which reinforced the eighteenth-century playwright's critical observations of his society. Other theatrical writers utilized *le singe* as a character or the animal itself in works for both popular and elite audiences. In the modern version of Marivaux's play, *le singe* was presented as an instrument to mock the court and contemporary politics as well as to instill moral lessons through, ironically, transgressive and erotic actions. The concluding articles address sexual desire aroused by *le singe* whose licentious behavior was reportedly observed in its natural habitat by European explorers and eventually embedded in the Western imagination. The apes, in particular, were said to have violated native women who gave birth to hideous beings as a result of the forced unions. In the fairy tales of Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy as well as in those inspired by her, *le singe* was portrayed more compassionately and served as a discreet symbol of feminine desire.

Editors Boulerie and Bartha-Kovács devote the final third of the corpus to *le singe* seen as a conduit for social, moral, and political criticism. Moreover, this part functions as a summation of all that has been previously said about the fascination with *le singe* throughout Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The remaining articles echo and expand upon what we have learned up to this point in the text. For instance, it is surprising to discover that monkey madness was not just confined to France, Flanders, or Saxony but occurred in Spain, Portugal, and Poland. Empathetic attitudes towards *le singe* appear in the texts of such *Siglo de Oro* notables as Miguel de Cervantes, José de Acosta, and Vicente Espinel. In Portugal, *les singeries* depicted on tiles (*azulejos*) that decorated seventeenth-century Lisbon palaces had political implications. Their not-so-subtle purpose was to ridicule Castilian adversaries during the Portuguese Restoration War (1640-1668). Although *les singes* were less numerous in Poland than in France, Eastern and Western cultural influences there nevertheless inspired positive and negative representations of these creatures in Polish art and literature across the major art movements of *l'Europe classique*. As for France, Fénelon, Crébillon, Diderot, and Voltaire incorporated *le singe* as a literary figure into tales having moral and philosophical objectives. They used this device to satirize human behavior and question the differences between man and beast, which also

preoccupied scientists of the day. Bad-boy author Nicolas-Edme Rétif de La Bretonne invented a *singe auteur*, César de Malacca, whose *Lettre d'un singe aux êtres de son espèce* was included in his pre-Revolutionary novel *La Découverte australe* (1781). Rétif used the voice of an animal closely related to humans in order to express his controversial views directed at mankind without provoking either the censor or the police. The Anglo-Irish satirist Jonathan Swift employed a similar technique in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) when he created *hommes-singes* in the form of the Yahoos. This was a vehicle for criticizing British scientist Edward Tyson's treatise on the orangutan, a document which addressed the similarities and differences between this particular primate and the human being. In the end, though, Swift compelled his readers to ponder which species was truly degenerate. The very last contribution is well chosen since it poses philosophical questions about *le singe* based on a painting by the French artist Jean-Siméon Chardin. Aesthetic considerations aside, in *Le Singe peintre* we are asked to contemplate how the *singe artiste* would interpret his subject, *la statuette antique*: as a human being in an anthropocentric world or as another *singe* or other animal. The painting challenges man's egocentrism by acknowledging the possibility that *le singe* may be capable of perceiving the world non-anthropomorphically. Are we humans able to see our world through the eyes of *le singe*?

Gilbert Schrenck, Anne-Élisabeth Spica, and Pascale Thouvenin, eds. *Héroïsme féminin et femmes illustres (XVI^e–XVII^e Siècles): Une représentation sans fiction*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019. 420 pp. 32€. Review by BÉATRICE FLAMENBAUM, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

This collection of essays is an important contribution to the history of women's emancipation in sixteenth and seventeenth century French texts, including memoirs, biographies, and letters. Heroic fictional or historic women characters are portrayed as acting out of justice and dignity, claiming their rights through resistance, heroic acts, and behaviors. This collection of how twenty-five essays centers around the representation of the main archetypes of heroic femininity as the premise of modernity. It offers a timeless and universal conception of

feminine heroism that is resistant to all forms of sovereignty and power.

In her introduction, Anne-Élisabeth Spica argues that ambiguity underlies the construction of an invisible feminine heroism, often shown as introverted, spiritual, virtuous, dignified, and sometimes confined, and solitary. Spica points at this ambiguity and complexity as the specificity of feminine heroism. She highlights that, beyond sacrifice and renunciation, feminine heroism resists oppression and temptation, and finds new forms of expression. Indeed, archetypes of warriors, generous martyrs, and selfless activists coexist with allegories of sweetness and tenderness embodied in virtuous wives and mothers. This collection of essays identifies aristocracy, virtue, and religious faith as the prevailing features in the representation of feminine heroism.

First, religious faith is explored specifically in many articles. In “L'éventail des possibles de l'héroïsme féminin d'après les *Dialogismi Heroinarum* (1541) de Petrus Nannius,” Claude La Charité focuses on Nannius's use of internal dialogue to reveal the qualities of five heroines, which can be found in their devotion and chastity. This internal dialogue frees the characters from social constraints and judgment. Alain Cullière, in his examination of Guillaume Reboul's depiction of courage, love, and virtue of women martyrs, argues that martyrs symbolize the glory of God in the world, therefore reminding us of the value of martyrs' deaths as heroic examples of love and virtue and casting feminine martyrs as political activists of sorts. Cécile Huchard observes that Protestant literature praises queens Jeanne d'Albret and Elizabeth of England as political and Christian heroines, with the hidden motive of legitimizing their power as women. The representation of women as allegories of virtue masks the underlying criticism of masculine figures of power, who potentially lack these attributes. Huchard brings to light the political implications of religious representations. Didier Course associates heroism and exoticism, and the representation of Christian martyrs and slaves as the embodiment of the triumph of Christian faith in the face of humiliations and torture.

Religion and education are interwoven in many of the essays. Christine Mongenot investigates inspirational books for young women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the new values of “bourgeois” education with its Christian precept of an ideal model to emulate. Feminine heroism becomes the embodiment of these

educational values. Nathalie Grande chooses Madame de La Guette's memoirs as an example of a woman who received an unusual education and asserts herself as pious, rebellious, fearless, and courageous. Grande exposes the social construct of feminine heroism as specifically religious. In "La mort héroïque d'une princesse protestante; Éléonore de Roye princesse de Condé," Claudie Martin-Ulrich elucidates the archetype of the faithful heroine as a potential spiritual and inspirational leader for young women. Antoinette Gimaret focuses on three biographies of feminine heroic saints and their reception in the seventeenth century as models of humility in the accomplishment of virtuous actions. She therefore shows the tension between heroism, civic duty, and exceptionality. Anne-Claire Volongo convincingly links feminine heroism with the resistance to familial, royal, and ecclesiastical injunctions, through the representation of Abbess Angélique Arnauld, whose search for an ideal of perfection and humility leads to a radical choice of penance, silence, and retreat.

This leads us to the social aspect of feminine heroism. Through her study of letters by women during the Italian Renaissance, Elisabetta Simonetta highlights the inhibiting social construct of the feminine search for perfection and an ideal, a dynamic that leads to passivity and to unfulfilled expectations. She reveals the inaction that derives from social constraints, and therefore suggests the need for emancipation. In his essay on Nicolas Caussin's *La Cour sainte*, Grégoire Menu examines depictions of feminine warriors or saints who, contrary to masculine heroes, do not set themselves as examples of success or endurance. Indeed, Menu reflects on feminine resistance against passion, which often forces them to leave the Court and to become socially invisible. In "Jeanne-Françoise Frémyot de Chantal dans les Mémoires de la Mère de Chaugy: Une femme, une épouse, une mère et une religieuse aux 'vertus héroïques'," Chiara Rolla portrays feminine heroism as the combination of many qualities, such as strength, humility, courage, faith, and generosity. The versatile and multidimensional heroine represents an archetype of unity and achievement of perfection in all the roles a woman plays in her life: as a woman, a spouse, a mother, and a nun. In her essay on "Les Reines et Dames' de La Cour sainte" by Nicolas Caussin, Barbara Piqué deals with the difference between Caussin's representations of masculine heroes, and the decorative and

secondary function of heroines, whether they are queens, historical or biblical figures. She presents the parallel between these representations and the patriarchal political power structure.

Finally, many essays bring to light the origins of feminine emancipation. With her essay "Pauline, Livia et quelques autres; L'héroïsme féminin dans les *Essais* de Montaigne," Élisabeth Schneikert offers a new perspective on Montaigne, who does not merely represent feminine heroism as virtue, marital love, courage, and energy. Indeed, Schneikert reveals the ambiguity and the absence of sexual difference in Montaigne's use of theatricality to show female and male equality when it comes to political and philosophical intelligence. Nadine Kuperty-Tsur focuses on humor and self-mockery as being more common in representations of heroism by women authors. She shows that the memoirs of Marguerite de Valois value humor as an effective tool for resistance against oppression. Catherine Pascal notices the display of Queen Isabelle de Castile by Hilarion de Coste as an allegory of virtue and perfection, and the embodiment of power. Pascal argues that Coste criticizes masculine power through direct comparison with Isabelle de Castile. Richard Maber shows how Le Moyne's gallery of twenty strong women praises virtue and feminine superiority, before finally constructing a concept of equality, hence implying that both masculine and feminine heroism are superior and therefore equal. Maber therefore makes us aware of the traces of modernity in this text. Jean Garapon's examination of Mlle de Montpensier and Mme de Longeville is an important contribution to the concept of feminine heroism as a form of political opposition against the king's sovereignty, in this case through a mythologized image that represents a fight for emancipation and against absolutism. In "La duchesse de Liancourt; Un exemple féminin d'héroïsme chrétien?" Hélène Michon analyzes feminine heroism as a form of universal virtue: within the family and the domestic life, and on the social stage with the "salon." Michon reveals a modern femininity, although it is still legitimized by a spiritual goal that surpasses passion through study and humility. Yohann Deguin focuses on Marie Mancini's memoirs as the representation of a heroine's suffering and sacrifices in her longing for freedom and emancipation.

This collection of essays examines heroism in the context of absolute monarchy and the political superiority of princesses, queens, and aristocrats. Yann Lignereux shows that history nevertheless privileges masculine heroes and brings to light the effort of history to bury canoness Catherine de Saint-Augustin's exploits, to focus instead on masculine heroes. The texts examined in this collection depict heroism as requiring a superior soul and sense of morality, wherein feminine heroines represent marital devotion, courage, resistance, faith, culture, and energy. In "L'héroïsme féminin dans les *Historiettes* de Tallemant des Réaux," Francine Wild looks at aristocratic heroines whose depiction avoids idealization and underlines moral integrity and the capacity of resistance in the face of temptation, seduction, violence, sickness, and death. Resistance is key in the defense of women's dignity. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religion and faith represent the way to resistance and emancipation, whether this spiritual path takes place within society or apart from it, within solitude and silence. The collection, through the feminine rereading of the representation of heroines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, traces the origins of democracy and the modern State. Resistance and imitation appear as key concepts in the articles, especially in Enrica Zanin's essay about Semiramis, which directs our attention to imitation as a means to emancipation particularly when Zanin shows that the Assyrian queen disguised herself to look like a man, hence performing an imitation of masculine models of heroism. This collected work is a great contribution to gender and feminine studies, as well as the cultural history of the State and the context in which it appeared, in Europe in the seventeenth century.

Francesco Venturi, ed. *Self-Commentary in Early Modern European Literature, 1400-1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xiv+431 pp. + 9 illus. €149.00 / \$179.00. Review by BARBARA A. GOODMAN, CLAYTON STATE UNIVERSITY.

Self-Commentary in Early Modern European Literature, 1400-1700 is a collection of fourteen essays written by scholars in the fields of English, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Polish, and Neo-Latin

Renaissance literature (4). The fourteen chapters are bounded by a thorough introduction by Francesco Venturi and a stimulating afterword by Richard Maber. In the introduction, Venturi describes self-commentary and its many forms as an “open genre” (8) that is difficult to define. As a genre, self-commentaries can encompass such material as authorial glosses, informal notes, prefaces, letters of dedication, and marginalia.

Venturi’s introduction clearly details the many aspects and forms of self-commentary. Self-commentaries, he contends, “combine authenticity with ambiguity, and thus profoundly differ in their rationale from standard commentaries as we understand them today” (3). The subsequent essays that follow the introduction are in approximate chronological order, spanning three hundred years from “Latin humanism through to seventeenth-century literature [and] taking into account the shift from manuscript to print culture” (10). Certainly, this structure makes sense, given the wide-ranging genres and authors covered in the text. Venturi explains that this approach avoids dividing the material into fixed sections and patterns. With this organization, each reader can choose how to approach the text depending on her interest: *e.g.*, interest in self-commentary and its modes as a genre; in a particular writer’s works; or in a particular region’s writers. Most readers will dip into the book for material that will augment their own knowledge and research. Indeed, such an approach is recommended as reading the chapters straight through can be demanding, due to such a wide array of countries, genres, and authors.

