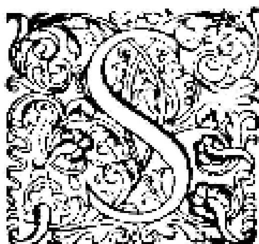
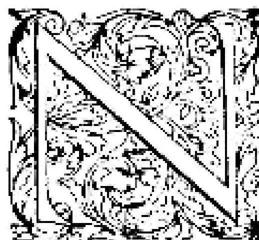


EVENTEENTH-

ENTURY



EWS

SPRING - SUMMER 2023
Vol. 81
Nos. 1&2

Including
THE NEO-LATIN NEWS Vol. 71, Nos. 1&2

Seventeenth-Century News

VOLUME 81, Nos. 1&2 **SPRING-SUMMER,** 2023

SCN was first sponsored as an official organ of the Milton Society of America and of the Milton Section of the Modern Language Association. It is now published as a double issue two times each year with the support of the English Department of Texas A&M University.

SUBMISSIONS: As a scholarly review journal, **SCN** publishes only commissioned reviews. A current style sheet, previous volumes' Tables of Contents, and other information all may be obtained via at www.english.tamu.edu/scn/. Books for review and queries should be sent to:

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

E-Mail: d-dickson@tamu.edu
scn.sites.tamu.edu
and
oaktrust.library.tamu.edu/handle/1969.1/94990

ISSN 0037-3028

Seventeenth-Century News

EDITOR

Donald R. Dickson
Texas A&M University

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

E. Joe Johnson, Clayton State University
Michele Marrapodi, University of Palermo

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Patrick M. Owens, Editor
Academia Latinitatis Fovendae

CONTENTS

VOLUME 81, NOS. 1&2 .... SPRING-SUMMER, 2023

Gitta Bertram, Nils Büttner, Claus Zittel, eds., *Gateways to the Book: Frontispieces and Title Pages in Early Modern Europe.* Tim Somers, *Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England: Sociability, Politics and Collecting.* Reviews by Cyndia Susan Clegg 1

Sean H. McDowell, *Metaphysical Shadows: The Persistence of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Marvell in Contemporary Poetry*. Review by Margaret J. Oakes 8

Victor Stater, *Hoax: The Popish Plot That Never Was*. Review by Nathan Martin 13

Chris Langley, ed., *The National Covenant in Scotland 1638–1689.* Review by Robert Landrum 17

Peter Auger, *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland.* Review by Paul J. Smith.. 21

Abram C. Van Engen, *City on the Hill: A History of American Exceptionalism*. Review by William J. Scheick 25

Reiner Smolinski and Kenneth P. Minkema, eds., *A Cotton Mather Reader*. Review by William J. Scheick 27

Francois Leguat, Jean-Michel Racault, ed., *Voyage et aventures en deux îles désertes des Indes orientales, suivi de* Henri Duquesne. Paolo Carile, ed., *Recueil de quelques mémoires pour l'établissement de l'île d'Éden*. Review by Denis Grélé.. 28

Jennifer Eun-Jung Row, *Queer Velocities: Time, Sex, and Biopower on the Early Modern Stage*. Review by Theresa Varney Kennedy........................ 31

Philippe Quinault. William Brooks and Buford Norman, eds., *Théâtre complet. Tome IV. Tragi-comédies historiques.* Review by Esther Van Dyke 34

Raymond Poisson, *Théâtre complet*, ed. Marie-Claude Canova-Green, and Suzanne Jones. Review by Perry Gethner 38

Vittorio Frajese, *Une histoire homosexuelle: Paolo Sarpi et la recherche de l'individu à Venise au XVIIe siècle*. Julia Castiglione, trans. Review by Shannon McHugh... 41

Neo-Latin News.. 44

Gitta Bertram, Nils Büttner, Claus Zittel, eds. *Gateways to the Book: Frontispieces and Title Pages in Early Modern Europe.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021. Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, vol. 76. xxxiii + 601 + 201 illus. $199.00.

Tim Somers. *Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England: Sociability, Politics and Collecting.* Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2021. Published in association with British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. xvi + 306 + 33 illus. $115.00.

Reviews by Cyndia Susan Clegg, Pepperdine University.

Tim Somers's definition of ephemera in *Ephemeral Print Culture* suggests that his book has little in common with *Gateways to the Book*. According to Somers "ephemera is defined in relation to what it is *not*: expensive, durable books produced from multiple sheets, bound and safely stored on the shelves of a library, read infrequently, with relatively high survival rates" (3)—that is, the kinds of books that have elaborate title-page or frontispiece illustrations. Ephemera, often printed on single sheets, circulated in large quantities and was affordable on laborers' wages (4). In England approximately 20 million ballad sheets were printed between 1557 and 1708; between 5 to 10 million pamphlets circulated in the two year period 1679–1681; and in the 1660s one in three household owned an almanack (4–5). To Somers such a production scale suggests that "ephemera formed the backdrop of daily life" (5). If ephemera were common, then books containing illustrated title pages and frontispieces were elite; according to *Gateways to the Book*, their opening illustrations offered a royal way ("via regia") into the book culture grounded in the Republic of Letters (Bertram, Büttner, Zittel, 4). The initial illustrations

> … provide emblematic models and ideograms; they are the key to the worlds of cognition and imagination; they show patterns of perception, ordering and reasoning; they shape the collective memory, and sometimes they even serve as tools for mediation. (Bertram, Büttner, Zittel, 4)

As different as these two varieties of print might appear, both *Gateways to the Book* and *Ephemeral Print Culture* establish the predominance of the printed word in early modern culture as well as the visual image's continuing significance.

Focusing as it does on title-page and frontispiece illustrations, *Gateways to the Book's* central interest is iconographic interpretation, but as we shall see below, so is *Ephemeral Print Culture's*. *Gateways to the Book*'s extensive first chapter defines visual reading practices and the book's academic scope; the fifteen essays that follow are divided into three parts. Part 1 (chapters 2–4) provides a foundation for understanding the subsequent chapters first, by defining the differences between title pages and frontispieces and tracing their historical development (Gitta Bertram); next, by explaining the uses of initial illustrations for the authority and prestige of printer-publishers, especially their representation of the Roman goddess Minerva as a patron for printers (Lea Hagedorn); and finally, by exploring the ways initial portraits served as publicity for authors and the political elite (Hole Röβler).

Part 2 (chapters 5 through 9) contains five essays that explain the relationship between initial illustrations and a book's contents within different disciplines. Chapter 5, which focuses on seventeenth-century German poetry, rejects the idea presented in Röβler's essay that frontispieces promoted authors, and finds, instead a variety of relationships between initial images and literary contents—from the formulaic, to the metaphorical and allegorical, to the ironic (Claus Zittel). The next chapter likewise finds a range of relationships between images and text—here in music textbooks—some of the earliest books theorize music by invoking the iconography of music's origins; later books' initial illustrations underscore a book's educational purpose; and among the latest books the initial images envision a readership interested in practicing music (Fabian Kolb). Chapter 7—on art books—sees frontispieces and title pages in books on architecture—with their depiction of architectural features like columns, platforms, and arches—as formative of an iconographic tradition appropriated by books in other disciplines. Surprisingly, though, books on painting and sculpture "only exceptionally" had frontispieces" (303, Constanze Keilholz). Chapter 8 turns to books on science, although rather unusually by focusing on frontispieces in fortification treatises that

display "increasingly close relationship between war and mathematics throughout the early modern period," mostly through personifications of war and architecture in initial images (322, Delphine Schreuder). The final essay in the second part, presumably about travel guided by natural science, discusses some unusual title-pages and frontispieces that precede books about Africa and the Levant. Other than giving a nod to "science" by representing human differences, the frontispiece's and title pages' visualization of "'Orient, Levant, Barbary, Ottoman Empire, Africa and Asia' remained still quite undistinguished semantically and iconographically" (390, Cornel Zwierlein).

Part 3 (chapters 10 through 16) contain seven "Case Studies" that share little in common besides their focus on title pages and frontispieces. Chapter 10 offers a close allegorical reading of a group of title pages used in sixteenth-century Basel that visually represented the *Tabula of Cebes,* a dialogue by the ancient Socratic philosopher Cebes of Thebes, in which a group of youths discover the meaning of a painting that represents five stages of life (Miranda L. Elston). The next chapter discusses Peter Paul Rubens's title pages influence upon his successors, in part, because his title pages established a pattern of achitectural features that easily could be appropriated; in part, because authors and publishers sought him out for his reputation as a major painter. His title pages were notable for their "liveliness in the depiction of human figures" (438, Nils Bütner). In 1634 the Dutch painter Jacob van der Gracht published a book of anatomy, *Anatomie der wtterliche deelen van het Menschelick Lichaem* (the subject of chapter 12) that intended artists rather than physicians as its readers: "The author adapted to artists' needs materials extracted from the only works on anatomy then in circulations: books for medical practitioners" (451). While the title page depicts a dissection, its other elements indicate that the book itself, rather than dissection, would better "equip artists with the level of anatomical knowledge" necessary for their art (452, Alice Zamboni). The focus of chapter 13 is an eighteenth-century devotional work, *Cultus Sancti Francisci Saverii Societatis Jesu Japoniae & apostoli* (The Veneration of St. Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus, apostle of Japan and the Indies). Each section of the book is dedicated to a devotional practice associated with St. Francis Xavier, and each section is preceded by its own frontispiece that allegorizes

the respective devotional practice. The images serve as meditational objects (Alison C. Fleming). Chapter 14 offers the collection's single analysis of a title-page exemplar from a manuscript, *Imagen de Dios I de sus abras (Pintura Sabia)*—Image of God and his Works (Wise Painting). This seventeenth-century Spanish text, whose teaching was aligned with the Jesuit idea that artistic uses of images and words could "enlighten" divine mysteries ("wise painting"), was written for a courtly patroness, and its title page figures the treatise's complex ideas about spirituality and art (Martijn van Beek). Jeremias Wolff (1663–1724), chapter 15's subject, was one of the most important publishers in Augsburg. His publications were in great demand by the Austro-German nobility, especially his "richly engraved architectural print collections" of aristocratic dwellings (527). This chapter describes these collections' most important features and concludes that "Patrons and authors capitalized on the print collection's ability to propagate idealized notions of princely sovereignty and cultural philanthropy through images of palace architecture" (354, Daniel Fulco). Most of this collection's essays focus on continental authors and publishers, but the final chapter is dedicated entirely to early eighteenth-century book illustration in Britain, namely for the publications of the poet, Edmund Waller. The essay finds the same kinds of frontispiece and title page conventions identified by this collection's other essays: monumental elements like architectural iconography and portraits of authors that secure their status and authority.

Taken as a material object, *Gateways to the Book,* is an impressive artifact. Its 199 illustrations of title pages and frontispieces, which are beautifully reproduced on coated stock, provide a rich resource for readers interested in paratextual illustration. (It also has two graphs.) The collection's organization, with its foundational essays in part 1 and with part 2's interdisciplinary focus, provides useful interpretative models for part 3's more idiosyncratic studies. As so often happens in essay collections, the contributions tend to be somewhat uneven. A few do little more than provide a written narrative for the illustrations being considered. A few are overly ambitious in the broad cultural conclusions they draw from limited examples. Most, however, offer valuable insights into the ways in which reading images and reading texts are interconnected—even in a culture where the printed word

predominates. As the extensive (and impressive) bibliographies for these essays suggest, substantial scholarship already exists on early modern title pages and frontispieces. As a consequence, the third part's case studies tend to be somewhat eccentric (Edmund Waller?!). Similarly, surely there must be better examples of initial illustrations for scientific publications than those from books on geometry and fortifications. Even so, *Gateways to the Book* offers valuable insights into explaining early modern print culture through printed images.

Gateways to the Book's editors inadvertently link their book to *Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England* when their introduction observes that while systematic study of initial illustrations is "scarcely one hundred years old, their collection is much older (7). The two most important collectors they note, Samuel Pepys and John Bagford, are central to Somers's *Ephemeral Print Culture.* Indeed, Bertram, *et. al.* say that Bagford's collection "influenced modern research on frontispieces and title pages" (9). Bagford, Somers says, is his "book's recurring case study from which to explore the whole world of collection" (3), which is the subject of *Ephemeral Print Culture.* John Bagford (1650/1–1716), a Londoner who was trained as a shoemaker, made his living as a 'book runner,' supplying clients, including Hans Sloane, Robert Harley and Samuel Pepys, with printed books and manuscripts. Interested in the history of printing, he was himself a collector of title pages, ballads, printed ephemera and manuscript fragments, and his own connoisseurship influenced the tastes his clients' collecting displayed. *Ephemeral Print Culture* focuses on collecting from the 1600s through the 1800s, a time where collecting ephemera "took on a heightened cultural significance" in two contexts: "the scientific, antiquarian and commercial activities of 'virtuoso culture'"; and "polemical uses of the past" (15). In the first case, "Baconian empiricism" fostered collectors' interest in "accumulating 'facts' and 'particulars' that advanced knowledge, and the ability to discuss such "facts" bestowed social cachet on the person. Following the 1660 Restoration of England's monarchy, print became instrumental in expressing the culture's highly volatile political and religious polarization. Bagford "exemplified the moderated, sociable ideals encouraged by the virtuoso community," but "as a historian of print he unavoidably engaged with political and religious controversies … and provided controversial prints (both

topical and historical) to clients" (19).

Chapter 1 establishes the ways in which collecting expressed and enhanced social status, both for tradesmen (Bagford and his fellows) and their clients. Coffee houses became sites both of auctions where tradesmen acquired ballads, playing cards and samples of calligraphy, and of social exchange where tradesmen developed relationships with their clients and fostered their collections.

