



EVENTEENTH-



ENTURY



NEWS

FALL - WINTER 2002

Vol. 60

Nos. 3&4



Including

THE NEO-LATIN NEWS Vol. 50, Nos. 3&4

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

VOLUME 60, Nos. 1&2

SPRING-SUMMER, 2002

SCN, an official organ of the Milton Society of America and of the Milton Section of the Modern Language Association, is published as a double issue two times each year with the support of the English Departments of:

University of Akron
Concordia University, Wisconsin
Oklahoma State University
Texas A&M University

SUBMISSIONS: Though primarily a review journal, **SCN** also publishes shorter articles and scholarly notes. Manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate (with the author's name and institutional affiliation on the cover page only) accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. As a service to the scholarly community, **SCN** publishes news items as well.

SUBSCRIPTIONS, Domestic and International. \$15.00 (\$20.00) for one year; \$28.00 (\$37.00) for two years; \$40.00 (\$52.00) for three years. Checks or money orders are payable to *Seventeenth-Century News*. A current style sheet, announcements, previous volumes' Tables of Contents, advertising rates, and other information all may be obtained via our home page on the World Wide Web. Books for review and queries should be sent to:

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ISSN 0037-3028

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

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George Herbert. *“The Temple” mit einer deutschen Versübersetzung*. Ed. Inge Leimberg. Münster, New York, Munich, Berlin: Waxmann Verlag, 2002. xx + 473 pp. 39,00 EURO. Review by BILL ENGEL (NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE).

Seventeenth-century scholars will be delighted and instructed by Inge Leimberg’s facing-page translation of the 1633 Cambridge edition of *The Temple*. The notes alone will amply reward any reader of German (403–44). Not every poem is glossed, however, for Leimberg has carefully selected what is in need of close reading, philological treatment, or metrical analysis. Some of the comments are brief, reminding the reader of an important point. Others are lengthy, discussing etymological riddles that are part and parcel of Herbert’s mental-universe. An example of each case will illustrate the range and subtlety of Leimberg’s notes.

“Vanie (1)” is glossed briefly with respect to the biblical *locus classicus*, Ecclesiastes 1.2, cited in German and then the King James Version (419). This reference is not noted in the Penguin Classics edition of Herbert’s poetry, the text often used by English majors across America. I mention this only to indicate how those of us who are not first-time readers of Herbert can benefit from Leimberg’s book. Reminders about the origins of Herbert’s titles bring us into closer contact with the scriptural substrata of the poems, especially one like this where the stanzas concern the “fleet Astronomer,” the “nimble Diver,” and the “subtle Chymick,” with no direct reference to the Preacher’s admonition, “vanity of vanities; all is vanity.” If we do not link the poem back to its biblical source, then we are like the “Poore man” in the poem who “searchest round / To find out *death*, but missest *life* at hand” (166).

“The Odour,” a perennially difficult poem, warrants a long note, for “odour,” Leimberg relates, is linked homophonically to the musical term “ode”; and further, in the title we can hear a kind of doubling, a *duo* (437). Typical of Herbert’s anagrammatic way of thinking, made explicit in the poem based on MARY/ARMY (148), “The Odour,” is an anagram for “or the duo.” Seen in this way, as a subtitle, the anagram comments on how we are to go about read-

ing the poem. This approach is supported by Leimberg's impeccable linguistic analysis, reaching back to the Vulgate and Greek New Testament. A discussion of the notes would be incomplete without mentioning that the seven appendices, especially the first concerning "Jordan," are essential reading for any serious student of the poem-cycle as a whole (445-58).

Regarding the translation itself, and speaking as someone who has benefited from facing-page editions, this collection brings out the spirit of the original. Leimberg is extremely attentive to Herbert's wordplay, a theme broached in her Introduction regarding the word "temple" and its Latin cognates (xiv) and also regarding quibbles on Herbert's name (xv-xvi). She preserves in German, as nearly as is possible, Herbert's habit of relying on and exploiting the backlog of meanings carried along in certain words. With one exception (the first stanza of "The Glance" [343]), the rhyme scheme and meter are kept intact throughout—no mean feat indeed with the likes of "Heaven," an echo-poem (374). The translations of "Easter" (76) and "The Glimpse" (306) are remarkable creations in their own right, worthy of Herbert's German contemporaries, such as Fleming and Gryphius, who likewise enjoyed acrostics and delighted in the poetic logic of paradoxes, especially concerning death giving life. Leimberg is to be admired for this truly stunning achievement.