Eight of the chapters focus on specific authors. Four of these chapters concentrate on single authors’ specific works. Martin McLaughlin’s chapter, “Alberti’s *Commentarium* to His First Literary Work: Self-Commentary as Self-Presentation in the *Philodoxeos*,” details how Alberti’s self-commentary serves as a “literary calling card, presenting the author as a mature humanist, not a deceptive manipulator” (35). Alberti, McLaughlin states, uses his *Commentarium* to shape our view of him as an author as well as our view of the text. John O’Brien’s “‘All Outward and on Show’: Montaigne’s External Glosses” focuses on a very narrow aspect of Montaigne’s *Essais*—the figure of Julius Caesar and Montaigne’s mirroring of himself with classical figures such as Caesar and Alexander. Russell Ganim’s “Blood, Sweat, and Tears:

Annotation and Self-Exegesis in La Ceppède” examines the copious annotations of La Ceppède’s *Théorèmes* by focusing on annotations of Sonnet I and those annotations to the work as a whole. Gilles Bertheau’s “Can a Poet be ‘Master of [his] owne Meaning’? George Chapman and the Paradoxes of Authorship,” discusses Chapman’s poem, *Andromeda Liberata, Or the Nuptials of Perseus and Andromeda*, which Chapman wrote for the wedding of the Earl of Somerset, Chapman’s patron, to Lady Frances Howard. In particular, it examines *A Free and Offenceles Iustification, of a Lately Pvblishd and Most Maliciously Misinterpreted Poeme: Entituled ‘Andromeda Liberata,’* which Chapman wrote when some readers were offended by the poem’s apparent allusion to Frances Howard’s annulled marriage to the Earl of Essex.

The other four chapters that focus on specific authors explore those authors’ works more broadly. Jeroen De Keyser’s “Elucidation and Self-Explanation in Filelfo’s Marginalia” is a comprehensive examination of Filelfo’s extensive marginal annotations found in his handwritten copies of his manuscripts. De Keyser concludes that these manuscripts and their paratexts “be [they] prefaces or marginal notes” are intended to communicate one message: “the superiority of the uniquely qualified writer and translator Francesco Filelfo” (68). Colin P. Thompson’s “The Journey of the Soul: The Prose Commentaries on His Own Poems by St. John of the Cross” discusses the extensive commentaries that St. John wrote for three of his poems. These commentaries, according to Thompson, “appear to inhabit a very different world from that of the poems” (231): the latter written in a first-person feminine voice, while the commentaries use an impersonal, third-person voice. A third essay that details an author’s writings is Joseph Harris’s work, “Critical Failure: Corneille Observes His Spectators”; Harris examines the lengthy prefaces of dramatic theory and short analyses of each play that Corneille wrote to accompany the three-volume edition of his plays. Harris focuses his discussion on how “Corneille’s self-criticism is often mediated through a third party: the audience” (317) and how Corneille attempts to “come to terms with his audiences’ sometimes unexpected responses” (318). Magdalena Ozarska’s essay, “Reading the Margins: The Uses of Authorial Side Glosses in Anna Stanisławska’s *Transactions* (1685)” introduces Stanisławska, believed by some to be Poland’s first woman poet and by others to be the first Polish autobi-

ographer. Her only work, *A Transaction, or an Account of the Entire Life of an Orphan Girl by Way of Plaintful Threnodies in the Year 1685*, consists of seventy-seven Laments. More than 500 of the 745 stanzas are accompanied, “in the margin . . . by gloss-type notes, clearly written in the autobiographer’s own hand” (369). Ożarska posits that these glosses, rather than being notes to clarify the text, could have been written before the text, serving as remnants of her original outline.

Two of the essays in this comprehensive text juxtapose two authors’ writings and use of self-commentary. Ian Johnson’s “Vernacular Self-Commentary during Medieval Early Modernity: Reginald Peacock and Gavin Douglas,” explores how two “scholar-politician-bishops” (71) in mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries use self-commentary “not only for the purpose of re-voicing cultural authority, but also to give cultural authority to their own voices” (73). Johnson concludes, that while their number and types of writings diverge, both writers and their “works have much to tell us about what was possible and at stake in vernacular self-commentary” (95). Meanwhile, Carlo Caruso’s essay, “Mockery and Erudition: Alessandro Tassoni’s *Secchia rapita* and Francesco Redi’s *Bacco in Toscana*” brings together two authors who are not usually discussed together; however, Caruso points out that each author “fitted his most famous work in verse with a commentary” (396) and that a playfulness with tongue-in-cheek attitude characterizes both works.

The remaining four chapters focus on specific regions and eras and explore multiple authors who wrote at that time and place. Federica Pich’s essay, “On the Threshold of Poems: a Paratextual Approach to the Narrative/Lyric Opposition in Italian Renaissance Poetry,” discusses the short prose headings (rubrics) that often accompany Renaissance lyric poems and how these headings might be viewed as self-commentaries. The chapter following Pich’s essay also explores Italian Renaissance self-commentary, but a very different form of self-commentary. Brian Richardson’s “Self-Commentary on Language in Sixteenth-Century Italian Prefatory Letters” analyzes two types of letters that often accompanied Renaissance Italian writings: letters addressed to readers in general and letters of dedication. Richardson examines how these letters function as a “crossroads between theory and practice” (161), by showing what the writers, translators, and

editors were thinking as they prepared their manuscripts for publication and for sale. A third chapter deals with a group of early English Renaissance writers. Harriet Archer's essay, "Companions in Folly: Genre and Poetic Practice in Five Elizabethan Anthologies," examines five texts published between 1571 and 1579, in which "each text posits its narrative of composition as a form of anti-commentary, which deliberately obscures the inset poems' intellectual and social origins" (192). The five writers in this case create "pseudo-commentators" demonstrating a "lack of faith that their poetic personae may be trusted to make themselves understood" (194). The fourth chapter that deals with a specific region and time-period is Els Stronks "Self-Criticism, Self-Assessment, and Self-Affirmation: The Case of the (Young) Author Early in Modern Dutch Literature." Stronks explores forms of self-reflection in sources termed "instruments of self-growth" and then focuses her analysis on the self-criticism of young Dutch authors. She details that "specific prerequisites were suggested for young authors" (343), based on the writings of older poets about their earlier works and the writings of emerging writers.

Clearly, the self-commentary forms discussed in these fourteen chapters range widely, and, as Maber states in his afterword, "are, inevitably, very far from the whole picture" (420). Instead, Maber suggests that the essays may serve to stimulate the reader, "for example by considering other literary cultures ... and also other forms" (420). Overall, the text is lucid and cogent. Different approaches and different arguments in the various chapters will appeal to different readers, each with her own interests or perspective. As Venturi states in his introduction, this is the first "wide ranging investigation of self-commentary in the early modern period" (4), breaking new ground in exploration of this genre and examining "the range, function, and nature of self-commenting devices in a number of key works" (5). This wide-ranging aspect is what makes this work thought provoking, demanding, and well worth the effort.

Elisabetta Lurgo. *Philippe d'Orléans: Frère de Louis XIV*. Biographie. Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2018. 393 pp. €24,00. Review by ROBERT J. FULTON, EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

Having studied various personages in early modern France as part of my doctoral research into the relationship between the French state and warfare, I cannot imagine a more difficult subject to treat with than “Monsieur,” the brother of Louis XIV. In history textbooks, at least in the ones I use for my survey courses in Western Civilizations, the Sun King tends to overshadow (dare I say, outshine?) many of the most prominent of his entourage, including the great Colbert. What chance did Louis’s younger brother have to make his own mark? In her new book, *Philippe d'Orléans: Frère de Louis XIV* (2018), Elisabetta Lurgo admirably accepts this challenge. Lurgo has a doctorate in history from the Université du Piemonte Orientale (Italy, 2010) and she is currently a research professor at the Université de Savoie, Mont-Blanc. Much of her work focuses on the history of devotions and religious practices in modern times and on the relations between France and Savoy. It is on this latter area of expertise that she draws to reconstruct a more nuanced and energetic portrait of one of early modern French history’s most maligned characters, Philippe, duc d’Orléans.

Philippe was born on September 21, 1640, the second son of Louis XIII and younger brother of Louis XIV. His title until 1660 was duc d’Anjou. During his entire lifetime, Philippe appears to have played little role in domestic or international politics, and his generally hostile contemporaries have left us with a portrait overwhelmingly infused with degenerate qualities: an effeminate, weak, and homosexually oriented prince of the blood, far outstripped in character by both his brother, and his own son Philippe, who went on to become regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. Yet Lurgo uses her prior work, *Une Histoire oubliée, Philippe d'Orléans et la Maison de Savoie* (2018), as a springboard for launching her “recovery” of the more nuanced personality of the Sun King’s younger brother.

Our present caricatures are due to the fact that few prior histories of the duke, beyond a few nineteenth century works, have been published, and Lurgo’s intent is to correct this oversight. She takes issue with these few extant histories, as well as with the duke’s own

contemporaries such as Saint-Simon, by painting the accounts as two-dimensional, and thus flawed, stereotypes of Monsieur, his lifestyle, and his position in the orbits of the royal family. While he certainly did not hide his sexual preferences, in Lurgo's work this aspect of his life takes on a subsidiary role to a much more varied set of identities. She aims to get us beyond the biased and limited portrait, to show that Philippe "actively contributed to building the fortress of the absolute monarchy of the Sun-King" (8). He was his own person: he could fight, he could build, he could serve as a patron, and he deserves better than he received from prior writers.

One of the specific ways in which she affects the transformation is to shine a light on Philippe's diplomatic efforts with respect to the marriage arrangements involving his daughter, Anne-Marie d'Orléans, and Victor-Amadeus II of the royal family of Savoy. The marriage of these two royal houses eventually took place in 1684 and it was, in no small part, due to the efforts of Monsieur. To build her case, the author uses the unpublished correspondence of Philippe, as well as that of other diplomats, to reconstruct the complex initial negotiations, in advance of the more formal discussions, providing a more precise evaluation of the duke's diplomatic skills. Her primary sources include archival collections not only in France but also in Madrid and Turin. The archives in Turin, in particular, supply ample source material for her analysis of these complex marital negotiations. Her bibliography and her footnotes show an extensive knowledge of the literature, both past and present. More generally, her use of these sources shows that she is, in many cases, able to read between the caricatures to uncover important aspects of the duke's character. She includes a Chronology of Philippe's life, always appreciated by this reader.

Lurgo divides her book roughly into three sections, comprised of eight chapters, which progress chronologically in general. The first three chapters address his early life and education at the hands of a loving mother. The next three explore Philippe's involvement in the affairs of state, his marriages, and his brief military success in the shadow of his brother, and the last two chapters address his final years. Another nuanced analysis demonstrates that contrary to Monsieur's perceived unruliness, "Philippe of Orleans fully adheres to the model of absolute monarchy advocated by Louis XIV and actively collaborates in the

program to exalt the figure of the king” (69). During his first marriage to the sister of Charles II of England, described as turbulent, Lurgo illustrates the ways in which Philippe was a good father to his children. He was also an effective money manager. At his death, his debts totaled only about one year’s revenues from his estates, an amount “which was not entirely excessive, especially if we compare it to the amounts of debts accumulated by most of the nobles of the day” (106). Throughout his lifetime, Monsieur effectively managed his revenues to expand and decorate his residence at Saint-Cloud, west of Paris, which, unfortunately, burned down during the Franco-Prussian War.

In contrast to his detractors’ portraits of effeminacy, Philippe displayed a flair for military strategy and tactics when he commanded a small army during the Dutch War (1672–1678). At the Battle of Cassel in April of 1679, he defeated William of Orange. The victory, however, did not sit well with his brother, and he was never again to command any of Louis’s troops. In particular, the betrayal of their uncle, Gaston d’Orléans, during the years of the Fronde would “leave an indelible recollection in the memories of Louis XIV and Philippe” (22). Not only did such memories drive Louis’s relations with his nobles, they must also have deeply affected his attitude and his dealings with his younger brother, as “he had [now] known treason within his own family” (27). Yet Louis also depended upon his brother for support and did not try to keep him on a short leash.