Chapter 2 addresses unusual specimens of ephemera produced by engravers and draftsmen in Bagford's network: medleys and micrography (or miniature writing). In the latter religious texts were "miniaturised into spaces as small as a penny or shaped into 'word-images' (calligrams) representing divisive monarchs" (66). Medleys, which looked like collages, "juxtaposed 'old' and 'new' prints and manuscripts" in engravings that "deceptively" mimicked print typography and calligraphy (67). The objects medley makers produced invited comparisons between the past and the present, often to effect satire: "the objects in medleys evoked remembrance of the Reformation and Civil Wars, memories of which were highly contested in the 1700s" (70). Somers discusses several different medleys with different political and religious ideologies. Micrographic portraits were put to similar uses, as, for example, when the engraver John Sturt, constructed the image of King George I from the Book of Common Prayer's prescribed prayers for the monarch, with the king becoming "an emblem of the church of England" (110).

Ballads from the Glorious Revolution (extant because of collectors like Bagford and Pepys) are the subject of Chapter 3. Somers considers these from the perspective of the juxtaposition of a ballad's wording with its assigned melody; being conventional and regularly assigned to different ballads, melodies could complicate the interpretative field. By assigning a funereal tune to a celebration of William and Mary's arrival, for example, could suggest that James II had actually abandoned his people. This chapter also gives interesting insights into ballad collections by identifying the categories Pepys and Bagford applied to their collections.

Nostalgia for "old" printed ephemera, the subject of Chapter 4, reflected a growing sense of "contemporaniety" that distinguished between a distant ruptured past and current partisanship. Among the

objects this chapter considers are documentary histories like John Rushworth's *Historical collections of private passages of state* (1569), that ostensibly encouraged impartial understanding of the past by reproducing parliamentary speeches and petitions, letters, accounts of trials, newsbooks, and pamphlets, without the collector's commentary. (Even so, the collector's selections reflected bias.) Rushworth's collection was printed, but Somers also considers collectors' manuscript compilations, as well as collections that included pages from Sternhold and Hopkins's "old" metrical Psalms, which had been used in Church of England worship service before a new translation appeared in 1698. As for Rushworth, choices reveal political and religious bias.

The final chapter (Chapter 6) turns to what best might be seen as the most ephemeral of ephemera, printed object that were often collected in scrapbooks. This chapter focuses on Bagford's collections that included in Bagford's words:

London's Trades, Signs, Cryes, arms, Plays & Pastimes, Noblemens arms, Tavern score Boards, Bills & advertisemmts, Turners [,] Englines, Lapidaries Mills, Tobacco paper. Tickets to Feasts, as the Musick, Painters, Anglers, City of Chester, St Andrews, Holborn, Apothecaries, Rowling pres[s] Printers[,] Sons of the Clergy, Stage Coaches, Waggones, &c. (197)

Somers categorizes this as a "natural and artificial curiosity collection," which joins others that were cut and pasted together. Such scrapbooks preserved ephemera "that both fascinated and repulsed their collector" to constitute a form of life writing that expressed a "collector's 'unique' identity" (225).

Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England makes a significant contribution to our understanding of ephemera's importance in early modern England by looking at surviving ephemera through the lens of collecting and collections rather than by lamenting the imprecise understanding available to posterity because of all that has been lost. This book offers fresh insights into a highly polarized religious and political culture that was trying to make sense of its present through printed relics of its past, and which employed juxtaposition, allusion, and irony to do so. When we write and talk about "culture" we look for common reference points, but the nature of collections and collectors is by its very nature uncommon. The categories Samuel

Pepys used in his ballad collection tells us more about Samuel Pepys than about the nature of ballads. Rushworth's repudiation of a framing narrative for the documents he prints does not disguise his political bias, which, despite the repudiation, appears in his choices. Ultimately Somers shows us throughout this book that the "unique" identities that collectors and their collections forge tell us more about identify formation in early modern England than about ephemera itself.

Identity, then, is the common denominator between *Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England* and *Gateways to the Book,* and it provides a valuable way of thinking about visual iconography in early modern print culture. Visual images' allusive quality enabled early modern printers, authors, and collectors to fashion their distinctive identities vis-à-vis their social stature, politics, religion, and position within the Republic of Letters in ways that extended beyond the seeming fixity of the printed word. These books make a significant contribution to the literature on early modern culture from the perspective of print.

Sean H. McDowell. *Metaphysical Shadows: The Persistence of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Marvell in Contemporary Poetry*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2022. x + 203 pp. Review by MARGARET J. OAKES, FURMAN UNIVERSITY.

John Donne, lover/husband/father/poet/apologist/sermonizer/priest, is having a moment right now because of the widely lauded 2022 publication of Katherine Rundell's *Super-Infinite: The Transformations of John Donne*. Rundell deeply embraces the notion that Donne loved to balance, join, and clash paradoxes, both in his life and his writing. In reviewing Rundell's book, Lara Feigel of *The Guardian* notes that "For Rundell, Donne is writing into being a new ideal: a 'completed meshing of body and imagination'" (28 Apr 2022). The most introductory of student readings on Donne include the infamous wild images of "Batter my heart, three-personed God," "And in this flea our two bloods mingled be," and "Let us possess one world, each hath one, and is one." Commonplaces about the violent juxtapositioning of images and the sacred and profane in Donne's work are not trite,

as they describe every aspect of his subject matter, approach to form, figurative language, and attitude towards -- well, just about everything.

Despite the image of the axe on the cover, Rundell's term "meshing" might be a useful way to describe the project of Sean H. McDowell in his *Metaphysical Shadows: The Persistence of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Marvell in Contemporary Poetry*. Familiarity of language, style, and form are some of the great pleasures of reading any literature, but especially poetry. Allusions, similar structures, subjects, and key words create a kaleidoscope of meaning in a later work that differs from reader to reader depending on their background knowledge. Part of the richness of poets such as Milton, Eliot, H.D., and Amanda Gorman is their obvious awareness of cultural heritage; the historical use of the English language and how it changes (and how they change it); and the way that images, figures of speech, and even the sounds of words can spark a memory and open up corridors into the past that lead to other writers. This is McDowell's goal: to explain how the style and substance of Donne and others insinuate themselves into the writing both of those poets who openly acknowledge influence and others who seem to be writing through a filter of sway that they may not recognize. McDowell argues for a multitude of "forms of intertextuality resulting from [the] engagements" of selected contemporary poets (8). And McDowell does not want to stop with Donne; in several ways in each section of the book he adds other seventeenth-century poets labeled "metaphysical" in an attempt to mesh their work with that of several poets writing in the twenty-first century.

McDowell endeavors to organize levels of influence in several ways. The first part of the book argues for "manifestations of poetic interactions" (9). The "shadows" cast by the older poets range from deep to faint, as he touches on the use of allusion to a particular poem, an "answer" to a poem, the use of similar topics, and finally somewhat elusive stylistic parallels based in the meditative qualities of some of Donne's poetry. Chapter One taps Seamus Heaney for the strongest connection between his "Chanson d'Aventure" and Donne's poetry. Heaney is writing about suffering a stroke in 2006 and his reaction to the love his soul felt for his wife even as he could not physically feel her touch as they rode in the ambulance. This may lead the reader to believe that one of the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* may be

the selected allusion, or perhaps "The Canonization" or "The Relic." Instead, the focus—and only of the first one of three sections of Heaney's poem—is the imagining in "The Extasie" of the two "still, companionable lovers" (25) lying on a bank. McDowell then turns to one of Heaney's Glanmore Sonnets, which also features a couple sleeping rough on a turf bank in the light rain. We must combine the two Heaney poems to get the fullness of the allusion. McDowell goes on to explain other "voiceprints" in the second and third parts of the poem which connect it to Keats' "Ode to a Nightingale" and explicitly to an ancient Greek statue of a charioteer. This is not to say that the connection to Donne is not there, but the hesitation in the argument to commit to the influence makes it less compelling. Raising questions that need to be investigated is a hallmark of scholarly writing, but the discussions of the parallels between writers throughout the book tend to end with a group of questions that he seems not to want to address: in this instance, on page 30 a series of unanswerable questions that would require us to read Heaney's mind, and questions that are only about Donne, not the two artistic inspirations for the other parts of the poem. Further, the reader is asked to ignore the quote in Heaney's Sonnet X that comes directly from Sir Thomas Wyatt's "They Flee from Me": the second half of the first line is "how like you this?" If a reader is familiar enough with Donne to put together a faint allusion in two poems together, they will be knowledgeable enough to be slightly puzzled at the invocation of one of the most famous "kiss off" poems in English literary history in a poem that otherwise seems to endorse the profundity of soulful love.

The second chapter shows a clearer connection, both in form and substance. McDowell first elaborates on the relationship among Marlowe, Ralegh, and Donne in the famous nymph and bait poems, often read and taught together. He highlights deliberate modern "replies" in several poems by Mary Holtby, Karen Donnelly, and Katherine McAlpine in an anthology specifically dedicated to poetic responses by women to male poets. He notes that each of these "strike back" (43) at Donne, answering him in critique and sometimes even lampooning his own parody, as in Donnelly's "The Dead Flea" to switch the political roles they assert Donne's speakers create for their lovers. But the bulk of the chapter is spent on Ann[e] Donne, with Maureen

Boyle's *The Nunwell Letter*, a lengthy imagining of Ann's recovery on the Isle of Wight from a miscarriage. McDowell nicely explicates the poem and its fluid references to many of Donne's works through Ann's voice; perhaps this section should have been the first chapter as the influences in these poems are the most clear.

Four contemporary poets are crowded into Chapters Three and Four. The structure of the book becomes quite complex here, as Chapter Three focuses on Andrew Marvell and the next one flips back to Donne in an effort to maintain the thesis of that influence becoming more shadowy throughout the discussion. This does not seem necessary. Archibald MacLeish's "You, Andrew Marvell" and Brendan Kennelly's book *Cromwell: A Poem* overtly reflect or refract Marvell's work. McDowell's parsing of "To His Coy Mistress" and "The Garden" show how MacLeish reworks Marvell's fixation on the passage of time and its effects on human love. However, the same amount of page space is spent on Marvell's "Horatian Ode" and Kennelly's lengthy meditation on the larger picture of Cromwell's actions in Ireland and the long shadow that that cast on English and Irish history. McDowell argues correctly here that "Readers can triangulate between [a] subject and the poets who write about it" and that Kennelly adopts Marvell's "scenic rendering of episodes in real or nearly real time" (69). Kennelly's work deserves more space and analysis, and the argument to be more assertive; the statement "One could call his work a dramatic filling in from the postcolonial margins" (69), elicits the mental response "Of course!" and raises more questions about the influence of the Troubles that clearly accompanied the publication of this book in 1983. The tone of the next chapter is somewhat puzzling. It proposes that American poet Ronald Johnson "neither references a prior poet or poems nor dwells on a shared subject but … instead adopts [sic] mode or approach resembling how a metaphysical poet typically or famously proceeds," and that the three-part structure of the meditative mode of Loyola, Donne, and Yeats to "achieve a sense of unity or new understanding" (73, 86). McDowell actually cites George Herbert as the inspiration for the structure of Johnson's magnum opus *ARK*, which was written over the course of twenty years (1970–1990) and uses architectural features from all over the world in its 99 parts. Only a third of the chapter centers on Johnson, however, and while

McDowell certainly makes the point that Johnson uses sharp analogies and ideas from science in some of the sections of the poem, it seems to stretch the point to say that there is influence here, as a "meditative mode" is a not uncommon arena for poetic work.

Part II wishes to expand the notion of "poetic influence" in the work of five particular poets, male and female, black and white. These influences run the gamut, from Anne Cluysenaar, who wrote poetry about, created an annual colloquium organized around, and helped found a journal about Henry (and Thomas) Vaughan; and Alfred Corn and Kimberly Johnson, who openly declare their kinship to Herbert and Donne, respectively. Interspersing those poets are Heaney again, only because he and Donne write about the same subjects, and Jericho Brown, whose connection seems so tenuous as not to merit an entire chapter because they share an audacious relationship between sacred and secular notions or display "a verbal boldness" (12). Some of this analysis identifies or develops rich connections and others do not, but when the voices are singing in concert or response, they are valuable information for a scholar. The fact that Heaney and Donne use the same literary tools to speak about love is too generic an argument to make. On the other hand, Cluysenaar devoted much of her professional life and work to the Vaughans, with the result described by McDowell that "Cluysenaar does not just *see* Vaughan through imaginative recreation but comes to *see like* Vaughan and thereby understand her environment in new ways" (101). The explication of her "Vaughan Variations" is thorough and teaches as much about Vaughan as much as it does about Cluysenaar.

The most valuable chapters in the book are those focusing on the relationships between Alfred Corn and Herbert, and Kimberly Johnson and Donne. While McDowell asserts in the chapter about Corn that the later poet absorbs "those words or constructions that creep in beyond the poet's conscious awareness" (131), Corn actually deeply engages, in both echoed images and individual words, many of Herbert's themes and metaphors. This is a worthwhile book if for no other reason than the exposure to Ronald Johnson, Corn, and Kimberly Johnson. A died-in-the-wool devotee of early modern poetry, stubbornly clinging to Frost's "tennis without a net" view of contemporary free verse poetry, may not be familiar with them but will

appreciate knowing that those poets are also devotees whose work was both consciously and unconsciously shaped by Donne and Herbert. The emphasis on determining whether the influences from any of the older poets were intentional or not seems not to serve the otherwise excellent analysis of the contemporary poetry.