Part of the delight one can derive from reading these poems in German, especially old favorites like the two "Easter Wings" (78-81), is to watch how they unfold and work as poems. Another advantage to English-speakers picking up this volume, especially those already familiar with *The Temple*, is that they will find themselves stumbling upon unlooked for connections in the poems; and, owing to the "de-familiarity factor," perhaps even see them with fresh eyes.

As was discussed at the beginning, not every poem is glossed. In this regard it is noteworthy that "A Dialogue-Anthème" receives no commentary even though it is a poem with which the translator has a long-standing relationship (vii). Nor is anything said about her important article on this poem, although it is listed in the Bib-

liography. Leimberg's previous publications inform her commentary on *The Temple* only tacitly, most notably with respect to the linking of logical and musical connotations. By the same token, nothing is said about how a poem like "The Sinner" reflects the extent to which *The Temple* is, in fact, a vast Memory Palace along the lines discussed by Frances Yates (*Archiv für neueren Sprachen* 206 [1970]: 241-50).

By virtue of Leimberg's judicious sense of what to say and what to leave unsaid, coupled with her artfully invisible hand as a translator, we are able at last to behold in German the time-honored dichotomies of Herbert's verse, the fluctuations between despair and bliss, between agitation and serenity, and the discipline of suffering that leads to peace of spirit. And so she, who taught Herbert to say "*Mein Gott, Mein Herr*" in "Jordan (1)," is not punished "with losse of ryme"—and we are all the richer for it.

Barbara K. Lewalski. *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000. 777 pp. + 18 illus. \$43.95. Review by ANNA K. NARDO, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.

The Blackwell Critical Biographies series, according to General Editor Claude Rawson, intends "to re-establish the notion that books are written by people who lived in particular times and places"; each volume "will include substantial critical discussion" of the author's works. Barbara K. Lewalski's *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography* fulfills both of these promises with learning and grace. Lewalski brings her interpretive skills as a literary critic to the task of locating Milton in England in the midst of revolutionary change. What she so masterfully demonstrates is that literary interpretation is essential to making meaning of the life of a poet.

Dividing Milton's life into fourteen stages, each identified by a quotation from this most self-reflexive of authors, Lewalski synthesizes an immense amount of scholarship into economical, but comprehensive chapters. For example, the chapter dealing with

1654-58, Milton's early years of total blindness, takes its title "I . . . Still Bear Up and Steer Right Onward" from a sonnet to Cyriack Skinner, and the chapter on the dark days of the Restoration takes its title "In Darknes, and with Dangers Compast Round" from the invocation to Book 7 of *Paradise Lost*. Every chapter begins with a brief overview of a stage in Milton's life, then expands into a detailed analysis of biographical and historical events, and ends with a critical discussion of major works written during these years. Cross-referencing throughout the text and notes, in addition to an extensive index and bibliography, makes this complex biography accessible to all levels of readers—from advanced undergraduates to graduate students, from the general educated reader to other Milton scholars.

Throughout the book, Lewalski generously acknowledges her debts to the monuments of scholarship that preceded her: David Masson's seven volume biography (1881-94), J. Milton French's five volumes of life records, Harris Francis Fletcher's two volume intellectual life (1956-61), William Riley Parker's two volumes which have become the standard biography (1965), and the recent work by Gordon Campbell (1995) and Cedric Brown (1995). Nevertheless, Lewalski asserts her own interpretation of this much debated life. For example, although she recognizes the contributions of Christopher Hill (1977) in foregrounding Milton's radicalism and William Kerrigan (1983) and John Shawcross (1993) in probing Milton's psychology, she rejects their versions of Milton (as sympathetic to the radical fringe, as a young man troubled by repressed homoerotic feelings or oedipal pressures)—interpretations which "rest," she argues, "on scant evidence and unsubstantiated assumptions" (74). Writing at the turn of the twenty-first century, Lewalski profits from recent scholarship that has illuminated two previously neglected aspects of Milton's career: the duties he performed as Latin Secretary during the Commonwealth and Protectorate governments (e.g., Robert T. Fallon, 1993; David Norbrook, 1999) and his continued, if muted, political engagement during the Restoration (e.g., Laura Knoppers, 1994; Sharon Achinstein, 1996, 1997). Lewalski has synthesized this new work, and thereby

clarified our understanding of Milton's role in the conduct of foreign policy during the Interregnum, and dispelled the stereotype of Milton's retreat to quietism after the Restoration.