If this book has any drawbacks, it is the one common to any biographic exploration of so-called famous people, that is, the tendency of the author to slide into bias towards an exalted status of the “hero” of the story. Here, Lurgo subscribes to more favorable interpretations than other authors, such as when she evaluates Louis’ decision to remove his brother from future participation in his wars. After the victory at Cassel in 1677, Philippe never again went to war, and her assessment is that it was for his own protection: while the “presence of the royal family, which must set an example by their bravery, galvanized the morale of the generals and soldiers, ... the death or capture of the king, his brother or, later, the heir to the throne would be a disaster. Monsieur had shown an astonishing disregard for danger, but his safety was more important [than a defeat that] would dangerously jeopardize the almost supernatural prestige enjoyed by the royal family” (165).

In these matters, she errs on the side of positive motives.

Assessing motives is made all the more difficult by the generally bad press of the duke's contemporaries. Monsieur did suffer tremendous amounts of bad publicity, much of it because of his homosexuality. However, while the challenge is considerable, Lurgo does an admirable job sorting it all out. She effectively shows that Philippe absorbed and internalized a sense of duty to help uphold his brother's "absolute" rule. Neither he nor any of his lovers seem to have intentionally caused problems or scandals that would have embarrassed the king. Indeed, Lurgo maintains that Philippe's understanding of etiquette and protocol served the king well, especially as Philippe made it a point to often be in residence at the Palais-Royal in Paris, thus serving as proxy for the king among the Parisians. In addition, despite his possibly exaggerated homosexual attractions, Philippe seems to have been able to fulfill his dynastic responsibilities. His first wife, the English princess Henriette Stuart (1644–1670), bore him several children but died young (suspected poisoning was never proved). His second wife was the Princess Palatine, Elisabeth-Charlotte (1652–1722), who bore him three children; when she took ill in 1675, he barely left her side.

Lurgo's book is an important addition to our understanding of the operations of a royal family at the forefront of "absolutist" rule. And herein lies the basis of her analysis of contemporary sources such as Saint-Simon, for instance regarding the final, supposedly vitriolic, conversation between Louis and Philippe before the latter's death. Saint-Simon's is the single source for this supposed conversation, and in her view, it seems unlikely that he alone would have recounted such an unusual disagreement between the brothers, given Philippe's noted obeisance to the king. No mention is made by Dangeau, Sourches, Madame de Sévigné, or even in the letters of Elisabeth-Charlotte. Indeed, Saint-Simon was writing many years later, and for the public but even more so for posterity: in this "retrospective writing, the author promulgated his own ideas as forms of truth ... like the dauphin, Monsieur is, according to Saint-Simon, wrong to be fully in line with the king's political project. His last day is an opportunity to write historical words: during the last act of the drama, ... Philippe d'Orléans cannot remain silent, he must, finally, recognize that his son's extraordinary marriage has brought him only shame and dishonor"

(294). With such deftness, Lurgo is able to refashion an old and very jaded picture of a much-maligned personage. Four of his children (three daughters and a son) made it to adulthood and intermarried with some of the finest royal families in Europe. Many of the royal families in Europe can trace lineage back to Philippe d'Orléans, and they can thank Dr. Lurgo for recovering their ancestor's reputation, at least in part.

Christophe Schuwey. *Interfaces. L'apport des humanités numériques à la littérature*. Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Editions Livreo-Alphil, 2019. x + 136 pp. \$21.00. Review by HÉLÈNE HUET, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA.

In his book, *Interfaces: L'apport des humanités numériques à la littérature*, Christophe Schuwey encourages digital humanists to pay closer attention to user interfaces in DH literary studies projects. These interfaces, Schuwey argues, have the potential to change literary studies by reinventing users' relationship to texts and reading. Schuwey's approach departs from more conventional ways of looking at digital humanities projects. Typically, digital humanists have focused on identifying the right digital tools to answer their research questions but have given less thought to how users will interact with their projects. Instead, Schuwey invites us to consider what we want our digital project to look like as well as how we want our information to be displayed and searched. The way we present data, Schuwey concludes—whether through maps, networks, photos or graphs—can lead researchers to rethink their approaches to texts and literature in general. Each chapter in the book highlights what a stronger focus on the role of interfaces in digital humanities can bring to literary studies. Because of Schuwey's background and interests, he focuses on digital projects in the field of Ancien Régime French literary studies. Though readers can apply his critical reflections to a wide variety of projects, the book would have been stronger had it contained more diverse examples.

In chapter 2, Schuwey explains that the interface is more than mere window dressing. While the aesthetic dimension of an interface matters, the most important thing to consider when choosing or designing an interface is how the interface helps us build our relationships with

the data it displays. When starting a digital project, Schuwey argues, we should first think about the interface. We should identify what we want users to see and find rather than just collect data or digitize texts hoping users will be able to make sense of the project on their own. He furthers this idea in the next two chapters, showing us that digital projects need to invite users by displaying the information they need in a compelling way, reminding readers that users navigate text and information differently on screens than they do in print.

In the fifth chapter, Schuwey focuses on the presentation of the text, showing that effective interfaces can make older texts easier for modern audiences to read and even reinvent a text's meaning. Schuwey cites, for instance, the entertaining online edition of the political pamphlet *L'Alcoran de Louis XIV*. This text is presented in a theatrical fashion, reminiscent of the *comedia dell'arte*, which helps contextualize the pamphlet in a way that a digitized version would not.

In chapter 6, the author invites us to rethink the organization of the critical discourse and more particularly, annotations. He points out that the field of digital humanities is currently very conservative when it comes to annotations. Indeed, many literary digital projects look to display annotations on the screen in the same way they are displayed in a print book. Instead, Schuwey encourages digital humanists to take advantage of the possibilities new interfaces offer to rethink how we annotate texts.

In the two chapters that follow, Schuwey insists on the importance of the digital humanities for our study of literature, describing how literary digital projects have led scholars to new discoveries and new research questions. Many of these discoveries, Schuwey claims, have been driven by the ways in which interfaces reveal insights to researchers that were previously hidden. Graphs, network visualizations, or tree maps, for instance, all offer new perspectives on a topic, highlighting connections we may not have known existed. Moreover, with sites such as Gallica or Google Books, and tools such as Google Ngram that enable us to search through large number of texts at the same time, researchers can find answers to their pressing questions in just a few minutes.

Chapter 9 deals with the political dimension of digital projects. He discusses the way in which digital project interfaces often help

reinforce our interests and preconceptions rather than forcing us to confront difference. Nevertheless, Schuwey's analysis in this chapter could benefit from engaging more deeply with current discussions concerning the politics of digital humanities (think for instance of Roopika Risam's book, *New Digital Worlds: Postcolonial Digital Humanities in Theory, Praxis, and Pedagogy*, Northwestern University Press, 2018). His book, has little to say about the field's lack of racial, gender, national, linguistic, and topical diversity, nor how effective interfaces can help users more quickly and easily discover new interests.

Chapter 10 urges us to consider how we manage and save our interfaces, instead of just focusing on managing and saving data. While saving the former is more difficult than saving the latter, Schuwey argues that doing so is crucial because data alone has no meaning. Interfaces are what allows us to make meaning of this collected data. Chapters 11 and 12 deal with the role of API (Application Programming Interface): a powerful tool that enables us to create as many interfaces as there are research questions. He also discusses the role of virtual reality in DH, which is already changing the fields of digital humanities and literature by enabling users to experience projects in a sensorial way.

Christophe Schuwey's *Interfaces* is a useful book for anyone looking to learn more about the contributions of the digital humanities to research in literature. The various projects it highlights will be of particular interest to scholars of French Ancien Régime literature. Finally, the book will be useful to digital humanists as it encourages them to pay closer attention to the importance of effective user interfaces in their projects.

Miles Kerr-Peterson. *A Protestant Lord in James VI's Scotland: George Keith, fifth Earl of Marischal (1554–1623)*. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2019. xvi + 237 pp. + 8 illus. \$99.00. Review by RENÉE A. BRICKER, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH GEORGIA.

A sketch of common stereotypes of sixteenth-century Scottish nobility portrayed them as especially violent, rebellious, and poor. However, this biography of George Keith, Fifth Earl of Marischal, rejects such mages. It builds on the significant and transformative work by such scholars as Jenny Wormald, Keith Brown, and Charles McKean who have collectively challenged worn stereotypes of Scottish nobility. Instead of the wayward, one-dimensional Scottish nobleman, Miles Kerr-Peterson shows us, to great effect, an utterly ordinary nobleman. Indeed, it his unexceptional behavior, Kerr-Peterson says, that makes him ideal to examine the functions of the Scottish nobility. In doing so, we gain a more textured and tangible picture of the sober administration of the corporate body of an inherited earldom. The goals of this study are twofold: first, through a case study of Marischal, to try to understand how an earldom was managed during the personal rule of Scotland's James VI, a period characterized by Protestant stability. Secondly, to answer questions of how any of that may fit into, and tell us, of "broader trends" in Scottish nobility at this time (1).

Chapter 1 provides background of the heritable Marischal earldom that traced its origins in Scotland possibly either to the Norman invasion or earlier to the Germanic Chatti who, defeated by the Romans, subsequently fled to Scotland (13). Following an exposition of the Keith family genealogy, we learn that the office of earl marischal was once for the king's farrier, developed into the overseer of chivalric courts, then finally by the sixteenth century became a ceremonial role. Of particular importance was the close connection between that office and the monarch.

The Keith family navigated the uncertain religio-political waters of the period between James IV's death, through the regency of Mary of Guise, the Reformation Parliament in 1561, and the deposition and abdication of Queen Mary in 1568. Young man George Keith travelled the continent with his brother, William; together they were educated by Theodore Beza at whose house they stayed while in Ge-

neva. This was also where William died during a confrontation with Spanish bandits (24). Less than two years after his return to Scotland, George inherited the earldom of Marischal and with it a respectable legacy of land and allies (29).

Chapter Two is divided into three sections that detail the three feuds that defined the period from 1582–95 for the earl. Two of these were with the earl of Huntly, punctuated by one with chancellor Maitland, from 1589–91, over the marriage mission to Denmark where Marischal, at significant expense, married Princess Anna as James VI's proxy. Finally a reprisal feud with Huntly lasted from 1591–95.

The conflict with Maitland was connected, Kerr-Peterson says, with James' overall plan to limit the power of the nobility, something the earls Huntly and Bothwell interpreted to mean the elimination of nobles. Moreover, Marischal, humiliated and discredited with James VI, seemed to be an embodiment of everything wrong about Maitland, according to Kerr-Peterson (54). In 1589, Huntly and Bothwell replied to a perceived overreach by chancellor Maitland with the Brig O'Dee rebellion, an assassination plot aimed at the chancellor (58). Though it failed, the effort and its aftermath show the dynamics of shifting power relations between the nobles and their monarch. Queen Anna, James' Danish bride, intervened on Marischal's behalf. Kerr-Peterson calls this "tantaling" because it raises questions about why she would get involved and what the nature of the bond was between her and Marischal (59).

The Earl, Kerr-Peterson reminds us, provides us with an example that nobles employed means besides violence to secure themselves. A durable balance was negotiated between kin that included marital alliances, assassination and its attempt, a fall from favor and its restoration. Throughout Marischal deftly managed his position and diversified his centers of power and influence in Scotland's north-east

Turning from the feuds that occupied nearly thirteen years, chapter 3 is concerned with Marischal's roles at the central and local governmental levels. Of particular interest were his relationship with King James I, his positions on the privy council, and in the Scottish Parliament, itself especially important to the nobility after the Union. Further, the impact of the Union on the Scottish privy council included a reshaping, in 1610, that reduced its membership. While its

impact on the Scottish nobility is well-covered ground, in the broad sense, this close study yields insight to experiences on the ground, so to speak. For example, Marischal attendance at privy council increased when James first left for England yet sharply declined after the council's reduction to thirty-five, though he was one of them. It may be idiosyncratic. It may also be symptomatic of a larger trend. Kerr-Peterson rejects the "binary of preference between public and private" (90), instead, positing that the decline in attendance was due less to preference for the private life than to a view that public participation in central government was unnecessary. He and his family were secure enough in wealth and land that it was not worth his time. Moreover, Kerr-Peterson suggests the same might also be true of other noblemen. If so, then that might be indicative of something more, perhaps economical, fomenting during this period.

Chapters 4 and 5 undertake the difficult task of investigating the family ties and disputes that also comprised the earldom. The complexity and difficulties of defining dispute, feud, and bloodfeud are examined through the prism of Marischal's activity defending the borders of his earldom. Conflicts were about boundaries that encompassed land, but also "jurisdiction and authority" (91). Though he had recourse to violence, Marischal relied upon the law and lawyers, even at his own expense, rather than the armaments he clearly had at his disposal at Dunnottar Castle. His family was trickier business.