Initially, McDowell adopts Judith Scherer Herz's idea of a "voiceprint," which he describes as "a profound, more substantial engagement of one poet with the 'psychology' and 'linguistic system' of another" (21, 129). He creates a useful distinction between this kind of generous relationship of voices in harmony or concert and Bloom's anxiety of influence, which stresses the prerogative of originality and the fear of being "weak" as opposed to "strong." McDowell wants to take the bad taste our of our mouths left by Bloom's politicization of style and what often is an oppressive worship of writers (male, in the distant past) whom he considers strong and unreachable. Seventeenth-century "metaphysical" poets are also in the distant past and McDowell only talks about male ones, but the relationships he wants to pose are those of gratitude, respect, and inspiration that use past work as a steppingstone, reflection, or reverberation to something new. McDowell only mentions it briefly until the chapter on Herbert and Kimberly Johnson, but the flexibility and generosity of the "voiceprint" when talking about influence might lend itself to create a more comprehensible framework for the entire book and the wide variety of past and present poets whom he discusses. In McDowell's correspondence with Corn, they discuss a parallel between Herbert's "Love and Corn's "Source" that was not intentional, but Corn admits "I have read Herbert so many times that I suppose he must now be part of the fabric of consciousness, the text of the composing self" (135). This may have been the best description in the book of the connections that McDowell wishes to reveal.

Victor Stater. *Hoax: The Popish Plot That Never Was*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022. xii + 313 pp. + 13 illus. $35.00. Review by Nathan Martin, Charleston Southern University.

In *Hoax: The Popish Plot That Never Was*, Victor Stater provides a brilliantly detailed and thoroughly examined account of the famous

Popish Plot, the alleged Jesuit and Catholic plot to assassinate Charles II and install his Catholic brother James to the English throne in 1678. Stater's contention in this work is that while the plot was a fabricated and imagined work of fiction by Titus Oates and Israel Tonge, it nonetheless had an enduring impact on the political and social conditions of the time.

Such a view hardly breaks historical orthodoxy, but the intent of this work is not mainly to argue, but rather to inform. Stater himself states, "it was conceived and written as a narrative history …" (p.303). Further, the author makes a strong point that the Popish Plot holds important lessons for us today by stating "we credit the preposterous because it often confirms our own bias" (p. ix). Indeed, in our own day, with the ubiquity of media with different voices and perspectives, it is true that we often gravitate toward the sources that align with our own views. And, as Stater points out, the consequences can be significant. In regard to the Popish Plot, "it threatened the renewal of civil war in Britain, but in the end, it ushered in a new political model instead of war: two political parties competing, more or less peacefully, for power" (p. ix).

In Stater's account of the Popish Plot, there is little space for revision, or even mitigation, of the reputations of Titus Oates and Israel Tonge, the developers of the story of a Jesuit plot. From the beginning of the work, Oates and Tonge emerge as the key villains in this story. Stater states, "it all started because of the squalid ambitions of one very bad man: Titus Oates" (p. xii). Buy why? Stater argues that "the two of them concocted a story intended to gain them notoriety, and, with luck, a living" (p. ix). Though the defamatory nature of Oates and Tonge's portrayal may require a historical reassessment, generally, in the future, in this work, it serves as a key theme that drives the narrative account.

Oates's early life is shown by Stater to be erratic and unstable. Oates's father, being a Baptist chaplain, had been associated with the radicalism of Thomas Pride, whose well-known purge effected the execution of Charles I. Being educated at a number of schools, and never remaining at any for an extended length of time, Oates often lied and engaged in trickery in order to advance his position. For example, according to Stater, after ending up at St. John's College at Cambridge

University, Oates was accused of cheating a tailor out of a payment and left the university, though he claimed he had completed a degree there (38). After his conversion to Catholicism, and his subsequent stint at an English-founded Jesuit school at Valladolid in Spain, Oates also fraudulently claimed that he had a acquired a doctoral degree from the prestigious University of Salamanca (43).

Also, the key actions of Oates and Tonge's criminal intrigues are interestingly presented by Stater. Oates is seen as the instigator of the drawing up of a list of forty-three points of charge in a work detailing a Jesuit conspiracy against the English monarchy going back to the time of Charles I (44). In another example, the author identifies the motivations of William Bedloe, a former Catholic whose accusations and reports of the murder of Justice Edmund Berry Godfrey have been viewed as a piggy-back to Oates's charges, as being financial: "he boasted to a woman that he would have the reward, promising her a diamond ring if he won it" (86). Though the major source Stater lists as being the basis of this information comes from Sir Roger L'Estrange's works and investigations; L'Estrange served as the Surveyor of the Press, and though by no means does his view represent an unbiased portrayal, it does represent the royalist perspective on the issue and has become the dominant perspective in the recounting of the Popish Plot.

Still, as Stater adeptly shows, the figures associated with developing the conspiracy theory of the plot are more complex than being mere ruffians. The strongest element to consider with this is the incredible skill of memory that Oates seemed to possess. He was able to present, for example, vividly detailed and exhaustive accounts of the conspiracy in his first meeting with the king's Privy Council, which he did in September 1678. One member, Sir Richard Southwell, was impressed by Oates's recall and his ability to field difficult questions (53). The session apparently took several hours. In his Parliamentary appearances, Oates was able to speak in minute detail about the plot for hours on end (80). That Oates, as Stater does well to relate, was able to not only hold the attention, but to be well-received by a number of learned and educated MPs for such an extended period, speaks to the fact that he must have had some form of charisma—he was able to convince so many.

One of the great strengths of this work is that Stater is able to provide a rich tapestry of colorful descriptions of the city life of London. In his chapter entitled, "The Investigations," the author breaks form the linear narrative and inserts an interesting portrayal of the 'Lord Mayor's Show,' a yearly event dedicated to the installation of the new Lord Mayor of London. The festivities included visual spectacles, musical performances, and food and drink (77). This diversion from the serious political storyline gives one a sense of what else was important and current in London at that same time. Such inclusions make Stater's work even more approachable and warm in connecting with the audience.

Another success of this work is the way in which Stater portrays the myriad characters involved in the elaborate allegations. The king, Charles II, is shown to be ever skeptical of the claims of Oates and Tonge. He is shown to have been a poor orator, reading his speeches in monotone during Parliamentary sessions (19). The Earl of Shaftesbury is viewed as a politically shrewd operator who got his political start in the abortive Short Parliament in 1640. Though supporting Charles I early in the Civil War, he resigned his royalist military commission in 1644 and threw his weight behind the parliamentary cause (17). James, the duke of York, and future king, is shown in human terms, breaking down before the House of Lords, nearly in tears, as he declared that his faith was a personal matter at a time when the allegations were gaining traction (95). With vignettes such as these, Stater is able to provide a proximity to the important characters of this narrative that few historians are able to achieve.

Stater excels at linking micro-historical scenes into the larger macro-historical trends and issues. He is able, for example, to take an event such as the Staley case and link it to the virulent anti-Catholic sentiment in London at the time. This event is included as the beginning point of the narrative in the prologue of the work. William Staley, young London goldsmith who happened to be Catholic, was overheard allegedly by some to have emphatically declared in French his desire to kill the king. Stater's does well to recount the court proceedings—in the English system, deference was given to the prosecution rather than to the defendant, whose advocate was theoretically the judge. In this case, however, as Stater shows, the conviction was a foregone conclusion because of the lack of due process in the trail

and the perceived Catholicism of Staley. Staley was convicted and drawn and quartered for the offense of treason. Stater demonstrates the high-stakes consequences that could result from such perceptions of the Catholic 'other.'

Stater also utilizes several different types of source material, but principally, printed primary sources are the basis of the work, perhaps because it was written during the period of pandemic. Archival sources and various other primary collections supplement the narrative as well. Collectively, these sources allow for a thorough and detailed examination of the Popish Plot. As Stater points out, he has tried to keep the references to a minimum (303). From a scholar's perspective, it would be great to have more, but the narrative format does align better with a minimal use of footnoted citations. Along with this, Stater did not include a historiographical and analytical treatment of the topic, though the author does include a short, but helpful essay on potential avenues of further inquiry associated with the event. This is especially valuable for the novice reading this work.

As this is an informative work, one will encounter a comprehensive account of the relevant seventeenth century political figures associated with Popish Plot, proceedings of Parliament, and social aspects of urban life in London. I would highly recommend this work to anyone interested in the political, religious, or social history of the seventeenth century, but it is also approachable for a general audience who may have a limited background in later Stuart England.

Chris Langley, ed. *The National Covenant in Scotland 1638–1689.* Woodbridge (Suffolk): Boydell Press, 2020. xii + 248 pp. $115.00. Review by Robert Landrum, University of South Carolina Beaufort.

The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant have never lacked for attention. They were enjoined to every parish in the land and subscribed with rapturous enthusiasm in many of them. Events demanded that they be renounced in the Restoration, and they were decried or extoled by polemicists through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until in the 1970s David Stevenson in-

augurated a reimagining of them. Stevenson demonstrated that that which had been dismissed as irrational and fanatical was in fact and in practice a rational, conservative, defensive response to extraordinary circumstances. Stevenson's revisionism soon became a foundational consensus that endures to the present. It is a consensus, moreover, that is has been continually refreshed by new scholarship, *The National Covenant in Scotland, 1638–1650* is one of several recent titles that begin where Stevenson led.

If there is a single theme that unites the book's twelve independently-authored chapters, it is diversity. The volume convincingly demonstrates that the Covenants were interpreted in a diversity of ways by diverse audiences. Reaction to them was, at first, divergent, and the uniformity of a "Covenating Nation" is shown to be a self-conscious near-fiction that the Covenanters themselves created. As the covenants retreated in time, moreover, those who chose to remember them made use of them in diverse ways.

In his introduction, "Making and Remaking the Covenanters," volume editor Chris Langley identifies where *The National Covenant in Scotland, 1638–1689* will reside in the expansive and expanding historiography of the Covenants. He accepts it as obvious that the Covenant of 1638 was a vague document, made deliberately so since it both affirmed and challenged the crown's authority. The Solemn League and Covenant (1643) was also carefully inexact, "a marriage of convenience [which] accorded with the Covenanters political ambitions but did not sit so easily with their religious sensibilities" (7). Both of them, interpreted uniquely by every parish and every parishioner who subscribed them, were nullified by English conquest, but endured as a powerful component of individual and corporate identities up to and beyond the Restoration.

Subscription is the common theme of Jamie MacDougall's "Allegiance, Confession and Covenanting Identities, 1638–51" and Nathan Hood's "Corporate Conversion Ceremonies." MacDougall surveys all of the surviving kirk session and presbytery records to conclude that no two Covenanters agreed on what they subscribed, which for many included a generous dollop of royalism. The Solemn League and Covenant was less encompassing, but any consensus it once represented evaporated in the Engagement crisis in 1648. Hood

discusses the parish subscriptions witnessed by Archibald Johnston [not yet "of Wariston"] to conclude that they were textbook "corporate conversion" experiences (23). He deftly dissects the techniques that Thomas Chartres and Henry Rollock, ministers at Currie and Trinity College kirks respectively, employed to drive their flocks to "sobs, tears, promises and vowes" but the narrow base of his evidence prevents any grander conclusions (36).

Individuals were compelled to subscribe the Covenant, but so too were institutions: parishes, synods, municipalities and universities. The latter is the theme connecting chapters three: 'United Opposition? The Aberdeen Doctors and the National Covenant' by Russell Newton; and eight, 'The Engagement the Universities and the Fracturing of the Covenanting Movement' by Salvatore Cipriano. Russell finds that the Aberdeen Doctors, university theologians who led the burgh in resistance to the Covenant, were neither united nor successful. He disputes several durable beliefs about the Doctors: their remarkable cohesion, their steadfast opposition and their unity of response. Amidst this harsh judgement, however, it should be recalled that all of them were subject to Covenanting coercion. Two conveniently died in August 1639, another capitulated in October, two more were forced into exile and one offered a full recantation in May 1642, some three years after a covenanting army occupied the burgh. Cipriano's examination of the reforms imposed on the universities is a tale of purges and counter-purges as the Covenanting movement devolved into bitterly opposed factions of Engagers and anti-Engagers, later Protesters and Resolutioners. The warring parties contended to name professors and principals "and thus distill their own competing versions of what made the covenanted nation" (159). All their infighting, however, was rendered moot by the English invasion of 1651, which destroyed the covenanted state and transformed the universities "from the engines of the Covenanting revolution into instruments of the Cromwellian conquest" (160).

Several of the essays focus on the theme of resistance. In 'Glasgow and the National Covenant in 1638,' Paul Goatman and Andrew Lind chart the response to the Covenant in Glasgow. There the university, the town council and several members of the city's ministry avoided subscription for as long as possible and inclined to the king through-

out 1638. A similar tale animates Lind's "Royalism, Resistance and the Scottish Clergy, *c.* 1638–41." Lind argues that resistance to the Covenant within the ministry was more widespread than is usually assumed. He finds that as many as 10% of Scotland's clerics either refused to sign the Covenant or spoke out against it. They did so as much from political as religious scruples. Eighty-three ministers were deposed between 1638 and 1641, representing 6% of the total, "the largest purge of Scottish clergy since the Reformation" (135).

The theme of diversity of covenanting identities comes to the fore in the second section of the volume. In "A Godly Possession" Louise Yoeman traces the career of Margaret Mitchellson, a young woman who during the crisis of the Covenant was subject to "divine possession" or may, Yeoman suggests, have been an "ecstatically gifted woman" who found that the only way to "gain a public hearing" was to make a spectacle of her "female affective piety" (123). Her work was witnessed by Johnston who employed her to encourage the nascent covenanting movement in the period just before the General Assembly at Glasgow. After the meeting, with the Covenant firmly ensconced in power, Mitchellson's usefulness faded, her sponsors, Johnston and Rollock, withdrew their support, and she retreats from the public records.