Having devoted her long and productive career to both scholarship and criticism, Lewalski brings historical information and aesthetic sensitivity to the task of interpreting the life of a public man who was, above all else, a poet. She repeatedly demonstrates that Milton's place in history can best be understood through nuanced interpretation of his poetry and prose. For example, the ease with which the staunchly anti-clerical Milton mingled with the Catholic literati of Italy requires interpretation, and such poems of effusive compliment as *Ad Salzillium* have seemed to some readers singularly unMiltonic. Lewalski can unpack the significance of this episode in Milton's life because she can read Milton's neo-Latin poems of compliment in context. Once she has explicated the learned allusions and etymological word-play enjoyed in Italian academies, analyzed the witty joke in Milton's choice of meter, and demonstrated how *Ad Salzillium* revisits themes announced in a minor key in *Lycidas*, the reader can see both newness and continuity in Milton's Italian experiences.

We can see him relishing his acceptance by the cosmopolitan republic of letters, but we can also see him following a pattern of thought that Lewalski identifies as central to his Protestant vision—the pattern of representing alternative versions of life and art not only in companion poems like “L'Allegro” and “Il Penseroso,” but also in poems composed several years apart. Of course, this pattern of considering and judging between alternatives, Lewalski insists, will become the cornerstone of Milton's argument for unlicensed printing in *Areopagitica*, the central actions in his epics and tragedy, and the foundation of his theology and politics. Lewalski's reading of such a minor poem as *Ad Salzillium* not only establishes the significance of the grand tour in Milton's poetic development, but also connects his experiences in Italy to the political and theological commitments that would later guide the choices he made as activist and poet.

Through this kind of interweaving between literary criticism and historical analysis, Lewalski makes Milton's life—lived in the midst of political, social, and religious revolution—comprehensible. She brings into focus a welter of detail—all the while never denying the contradictions and ambiguities of lived experience in such chaotic times—by tracing key themes that Milton enunciates throughout his career as a pamphleteer, government servant, and poet. Three examples will illustrate her strategy. First, Lewalski identifies what she sees as the unifying goal of Milton's life. From his days of keeping school, through his years of political activism, even on the eve of the Restoration, then into the period of political exile and poetic maturity, Milton pursued, according to Lewalski, the "strenuous project of educating readers in the virtues, values, and attitudes that made a people worthy of liberty" (442). Holding to this goal, Milton could still call in 1660 for the establishment of a Grand Council for life, lest free elections by a people not yet worthy of liberty bring back the monarchy.

Second, Lewalski explains Milton's refusal to extend religious toleration to Catholicism, his disgust at kingship, and even Raphael's warning to Adam not to overvalue Eve's beauty through Milton's antipathy to idolatry. This linkage of inner slavery and national slavery, idolatry and servility, makes Milton's fierce chastity as a young man and his insistence on the superiority of intelligence (gendered as masculine) to beauty (gendered as feminine) comprehensible in the light of his life-long advocacy of religious and political liberty. Nevertheless, Lewalski exposes the contradictions Milton confronts when he makes Eve not a Petrarchan idol, but a thinking being with the same liberty of choice as Adam.

Third, and perhaps most central to Milton's historical and literary significance, Lewalski demonstrates that "No writer before Milton fashioned himself quite so self-consciously as an author" (x). "Throughout his polemic," she argues, Milton forged for himself an individualistic model of authorship, "involving originality of thought, denial of substantive influence from others, transformation of borrowings and conventions so as to make them his own, and emulation of models with the intention of surpassing

them" (325). Yet, in Milton's vituperative exchanges with Alexander More, who he insisted erroneously was the author of *Regia Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum Adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*, Milton seems to credit "an older mode of collaborative authorship, allowing that More, Vlacq, Crantz, Salmasius, and various other unknowns may be involved with it and thereby responsible for it" (325). Lewalski acknowledges that, in the heat of self-defense, Milton's tortured logic leads him to "define authorial responsibility very broadly indeed" (326). This special pleading also leads him into a contradiction that denies the significance of his own career in "the emergence of the modern idea of authorship" (x).

Identifying such unifying themes, Lewalski never glosses over the discontinuities in Milton's life and thought. Rather, by isolating these patterns she can more clearly expose the points of rupture and contradiction in Milton's lived experience.

Lewalski ends her story of a poet's life with proof that, as Milton believed, a good book possesses "a life beyond life" (*Areopagitica*). Her epilogue takes the reader on a whirlwind tour through centuries of Milton's influence on Anglophone literature and thought. After finishing the final page of this comprehensive, but terse epilogue, I remembered Dr. Johnson's dictum on *Paradise Lost*—only in reverse. I wished both epilogue and book had been longer.