Outside the earl's immediate family, Kerr-Peterson runs into the wall of scarcity of sources. Nonetheless, individual families offer a micro-view from which general features may be discerned. The earl had children from two marriages and, though he forged solid marriages for his two daughters, and endeavored to secure the futures of his sons, friction asserted itself. Kerr-Peterson wisely observes the limitations of the historian who may examine the macroscopic trajectory of the nobility, in this case, yet it remains far more difficult to account for human emotion (116)

Chapter 6 focuses on Kirk patronage on the role in Marischal who maintained his personal standing as a steadfast Protestant even though he had murdered a kinsman and had two episodes of adultery that resulted in the births of two sons (118–9). The relationship between the Kirk and the nobility was paradoxical: while support and patron-

age by the nobles was desirable, the Kirks were an independent lot that resisted what was seen, at times, as misplaced interference. This was further complicated by the traditional assumption of nobility that church property and benefices were rightfully their own. The Reformation Parliament exacerbated this somewhat.

Instead of undertaking the role of patron and caretaker of the parishes within his earldom, Marischal cheerfully confiscated church property he viewed as rightfully belonging to him. He was not alone or exceptional in this. Yet, he also appropriated church property and benefices to benefit education, as in the effort to secure a parish for his son's tutor. The interaction between the earl and the eleven parishes within his boundaries is usefully presented in a table that records the monetary value of each and the variety of patronage (128). As Kerr-Peterson quips, "the Earls Marischal were Protestant nobles, not noble Protestants" (150).

The briefest, chapter 7, surveys the earl's economic activity to conclude that Marischal was interested in the financial well-being of his earldom. If the community benefitted that was a "welcome consequence" rather than the point (166). Not unlike other Scottish noblemen, the earl constructed two harbors and the towns, Peterhead and Stonehaven, to support them, as well as developing the necessary infrastructure.

It seems best to conclude with the development for which the earl is best known, Marischal College. Though "well-studied," it remains unexplored in the context of "Scottish lordship and patronage" (167) and is the subject of chapter 8. Officially chartered in 1594, the college stands at the center of modern Aberdeen. Kerr-Peterson, argues that the college was successful in part because the earl took a "hands-off approach." The Town Council, ministry, and college were allowed their own decisions about its administration without his interference. Indeed, the earl may best be understood "initially [as] first among equals," later coming to see himself as its "sole proprietor." This is in keeping with his understanding of his own role as a nobleman (168). The college's founding itself fits within the wider turn in Reformation thought toward education for grooming men to occupy ministerial or government roles as "godly magistrates" (169).

Though largely occupying a background position, Marischal took umbrage at the King's aborted effort to send a commission to the college in 1616, maintaining that such a course was meddling (184). Though off to a stumbling start financially, the college merged with King's College in the nineteenth century to form the current University of Aberdeen.

This book first saw light as a dissertation to remedy what Kerr-Peterson identifies as an often lop-sided historiography of the Scottish nobility in northeast Scotland that has tended to regard them as conservative, Catholic and unruly. This work is an excellent expansion of, and complement to, scholarship by Jenny Wormald and Keith Brown, for example, that demonstrates the longer trends of the nobility following the Union and the religious reform movements before it. Scrutiny of this individual nobleman, George Keith, fifth earl of Marischal, exemplifies the continuity, rather than change, among the Scottish nobility through the tempestuous years of Protestant Reformation and its aftermath.

This book will be essential for scholars of the period's nobility for the corrective it provides to a somewhat imbalanced historiography. Advanced students, whether upper level undergraduate or graduate, will find it both useful and engaging. Ancillary materials include Keith family privy council and parliament attendance tables, maps of the Scottish northeast, and twelve appendices of genealogical charts.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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◆ *Res seniles, Aggiunte e correzioni, indici*. By Francesco Petrarca. Edited by Silvia Rizzo and Monica Berté. Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 2. Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2019. 180 pp. €21. This edition of the letters written by Petrarch in his old age is part of the Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca. The project began a century ago, with the intention of producing definitive texts of Petrarch's works. Over the first several decades, little progress was made, with Festa's edition of the *Africa* in 1926 being followed by Rossi and Bosco's *Familiars* in 1933–1942, Billanovich's *Rerum memorandarum libri* in 1945, and Martellotti's *De viris illustribus* in 1964. Work was taken up again and reorganized at the end of the twentieth century, in conjunction with the celebration of the seventh centenary of Petrarch's birth in 2004. The reorganized effort has already made considerable progress, with a number of volumes currently available and many more in preparation.

The volume under review here is the final installment of the *Seniles*, the first volume of which was published in 2006. In line with the series norms, there is no commentary in the earlier volumes, but there is an apparatus containing authorial variants and some discussion of textual issues along with a second apparatus focused on intertextual references. The Latin text, which is based on the critical edition of E.

Nota *et al.* (4 vols., Paris, 2002–2006) but with some variations, is accompanied by a good Italian translation that is useful in clarifying Petrarch's sometimes-puzzling Latin. This final volume attests to the seriousness of the endeavor. It contains over thirty pages of additions and corrections to the preceding four volumes, along with the indices that will facilitate the use of those volumes: an *indice delle rubriche*, *indice degli incipit*, *indice dei destinatari*, *indice dei nomi*, *indice dei luoghi citati*, *indice dei luoghi petrarcheschi*, *indice delle citazioni di lettere a Petrarca*, and *indice dei manoscritti*. It is a pleasure indeed to note that what will be the standard edition of the *Seniles* has been completed, and to the highest of standards at a very reasonable price. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Historia disceptativa tripartita convivialis*. By Poggio Bracciolini. Edited and translated with commentary by Fulvio Delle Donne, Teodosio Armignacco, and Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini d'Italia, 50. Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019. VI + 202 pp. €52. As any reader of *Neo-Latin News* knows, Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) is a name-brand humanist, one of the Italian Renaissance scholars whose linguistic studies produced a Neo-Latin that came very close indeed to what had been written 1,500 years earlier. Famous for his discovery of lost works by Cicero, Lucretius, and Vitruvius, Poggio was also famous for the polemic he conducted with Lorenzo Valla, which ostensibly revolved around the relationship between humanism and theology but also descended into sniping about the quality of each other's Latin, with Valla penning a devastating scene in which a passage of Poggio's is read aloud so that a cook and groom can judge the quality of its Latin. The treatise found in this edition is valuable in and of itself, but equally valuable is the picture that emerges of a Poggio who is not a polemicist, but who values the divergence of opinion in an atmosphere of mutual respect and openness.

The *Historia disceptativa* consists of three dialogues that are joined together with a prefatory dedication. The subject of the first one is banqueting, which serves as an excuse to consider proper manners and the importance of conversation. The second dialogue concerns the so-called “disputa delle arti,” in which the merits of various disci-

plines, especially law and medicine, are debated; Coluccio Salutati's *De nobilitate legum et medicinae* lurks in the background, with Poggio's preference inclining toward medicine. The last dialogue takes up a question that engaged some of the best minds of the day, whether or not literary Latin and the language spoken by the masses were one and the same language; here the antagonist in the background was Leonardo Bruni, whose advocacy of bilingualism may well have been tied to his social and political role as a Florentine.

Each of these subjects was important to the early humanists, but as the editors show in a concise, insightful introduction, what was being said must also be examined in relation to how it was said. It is true that as we move from the first to the third dialogues, we move from three positions to two to one, such that the room for debate and the openness to opposing positions seem to constrict. But we cannot get around the fact that Poggio chose the genre for these works, and that the dialogue is the form that maximized indeterminacy and the contingency of knowledge. As the editors put it, "I suoi dialoghi riflettono non solo l'aspetto precipuo della spiritualità umanistica, ma anche il suo limite stesso, che è nella capacità di illuminare i contrasti e combinare le conoscenze, senza la decisa volontà di risolverli sempre e necessariamente in maniera univoca, come capita anche in queste *Disceptationes*" (8). The picture of Poggio's letters being judged by a cook and groom as part of his polemic with Valla will not go away, nor should it, but the fact that this same Poggio recognized that civilized dialogue among *virī faceti* (see the review of Pontano's *De sermone* below) is an important part of the humanist project should also play its role in our assessment of his character.

For a variety of reasons, this edition was some thirty years in the making, but it was worth the wait. The manuscript tradition is complicated, and the stemma presented in the introduction (47) justifies the critical edition that follows. There is one apparatus for textual variants and another for intertextual references, along with notes that serve as a brief commentary and indices of manuscripts and names. This is, in sum, an excellent edition of a work that deserves to be better known and studied by specialists in Neo-Latin. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Giannozzo Manetti: The Life of a Florentine Humanist*. By David Marsh. I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. X + 310 pp. \$49.95. Most specialists in the Italian Renaissance know who Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) is, but he is one of a surprising number of important humanists who have not been the subject of a satisfactory modern intellectual biography, until now. Marsh's book offers a finely balanced assessment of Manetti's life and works, one that gives due recognition to his achievements without glossing over his weaknesses.

The weaknesses are as often due to the times at least as much as to the man. Manetti's oratory, for example is often repetitive, but this results from the reliance on commonplaces that flourished among his contemporaries as well as limitations in his abilities. In both his approach to Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, and in his attitude to love, whose power is first praised, then condemned, Manetti shows a willingness to argue both sides of a question that modern readers may well find disturbing but that was common in the rhetorical culture of his day. In a couple of key areas, he took positions that turn out to be backward rather than forward looking: he was a devout Christian, for example, whose faith made him less of a freethinker than some of the more secular humanists, and he remained a staunch Aristotelian who never succumbed to the Renaissance enthusiasm for Plato. He was a diligent compiler, especially in the areas of biography and hagiography, but he often used his sources rather uncritically and lacked the philological and historical rigor of such contemporaries as Leonardo Bruni and Lorenzo Valla. Manetti also suffers somewhat in comparison to Leon Battista Alberti, whose biting satire and facility in verse as well as prose were not part of Manetti's literary arsenal.

It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate his achievements. His *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* has been widely recognized from his day to ours as a foundational document for the humanist world view, and his *Contra Iudaeos et gentes*, although still lacking a modern critical edition, is an important work as well. Vespasiano da Bisticci and Paolo Cortesi considered him among the most learned Florentines of his day, and he amassed a collection of manuscripts that eventually made its way from the Palatine Library in Heidelberg to the Vatican Library in Rome, where it provided resources for

generations of later scholars. As a native of Florence, he championed Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio and was able to write an Italian prose that makes his *Consolatory Dialogue* a masterwork of the Renaissance vernacular. Manetti was also an accomplished translator who turned his skills toward canonical texts like Aristotle's ethical treatises and the Bible: realizing that faith properly depends on an accurate knowledge of Scripture, he translated the New Testament and the Psalms, which shows a commitment to Hebrew along with Greek and Latin that was unusual among the early humanists. Manetti avoided the polemics in which many of his contemporaries engaged; indeed he was generally praised for his personal virtues, which seem to have contributed to his success as an ambassador. He developed a reputation as a 'Renaissance man' whose speeches offer insight into the relations between cities, popes, and sovereigns, and his other works cover a wide range of humanistic and religious interests.

In short, Manetti's moment appears finally to have arrived with this well documented, thoughtful intellectual biography. Hopefully Marsh's work will stimulate further study of this early humanist, so that the full range of his achievements can be properly assessed. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Lives of the Milanese Tyrants*. By Pier Candido Decembrio. Translated and with an introduction by Gary Ianziti, edited by Massimo Zaggio. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 88. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. liv + 339 pp. \$29.95. *The Virtues and Vices of Speech*. By Giovanni Gioviano Pontano. Edited and translated by G. W. Pigman III. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 87. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. xxxviii + 497 pp. \$29.95. The first of the volumes under review here contains two biographies by the most important Milanese humanist of the early fifteenth century, Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477). The first, a life of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, is well known and widely regarded as a masterpiece, but it is not without its puzzles. It was ostensibly written to praise its subject, but it contains a good number of unflattering sections, particularly as regards Filippo Maria's penchant for surrounding himself with beautiful young boys. These contradictions are often attributed to Decembrio's service in the republican government that

followed Filippo Maria's death, but Ianziti shows convincingly that Decembrio was an unlikely convert to republicanism and offers a different explanation. Decembrio's model was Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*, whose translation into the vernacular he supervised as part of a general Milanese cultural project that was designed to praise a political system that was based on strong leadership provided by an exceptional individual. Suetonius provided the formal model as well as the balanced portrait that presented vices as well as virtues. The *Lives of the Milanese Tyrants* was no empty exercise in classicizing imitation, however, since Decembrio was an insider at the Visconti court, which generated the vivid directness of the narrative, in which the passion to maintain power comes close to what Machiavelli would later describe in the *Prince*. Decembrio did not, however, have the same direct access when he sat down to write *The Deeds of Francesco Sforza*, which has not received a critical acclaim equal to his earlier biography. Decembrio's work for the Ambrosian Republic before the ascendancy of Sforza, which was exaggerated by his archrival Francesco Filelfo, got him pushed to the margins of Milanese literary and political life during the Sforza years. *The Deeds* was part of his effort to get into the good graces of the Milanese leader, which he hoped to do before Filelfo's officially sanctioned biographical history was finished, but Decembrio's work was not well received and the desired biography was ultimately produced by Giovanni Simonetta, who had access to the internal documents that Decembrio did not.