Also curiously absent from covenanting memory was the towering figure of Scottish Protestantism, John Knox. In "Reading John Knox in the Scottish Revolution, 1638–50" Chris Langley answers the reasonable question: where was the memory of Knox in the period? In fact, Knox fit uncomfortably into the Covenanting movement. His insufficient opposition to Episcopacy—his moderation—made him an inconvenient hero. By 1639 several different covenanting theorists had constructed a number of "wholly different Knoxes" (104) and so the sixteenth-century leader was never effectively enrolled anywhere in the seventeenth-century crisis.

The final section of the book charts the evolution of memory of the Covenants. In "Remembering the Revolution" Neil McIntyre offers what he says is a "first attempt to examine the ways in which memories of specific events in the Covenanting past came to shape both thought and practice in Restoration Scotland" (164). Among Scots elites in the immediate Restoration period (as expressed in Parliament) "the

recent past had to be reframed to delegitimize the Covenants" (166) and direct official wrath against covenanters. Further down the social scale, others were less willing to forswear the "cause of God" (171). The rebels of the Pentland Rising of 1666 reaffirmed the Covenants and complained that the Solemn League and Covenant "was being 'misrepresented' in public." Later, non-conforming Presbyterians insisted that the "cause [of the Covenants] was constitutionally grounded and their actions legitimate" (172).

In Chapter 10 Allan Kennedy explores how the Covenanting state directly informed its successor. While rejecting the philosophical foundations of its Covenanter predecessor, the Restoration regime sought to co-opt useful features of it. The Covenants themselves were re-imagined as "ipso-facto unlawful" (184) but at the same time oath-taking endured, as did the Covenanters robust taxations schemes and the militarization of the state.

In the final chapter "Who were the Later Covenanters?" Alasdair Raffe rejects entirely the overuse of the term "Covenanter" in the period after 1660. Its "has encouraged misleading interpretations of Restoration Presbyterianism, in which the voices of extremists drown out those of more moderate Scots" (197). Indeed, "mainstream presbyterians" could at one time accept the Restoration regime, with its bishops and books, and sincerely believe "that they upheld the Covenants.' (212) To apply the term only to nonconformists is to endorse a "mythologised perspective that celebrates zealots and martyrs" at the expense of many who, like Abbe Seyes, "survived."

Peter Auger. *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. ix + 268 pp. $94.00. Review by Paul J. Smith, Leiden University.

"The first time that I looked through Du Bartas' poetry, I was unsure what to make of it" (1), this is how Peter Auger begins his monograph on *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland*. This initial reader reaction is very recognizable: astonished that Du Bartas enjoyed an undeniable but inexplicable popularity well into the seventeenth century, present-day literary students view his poetry as compulsory

and boring reading, important only as source material for the big names: Sidney, Spenser, and of course Milton. Auger's learned and detailed, but accessible and well-written study arrives at a different, nuanced picture: the French poet is significant not only for the canonized literary greats, but also for entire generations of lesser-known scriptural and devotional writers (and readers). The vicissitudes of British poetry, subject to many changes in the fields of politics, religious belief and knowledge of the natural world, are, as Auger convincingly argues, reflected in the literary reception of Du Bartas' poetry. Auger takes up the plea that some other modern critics before him, such as Anne Lake Prescott, made in defence of Du Bartas. More in general: Auger's book summarizes what is already known, knows how to nuance or correct it where necessary, and adds a lot of new information and insights.

Auger's argument is carefully constructed. In his introduction, Auger characterizes Du Bartas as a "Calvinist humanist who synthesized sacred and secular literary forms" (11). His main works, *La Sepmaine* (The First Week of Creation) and the unfinished *Seconde Sepmaine*, are baroque poems, consisting of moralizing theological and natural-philosophical commonplaces with a unambiguous view of the two traditional Books: the Book of God—the Bible—and the Book of the World. The *Sepmaines* are written in a verbose epic style, characterized by stylistic peculiarities, such as redundant enumeration, abundant use of epithets, assonances, onomatopoeia, compounds, and morphological doubling (of the type "la flo-flottante Mer"). These poems can be read as encyclopaedic texts, which, despite their excessive *copia rerum* and *copia verborum*, remain as close as possible to the Biblical narrative, thereby proclaiming a vast but limited and univocal knowability of the world. Du Bartas' legacy is presented in eight chapters, equally divided into two parts of four chapters. Part I examines how the French poet is transformed into a "Jacobean Poet", first in Scotland, then in England. Part II, titled "Scriptural Poetry and the Self," addresses the varied readership of Du Bartas in the later seventeenth century, within rapidly changing socio-political, religious, poetical, and natural-philosophical contexts. In these chapters, which testify to careful reading, the reader is guided through the long history of reception of Du Bartas.

This reception is given a flying start by the mutual friendship between the poet and James VI of Scotland and I of England, a monarch who combined his poetic aspirations with his policy of rapprochement with the French Huguenots. For example, in a presentation manuscript, James received as a gift unpublished verses from Du Bartas' *Les Hymnes* (this manuscript was discovered by Auger, who has recently edited and published it, in collaboration with Denis Bjaï, in the collective volume *Ronsard and Du Bartas in Early Modern Europe* (2019)). James also wrote English poems in the vein of Du Bartas, and his poem *Lepantho* was translated from English into French by Du Bartas. Important to the royal aura with which Du Bartas' work was adorned was, according to Auger, *Bartasias*, a Latin translation of *La Sepmaine*, by the Dutch-Flemish Adriaan Damman, who worked in James' Scottish court. Several early Du Bartas translators are reviewed: John Elliot, William Lisle, Robert Ashly, Thomas Winter, as well as Philip Sidney, who translated *La Sepmaine*—Auger calls Sidney's lost translation 'one of the great missing works of sixteenth-century literature' (22). Sidney's attitude towards Du Bartas is intriguing. Auger interprets Sidney's later work, just as Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, as "counter readings" of Du Bartas.

Du Bartas' real breakthrough on British soil came with *Devine Weekes*, Joshua Sylvester's translation of the *Sepmaines*. Auger shows how Sylvester was able to transfer Du Bartas' poetics to a successful English-language format, by conforming to the king's taste, from the first version to the final version of his translation. Using well-chosen examples, Auger demonstrates how Sylvester differs from his fellow translators. One such example is the way in which Sylvester and Winter translated Du Bartas' verses 497–500 from the Third Day of *La Sepmaine*. However, it seems to me that Auger could have gone a step further in discussing this and other examples by not only looking at the differences, but also at the remarkable similarities between the translations. By means of a comparative close reading of the examples, one could see to what extent plagiarizing imitation (both Sylvester and Winter translate Du Bartas' "le Figue jette-laict" with "the milkie Figge"), or, alternatively, anxiety of influence (anxiety towards each other, and in relation to Du Bartas) play a role in their translations. Both literal imitation and anxiety of influence seem at work in the

translation of Du Bartas' "un plaisant renouveau", translated respectively as "a most delightfull Spring" (Sylvester) and "a pleasant spring" (Winter).

Part II reviews a large number of well-known and lesser-known poets, who, as Auger states in a Bartasian enumeration, "adapted, reshaped, repurposed, personized, supplemented, summarized, continued, recasted, expanded, reduced rescaled, transposed, modified, systematically quoted from, turned away from, and transformed *Devine Weekes*" (135). For example, two chapters, entitled "Patterns for Divine Poetry I and II", show how Du Bartas' scriptural poetry is internalized in personal devotional poetry. This occurs, for example, in the poetry of women poets, such as the well-known Anne Southwell and Anne Bradstreet, and the virtually unknown, but intriguing "Mary Roper", to whom Auger devotes only one paragraph (fortunately, Auger has recently discussed Roper in more detail in his contribution to the aforementioned publication *Ronsard and Du Bartas in Early Modern Europe*). Auger gives us a detailed account how changing political-religious and natural-philosophical perspectives influenced the way Du Bartas' scriptural poetry was read in the later seventeenth century. Auger devotes a compelling chapter, 'Writing for the Inner Eye,' to two renowned poets, both of whom, in their own way, critically incorporated *Devine Weekes* into their work. First, Milton, who alludes to Du Bartas/Sylvester's authoritarian, univocal and unambiguous discourse in order to question it precisely from a multiplicity of perspectives from multiple narrators—as Auger summarizes: "*Paradise Lost* recycles the ideas and narrative structures of *Devine Weekes*, rearranging and investing them with new meanings to incite the reader to more passionate intellection of divine and human matters" (201). By contrast, Lucy Hutchington's *Order and Disorder* harks back to Bartasian discourse, stripping it, where possible, of stylistic and natural history amplification, so as to get as close as possible to Genesis itself. At the same time, Auger suggests, Hutchington could have distanced herself from *Paradise Lost*, which she might have read in manuscript (201).

Auger's study ends with the chapter "Perspectives", which consists largely of a long enumeration of well-known and lesser-known Du Bartas readers up to the Romantic era. This chapter shows how di-

verse and far-reaching the influence of Du Bartas has been in Britain compared to Catholic France, where the memory of the Protestant Du Bartas was wiped out with the rise of French Classicism. The chapter also shows that there are still many avenues to explore. Auger is well aware of this (227): he indicates that further comparative reception research in Britain and contemporary Europe is a *desideratum*—Auger's book provides a good starting point for this. Another line of research he indicates is the relationship between *Devine Weekes* and emblem books. Both avenues could be nicely combined and extrapolated to the relationships with the visual arts in general: why are the British Du Bartas translations not illustrated, while several French and Dutch editions are? And returning to Mary Roper, the question of her use of existing illustrations is not addressed by Auger in his book, but it is in the aforementioned article by his hand. There are also avenues not mentioned by Auger: for example, Du Bartas' reception can now be further explored using MEDIATE, a recently developed database that provides access to a large number of digitized and searchable French, German, British and Dutch private library auction catalogues from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (https://mediate18.nl/?page=home). And finally, a question that personally intrigues me: what is the role of references to Du Bartas in British natural history? It is remarkable, for instance, that a number of Auger's examples relate specifically to ichthyology: quoted are some anonymous readers interested in fish (65, 120) and Izaak Walton, author of the well-known *Compleat Angler* (210). In short, Auger's compelling study, both scholarly and accessible, opens many doors to future research.

Abram C. Van Engen. *City on the Hill: A History of American Exceptionalism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020. ix + 379 pp. $32.00. Review by William J. Scheick, University of Texas at Austin.

Abram C. Van Engen compellingly probes the murky American canonization of a segment of *A Model of Christian Charity*, a 1630 sermon by John Winthrop. A mystery of sorts unfolds as Van Engen turns from surprising facts about the extant manuscript to nineteenth-

century collectors of this document, and then to twentieth-century historians' and politicians' increasing distortions of the meaning of this document.

Van Engen's revelations about the manuscript are sobering. It is a copy, not Winthrop's original. Its first two long sections are missing, presumably lost forever. The absence of these portions, informed by a distinctive Geneva Bible context, has unfortunately enabled latter-day misreadings of the sermon. The manuscript shows, as well, tinkering by other hands.

Equally sobering, Van Engen reveals that this sermon apparently left no lasting impression during Winthrop's time. In fact, it fell into obscurity for two hundred years. Only during the nineteenth century was the sermon (albeit not recognized as incomplete) recovered by Jeremy Belknap, Ebenezer Hazard and John Pintard)—regionally and religiously motivated archivists hoping to preserve Puritan history. Yet, even for them, Winthrop's sermon was little more than just another document added to the record.

In the flux of American culture so much gets cooptated, inverted or twisted inside-out. Van Engen deftly exposes another example of this phenomenon. During the Cold War, Winthrop's religious conception of freedom (expressed in the *Arabella* sermon) was antithetically contorted into a secular celebration of free enterprise. Likewise, during the Cold War important distinctions between the Pilgrims and the Puritans disappeared. The factuality of diverse American settlements morphed into a single, semi-imaginary New England place seemingly providing a stable, authenticating point of national origin.

Before the Pilgrims in Plymouth and the later Puritans in Boston, there were Englishmen in Jamestown, not to mention Spaniards in St. Augustine and Frenchmen in Quebec. Although American culture yearns for a higher principle than profit and greed for its origin narrative—and concocts an ideal start unsupported by actual New World events—it never escapes the bedrock of its economic foundational beginnings, including slavery.

As the Mayflower Compact gave way to Winthrop's *Arabella* sermon in the American effort to identify an authenticating high principle, distortions proliferated. With a clear Biblical context in mind, Winthrop emphasized a divinely ordained social hierarchy, communal

order, and financial interaction based on Christian charity. His allusion to a city on the hill (from the Sermon of the Mount) relied on Roman Catholic and Protestant precedents. He mentioned it simply in passing and so did not imply any new, specifically foundational meaning. Winthrop's vision featured only communal wellbeing, not individual enterprise.

Even so, as Van Engen convincingly shows, twentieth-century historians and politicians alike transformed that allusion into a politically useful trope. This relatively recent corruption of the manuscript, as it were, elevated Winthrop's once forgotten sermon into a document of national importance. In that document, defenders of American exceptionalism have found an authenticating point of origin that, it turns out, is just a mirage.

Reiner Smolinski and Kenneth P. Minkema, eds. *A Cotton Mather Reader*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2022. xxxvi + 392 pp. $80.00 (hardcover); $25.00 (paperback). Review by William J. Scheick, University of Texas at Austin.

In their introduction to wide-ranging selections from published works and manuscripts, Reiner Smolinski and Kenneth P. Minkema make no bones about their conviction that Cotton Mather "was the foremost scholar and innovative thinker of his generation in New England." They aim to biographically and historically resuscitate a reputation long defamed by pejoratively portrayed caricatures.

The trouble started during this Puritan minister's lifetime, with one disgruntled former parishioner even mockingly naming his dog Cotton Mather. Mather's entanglement in the tragically lethal persecution of Quakers and alleged witches remains well-known, and there were new-charter government warrants for his arrest on the charge of sedition.