The title of the second ITRL volume suggests that it is a treatise on linguistics, which is not exactly wrong but requires qualification, in that a modern scholar would categorize it more precisely, under sociolinguistics. The treatise is about the formation of the *vir facetus* and "is first and foremost a treatise of Aristotelian moral philosophy about the virtues and vices of speech" (xiii), as the editor puts it. As is well known, Aristotle defines each virtue as a mean between two extremes, and that applies to the three virtues of sociability as well: the truthful, candid, or sincere person stands between the boaster who pretends to be more than he is and the self-deprecator who pretends to be less; the friend stands between the obsequious person who praises everything and the grumpy, contentious person who opposes everything; and the witty person avoids the excesses of the buffoon and

the austerity of the boors who say nothing funny and are annoyed by those who do. Pontano adapts what he finds here into a distinction between truthful self-representation and interaction with others on the one hand, and witty, pleasant conversation on the other, but he continues to define his categories as means between extremes. Pontano draws on Cicero's *De oratore* as well, although his Aristotelian roots remain more prominent; the reader will also think of Castiglione, even though Pontano is not trying to define the ideal courtier.

As is always the case with ITRL volumes, the text presented is not designed to be part of a critical edition, but how close it comes depends on the textual status of the work in question. In the case of the Decembrio biographies, a reliable text existed already but has been revised and improved here, with the accompanying translation designed to facilitate comprehension of Decembrio's sometimes-difficult Latin. The text of *De sermone* is based on Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3413, with the revisions made by Pontano's friend and pupil Pietro Summonte relegated to the notes and the spelling derived from the corrected state of the manuscript. In both volumes the notes are more than adequate to facilitate an understanding of the text, and both volumes are well indexed with an accompanying basic bibliography. In short, these two volumes meet the same high standards as the eighty-six that preceded them. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Lives of the Popes, Paul II: An Intermediate Reader of Renaissance Latin*. By Bartolomeo Platina. Edited with commentary by Thomas G. Hendrickson et al. Oxford, OH: Faenum Publishing, 2017. xxxvi + 142 pp. \$14.95. This book is the product of the moment, in the sense that the study of Renaissance Latin has taken off in ways that could not have been anticipated a generation ago, but we still lack pedagogical materials to facilitate this study. The International Association for Neo-Latin Studies acknowledged this problem a few years ago by setting up a Committee on the Teaching of Neo-Latin, but much more needs to be done, especially at the beginning and intermediate levels. This textbook is designed to meet this need by supplying an attractive, affordable reader for students who have mastered basic Latin grammar and want to proceed to the next level by using a Neo-Latin

text rather than a classical one.

The text chosen, the life of Pope Paul II by Bartolomeo Sacchi (1421–1481), more commonly known as ‘Platina’ from the name of his birthplace (Piadena), is an unusually good choice for this purpose. The Latin is not particularly difficult, and Platina’s style approximates closely that of Cicero, so the intermediate student will not be confronted with, for example, the eclecticism of Petrarch, whose efforts to recover a classical style were less successful. Just as important is the fact that the content will be engaging to students with a variety of interests, from classics majors to historians and those who are concentrating in religious studies. This is one of those cases where the biographer and his subject had a long and complicated relationship, which adds unusual interest to the presentation. When Pietro Barbo assumed the Papacy as Paul II in 1464, Platina was working as an abbreviator whose job involved drafting Papal bulls. Paul was no friend of humanism, however, and he dismissed the abbreviators whom his humanist predecessor Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) had hired. Platina threatened to call a church council over the issue, which caused Paul to imprison him in Castel Sant’Angelo for four months. Four years later the two came to blows again over Platina’s membership in what has come to be known as the Roman Academy, a group of humanists under the initial leadership of Pomponio Leto who devoted themselves to studying the language, literature, and material remains of ancient Rome. Some of the poems composed in this circle expressed homoerotic desires, and some of its members voiced anti-clerical sentiments, which gave a conservative pope an excuse to imprison and torture its members as heretics who had formed a conspiracy to overthrow him. It is hard to know how many of Paul’s fears were actually justified, and in any event Platina and his friends were eventually released, but as one can imagine, these experiences colored his attitudes toward the papacy in general and toward Paul in particular. The biography presented here therefore offers an unusual opportunity to gain insight into one of the more notorious incidents in the history of humanism and into how a biographer can write a responsible account of the life of someone who had had a profoundly negative impact on him.

The editors have wisely chosen the *editio princeps* (first printed edition) as a base text, to which they have added the grammatical notes that a student at this level will need and the historical notes that will be especially necessary for those who come to the material from the ancient world. They have retained Platina's orthography and syntax, which still shows occasional deviations from his classical models, but they also provide a concise explanation of what might trouble a classicist in these areas. In addition there is a running bibliography that eliminates the need for endless, and discouraging, page flipping in a dictionary and a bibliography that allows the reader to pursue topics of interest.

This textbook was born in a seminar on Renaissance Latin that Professor Hendrickson offered at Dartmouth, which ensures that it actually meets the needs of students. I personally would hesitate to use the book as a text in an intermediate class, because most of my students there will discontinue their study of Latin after this point and I think they should probably read Cicero or Virgil instead. But instructors who do not have this reservation will find the book well suited to their needs, and I would have no hesitations in using it for an advanced class focused on Neo-Latin or in giving it to an interested student for self study. We need more textbooks exactly like this, and I hope that Platina's biography will stimulate a run of similar products. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Aldo Manuzio e la nascita dell'editoria*. Edited by Gianluca Montinaro. Piccola Biblioteca Umanistica, 1. Florence: Leo S. Olchki, 2019. VI + 110 pp. €14. As one would expect, 2015 unleashed a flood of publications about Aldus Manutius (ca. 1450–1515), the famous scholar-printer of Renaissance Italy. The quincentenary provided a welcome opportunity to pause and reflect on what is currently known about the man who published the first pocket edition of a classical text in cursive type, produced the first printed editions of over ninety Greek texts, and printed everything from Greek grammars to editions of Neo-Latin writers like Giovanni Gioviano Pontano. There were exhibitions in major libraries and essays by specialists in printing history, classics, and Neo-Latin studies. I had thought that the celebration was over, but this collection of essays seems to have inserted itself into the

last of the stream.

Aldo Manuzio e la nascita dell'editoria contains seven essays: Gianluca Montinaro, "Aldo Manuzio, editore in Utopia"; Piero Scapecchi, "Aldo Manuzio e la cultura del suo tempo"; Giancarlo Petrella, "L'eredità di Aldo, cultura, affair e collezionismo all'insegna dell'ancora"; Ugo Rozzo, "Aldo e Paolo Manuzio nell'elogio di Lodovico Domenichi"; Antonio Castronuovo, "Nel delfinario di Aldo"; Gianluca Montinaro, "Aldo Manuzio e gli *Scriptores astronomici veteres*"; and Massimo Gatta, "L'altro Aldo Manuzio: la figura e l'opera dalla narrativa al fumetto (secoli XVI–XXI)."

This collection strikes me as something of a mixed bag. Enough has been written about Aldus that it is difficult to find something to say that is genuinely new, but the essays on the astronomical writers and on Aldus's relationship to Domenichi are serious works of scholarship that go beyond the 'same old same old' that often appears in Aldine studies. The first two essays, however, are short and the second one does not even contain any notes, which generates a certain impression of perfunctoriness, and the world does not need another survey of the evolution of Aldus's anchor and dolphin printer's mark or of his general place in the history of printing. It is also worth noting that in contrast to the other volume in memory of someone that is reviewed in this issue (*Sodalitas Litteratorum*), this one does not have an introduction that explains its purpose or what seems to be a unifying principle beyond the general focus on Aldus. In short, I did not find anything misleading in these essays, but most of them do not stand with the best of the quincentenary products. On the other hand, for fourteen euros, one can hardly go wrong. (Craig Kallendorf)

◆ *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 2635 to 2802, April 1532–April 1533*. By Desiderius Erasmus. Translated by Clarence H. Miller with Charles Fantazzi, annotated by James M. Estes. Collected Works of Erasmus, 19. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019. xxiv + 369 pp. \$168.75. *Les Adages*. By Desiderius Erasmus. Selected by Jean-Christophe Saladin, illustrated by Pascal Colrat. Série du centenaire. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019. 240 pp. €19. The first volume under review here contains the letters that Erasmus (1466–1536) wrote between April 1532 and April 1533, a time that was particularly

stressful both for general political and specifically personal reasons. War threatened on two fronts, between armed Protestants and Catholics in Germany and against the invading Turks in central Europe. In order to secure the aid of the Protestants against the Turks, Emperor Charles V agreed to the 'Nürnberg Standstill,' a truce between the two sides that allowed the Christians to force a second truce against the invading Turks and to avoid a disaster at Vienna. Erasmus was well aware, however, that the fundamental issues had been deferred, not resolved, and he remained afraid that he would get caught in the middle of the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants. He had just finished buying and refitting a new house in Freiburg but was nevertheless worried enough about his situation that he considered moving, either to his native Netherlands or to Bezançon, where he was well regarded by the civil authorities. By the time preparations had been completed for his return to the Netherlands, however, he was too old and frail to make the journey. His thoughts often turned to his own impending death and to the loss of his friends, but he continued working, engaging in controversies, and publishing the eighth, enlarged edition of the *Adages* and the *Explanatio symboli*, the catechism that proved popular with his followers. All of this unfolds in the 166 letters included in this volume, ninety of which were written by Erasmus himself and seventy-five of which were addressed to him; in addition some ninety letters from this period are referred to but do not survive. The basis of the translations is the edition of the *Erasmi epistolae* that was founded by P. S. Allen and completed after his death by his widow, Helen Mary Allen, and H. W. Garrod. As we have come to expect with the CWE, the translations are graceful and accurate and the annotations are more than sufficient for an informed initial reading of the text.

While the Amsterdam edition remains the authoritative source for the Latin text of Erasmus's works and the Collected Works of Erasmus continues to serve as the 'go to' translation in the Anglophone world, English speakers should not neglect other editions and translations that can be useful in a number of contexts. The *Adages*, for example, were also published in a bilingual Latin-French edition in 2011 under the direction of Jean-Christophe Saladin, who has made a small but judiciously chosen selection from among those five volumes as part of

a series celebrating the centenary of the venerable publisher Les Belles Lettres. It is difficult to imagine even the most industrious modern reader sitting down to read all 4,151 adages as they appeared in the final revised edition, so a carefully planned selection can be very useful to those who want a taste of one of Erasmus's most famous works. The introduction to this volume constitutes the best short orientation I know to the *Adages*. Saladin rehearses the well-known association between the famous scholar-printer Aldus Manutius and the young Erasmus that led to the publication in Venice of a revision of the *Adages*, but he then goes on to underline several important points that are easily overlooked. By far the vast majority of Greek and Latin works have been lost, but Erasmus was able to use his unparalleled knowledge of the ancient sources to add fragments and titles of the lost works to the material that was being published by Renaissance presses to provide, through the *Adages*, a more complete picture of the classical world than was otherwise available. The goal was to entice the reader to learn Greek and classical Latin as a direct path back to the sources. Erasmus did this by relying on the general Renaissance fondness for proverbs, but he replaced the alphabetical and thematic organization of the commonplace book with a presentation that was designed primarily to arouse the curiosity of the reader. Each entry offers a title, an identification of sources, an unpacking of the adage's moral and metaphorical meanings, its variants both ancient and modern, its possible usage, and whatever associations occurred to Erasmus as he was writing. An index at the end makes it easy to see which adages are found in this edition, and a reference list shows the range of Erasmus's learning, which comes through clearly even in these brief selections. The edition is nicely presented with a set of illustrations that will not please everyone, but this is a matter of taste; all in all, anyone who buys this edition will find the nineteen euros to be well spent. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *De Europae dissidiis et republica*. By Juan Luis Vives. Edited and Translated with an Introduction by Edward V. George and Gilbert Tournoy. Selected Works of J. L. Vives, 12. Brill: Leiden / Boston, 2019. XV + 276 pp. €110. To hear of a new edition of a text composed by a key figure of early modern humanism like Juan Luis Vives

(1493–1540) is always good news for a Neo-Latinist. The news is even better when the edition constitutes the first modern bilingual (Latin and English) edition meant to reach a broad international audience. The case at hand relates to Vives's text collection *De Europae dissidiis et republica* (*DEDRP*), originally published in 1526. While a Spanish translation has already been provided by Calero and Riber in 2008 and a German translation has existed since 1540, and while single texts and text passages from *DEDRP* have been translated into various vernaculars over the centuries, this edition truly brings together the entire collection in Latin and English for the first time. Furthermore, the edition's significance lies in its making available a text of a truly European dimension, in which Vives basically reacted and responded to various political, confessional, and intellectual developments of the sixteenth century. *DEDRP*—and now this edition of it—brings to light what is often overlooked, namely that Neo-Latin writings do not bear a mere ornamental or commenting function. With their texts, Neo-Latin authors often sought to get directly involved in the struggles of their times and to influence the direction politics or education was heading.