On the other hand, Mather had plenty of local support. Some members of his church, for instance, paid printers to publish their pastor's sermons. Often, too, Boston printers bared the cost themselves whenever they surmised that profits could be made from Mather's sermons already popular among his parishioners.

With insightful introductions and helpful endnotes, the excepts in *A Cotton Mather Reader* are arranged by topic: autobiography, New England history, family, science, medicine, mercantilism, Biblical hermeneutics, the supernatural, slavery, captivity narratives, and pietism. Mather witnessed a changing world, readers learn, and he changed with it, sometimes serving as a pivotal figure. Complex ambivalence, for example, characterized Mather's thoughts about Blacks and Native Americans, with more sympathy for slaves than for the colonists' territorial adversaries.

The editors' judicious selections bolster their contention that "Mather was the first American polymath, equally at home in the wisdom of the ancients and moderns as he was in the Enlightenment debates in natural philosophy and the sciences." And the editors have painstakingly preserved italics, capitalization, and boldfacing as evidence of oral-delivery emphasis (though surely typesetters had a hand in choosing text-enhancing typeface variations).

A Cotton Mather Reader is a prodigious undertaking, resulting in a definitive model of its kind.

Francois Leguat, Jean-Michel Racault, ed. *Voyage et aventures en deux îles désertes des Indes orientales, suivi de* Henri Duquesne. Paolo Carile, ed. *Recueil de quelques mémoires pour l'établissement de l'île d'Éden*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2022. 488pp. €39.00. Review by Denis Grélé, The University Of Memphis.

Jean-Michel Racault, a well-known utopia scholar, and Paolo Carile, a specialist of forgotten French books present two texts published during the so called "Crisis of the European Conscience": *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat en deux îles désertes des Indes orientales* (1708) attributed to François Leguat and *Recueil de quelques mémoires pour l'établissement de l'île d'Eden* (1689) by Henri Duquesne. The first of the two texts retells the story of François Leguat (1637?–1735), a French Huguenot. Forced from France by Louis XIV's 1685 Édit de Fontainebleau revoking the 1598 Édit of Nantes that had allowed for religious tolerance in the kingdom, Leguat leaves first France and then Europe, attracted by the offer from the Dutch East India Company

(V.O.C) to become a colonist and build a settlement of French Protestants on the Île Bourbon (now known as La Réunion).

Unfortunately, the trip does not go as planned, and Leguat is forced to spend two years on the island of Rodrigues with seven of his companions. This sojourn has often been perceived by critics as a utopian moment. Rescued from the island by the Dutch, Leguat and some of his companions subsequently run into trouble with the governor of Mauritius over a piece of ambergris that they had found on a beach and sold illegally. Leguat ends up with some of his companions imprisoned on a small islet, the dystopian moment of his adventures. A few years later, Leguat is transferred to Batavia and is found innocent of all crimes by a Dutch tribunal. He then returns to Europe to write his memoirs.

Following Leguat's account are two texts ("annexes") describing the island of Rodrigues: Julien Tafforet, *Relation de l'île de Rodrigue* (1726) and an excerpt of *Voyage à Rodrigue* from the astronomer Pingret. In addition to supporting the veracity and accuracy of Leguat's tale, the point of these two texts is to illustrate progressive environmental deterioration after Leguat's departure and to reveal how quickly the over-exploitation of turtles used to fight scurvy on French navy ships and the introduction of new species (in particular, rats and then cats) had a disastrous effect on the island's flora and fauna.

In the well-documented introduction, Jean-Michel Racault skillfully stages the context and issues surrounding this book. Racault explains in detail the popular text's history and subsequent rewritings that ultimately condemned it to be classified as a work of fiction. Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, explains Racault, Geoffroy Atkinson, confronted with contrasting opinions on the validity of Leguat's text as a true travel narrative, decided to relegate it to a work of fiction, a label it retained until the end of the twentieth century among literature scholars. Racault demonstrates in his introduction that the text is not fictional and contradicts Geoffroy Atkinson's conclusion. Through careful textual analysis as well as citing historical accounts, Racault is able to show that Leguat's narrative should be taken seriously. The introduction also underlines the importance of the text for the study of Rodrigues' fauna and flora, giving ample notes to explain and clarify the many descriptions offered by Leguat.

Racault also explores the relationship that this text entertains with many other period works, showing the importance of Leguat's account and how well known it was in its day. The decision to include illustrations—fantasist for the most part—as well as the many poems that were part of the final edition published while the author was still alive, makes this new edition of the text valuable as much for the casual reader as the researcher.

Two minor issues can be noted with Racault's introduction. First, it tends to hyper focus on two aspects of the text, namely its utopian/dystopian characteristics, when one might argue that the utopian aspects of the first episode are less than evident. Leguat does not attempt to build an ideal society, and his experience could be better construed as a "robinsonade." The second issue lies with the tone at the end of the introduction, which is heavily inspired by literary ecocriticism about the evil of human colonization and interactions with the natural environment of Rodrigues. The discourse about the importance of nature conservation tends to become preachy, which was unnecessary since the two annexes at the end of Leguat's text clearly demonstrate the quick deterioration of Rodrigues' ecosystem.

The second part of this volume, *Recueil de quelques mémoires* (1689) of Duquesne, presented by Paolo Carile, contains four very short texts: a "mémoire" with an addition, a second "mémoire" and a description of the island of Éden. This text is a duplicate of the original 1689 edition available at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Offered as a pamphlet to attract colonists to the Île Bourbon (now known as la Réunion) to build a French Protestant community, the *Recueil* is simultaneously a piece of propaganda and a guide to build a colony based on Protestant principles. The reason for incorporating in one book these two texts that seem to have nothing in common (a travel narrative published in 1720–21 and the series of pamphlets to recruit colonists published in 1689), becomes self-evident in the introduction. As Carile explains, Duquesne, profoundly shaken by the Édit de Fontainebleau, decides to help his fellow co-religionaries by launching an expedition to create an ideal Protestant republic on Île Bourbon. To recruit colonists, he publishes a series of pamphlets that will become the *Recueil de quelques mémoires pour l'établissement de l'île d'Eden*. Unfortunately, the venture is less than successful and

only one boat, the *Hirondelle,* on which Leguat is a passenger, leaves the United Provinces, not to the Île Bourbon as expected, but to the Rodrigues. Carile replaces the text in the historical context of the Protestant diaspora after the Édit de Fontainebleau as well as in the bigger utopian perspective. His introduction, which insists on the two main literary interest of these short texts, the utopian and religious aspect of the *Recueil*, is short and to the point and summarizes beautifully the political climate following the revocation of the Édit de Nantes.

A solid bibliography on utopias, on the history of the island of Rodrigues, and on the history of seventeenth-century French Protestantism is also included at the end of the book as well as a glossary of seventeenth-century expressions that may be unknown to the reader.

Jennifer Eun-Jung Row. *Queer Velocities: Time, Sex, and Biopower on the Early Modern Stage*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2022. 240pp. Paperback $34.95, Hardcover $99.95. Review by Theresa Varney Kennedy, Baylor University.

Jennifer Eun-Jung Row's first monograph, *Queer Velocities*, is a brilliant contribution to the field of early modern studies. *Queer Velocities* convincingly argues that neoclassical French theater, because of its distinctive set of aesthetic rules and restrictions, is an important vehicle through which to observe the manifestation of what she identifies as "queer velocities," or "a tempo with a directional component" (167) characterized by a series of slowing downs, hastenings, and "chrono-mashups" producing erotic affects that temporarily disrupt the "progressive, continual nature" of Foucauldian biopower amidst moments of Muñozian utopia (6, 10–11, 167). Row's queer interpretation of neoclassical French tragedy seeks to move "beyond an identity-driven approach to premodern sexualities" to emphasize queer ways of experiencing and fashioning temporality "that did not necessarily lead to the establishment of fixedly transgressive forms of subjectivity" (7, 8). Row courageously strives to use seventeenth-century French literature to "impact queer theory, instead of merely being satisfied with queering French literature" (x). Row's most notable contribution to queer theory's debates on temporality resides in placing the

emphasis on *tempo* and its affordances for disrupting straight time, or chrononormativity. Her readings reveal "desires that fail to conform to temporal norms, eliciting rushing or slowness that jars against prescriptive rhythms or deviates from heteroreproductive norms" (7). Row's analyses demonstrate the moments in which slowness or speed allows characters to indulge in "unruly feeling, nonnormative relationships, or attachments to objects, same-sex friends, or even queer triangles" (167). Discontent with both Edelmanian queer antirelationality—an "antisociality that rejects futurity"—and "the settledness of the present" (167), *Queer velocities* reflects the "changing social and subjective experience of temporality, of a world in flux" (19) and highlight the "waywardness that unsettles the phenomenology, assumptions, and values associated with and produced by 'straight time'" (167). Row's close readings and analyses draw on the fields of physics, mathematics, and music theory, amongst others, to exemplify a different kind of queer velocity in each chapter.

Chapter 1 "The Queer Disunity of Time or the Affective Temporal Affordances of *Le Cid*" focuses on *zeugma* (a "figure of speed") and collapse (52, 53), drawing attention to improper or "queer" affective temporalities in Pierre Corneille's famous tragicomedy, *Le Cid* (1636). Row convincingly argues that "variation and varying temporal intensities" are all "afforded" by the twenty-four-hour window and do not necessarily subvert the unity of time in this play. Row maintains that in *Le Cid*, queer velocities sometimes veer towards "feminist ends" that "proliferate within the obedience to the rule" (48, 49). In her fascinating reading of Chimène, Row argues that the heroine's manipulation of velocities is precisely what affords her an expression of power in a "social situation that should have reduced her to powerlessness—without a father to guide her or her husband to defend her" (49). Even in her grief, Chimène's "pushback" is to "use speeds and slowness to her advantage" (50). Chimène's long, drawn-out, graphic narrative recounting the death of her father—a retelling that reads "strange" in the mouth of an honest young woman of noble blood—gains her the king's sympathetic ear and a captive audience.

Chapter 2 "Animate Ashes: The Time of Ruins and Remains in *Andromaque*" explores Andromaque's attachment to her husband's ashes in view of *catachrésis's* queer animacy. Row's approach to reading Jean

Racine's *Andromaque* (1667) is innovative and challenges normative interpretations of this canonical play. Unlike scholars such as Roland Barthes—quick to criticize Andromaque's hesitation in deciding the fate of herself and her child (at the moment when Pyrrhus threatens Andromaque with an ultimatum: either marry him or he will surrender the child to Oreste and the Greeks)—Row does not see this delay as negative. Instead, she argues that the delay empowers Andromaque and gives the heroine space and time to engage with the ashes of her dead husband. Slowing down the action enables her to offer a "limital suspension in which an ash-oriented love can flourish" (70).

Chapter 3 "*Polyeucte* and the Speeds of Sects (Sex)" explores *paronomasia* and *metalepsis* to articulate same-sex intimacy as it is revealed in Corneille's martyr tragedy *Polyeucte* (1643). Row argues that this particularly "queer version of Christian passion" emerges out of Polyeucte and Néarque's mutual love for one another—a love that leads the two Christian men "to stray from and to disrupt the normative, colonial, religious, and political management of heteroreproductive life" (91). Row makes a poignant observation about how the word "sect" is used to refer to Polyeucte and Néarque's religious identity throughout the play "in the same way that one might speak of marginalized identity groups in modern homophobic language" (111). Row demonstrates how Corneille's *paronomastic* doubling of "sect" and "sex" depicts religious fervor as a new kind of "lawlessness" that destabilized the "biopolitical maintenance of life through genealogical reproduction" (123). Row's ground-breaking reading of the play echoes Brigitte Jaques-Wajeman's 2017 staging of Corneille's play, which casts Polyeucte as a religious terrorist.

Chapter 4 "Circling the Hymen: The Temporality of Dilation in *Bérénice*" explores the overabundance of rhetorical *chreia* in Jean Racine's *Bérénice* (1670). While Racine's contemporaries critiqued Antiochus—in love with his best friend Titus's lover Bérénice—as a superfluous character who merely functioned to expand the action to a full five-act play, Racine insisted that Antiochus played an important role because he opened and closed the drama. Row's queer reading of Antiochus is a much more convincing argument than Racine's; she maintains that Antiochus serves to "sustain" the action and the conflict rather than simply open and close the drama. For Row, Antiochus

"acts as a prism or even an erotic conduit through which Titus's and Bérénice's love can be measured, articulated, and witnessed—and held in perpetual deferral" (129). Her unique reading characterizes the dynamics of this polyamorous threesome—Bérénice, Titus, and Antiochus—as a temporality that is "dilated" or "undecided, repetitive, yet full of possibilities" (130).

Theoretically sound and beautifully written, Row's book compellingly demonstrates that queer velocities were prevalent in even the most successful canonical plays. The author's thought-provoking study leaves us with room to explore other questions: how did queer velocities manifest themselves in the popular neoclassical forms of comedy, in French baroque tragicomedies, pastorals, court ballets, and in other dramatic genres? Or in those composed by women playwrights? Row has opened the door to a fresh, new avenue for investigating early modern theatrical culture's full impact on the development of chronobiopower in French dramatic genres. *Queer Velocities* is a stimulating read for any scholars or students who are interested in expanding their knowledge and exploring the combined fields of Gender Studies, Queer Studies, and French theater.

Philippe Quinault. William Brooks and Buford Norman, eds. *Théâtre complet. Tome IV. Tragi-comédies historiques.* Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2022. 613pp. 48€. Review by Esther Van Dyke, Independent Scholar.