The edition by George and Tournoy sets off with preliminary material: acknowledgements, a list of abbreviations, facsimile reproductions of the cover pages of the 1526 edition of *DEDRP* and the 1538 edition of Vives's *Declamationes sex*, as well as a chronological overview of Vives's biography which is interlaced with the events treated in *DEDRP* from 1414 to 1529 (VII–XV). Then follows the introduction (1–12), which, unfortunately, falls short in several aspects. It is very, very basic and brief (consisting of twelve pages covering eleven subchapters!), thus hardly doing justice to the textual profundity and contextual breadth behind *DEDRP*. The editors apparently aimed at an edition focused on the reproduction of the text, which is indeed a fair choice to make, but it should at least have been explained somewhere. The goal of this edition is nowhere stated explicitly, which makes it hard to evaluate it as a whole.

The introduction explains *DEDRP* in structural and thematic terms. Its description as a collection of five writings, consisting of five letters to influential men in powerful positions (Pope Adrian VI; King Henry VIII [addressed twice]; Cardinal Wolsey, Chancellor of

England; and John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and confessor to Henry VIII), two of which also contain the underworld dialogue *De Europae dissidiis et bello Turcico* and two Latin translations of the *Areopagiticus* and *Nicocles* by Isocrates, is convincingly clear. However, the three main conflicts of the time (the struggle for predominance in Italy, the Ottoman threat, and the Reformation), which had incited Vives to compose the collection in the first place, are hardly taken into consideration. This takes away a lot from the reader's understanding of the single texts. Instead of expanding on the important points, the introduction opens many different doors which are never quite shut. For example, when talking about *De Europae dissidiis et bello Turcico*, reference is made to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, Seneca's *Pumpkinification*, and Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, yet without any definite allocation of Vives's text to any of the satirical traditions. Regarding Vives's choice of Isocratean orations, his inclination towards themes like "civic conduct and morality" (8) is mentioned, but without looking at either Vives's political leaning or his admiration and imitation of Isocrates's style. With respect to the Greek editions of Isocrates that had circulated before Vives, the humanist's innovative approach in translating the *Areopagiticus* and *Nicocles* is emphasized, yet his pioneering role in subsequent early modern translations of Isocrates is not elaborated. The introduction eventually closes with a general bibliography on Vives, *DEDRP*, and the historical background (13–18), which at least is in accordance with the generalities treated in the introduction.

The text and the translation (21–249) mark the strongest parts of the edition. The Latin text is based on four early modern editions. The two main editions used by George and Tournoy are those of 1526 and 1538, whose publication was monitored by Vives himself. In cases of inconsistent readings, the editors relied on two *Opera omnia* collections (Basel 1555 and Valencia 1782–90) for consultation. In sum, the edition of the text is quite user-friendly and well suited for both experts and non-experts. Particularly helpful are the one-page overviews put before each of the eight texts. They expound the texts' contexts, their addressees, and Vives's attitude towards both; they summarize the texts' contents; and they give details about the location of the texts in the four early modern editions mentioned. Both the Latin and

the English text of the edition are divided into paragraphs according to units of meaning. Because of this way of structuring the text, it can now also be cited by scholars in a standardized way. Beneath the Latin text there is a critical apparatus comprising the different readings of the source texts. The English translation includes footnotes of an explanatory and interpretive character. This means that they point out facts, list similes, and give suggestions as to the meaning of certain of Vives's phrases. The Latin and the English texts are facing each other. As far as the established text in general is concerned, the English translation deserves praise for being clear despite its literal and syntactical orientation towards the Latin original. The Latin text seems fluent and natural as well, even if it is not always discernible to which degree the editors intervened (e.g., in terms of punctuation), given that they pass over their editorial principles in silence.

The edition closes with a colored eighteen-page facsimile of Isocrates' *Areopagiticus* and *Nicocles* from the Greek edition *Isocratis orationes*, printed in Venice in 1513, since this served as the text template that Vives used for his translation (instead of transmitted manuscripts). The facsimile reproduction is followed by an *index locorum*, listing Vives's references to ancient and contemporary texts as well as the Bible (271), and an *index nominum* (272–76).

To sum up: the text and translation of the edition at hand constitute shining examples of Neo-Latin text editing. They also fill the need for a long-awaited critical Latin text of *DEDRP* as well as a comprehensive English translation of all its parts. On the other hand, the introduction remains unsatisfying in many respects. Vives's rhetorical strategies, his organizational principles (*DEDRP* is not structured chronologically), his engagement with the European political and intellectual context of the time, his deliberate application of different genres and forms (letter, dialogue, speech, mirror for princes, ancient texts in translation), and the biographical background of his writings (which was dominated by career-building and patronage) are hardly touched upon. Given that these matters are crucial for understanding the *DEDRP*, they should have been considered in greater detail. Despite the excellence of the text edition, the reader remains left with too many questions that too often cannot be solved by simple reference to the secondary literature. At least, however, some of the things unsaid in

the introduction can now stimulate fresh and innovative research that can rely on this thorough edition of the text. (Isabella Walser-Bürgler, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck)

◆ *Johannes Atrocianus: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Edited by Christian Guerra, Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer and Judith Hindermann. *Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies*, 30. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2018. 364 pp. This thirtieth volume of the *Noctes Neolatinae* series provides an edition with German translation and commentary of five works by Johannes Atrocianus, a little known humanist from Basel: *Querela Missae*, *Nemo Evangelicus*, *Elegia de bello rustico*, *Mothonia*, and *Epigrammata*. Atrocianus was born in Ravensburg around 1495 and studied from 1509 in Vienna, and from 1513 in Basel. There he met important humanists like Erasmus of Rotterdam, Johann Froben, Beatus Rhenanus, Heinrich Glareanus, and Bonifacius Amerbach. After serving as a private teacher in St. Gallen, Atrocianus became involved in the religious and political debates that divided Basel in the 1520's. His opposition to the Protestants was without success, and Atrocianus left Basel for Colmar in 1529. Around 1543 he settled in Lucerne, where he probably spent the rest of his life.

The editors continue the story of Atrocianus's life with that of his afterlife. The number of extant copies suggests that Atrocianus's works had a limited reception and that they were most popular in the southern parts of the German-speaking area. He was mentioned in Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545), attacked by the Calvinist Théodore de Bèze in 1548, appended to an edition of Caesarus of Arles's *Homiliae* (1558) by Gilbert Cousin, quoted in Nikolaus Reusner's *Icones sive Imagines virorum literis illustrium* (1587), and anthologised by Otto Melander around 1600. After a new edition of the *Elegia de bello rustico* in 1611, the reception stops. Meanwhile, all of his works appeared on one or more *Indices* from 1521 until 1632.

The second section of the introduction provides a succinct overview of the religious-political tensions that constitute the backdrop for Atrocianus's works. It briefly outlines the story of how the Reformation gained the upper hand in Basel and presents the principal actors in this development—especially Oecolampadius. It also gives an account

of the German Peasants Revolt of 1525, which Atrocianus recalled in his *Elegia de bello rustico*. The editors then describe the debates around the Holy Mass and its abolition in Basel in 1529. *Querela Missae* from 1528 is especially concerned with this Protestant attack on the Catholic Mass. It is the longest work by Atrocianus and criticises both the Catholic priests who are responsible for the downfall of the old rites and those who have the intention to replace them with something new.

Atrocianus's second-longest work is *Nemo Evangelicus*. It consists of 306 elegiac distichs and is modelled after the passage in Homer's *Odyssey* where Odysseus tricks the Cyclops by calling himself 'Nobody'. The editors further relate this work to the tradition of Fool's Literature (*Narrenliteratur*) as well as to Lutheran pamphlets. In contrast to the other works by Atrocianus, *Nemo Evangelicus* is characterized by a high degree of abstraction. Central to its discourse is the theme of education and the opposition between truth and lies. *Nemo Evangelicus* is followed by the *Elegia de bello rustico*, in which Atrocianus bewails the Peasants War in 141 distichs. In alternately plaintive and denunciatory verses, the author blames the Reformation for this upheaval and proposes humanist education as the best possible cure against the farmers' fury.

Mothonia is a speech of sixty-three elegiac distichs in which a personified Superbia praises her own power, wisdom, and beauty. The editors hint at an identification of Superbia with Oecolampadius, so that this poem as well has strong ties with the historical context in which it was written. *Epigrammata* is the last work contained in this volume. All of the fifty-five epigrams except one are written in elegiac distichs, but they vary in length. While the collection does not feature erotic epigrams, riddles, or figure poems, the thematic variety is still considerable. The original collection from 1528 consists of thirty poems, to which the 1529 edition adds another twenty-five. This expansion, together with the reorganisation of the poems, gives the collection a more didactic character in line with the other works by Atrocianus.

The commentaries elucidate rhetorical features of certain passages or verses, along with their ancient or medieval sources, as well as encyclopaedic, biographical, historical, and theological information. Each of the five works has been translated by a different scholar, but

according to the same principles. The repetitive style of Atrocianus, further characterised by etymological figures and synonyms, has been preserved in the German prose rendition. The Latin text has been edited according to clear rules that make the text easier to read (consistent capitalisations, expansion of abbreviations, deletion of diacritics, modern punctuation, etc.) while preserving some of its humanist aspects (e.g., <ti> for <ci>, <oe> for <ae>). The introduction contains a detailed description of all the editions of Atrocianus's works and at the end, the reader can find detailed *indices nominum, operum, locorum*, and *rerum*. (Simon Smets, Innsbruck and London)

◆ *I sette discorsi di Evandro Campello, accademico salottiero (1612–1621)*. By Evandro Campello. Edited by Rodney Lokaj. Spoleto: Nuova Eliografica, 2019. 168 pp. It is safe to say that the author of the seven speeches presented here, Evandro Campello (1592–1638), is unknown to most if not all the readers of *Neo-Latin News*. His family was prominent in Spoleto, his home town—prominent enough to ensure that when a speech was to be delivered before the new bishop, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII, the assignment went to Campello, even though he was only twenty at the time. The speech, a praise of the agricultural life, was delivered at the Accademia degli Ottusi, which traced its origins back to Pontano himself. The occasion gave the young man, who had not yet received his university degree, the opportunity both to show off his classical training—his speech followed the structure of a Ciceronian oration and drew from both Greek and Latin sources—and to secure his position as the promising representative of his family in the political and cultural life of Spoleto. In addition to *De apibus*, Campello gave six other speeches, which are also presented here: “Due gran nemiche insieme erano aggiunte,” “Amor che a nullo amato amar perdona,” “Sulle donne,” “Sul principato del cuore,” “Sub te erit appetitus, et tu dominaberis illius,” and “De gli occhi.” These speeches, which were delivered at two other academies in Rome, drew inspiration from Dante, Petrarch, and the Bible along with anthropological and anatomical commonplaces of the day.

The speeches presented here are valuable for several reasons. First, there is always merit in recovering cultural material that has been lost

and making it available for further study. In this case, Campello is not going to emerge as a cultural figure of the first order, but that does not diminish the value of this edition. It shows, for example, what a young man with opportunity and a good education (Campello was studying in nearby Perugia) could do, if he was talented but not extraordinarily brilliant. Campello was based in Spoleto, whose cultural life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains understudied outside the immediate area, but he exemplifies the connections that were in place between the largest cities and the other communities within their cultural orbit. Two of these speeches are in Latin and five in Italian, which presents another opportunity to examine from a slightly different angle the connection between Neo-Latin and the *volgare*. And finally, Campello came of age in the seventeenth century, not the sixteenth, which reminds us that Neo-Latin merits serious study within Baroque as well as Renaissance culture.

Lokaj's edition is exemplary in every way. It is a diplomatic transcription of Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Sezione di Archivio di Stato di Spoleto, Archivio Campello, Manoscritti, n. 37, with a nice explanation of Campello's orthographical, lexical, and syntactical peculiarities (155–58), a bibliography, and an index of names and places. It is hardly necessary for a scholar to reside in the same place as his research material, but Lokaj is a member of the same Accademia degli Ottusi as Campello was and a "spoletino di adozione" (5), as the director of the Archivio di Stato indicates in his preface to the volume. Lokaj's twenty years of experience working in the Spoleto archive bears fruit in the introduction, which strikes a nice balance, offering all the information necessary to appreciate the texts without indulging in unnecessary verbiage. All in all, this is a worthy addition to the growing inventory of previously lost Neo-Latin texts. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus and Uncollected Letters*. By John Milton. Edited with introduction, translation, and commentary by Estelle Haan. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019. XVIII + 567 pp. €67.50. Haan's handsome volume centres on the thirty-one *Familiar Letters* (letters to friends or acquaintances) that appeared in print in the last year of Milton's life (1608–1674). It adds seven further

letters to the recipient of *Ep. Fam.* 11 (Hermann Mylius) and three uncollected letters in English. An appendix gives sixteen Latin letters to Milton by others. Most of the added ones fill out the picture of Milton in the 1650s, when he was a trusted public figure.

The exception is his most celebrated early letter, the one in English “to an unnamed friend” (perhaps Thomas Young) of about 1633. It is strange but worthwhile to read it in this Latin company. It has two drafts in the Trinity manuscript, replete with revisions. The young Milton, aged twenty-three, tries to explain his hesitations over his choice of vocation. It concludes by repeating the English sonnet in which he finds a clearer, though still indefinite, answer: “How soon hath time the suttle theefe of Youth / stolne on his wing my three and twentieth yeere....”

Together, the added letters make a somewhat uneven mixture, in order to bring together materials that show us Milton’s life. (It should further be remembered that *Ep. Fam.* selects the thirty-one from among more that Milton wrote and that his letters of state were not included.) This review will concentrate on the thirty-one letters, which are arranged chronologically to give snapshots into the middle five decades of Milton’s life, from 1627 (*Ep.* 1) to 1666 (*Ep.* 31).

I consider them in this presentation aspect by aspect. Doing so prompts thoughts about the epistolary form and Milton’s exercising of it.

Estelle Haan’s Introduction explains Latin epistolography, from Roman prototypes to Petrarch and Erasmus, and on to some English practitioners and instructors of Milton’s time (1–23). Then she reviews Milton’s own practice, before, during, and after his Italian journey of 1638–1639, which was formative for him.

Text and translation face each other, English on the left page, text on the right. The text is corrected and regularized. The translation is made into a literal English. Thus, keeping word order and sentence length from the Latin makes the translation longer and forfeits its charm, to serve understanding and maybe to encourage the hesitant Anglophone to read across to the original. Commentary follows on each letter.

The commentary stands out for me as the greatest achievement of the edition, a triumph of contextualizing. Every person named or

place visited is brought to life for Milton's readers. The research that informed Haan's earlier work on the Italian academies is deployed and extended, gloriously. (See, for instance, "From *Academia* to *Amicitia*," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 88 (1998) 1–208.)

With the aid of the commentary, we travel with Milton by epistolary snapshots: from the letter of jubilant self-discovery to Diodati (7) (surely concerning *Lycidas*), through ones to acquaintances made in Italy (8 and 9), to his heartfelt retrospective letter to Carlo Dati (10), in which he is sorely missing his friends, for by 1647 he is stuck in London in a housefull of feckless in-laws, while the Civil War goes on and on.

Now this letter says volumes, at least by comparison with most of the later ones. Milton suddenly gets a letter from Dati after wartime had disrupted the mails: he is *voluptate perfusus*. He remembers the wretchedness of leaving Florence, "friends so good and agreeable in a single city." The war is unending trouble, no solution in sight. But (1645) my poems have now come out. Please excuse their hostile mention of the Papacy (*asperius dicta in Pontificem Romanum*): it is my habitual freedom of speaking—and remember what your own "Aliger" and Petrarch said on the subject. ("Aliger" translates *Aligerius*, as "wing-bearer" for *Alighieri*: whose pun is this?) The letters reach one peak here: another is 15, on his blindness.

Haan's commentary includes interpretations within annotations. Besides adding to the fullness of treatment, it makes for some local disagreement. For example, though Milton's use of his Greek within a Latin letter could be called "philhellenic" and "self-fashioning," Cicero did the former as second nature, and Milton more so. But for me, it is the particular Greek that distinguishes this reading moment: the single polysyllable, *pterophuo*, from the *Phaedrus*, "I feel my (poetical) wings sprouting." Greek amidst Latin raises the register to ecstatic. Similarly, "self-fashioning" might suggest that the Greek was for audience consumption, for *Paradise Regained*. Or again, a previous editor, Tillyard (1932, p. 133) found a later letter (25) "the most priggish letter Milton wrote." Haan finds this "unfair." And yet the later Milton in Latin as a mentor becomes unexciting; the content lacks self-discovery or even surprise.

Several more of the later letters to pupils or protégés fall a bit flat. Is it the needs of fleshing out the 1674 volume? Or a hardening of Milton's mental arteries? Or does the humanist Latin epistle as a form incline towards being a didactic showpiece, demonstration not discovery?—impeccable in precepts and style, but top-heavy with *gravitas*? Do we all get like this with age?!

Two last aspects: the bibliography (509–36) attests to the prodigious amount and variety of relevant reading that informs the commentary; and the indices (537–56), though present, could have profitably been supplemented by an even fuller *index rerum et verborum*. Is there an on-line version, too, to help?

I welcome this very full edition with delight. It is always good to think with, and heuristically to argue with. (John K. Hale, University of Otago)

◆ *Andreas Gryphius: Mumiae Wratislavienses. Edition, kommentierte Übersetzung und Werkstudie.* By Katja Reetz. Frühe Neuzeit, 225. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019. VI + 295 pages. €119.95. Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) is probably best known as author of the poem “Es ist alles eitel” (“All is vanity”; 1637), which many students in German-speaking countries will have learnt as a prototypical example of a Baroque poem. Katja Reetz has broadened our view of Gryphius and his oeuvre through the first edition of his writing on the mummies of Wrocław, the *Mumiae Wratislavienses*. In this small treatise of 120 duodecimo pages, Gryphius not only presents the findings of a dissection and study of two Egyptian mummies conducted by him and several other learned men in Wrocław in 1658, but also discusses and challenges some views on mummies held at the time.

Reetz's monograph, a slightly revised version of her doctoral thesis, is divided into four sections. The first is a short introduction (1–7) that outlines the aim of the monograph and sketches the methodology. The second part (8–66) is a readable overview of the knowledge about and study of mummies in the early modern period. Reetz starts with the initial interest in mummies and *mumia* as *materia medica* in eleventh-century Europe and goes on to outline the history of mummy studies until Gryphius's own time.

The core of the monograph consists of the edition, translation, and commentary of the *Mumiae Wratislavienses* that follows (67–193). Gryphius's treatise was printed in 1662 by Veit Jacob Trescher in Wrocław, and there were at least three additional imprints with different mistakes and also variants of the pretexts. Reetz based this edition on a collation of several copies of the third imprint (70), but also consulted other copies. She follows Lothar Mundt's recommendations for editing Neo-Latin texts as formulated in a collected volume from 1992 (L. Mundt, "Empfehlungen zur Edition neulateinischer Texte," in L. Mundt, H.-G. Roloff, and U. Seelbach (eds.), *Probleme der Edition von Texten der Frühen Neuzeit*, Beihefte zu *edition*, 3 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 186–90). The edition is thus diplomatic, as variant forms have not been standardized and the original accents, punctuation, and orthography have been kept in most cases. However, ligatures are dissolved and there is also some normalization of letters; most notably *i/j* and *u/v* have been differentiated according to their phonetic value. These rules only apply for the edition of the *Mumiae Wratislavienses*, but apparently not for quotations from other texts in the rest of the book, where even more features of early modern editions are retained (e.g., 11, 14 n. 39).

While the early modern treatise is printed (with few exceptions) as a continuous text, Reetz divides her edition into paragraphs and subchapters to render it more reader friendly. Furthermore she adds an apparatus for *similia* and a critical apparatus. Apart from corrections by the editor, the critical apparatus also contains the marginalia that can be found in the original text and variant readings in Gryphius's quotations and his respective sources. The German translation is close to the Latin original, but remains both reliable and pleasant to read. The commentary (164–93) is rather short, but helpful, although it mainly explains *realia* and does not engage in discussions of style, argument, or other literary features. The latter points are, however, partly addressed in the last section, the "Werkstudie."

In this last part (194–254), Reetz addresses three major points. First she offers an interpretation of Gryphius's treatise as an example of his scientific interests. Additionally, she tries to locate the *Mumiae Wratislavienses* within Gryphius's oeuvre and within the early modern studies of mummies in general (194). Although the *Mumiae Wratisla-*

vienses occupies a special position, not only because it is Gryphius's only Latin prose text, but also because he rarely deals with Egypt elsewhere, it is—according to Reetz (200)—to be considered a genuine part of Gryphius's oeuvre, as it touches upon topics and motifs related to death and ephemerality that are characteristic for his works (think of the *vanitas* motif in his most famous poem mentioned at the beginning of this review).

Reetz also describes the genesis of the treatise (200–10), the view of mummies and Egypt developed in it (211–13), and especially its formal design based on ancient rhetoric (213–36). In this part, she also discusses the methods Gryphius used to lend his observations and descriptions authority and credibility. An important aspect is the principle of autopsy and empirical evidence, which is discussed in more detail in a following subchapter, 237–46. This led to some interesting results that are still valid today (especially concerning the question of when the practice of mummification ended) and challenged not only ancient but also early modern authorities such as Giovanni Nardi (ca. 1585–1654) and Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680). The section ends with a subchapter on the reception of the *Mumiae Wratislavienses* (246–54).

A short “Fazit” (255–58) summarizes the main results of the monograph. An overview of the content of the treatise (259 f.), a list of abbreviations (261 f.), a table of the ten figures (263), and an index of persons (285 f.) and texts (287) mentioned in the edition as well as an index of persons for the whole monograph (289–93) are appended. The bibliography of twenty pages (265–84) demonstrates that Reetz knows her source texts and the relevant secondary literature.

The book has been properly proofread, but there remain some slight inaccuracies in Greek texts (e.g., *αὐτοπτος* instead of *αὐτόπτης* [42]; *ἀπιστερά* instead of *ἀριστερά* [136]; *περιτέμνοντε* [120] is the reading in the early modern edition, but it should be *περιτέμνονται*).

These very minor points aside, this edition of the *Mumiae Wratislavienses* is a learned yet easily readable book. It can not only be recommended to anyone interested in the history of Egyptology and the study of mummies, but also to all who want to discover an aspect of a famous German poet that they might not have known before. (Dominik Berrens, Leopold-Franzens-Universität, Innsbruck)

◆ *Austriana regina Arabiae. Ein neulateinischer Habsburgroman des 17. Jahrhunderts.* By Anton Wilhelm Ertl. Introduction with Text and Translation by Isabella Walser. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016. 443 pp. €99.95. Isabela Walser presents a fascinating Neo-Latin novel, *Austriana regina Arabiae* (1687), to the public three hundred years after its first publication. *Austriana* was based on the well-known novel of the ancient Greeks, *Aethiopica*, written by Heliodorus of Emesa. Walser transcribed and translated *Austriana* into German, and then analyzed in detail the political statements depicted in this novel using the allegories based on emblems and the play of words by its author, Anton Wilhelm Ertl (1654–ca. 1715). Ertl very likely aimed to obtain a better political position in the court by dedicating this work to Joseph I, the son of Emperor Leopold I of the Holy Roman Empire. Researchers began to delve into the Neo-Latin novel intensively at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and they edited and analyzed several Neo-Latin works such as Leon Battista Alberti's *Momus* (ca. 1450), John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621), and Ludvig Holberg's *Iter subterraneum* (1741). Then, Walser took over the study of this genre and strengthened it successfully with this interdisciplinary monograph on *Austriana*.