Sometimes a book takes us by surprise. Reading Williams Brooks and Buford Norman's critical edition of Quinault's historical tragicomedies was such an experience for me. Quinault is not one of the three typical playwrights most often read in seventeenth-century studies. When he is mentioned, his reputation for love-besotted alexandrines given to him by his contemporaries Boileau and Racine, tends to dominate. But Brooks and Norman's critical edition of his works focuses on giving Quinault his due. Their careful and thorough approach enables both scholars and students of Quinault to discover more about this seminal seventeenth-century author.

The book, volume four in a series covering Quinault's complete works, addresses the five tragicomedies written from 1657–1662. As it is not the first volume in the series, the editors begin the work with a brief note on editorial choices rather than a general introduction. The rest of the book has the following layout: each play is introduced with a lengthy critical overlook that covers not only valuable historical context, but also a perspicuous analysis of literary themes covered in the plays, character development, the question of genre, and source material. Each play's introduction is followed by a short editorial explanation of the choice of original texts used for the critical edition. After this meta-material, the editors include the play's dedicatory letter, the royal printing privilege, the text of the play, and finally a page or two of variations between the original first editions. I especially appreciated the editorial choice to include the variations at the end of the play rather than in the footnotes of the text, for that kept the footnotes minimal and uncluttered. Finally, after the plays, the editors include a glossary of seventeenth-century terminology, a critical bibliography, and the ever-necessary table of contents.

The first play, *Amalasonte* (performed in 1657 and published in 1658), is a tragicomedy set in Rome, which tells the story of the eponymous character, queen of the Goths. Amalasonte loves Théodat but believes him to be not only her political enemy who has colluded with her adversary Justinian, but who is also wooing her rival Amalfrède. Amalfrède's brother, Clodésile, and his friend Arsamon conspire to assassinate Théodat thinking it will win Clodésile the approval and possibly the love of the betrayed queen. Through a series of unexpected events, Clodésile is killed, but it is untruthfully reported to the queen that Théodat has died. The queen mourns her lover as Amalfrède confesses both her brother's plot to assassinate Théodat, and her own part in making the queen believe that Théodat has been unfaithful. Amalfrède dies, poisoned by her own hand before the queen can enact justice upon her. In a sudden *coup de théâtre*, Théodat appears on stage, the lovers are reunited, and all is forgiven. As the editors point out in their introduction, this play is complicated in terms of genre. In order to adhere to seventeenth-century genre sensibilities, this play was labeled a tragicomedy since the main characters are united at the end despite the tragic death of several secondary characters. A true tragedy

would have had to end with the death (or separation) of the lovers.

The second play, *Le Feint Alcibiade* (performed and printed in 1658), follows the story of Alcibiade, exiled from Athens and accused by Agis, the king of Sparta, of wooing his wife, Timée. In reality, Alcibiade's twin sister, Cléone, is impersonating her brother in order to win back the love of Lisandre. Through partial revelations and half-told truths, Alcibiade/Cléone manages to keep her secret until the end at which she reveals all to the king and is united with her lover Lisandre. As Brooks and Norman indicate, this play is an example of Quinault's story-telling power, his reliance on sources is minimal, but he holds the audience's attention through intrigue and constant plot reversal.

The third play, *Le Mariage de Cambise* (performed in 1658 and printed in 1659), is another story based on false identity, but this time hidden from the audience as well as the characters. Cambise, king of Persia, has gotten religious permission to marry his sister, Atosse. However, the beautiful Aristonne comes to his court accompanied by her mother, Palmis, and Cambise changes his mind. Aristonne's brother Darius also comes to court and promises Cambise his loyalty. Cambise asks Darius to tell Aristonne of the king's love and to get her pledge of love in return. Unbeknownst to Aristonne and Darius, they each harbor what they think is an incestuous love for the other. The (tragi)comedy of errors ends when Palmis reveals that she, acting on the wishes of Cambise's mother, had switched places of her own daughter Atosse with that of the queen's daughter, Aristonne. Darius and his love are thus allowed to marry, and Cambise must be content with his original choice of Atosse, albeit this time not tainted with incest, religiously permitted or otherwise. As the editors indicate, the amorous intrigue of the play serves to enhance the political side of things.

The fourth play, *Stratonice* (performed and printed in 1660) is a complicated love story in which Séleucus, king of Syria, is pledged in an alliance marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of king of Macedonia. But Séleucus secretly loves Barsine, whom he has promised to his son Antiochus. Antiochus, on the other hand, is dying (literally) for love of Stratonice. Barsine convinces Séleucus that she loves him (although secretly motivated by the crown), while Stratonice pretends violent hatred for Antiochus to conceal her own love for the prince. When

Antiochus attempts suicide in despair, Stratonice finally admits her love for him, and Séleucus abdicates the crown to his son to fulfill the marriage alliance between the king of Macedonia and Persia. Traditionally, scholars cite *Stratonice's* focus on love and minimal action as having earned Quinault his reputation as a *tendre* author with Boileau. The editors take issue with this, but I find their argument somewhat unconvincing. They argue that since this reputation is based on Boileau's friend Brosset's recollection rather than any direct evidence in Boileau's writing, it must not be true. This feels a bit speculative and rather like the editors were attempting to deny the reputation Boileau gave Quinault. They should have defended Quinault's strength as an excellent writer of love-intrigue and insisted that modern readers should not underestimate Quinault's abilities, regardless of Boileau's scathing satire.

The final play, *Agrippa* (performed in 1662 and published in 1663), is another story of mistaken identity, this time with significant political repercussions. The main character Agrippa, with the urging of his father, has assumed the identity of the dead Tibérinus, king of Albe, and faked his own death at the hands of Tibérinus. Everyone, including Agrippa's former lover, Lavinie, views the so-called "Tibérinus" as an awful tyrant. Agrippa, unable to withstand Lavinie's hate, admits his identity, but his father Tirrhène convinces her that Agrippa is lying. Tibérinus' rightful heir, Mézence, conspires with Lavinie to assassinate the king. Their apparent success forces Agrippa's father to admit the truth to Lavinie and to wallow in agony for a few scenes before Agrippa is led alive to the stage by his sister (and Tibérinus' former lover) Albine, who had saved him. Mézence is killed in the skirmish, and Agrippa is rightfully in line to be king. Although the play ends happily, as the editors point out, the emotional strife that occurs because of the complex political undertones make *Agrippa* more of a tragedy that Quinault's previous plays.

Overall, the layout of the edition is clear and appealing. The line setting and the footnote spacing are not crowded and allow for a very easy reading experience. Most of the spelling changes (or lack thereof) are explained and justified both in the editors' note at the beginning, and in the footnotes throughout. I found Brooks and Buford's footnotes in the volume helpful. Occasionally they repeated themselves,

such as commenting multiple times on the four-syllable *diarèse* of *inquiète* (295), but for the most part their observations were accurate and thorough. Several grammatical observations were particularly helpful, such as the not uncommon dropping of the "ne" even in the 17th century (as explained in footnote 42 on p. 117).

I only found one editorial choice unsettling. Throughout their introductions, the editors made several allusions to Quinault's characters without bibliographic reference. The assumption is that the reader is someone like me who is reading straight through the text and will be familiar enough with Quinault's works to remember the key characters from the preceding plays in the volume. However, this approach is not helpful for someone who is reading a play in isolation or who is not fully familiar with Quinault's corpus. Apart from this, however, the volume is very helpful and will be a vital tool for scholars of seventeenth-century literature.

Raymond Poisson. *Théâtre complet*. Marie-Claude Canova-Green and Suzanne Jones, eds. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2022. 1105 pp. 89€. Review by Perry Gethner, Oklahoma State University.

Raymond Poisson was one of a number of actor/authors working in France during the time of Molière. As an actor with a long career (1650–1685), he was widely acclaimed for farcical valet parts, becoming mainly associated with the character type Crispin. He was a competitor, rather than a friend, of Molière, since he worked at the rival Hôtel de Bourgogne troupe starting in 1660, following a start in small touring companies. He would go on to join the Comédie-Française after the merger of Parisian troupes in 1680. Like his fellow actor/authors, he composed his plays for the troupes to which he belonged, and these were all comedies, mostly afterpieces in one or three acts. His plays were so successful that he published all of them individually, then published collections of his complete works starting in 1678. Several of the plays would remain in the repertory of the Comédie well into the following century, and the protagonist of one of them, the Baron de La Crasse, would become a proverbial figure. However, Poisson's superficiality, as well as the highly topical nature of some of

his comedies, finally caused him to fade into obscurity. Several of the plays have previously received scholarly editions, but this is the first complete edition of the full corpus since the seventeenth century.

Poisson's greatest strength was his ability to write funny scenes, frequently moving into the realm of the outrageous. His background in farce shows especially in several early plays that are composed in *octosyllabes* and rely to a large extent on physical humor. Several of the comedies have documentary value, either as slice-of-life sketches of provincial characters and locales (automatically foolish for Parisians) or satire, both literary and political. Because his plays were intended as mere entertainment, audiences were willing to overlook his main deficiencies, especially substandard plot construction and weak characterization, often moving into caricature. The fact that Poisson lacked the profound humanity of a Molière or the stylistic verve of a Regnard may disappoint the modern reader but did not bother his original audiences.

Poisson's corpus of nine plays is remarkably diverse in sources, themes, and techniques. For example, he was willing to revive formulas associated with the baroque that had faded in popularity. These include the play-within-a-play, paired in one case with the *comédie des comédiens* framing device; the setting of a comedy inside a madhouse, with primary emphasis on the lunacy into which skilled practitioners of the arts may fall, but largely ignoring the metaphorical aspects (life itself as a kind of madness); allegorical plots used for satire. At the same time, he could anticipate future trends in comedy, especially in the cynical portrayal of marriage in *Les Femmes coquettes*, though all the blame for such vices as hypocrisy, snobbery and lavish expenditure is unfairly placed on the women alone. His wide range of targets includes foreigners and people from the provinces (complete with bad accents and bad grammar), gamblers, thieves, and people from the artistic community (poets and performers, pretentious but ignorant patrons). Like Molière, he sometimes resorts to crude effects, such as beatings and scatological humor, and, like most of his contemporaries, he treats the insane, sick, and disabled with no sympathy.

One of the strengths of this edition is the inclusion of the music used in the original productions, compiled and edited by Naomi Matsumoto. To facilitate performance today, she has modernized

clefs and time signatures. Remarkably, nearly all the music has been identified and recovered. Poisson adapted the stand-alone songs from existing popular songs, but not always in full or with the same titles, so locating the right music required much digging in period collections of airs, both published and manuscript. (Only a small percentage of this research had been done previously.) In two cases, the music was newly composed: Lully provided the score for the *mascarade* into which *L'Après-soupé des auberges* was originally inserted, and *Les Fous divertissants*, which is essentially a comedy-ballet, has extensive vocal and instrumental music by Charpentier. Since the Lully score was not published separately, the individual numbers had to be gleaned from other surviving Lully manuscripts in which they were reused. Poisson incorporated songs and/or dances into nearly all his comedies, so he clearly viewed those arts as essential to his concept of total entertainment.

Another useful feature of this edition is the listing of all known performances of Poisson plays, compiled by Suzanne Jones. This table, using information drawn from records kept by theatrical companies, as well as gazettes and memoirs, noting the place and troupe, plus number of performances, if known, and going up to 1763 (when the most successful comedy, *Le Baron de la Crasse*, finally dropped out of sight), reveals how different types and generations of audiences reacted to plays designed to be mere ephemeral amusement. Not surprisingly, plays that were entirely farcical or dealt with political affairs of the moment disappeared very quickly, whereas those that contained aspects of *comédie de mœurs* had a longer life span.

Marie-Claude Canova-Green provided the general introduction, plus the introductions to the nine individual plays, the textual apparatus, and the annotations. The introductions are excellent, giving all the relevant historical background and examining all the specific aspects of the plays that make them of interest to the modern reader. She gives full explanations of the numerous cultural references and archaic or technical expressions, plus foreign words and patois. However, the presentation of the texts could have used more care. Lines of verse that are divided among multiple characters do not always receive the requisite indentation; most of the *vers faux* are not indicated in the notes, and the largest group (involving the distinctions *encor*/

encore and *avec*/*avecque*) should have been automatically corrected; occasionally a speech is assigned to the wrong character.

In sum, this is a welcome addition to Classiques Garnier's series of neglected French playwrights. Poisson's status as a minor playwright remains unchanged, but he is fun to read and has real historical importance.

Vittorio Frajese. *Une histoire homosexuelle: Paolo Sarpi et la recherche de l'individu à Venise au XVIIe siècle*. Julia Castiglione, trans. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2023. 132 pp. 25€. Review by SHANNON MCHUGH, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON.

Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) was a Venetian prelate, theologian, and jurist. His intellectual interests also ranged to mathematics and science, and he was a friend and interlocutor of Galileo's. Having entered the Servite Order at the age of fourteen, he lived over fifty years in relative peace before finding himself one of the most high-profile enemies of the papacy of the Counter-Reformation (or Catholic Reformation). By early 1606, the Catholic Church's discontent with Venetian clergy had culminated in Pope Paul V's Interdict against the Republic. Sarpi was called upon by the Venetian Senate to weigh in; his trenchant writings resulted in his excommunication in 1607. The next decade would see Sarpi's completion of the *History of the Council of Trent*, a work that condemned papal monarchism and denounced the Church's decades-long reform efforts as a "deformation."

Sarpi's writings have long fascinated historians, evoking an array of interpretations of his religious and philosophical beliefs: from skeptical to libertine, proto-Protestant to atheistic. For the last half-century, his most public texts have been increasingly studied alongside his more private, unpublished writings—especially his *Pensieri medico-morali* and *Pensieri sulla religione*, both published for the first time only in 1969. Such examinations have served to nuance scholarly understanding of the writings published during Sarpi's lifetime and of his larger worldview.

Vittorio Frajese's new study, *Une histoire homosexuelle: Paolo Sarpi et la recherche de l'individu à Venise au XVIIe siècle*, does something new:

it looks to use Sarpi's sexuality to shed light on his oeuvre. Though it can be something of a tightrope act to bring biography into textual interpretation (one thinks of Benedetto Croce's much-criticized model of *scrittura femminile*), Frajese works to provide evidence that strongly implies Sarpi's homosexual desires and practices—not only a denunciation from a papal spy, but also a contemporaneous biography written by his fellow monk and acolyte Fulgenzio Micanzio—and to corroborate those readings with documentation of the same-sex proclivities of men in Sarpi's circle, as well as of other prominent Italians. Frajese then uses this aspect of Sarpi's private life to reconsider his writings, especially as they pertain to his thinking on the individual's right to autonomy.

Une histoire homosexuelle, which expands upon several articles published by Frajese in the last few years, is eminently readable: short (the main body of the work comes in at a little over 100 pages) but incisive, with a clear and eloquent French translation of Frajese's Italian by Julia Castiglione. Divided into six chapters with introduction and conclusion, the study focuses on the years of Sarpi's sustained altercation with the Church and his brush with the Inquisition. The first two chapters narrate the intrusion into Sarpi's life of the pope's network of spies, including the damning report of Giovan Francesco Graziani, a document now held in the British Library. The central chapters use various textual and cultural clues to contextualize Sarpi's beliefs: Micanzio's biography; broader sexual mores in Venice; Sarpi's own writings (in particular, his *Pensieri medico-morali*, placed in conversation with writings by such figures as Michel de Montaigne and the salacious Antonio Rocco); and Sarpi's personal networks. The last chapter covers his ultimate evasion of Inquisitional punishment.

One of the strengths of the study is that it adds a genuinely new dimension to scholarly conversation around this major historical figure, not to mention to emerging discussions of the period more broadly. Though gendered studies on women's lives in the Counter-Reformation are abundant, masculinity studies for this era are only beginning to emerge (see, for example, Mary Laven's discussion of the discrepancy in the introduction to *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation* of 2013). Frajese's book does not explicitly mention masculinity studies, nor does it incorporate gendered studies

on such contemporary male writers as Torquato Tasso, Angelo Grillo, and Giambattista Marino (though the latter figure is discussed in the fifth chapter). However, Frajese's work is implicitly in dialogue with such research, especially given his inclusion of literary texts to flesh out the historical record around Sarpi, and his book will be useful to scholars working on such writers and themes.

Another virtue of the book is that, in the face of the balancing act of authorial biography and literary interpretation, Frajese's close focus on text makes his analysis feel well-grounded for the most part, especially when he is focused on Sarpi's own writing. Scholars of gender and sexuality studies will only wish that the depths of those evocative textual moments had been plumbed even more fully, with the tools provided by other analyses of same-sex sexuality in early modern Italy and France, whether historical (Michael Rocke, Gary Ferguson) or literary (Todd Reeser). Even more exciting would have been an engagement with scholarship that urges against overreading early modern sexual identity. Carla Freccero's *Queer/Early/Modern* (2006) comes to mind, which argues that, "in pursuing the truth of [historical] persons through sex," scholars are at risk of producing a study that works against its own disruptive goals—that "categorizes and thus also 'manages' persons on the basis of (sexual) identity" (7).

Une histoire homosexuelle will be of interest to scholars working on Sarpi and on Counter-Reformation history, philosophy, and theology, as well as to historians and literary scholars working on early modern gender and sexuality. There will certainly be skeptics who think Frajese's approach is not relevant to an understanding of Sarpi's writings. Personally, I am not so interested in categorizing Sarpi's sexuality as I am fascinated by the potential that a case study of this sort holds for the study of gendered lives in the Counter-Reformation. The intellectual openness encouraged by rethinking Sarpi in this manner demonstrates how lenses like masculinity and desire can help us see more clearly the ways in which even the most canonical of early modern writers engaged with their tumultuous world.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Vol. 71, Nos. 1 & 2. Jointly with SCN. NLN is the official publication of the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies. Edited by Patrick M. Owens, Academia Latinitatis Fovendae; Former Editor: Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University; Founding Editors: James R. Naiden, Southern Oregon University, and J. Max Patrick.

† It is with great sadness that we report the passing of Craig Kallendorf on January 31, 2023. Dr. Kallendorf was Professor of English and Classics at Texas A&M. He edited *Neo-Latin News* for twenty years, during which time he contributed more than two hundred reviews. He was an erudite and prolific scholar of Neo-Latin literature and especially of Virgilian reception. Dr. Kallendorf will be greatly missed by his students, colleagues, friends, and family.

♦ Isabella Walser-Bürgler, *Europe and Europeanness in Early Modern Latin Literature*. Fuitne Europa tunc unita? (Latinity and Classical Reception in the Early Modern Period) (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2021). VII + 135 pages. $94. Much research has been devoted to the notions of Europe and Europeanness from a historical or literary perspective. But the overwhelmingly rich Neo-Latin heritage has been too often overlooked, even if many readers will be familiar with some of Erasmus's relevant views or statements, such as "Ego mundi civis esse cupio". Isabella Walser-Bürgler thus fills a gap by focusing on what modern Latin sources can teach us about these topics.

Having outlined the traditional discourse on Europeanness and the questions that are usually tackled in this respect, Walser-Bürgler notes that the legacy of the ancient Roman empire (in law, administration, intellectual and literary life), the Romance languages, scions of ancient colloquial Latin, and Western Christendom with its focus on Latin as a liturgical language, are considered the pivotal elements explaining a certain degree of European unity. She then brings in Neo-Latin literature and modern Latin texts as paramount factors of unification: for

the idea of a common Europeanness was dealt with and propagated in a great variety of Latin texts (novels, dramas, poems, treatises and treaties, dissertations and orations, Latin correspondences, etc.) and the very vehicle of these texts itself, that is, the Latin language, also contributed to creating an ever stronger European awareness. Hence, exploring how notions of common European values are discussed in a representative selection of hitherto largely neglected texts written in different European countries (non-European authors do not seem to have reflected on Europeanness in Latin) is the scope of the present study. In a first step the author reminds the reader of the ubiquity, in Early Modern Europe, of Latin as the carrier of European culture and a means of supranational and almost universal communication. In the second chapter, Walser-Bürgler discusses the pre-Renaissance views of Europe, concluding that until the Middle Ages there was hardly a notion of cultural, political and ideological solidarity among the Europeans. The emergence of a crisis in European society (the exploration of new countries and continents, for instance) made cultural pluralism very perceivable, and opened Europeans' eyes to a sense of continental unity and togetherness, whereas the religious conflicts of the sixteenth century led Europeans to go in search for secular elements of Europeanness. The author then examines the main concepts of Europeanness one can find in Neo-Latin texts. The first is Europe's coherence as a 'respublica christiana', brought about by the Ottoman incursions and provoking a common position against an external enemy; here Enea Silvio Piccolimini (Pope Pius II) is justly considered a crucial defender of Europe as a continent of 'socii'; the ensuing religious strife of the sixteenth century, however, made it clear that the Europeans did not manage to overcome their internal conflicts. Secondly, the author pays attention to the (sixteenth-century) idea of a possible 'European monarchy': some thinkers, indeed, pled in favour of a pan-European peace, believing that the unification of Europe under one dynastic power (a Habsburg ruler in the eyes of some Germans, the English king for an English humanist, etc.) could put an end to the internal European struggles. The many ongoing wars of the seventeenth century made this dream fall to pieces. From then on, intellectuals would rather pay attention to propagating the idea of a pluralistic and balanced concept of Europe, excluding the

superiority of one of the European nations and stressing the interdependency of Europe's various countries. These ideas were expanded, *i.a.*, by John Barclay in his *Icon animorum*. This was predicated on the notion of a European continent (almost always depicted as standing on the summit of civilisation) sharing the same culture, which goes back to early Italian humanism. Finally, Walser-Bürgler deals with the well-known concept of the Respublica literaria (thus called since the fifteenth-century humanist Francesco Barbaro), the only project of European integration that really came into being, as Walser-Bürgler remarks: Europe as a world of letters and texts, and as a community bringing together the intellectuals of Europe in an egalitarian, cooperating and (mostly) peaceful international network of shared values.

Walser-Bürgler has been working and publishing on these themes for a number of years now; therefore, no one could be better placed to author this concise, yet condensed and solid survey, which on every page gives evidence of a thoughtful approach and of a sound knowledge of modern scholarly literature. She enriches the current debates on Europe and Europeanness with a wealth of Neo-Latin texts, written by either well-known Neo-Latin writers such as Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), Erasmus, Vives, Comenius and Leibniz, or hitherto hardly explored authors of relevant treatises and poems (such as the physician Andrés Laguna or the poet Johann Joachim Rusdorf). She rightly pays much attention to the historical contexts in which certain texts and tendencies emerged. Some extracts from Neo-Latin sources, presented in Latin and in English translations (in the quote on p. 100, read 'quam Deus' instead of 'qua Deus'), give a very concrete life to these historical texts. A full list of primary and secondary literature rounds off the volume. *Tolle, lege!* (Dirk Sacré, K.U. Leuven)

♦ *Conversations Classical and Renaissance Intertextuality*, Edited by Syrithe Pugh. Manchester University Press, Manchester 2020. 272 pages. $120. Effectively the Acta of a symposium entitled "Reviving the Dead" dedicated to classical reception in seventeenth-century English literature, this book is nevertheless a burgeoning foray into, and overview of intertextuality as used in and among classical Greek, Latin (including Italian) and English writers. The introduction or

'conversation' (1–30) by Syrithe Pugh unabashedly sets the stage for masterful analyses in and across linguistic (and departmental) borders by initially touching upon poetic competition, that is, *sodales* writing on like topics notwithstanding the obvious differences in time and space. Anacreon and Horace are her starting point, but in this very vein we might also think of Castiglione and Maddaeleni de' Capodiferro, Spenser and Shelley (analyzed *infra*), and many others. She then explores the early-modern understanding of imitation by forcing scholarship to look again at two of Petrarch's many penfriends, namely Cicero and Seneca. From the discovery of Cicero's *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, *Ad Brutum* etc in the chapter library in Verona in 1345 to the top of Mont Ventoux, Pugh sees Petrarch as now authorized to enter into conversation with the ancients (to which we might also hasten to add with Posterity). The 'gossipy' nature of Cicero's familiar letters might have been teased out more clearly on her part, inasmuch as it the less solemn Cicero, compared to the author of the *Tuscolanae* and *Orationes* etc, who effectively authorizes Petrarch in this light, but the fact remains that this does indeed become the basis for Petrarchan, therefore, Humanistic, imitation. Similarly on Petrarch regarding that first *Epistola familiaris* (*Fam*. 24, 3) to Cicero. When intuiting the extremely personal meaning of the phrase that Petrarch inserts in the eschatocollon, that is, «... of the God whom thou never knewest», Pugh's argument might have emerged more strongly yet by extending her analysis to that other much-explored dimension in Petrarchan imitation (both indirect and indirect, filtering etc), the never-explicitly cited Dante. The fact that this very phrase is possibly the first ever translation into vernacular of a line from the *Comedy*, that is, *Inf.* I 131: «per quello Dio che tu non conoscesti», Petrarch emerges rather poignantly as familiar with Cicero as Dante is with Virgil. Pugh, however, goes on to make a strong argument for the importance of Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius*, especially *Epist*. 79 describing the attempt to climb Mt. Aetna (though, unlike Lucilius, Petrarch is in the company of a significant other, his brother). She then rightly concludes that Petrarch's syncretic weave of sources (Christian and non-Christian) seeks to overcome conflict and contradiction, even concerning the Lucretian echoes. In a racey modern English translation of Seneca, what emerges with extreme clarity is the highly allegorical and literary

nature of Petrarch's ascent and, most importantly regarding Petrarch's companion in mountaineering exploits, the fact that arrival at the summit does indeed equate both styles of climbing (Gherardo representing traditional monasticism, Petrarch Humanism). On the former attempts, Philip of Macedon and Hannibal may possibly be, as Pugh asserts, the very opposite of the stoic sage as indeed they do seem to be in the *Natural Questions*, but placed by Petrarch in a triplet with the exiled Ovid, perhaps they more simply and tellingly represent here the strong desire to conquer or return to Rome or *Romanitas*. Despite the obvious strictures of space and thematic appropriateness within an Introduction, Pugh leaves the reader wanting to know more about the 'Senecan' nature of both Petrarch's Augustinus in the *Secretum* and the Augustinian Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, addressee of the *Fam.* IV 1, especially in light of the *sortes* at the summit, as it is this very 'Senecan' Augustine who, in her opinion, emerges as less the lens (as Alexander Lee posits) than a bridge between classical and Christian culture.

Philip Hardie, "Flying with the Immortals: reaching for the sky in classical and Renaissance poets", pages 31–54. The thread running through this chapter is not catabasis but 'soaring into the skies', in other words, how to procure lost-lasting fame after death. Typically this occurs on the lips of men (Ovid *met.*: Pers. *prol.*), in bronze (Hor.) or in flight (Enn. «volito vivus»), through which Hardie explains not only the plight of Lucretius (failed flight as in Ovid's Phaeton story), but also Raphael's *Parnassus* and Ingres. In this very light Hardie then discusses Spenser's *The Ruines of Time* on Sidney's death as a re-working of Virgil's fifth eclogue. A parallel then ensues with Dante's journey through the heavenly spheres and Ariosto's parody of the same, where Astolfo travels to the Moon on a hippogryph. Hardie ends his chapter discussing *Paradise Lost* as "criss-crossed by numerous ascents and descents" as in Jacob's ladder, sometimes even sideways, a foray, in other words, into Milton's own rich concept of intertextuality.