Walser explains the personification of the protagonists and their relationships to the actual historical figures in great detail. She describes the way that actual and fictional histories are linked in this novel through the use of allegories. In actual history, the French king approached the Ottoman Empire in order to weaken the power of the Habsburg house and the Holy Roman Empire. On the other hand, Leopold I suffered under the Ottoman army at the Battle of Vienna in 1683, but he finally won against it when supported by his princes. This history is reflected in the *Austriana* through the love between *Austriana* and *Aurindus*, and their triumph against *Tigrania* and *Torvan*. Walser notes furthermore that this novel implies that the golden age would come under the son of *Austriana* and *Aurindus*, *Philemon*, who was the personification of Joseph I and the person to whom Ertl dedicated his work.

Walser outlines the history of the Neo-Latin novel in the first section. In the second section, she draws attention to the Habsburg novel as a sub-genre. This sub-genre includes six known texts produced

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries within the Holy Roman Empire, each of which aimed at strengthening and spreading the ideology of the Habsburg house as the great dynasty reigning over the multiethnic empire. According to Walser, the oldest and most interesting text is Ertl's *Austriana* because its plot is influenced by many political and religious struggles in the earlier periods, especially by the Battle of Vienna in 1683. In the third section, Walser notes that the allegories can be sorted into three types that connect the ancient Greek novel with the political incidents of actual history successfully. The first allegorical type is iconographic and emblematic, and it focuses on symbols related to reign or religion and coats of arms. The second type is onomastic, based on the historical significance of the names of the protagonists. The third allegorical type is related to actual historical events. Walser's analysis describes how all these allegories are intertwined to affect the plot and present Ertl's political statements effectively.

In addition, Walser focuses on the theme of love, which plays a key role in Ertl's novel. Walser shows how true love between the two protagonists, *Austriana* and *Aurindus*, implies the permanent alliance between the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and its princes (*Reichsfürsten*). *Austriana* is the queen of Arabia and the personification of Emperor Leopold I, while *Aurindus* is the king of Arabia and the personification of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. These two lovers are torn from one another many times, but they overcome their hardships and always get together again. In her analysis, Walser underlines that *Austriana* sometimes shows self-sacrificing behavior in order to save *Aurindus*. This relationship between *Austriana's* and *Aurindus's* behavior reflects the ideal relationship between the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and its princes.

This kind of love is contrasted very clearly to the love between *Tigrania* and *Torvan*. *Tigrania* is the personified French king Louis XIV and the niece of the Babylonian queen, *Altomira*, who is the personification of Louis XIII. *Torvan* represents both the king of India and Kara Mustafa Pascha of the Ottoman Empire. *Tigrania* and *Torvan* married because *Tigrania* needed *Torvan's* help to avenge the death of her aunt, *Altomira*. Walser notes that the triumph of *Austriana* and *Aurindus* against *Tigrania* and *Torvan* in the end shows that true

love wins against the love born of devious motives, which suggests the superiority of the alliance between the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and its princes over the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the French.

Through a detailed review of the history of the novel, the plot, the allegories, and the historical backgrounds found in the *Austriana*, Walser makes a valuable contribution to the academic world of Neo-Latin literature and also to historical research more generally. (Haruka Oba, Kurume University, Japan)

◆ *Mountain Aesthetics in Early Modern Latin Literature*. By William M. Barton. London and New York: Routledge, 2017. xiv + 253 pp. \$165 hardback, \$49.95 paperback. When one thinks about mountains and the attitudes toward them at various points in cultural history, a couple of high points (pun intended) emerge immediately: Francesco Petrarca's ascent of Mt. Ventoux in *Familiares* IV.1, for example, and the romantic appreciation for mountains as expressed in Marjorie Hope Nicolson's classic *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca, NY, 1959). As Barton shows, however, these two points of reference threaten to obscure much of what lies in the intellectual valleys below, in that for Petrarca, mountain climbing led to spiritual insight, not an appreciation of nature in and of itself, and for Nicolson, the academic environment when she was writing did not allow for a full grasp of all that went before Wordsworth and his contemporaries. The key development here was the creation and expansion of Neo-Latin studies as a serious academic discipline. This development allows Barton to produce a new analysis that traces the emergence of an aesthetic appreciation of mountains from within the body of writings in Latin on this subject that appeared from roughly 1450 to 1750.

Mountain Aesthetics in Early Modern Literature has two main aims: "It offers a new account of the mechanisms and manner of change in aesthetic attitude towards the mountain in the Late Renaissance and Early Modern Period on the basis of previously under-studied Neo-Latin texts. It also offers evidence to support the thesis that this Neo-Latin material yields rich and valuable results from close reading as a body of literature in its own right by bringing its conclusions to

bear on the modern debate over the aesthetics of nature” (6). Chapter 1 offers a detailed overview of the ancient and biblical heritage of mountain writing, to show that the overall lack of aesthetic interest in mountains as found there contrasts sharply with the new aesthetic attitude found in the Neo-Latin texts. Chapter 2 begins with the idea that advances in the understanding of perspective in the mid-fifteenth century allowed for the development of a concept of landscape. A new interest in geographical description simultaneously began to change attitudes toward mountain landscapes from the early sixteenth century. Developments in the theory and practice of the visual arts also helped shift attitudes toward such natural objects as mountains. Chapter 3 then considers the various theoretical positions on the aesthetic value of mountains in works of theology and natural philosophy, in such a way that interest spread out of Switzerland, where it had been centered, to the rest of Europe. The final chapter brings together the conclusions reached so far, showing that the Neo-Latin sources offer primary evidence in support of a modern natural environmental model and of the inclusion of formalist ideas into an aesthetics of nature.

One of the most important parts of this book is the annotated bibliography of primary sources that complement the ones drawn on explicitly in the preparation of the book. Some of Barton’s sources, like Conrad Gessner’s *Epistola de montium admiratione* (1541), Josias Simmler’s *De Alpibus commentarius* (1574), and Johann Jakob Scheuchzer’s *Itinera Alpina* (1723), have been consulted regularly by those with an interest in mountains; others, like Leon Battista Alberti’s *De pictura* (1435), Bernhard Varenius’s *Geographia generalis* (1650), and Nicolaus Steno’s *Prodromus* (1669), are reasonably well known but not as sources for attitudes towards mountains; and a third group, including such works as Joachim Vadian’s *Rudimentaria in Geographiam catechesis* (1522) and Benedict Pereira’s *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim tomi quattuor* (1599), are both little known and not immediately connected with the mountain issue. Barton is not the first to have surveyed a mountain (as it were) of previously unstudied Neo-Latin material, but he is in the vanguard in arguing that this material is of value not for its connection to the Greco-Roman past, but for the progressive ideas it contains about an area of special interest today. Barton does not argue that the roots of contemporary

eco-criticism lie here, and I would not go this far either, but it is worth noting that at a time when the relevance of Latin literature is regularly questioned, this book shows that the ideas contained in that literature can resonate today in some very unexpected ways. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Sodalitas Litteratorum: Études à la mémoire de / Studies in Memory of Philip Ford*. Edited by Ingrid A. R. De Smet and Paul White. Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 158. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2019. 318 pp. \$57.60. The essays in this volume were collected in honor of Philip Ford, whose sudden and untimely death in 2013 deprived Neo-Latin studies of one of its guiding lights. Fellow of Clare College and Professor of French and Neo-Latin Literature at Cambridge University, former president of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, and President of the Fédération Internationale des Sociétés et Instituts pour l'Étude de la Renaissance, Ford was an indefatigable scholar whose seven monographs and scholarly editions were supplemented by twenty edited and co-edited volumes and a succession of articles and book chapters that require ten pages in the list of his publications that is found at the end of this volume. But Ford was as much loved as a teacher and friend as he was esteemed as a scholar. For this reason it is most fitting indeed that the theme of this essay collection in his honor is *sodalitas*, “a fluctuating concept of community, friendship, and collaboration [that] influenced modes of production, dissemination, and consumption of learned and/or poetic discourse” (19). Unlike many Festschriften, this one has a theme that is not only appropriate for its honoree, but is actually incorporated into the essays in the volume.

An “Elegia de Professore Philippo Iohanne Fordio” by Stephen Fennell, presented in Greek, Latin, and English versions, and an introduction by the editors are followed by Sylvie Laigneau-Fontaine, “L'Amitié dans le *sodalitium Lugdunense*”; Andrew W. Taylor, “Between Friends and Languages: Inscribing the Humanist Epigram in Renaissance France”; Adrian Armstrong, “Intellectuals and the Nation in Renaissance France: Verse Epitaphs for Louise de Savoie”; Jonathan Patterson, “Jean Brinon and His Cenacle: An Enduring *Sodalitas*?”; Anne-Pascale Pouey-Mounou, “Des ‘Compaings’ et

des livres: Interactions et différenciations stylistiques dans les pièces folâtres de la Pléiade”; Nathalie Catellani and Carine Ferradou, “La Sodalité bordelaise de George Buchanan”; Keith Sidwell, “*Sodalitas* and *inimicitia* in the Lucianism of Poggio Bracciolini”; Stephen Fennell, “φθονέει καὶ αἰοιδὸς αἰοιδῶ: Alessandra Scala in the Fellowship and Rivalry of Greek Epigrammatists of the Florentine Quattrocento”; Stephen Bamforth, “A Curious Case of Literary Fellowship—or, a Footnote to a Forgery”; Max Engammare, “La *Sodalitas* livresque de Calvin, Bullinger et Bèze: L’Envoi de livres, une pratique réformé qui s’impose au monde lettré”; Valérie Worth-Stylianou, “La Sodalité dans les dédicaces des ouvrages français de médecine”; Mathieu Ferrand, “L’Amitié en scène: Jeux dramatiques et souvenirs de collège au xvi^e siècle”; and Neil Kenney, “‘Lesquels banquets ... ont esté nommez ... des Latins *Sodalitates*’: Discussing Dreams over Dinner in Guillaume Bouchet’s *Serées*.” The volume concludes with David Money’s poem “*Sodalis ad Philippum*” and Ford’s last paper, “Flirting with Boys: Sexual Ambiguity in Ronsard’s Narrative Poetry,” followed by the bibliography of Ford’s writings.

This is a fine collection of papers, thematically unified, that serves as a worthy tribute to a towering figure in the revival of Neo-Latin studies in his generation. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ From John Hale, an item of potential interest to readers of *Neo-Latin News*: In connection with publication of my monograph *Milton’s Scriptural Theology. Confronting De Doctrina Christiana* (Amsterdam, 2019), I have recorded Milton’s opening address to readers (the “epistle”). It is heard in its Latin, so that as with *Paradise Lost* we can hear an approximation to Milton’s own voicing, as he dictated to a scribe and heard it read back.

The connection with my book is that its first chapter analyses the opening address to readers, for its style and tone of voice, which rise to vehemence and impassioned appeal for a hearing. You might not guess this from reading silently, still less from reading English translations! We hear patterning of alliterated plosive /p/, and many stinging adjectives of critique of all other theologians, and there is much else about the original words of *DDC* that my study as a whole tries to bring to life,

Questions arise, however. The readers, myself and an Otago classics colleague, have vociferated cautiously, perhaps too much so. For instance, we have not striven to emphasize the incidence of the growling letter /t/, though the letter has plenty of it, and Milton is said to have pronounced it “very hard” like other persons of a satirical disposition.

On one immediate question I am asking help from Neo-Latinists and Miltonists alike. Given that Milton recommended the Italian pronunciation of Latin, would he have dictated *viva voce* (Oxford edn. line 114) as “vee-vah voe-tche”? In our own reading we have said “wee-wah woe-ke,” simply because we learnt Latin in the “reformed” or reconstruction-of-Roman pronunciation. We stayed with the sounds we knew, for our own understanding, and so for momentum and general conviction. Yet “wee-wah woe-ke” made me wonder. It sounds precious and weak. (It brings to mind the joke in *1066 and All That*, that when Julius Caesar uttered his boastful *Veni Vidi Vici*, “I came, I saw, I conquered,” he was calling the ancient Brits “weeny, weedy, and weaky.”)

The idea of putting Milton’s Latin on-line deserves comment. Is this a first, or am I behind the action? What do scholars and enthusiasts of other Neo-Latin authors do? Here is the blogpost link (all inclusive link, with everything): <https://arc-humanities.org/blog/2019/10/23/recording-milton/>; Video ink: <https://youtu.be/6xdCQ4GwW5w>.

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