Stephen Hinds, "In and out of Latin: diptych and virtual diptych in Marvell, Milton, du Bellay and others", pages 32–55. Diptychs or 'poetic pairs' are the object of this delightfully learned chapter. Here Hinds explores near translations between Latin and English by the same author, a practice essentially developing from two-way transla-

tion exercises both at school and in diplomacy. Marvell's youthful homage to King Charles in his *Parodia*, that is, side-by-side texts, one the original Latin of a Horatian ode, the other its English translation, invites comparison whereby the English does not necessarily emerge as second fiddle. Indeed, such side-by-side texts set the preparatory stage of his more mature 'poetic pairs' (eg. *On a Drop of Dew*) not without pun, macaronic or otherwise. Hinds denounces the shortcomings of the *Cambridge Companion to Marvell* that almost completely omits and overlooks Marvell's Latin production (a state of affairs, I hasten to add, for many *auctores togati*, even in the Italian critical tradition). Emblematically, whereas *The Garden* is published, Marvell's *Hortus* is sadly not. Hinds postulates that Marvell did not first write in Latin then in English, but the two simultaneously, thus espousing interactive composition and code-switching, not to mention 'translationese', such as his 'Fragrant zodiac' (ex '*fragrantia*'?). The part of Marvell's poem lacking the corresponding Latin is due either to the decision made posthumously by his editors to leave it out or because he had decided not to compose it in the first place inasmuch as the cornucopia of fruits (apples, nectarenes, peaches and melons) might only have proven rather tedious in the Latin (mala, mala, mala, mala), a problem, however, that Pliny the Elder and Columella might have been able to help him solve. Concerning Milton, we might ask whether the 'lovely landscape' really does translate *locus amoenus*. Looking at Bold's and Power's translations into Latin of *Paradise Lost*, however, we can certainly notice just how closely Milton had tapped into the classical tradition, Hesiod and pastoral verse in particular in the first case, Virgil in the second.

Emma Buckley, "Reviving Lucan: Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, and *Lucans First Booke*", pages 56–91. Buckley adroitly establishes a parallel between Lucan's Caesar and Tamburlaine. No real surprise there inasmuch as Lucan readership was well attested indeed and not only in early modern England but also on the continent (cf. Dante's four *poeti regulati* in *Inf.* IV). Though somewhat misleading to present Amyclas as Scythian and not as Epirote, Buckley's chapter does nevertheless do justice to Marlowe's idea of Lucan, which is less intertextual *stricto sensu* than structural and thematic. The further discussion of May's *Continuations* is particularly enlightening in view of such a 'cult of Lucan'.

Helen Lynch, "Citizenship and suicide: Shakespeare's Roman plays, republicanism and identity in *Samson Agonistes*", pages 92–121. Lynch posits that Milton drew from the classics via the filter of Shakepeare's Roman tragedies, whereby Miltons' Dalila is effectively Shakespeare's Cleopatra, Samson Antony. The imitation is not, however, purely slavish. It is dictated, Lynch argues, by markedly republican agendas. The type of intertextuality at play here is less lexical than narrative, thematic and rhetorical where such parallels ultimately derive from Plutarch. Certain references to clothing, emasculation, 'finding a sword' corroborate Lynch's contention, as does the comparison of both male leads to a phoenix.

Syrithe Pugh, "Adonis and literary immortality in pastoral elegy", pages 122–79. Effectively a lesson in comparative studies based on intertextuality, Pugh compares Spenser's *Astrophel* on the death of Philip Sidney to Shelley's *Adonais* for John Keats on the basis of their common roots in the ᾿Επιτάφιος Βίωνος traditionally (but erroneously) ascribed to Moschus. She thus seeks to tease out what imitation actually meant to the two English poets. Her 'conversation' begins with the pseudo-Moschus through Theocritus with enlightening treasures emerging, such as the assonance between Ἀδώνις and ἀδονίς, the Doric form of 'nightingale' and the very verb ἀείδω 'I sing'. Pugh then moves on to the English poets via the direct association with Bion's *Lament for Adonis* (both Astrophel and Adonis are killed by a boar) and contamination not only with Ovid (*met.*) and Thomas Watson (1585), but perhaps too with Spenser's *The Faire Queene* (book III) and the inherent Lucretian legacy. Shelley's debt to the pseudo-Moschus, on the other hand, is less obvious, entirely embedded as it is in his intertexual method and his concept of imitation ensuring immortality. The apparent digression on Statius *Silvae* 2,7 celebrating the birthday of the deceased Lucan and dedicated to his wife, Polla, proves instructive inasmuch as it subtly lies within the same tradition ultimately influencing Shelley under the aegis of the Muse Urania. (Rodney Lokaj, Università degli Studi di Enna, "Kore")

♦ *Culture, Contention and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Ireland. Antonius Bruodinus'* Anatomical Examination *of Thomas Carve's* Apologetic Handbook. Ed. By Giacomo Fedeli, Luke McInerney and

Brian Ó Dálaigh. Cork: Cork University Press, 2022. xiv + 402 pages. €39. This erudite and absorbing book provides the texts and contexts of a learned and bitter dispute between two prominent seventeenth-century Irish clerics over Irish cultural identity and national ancestry. In the 1670s, Antonius Bruodinus and Thomas Carve, clashed regarding their divergent perspectives on Ireland's history and Gaelic heritage. Both clergymen, who had been living in exile in Europe for several decades, espoused opposing views on the matter, which were influenced by their distinct ethnic backgrounds as members of the Gaelic-Irish and Old-English communities, respectively. Bruodinus and Carve documented their dispute in several Latin publications, which also serve as evidence of the wider divisions within Irish society and the preoccupation of exiles with conceptions of Ireland's past. Bruodinus' contentions reflect the frequent contemporary debates in Ireland about identity, legitimacy, and authority. This literary debate, which forms the main thrust of this book, took place at at time when Gaelic-Irish and Old-English groups were attempting to establish common ground against the more recently established New English Protestant elite in Ireland. This book offers the first complete translation of Antonius Bruodinus' *Anatomicum examen, Inchiridii Apologettici, seu Famosi cuiusdam libelli, a Thoma Carve (verius Carrano) sacerdote Hiberni furtive publicati, quo Carrani imposturae, & calumniae religiose refutantur* (1671) and sheds light on the world of classical Gaelic scholarship before its decline in the seventeenth century. Bruodinus' writings document the networks established by Irish clerics (and especially Franciscans) spanning from Ireland to Louvain, Prague, and Rome, and crossing several linguistic, cultural, and ethnic boundaries. In the introduction, the editors argue that past historians have not given enough attention to Bruodinus' extensive writings and have unfairly portrayed him as a bellicose propagandist rather than a veritable scholar. They suggest that modern historians have been too quick to focus on his shortcomings and overlook the valuable insights that his writings provide into a number of coterminous fields of research including the world of classical Gaelic scholarship and the intellectual productivity of Irish clerics on the continent. Bruodinus is not a disinterested writer, and his personal agenda seems to have disqualified it from consideration by scholars of the past. It is diffi-

cult to deny, however, that his witty insults offer a welcome reprieve from detailed passages about the pedigree of various Irish clans or the meritorious claims of early modern landholding based on ancient fiefdoms. Bruodinus' saltiness cements the work firmly in the genre of invective rather than historiography: he misses no opportunity to take gratuitous shots at his opponent by highlighting Carve's ungrammatical Latin, historical inaccuracies, and logical inconsistencies.

Bruodinus is certainly a noteworthy figure due in part to his background in both classical Gaelic and Latin learning, and his broad scholarly interests. His writings reveal an impressive familiarity with traditional genealogies of prominent Gaelic families and a seemingly comprehensive knowledge of Irish history, poetry, and antiquities. Despite facing the challenges of exile in Prague and the damaging losses suffered by his family during the Commonwealth period, Bruodinus managed to attain a remarkable education and contribute to the intellectual historiography of Ireland. His writings about Ireland draw on numerous documentary sources and firsthand accounts that are no longer available; this provides a level of granular detail about the remote history and oral tradition of Ireland (and especially of Bruodinus' home region of Thomond), that would otherwise be impossible. The volume makes the *Anatomicum*, which has hitherto been largely neglected, accessible and appreciable. Furthermore, the editors have demonstrated the value of utilizing such writings to study the literary and cultural history of Ireland and the reception of Gaelic history in the seventeenth century.

The origin of the contention that arose between Bruodinus and Carve can be traced back to Carve's publication of his views about the Gaelic-Irish in his works, *Itinerarium R.D. Thomae Carve Tripperariensis* (Mainz, 1639–46) and *Lyra seu Anacephalaeosis Hibernica* (Vienna, 1651). Bruodinus took issue with Carve's criticisms in his massive tome, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis* (Prague, 1669), which led to a heated dispute between the two. The disagreement quickly turned into tremendous philippics, including personal attacks and tribal or racial insults. Bruodinus specifically disagreed with Carve's claims that the Gaelic-Irish became civilized through their contact with the English.

Bruodinus wrote *Anatomicum* under the pseudonym Cornel O'Mollony, presumably to give the work a sense of impartiality. This was not a very convincing disguise, and readers familiar with the dispute could easily recognize Bruodinus' hand. The unusual book serves two purposes. First, it aims to refute Carve's arguments through lengthy and stylistic rebuttals. Second, it provides historical and genealogical information about the Clann Bhruaideadha (i.e., the clan of the Bruodines), seeking to prove their nobility and social status. Despite the distance from the events and the people he describes, Bruodinus' defense of Gaelic-Irish culture and his own family is apparent throughout the text. The level of detail he provides in listing families with whom the Clann Bhruaideadha intermarried demonstrates his preoccupation with proving their high social status and the general sensitivity of the Gaelic-Irish regarding their origins. In addition to his discussions of Gaelic culture and the Clann Bhruaideadha, Bruodinus also offers insights into the political and social climate of his time. He describes the political situation in Ireland during the Commonwealth period, as well as the impact of the Cromwellian conquest on Irish society. *Anatomicum* is a rich and varied work that offers a glimpse into the world of the Gaelic learned classes and the Irish diaspora in Europe in the seventeenth century. The wealth of information included on Irish history, culture, and society, makes it a valuable resource for scholars of Irish studies. Bruodinus' work highlights the intricacies and complexities of the Gaelic learned classes, their social and cultural status, and the important role they played in preserving and transmitting Gaelic knowledge and literature. He also sheds light on the Irish diaspora out of Ireland and the integral role of exiles in military and diplomatic affairs of Catholic Europe during a time of political and religious upheaval.

Bruodinus' style is characterized by frequent digressions, which include anecdotes about various learned families in Ireland. He does this in order to build a broader argument about the accomplishments, status, and connections to ancient nobility and, thus, to refute Carve's negative comments about Gaelic culture and to educate a foreign audience about the importance of the *literati* in Ireland. While Bruodinus mentions a great many people and places and conveys a number of interesting anecdotes about Gaelic culture and literary history, his

personal interest is manifest from his focus on the professional activities of the Clann Bhruaideadha, Bruodinus may have received classical Irish tutoring at a bardic school before he joined the Franciscan Friary of Quin. He was knowledgeable about poetic compositions in Irish and had a familial connection to the O'Briens of Thomond through his family's former role as chronicler-poets. Bruodinus defended the cultural achievements of the Gaelic-Irish and wrote in Latin, which allowed him to reach a wider audience beyond Irish émigrés and fellow Irish religious communities in Europe. He sometimes exaggerated his descriptions of people and places in Ireland to impress his foreign audience and compensate for Ireland's depressed state of affairs. His writing demonstrates a skillful sensitivity to the differences in syntax and orthography between Irish and Latin when rendering names into Latin.

The dispute between Bruodinus and Carve yielded unexpected results, revealing new information about the role and status of the Gaelic learned classes. Bruodinus felt compelled to defend the reputation of the Clann Bhruaideadha, as the family had lost property and influence and was vulnerable to criticism. The clash between the two scholars was a question of worldviews, with Carve dismissing Gaelic culture and the bardic poets. Modern readers may appreciate Bruodinus' enthusiasm and sarcasm with which he defends his kin and ancestry. The spectacle of two aging clerics hurling abuse at one another continued with a volley of booklets, but the literary feud which was at least as erudite as it was vicious finally came to an end when Thomas Carve died (c. 1672).

Overall, *Anatomicum* is a fascinating and valuable text for scholars of Irish history, culture, and literature. Bruodinus' Latin is interesting if only due to its nimble style, frequent use of common places from literature, and citations of obscure Irish lore. In general, the translator has rendered the Latin (the quality of which varies somewhat throughout) into clear English without doing damage to the original tenor or syntax. The generous footnotes, which demonstrate an astonishing amount of detailed research, provide helpful information on geography, language, culture, and religion; the footnotes alone make the work useful for readers from various fields including Irish History, Late-Humanism, History of Education, Ecclesial History of

Prague, Franciscan History, Neo-Latin Studies, and Irish Studies. This publication paves the way for a reevaluation of Bruodinus's work and others like it. The presentation of the historical context through the prefatory material is engaging and intriguing, but the introduction is slightly marred by a few unnecessary repetitions. The volume closes with three worthwhile appendices (Chronology, Irish Surnames, and List of Authors and Texts) and a comprehensive index. In conclusion, *Culture, Contention and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* offers an accurate translation and historical contextualization of Bruodinus' *Anatomicum* which allow the modern reader easy access to an essentially unknown text. Scholars will also profit from the various lines of new research collected in the learned footnotes and use this volume as a solid base for further study of Irish intellectual history, ethnography, and Neo-Latin literature. The editors of the Cork University Press are to be given credit for recognizing the relevance of this research to the scholarly profession. (Patrick M. Owens, *Academia Latinitati Fovendae*)