Jeffrey S. Shoulson. *Milton and the Rabbis: Hebraism, Hellenism, & Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. xiii + 340 pp. \$52.50 cloth; \$19.50 paper. Review by ELIZABETH SAUER, BROCK UNIVERSITY.

Milton studies is marked by what John Rumrich described in *Milton Unbound* as a "neo-Christian" bias, a phrase he borrows from William Empson. Despite Empson's criticism some 30 years ago, the Miltonic *oeuvre*, as Rumrich observes, has with few exceptions remained firmly entrenched in traditional Christian thinking, while also being characterized until recently by an insistence on Milton's

methodological prudence and orthodoxy. In *Milton and the Rabbis*, Jeffrey Shoulson successfully challenges both of these trends in Milton scholarship by reinterpreting *Paradise Lost*—a poem marked by textual indeterminacy and internal contestation—in relation to several traditions that shape the poem: Hebraism, Hellenism, and Christianity. All three traditions are likewise “fraught with tensions” (5) while being interconnected, despite the cultural forces that insist on their distinctiveness.

The exchanges Shoulson establishes between the Miltonic and midrashic texts—the Jewish writings of the first five centuries of the Common Era—are represented not only in the subject matter but also the structure of his study, which is interspersed with accounts from the Hebrew texts. *Milton and the Rabbis* is invaluable not only for the new insights it offers into Milton’s epic and the critical tradition thereof, but also for its revelations about the lessons that Hebraism provides and the *light* it can shed on Christianity and Hellenism—the latter receiving less attention in the book overall. A number of the best Miltonists, including Jason Rosenblatt, Michael Lieb, and Regina Schwartz have led the way in exploring Milton’s indebtedness to the Hebraism; but Shoulson’s inclusion of an extensive amount of material from Hebrew texts, his construction of a dynamic conversation among the Hebrew, classical, and Christian traditions is a very welcome and important contribution to Milton studies.

The first chapter of *Milton and the Rabbis* develops illuminating parallels between rabbinic post-Temple Judaism and Milton’s experience of political disillusion and his “innovative refashioning” of Christianity in the post-Reformation and also the post-Restoration period. In his multi-sectioned second chapter, Shoulson moves freely among a variety of concerns relating to the status of Israel’s nationhood, the Hebraic tradition (ancient and contemporary), the response of early modern England to these issues (including the proposed Readmission of the Jews), and Milton’s engagement in his antiprelatical tracts with Jewish precedent and the “cultural hybridities” of Hebraic literature. The remaining chapters, which make equally great demands on the reader, con-

centrate on various philosophical aspects of *Paradise Lost* as a midrashic poem. Chapter 3 complicates the commonly invoked distinction between the Hebraic and Pauline features of *Paradise Lost* in an analysis of the accommodated representation of God and the Son in Book 3, and in terms of rabbinical biblical hermeneutics and anthropomorphic depictions of God. In the rabbinical tradition, divine creativity is intertwined with the human imagination, creation, and desire; and thus the fourth chapter treats the multiple competing narratives of creation, and examines them in relation to the equally fraught midrashic commentaries on the first three chapters of Genesis. Chapter 5 compares the vexed constructions and phenomenologies of history, the experience of suffering, and the possibility for renewed political agency in the rabbinic literature and the final books of *Paradise Lost*. Samson is featured in the Epilogue as a product of “contradictory impulses,” which exhibit a synthesis and interaction of Hebraic, Hellenistic, and Christian influences.

Contemporary seventeenth-century debates are skillfully woven into the complex fabric of *Milton and the Rabbis*, and range from the political disputes about the Civil War and Restoration, to the controversy over episcopacy, to the cultural constructions of female sexuality. The Introduction also promises an engagement with millenarianism and radical Protestantism, as well as seventeenth-century debates about the Jewish readmission. While the latter issue is discussed throughout, references to the former are sparse. As Nigel Smith, Bonnelyn Young Kunze, and Hugh Barbour have observed, dissenters familiarized and identified themselves with the ancient and contemporary Jewish culture: Quaker leaders learned some Hebrew, made contact with Menasseh Ben Israel, and experienced a shared millennial interest and sense of persecution. Since radicals initially welcomed the prospect of a Jewish readmission, their culture might have served as another medium through which to view Milton’s response to the intertwined Hebraic-Christian tradition of his time.

Among the most compelling features of *Milton and the Rabbis* is the discussion of the Christian hermeneutics of typology, which

underwrites the narrative of Milton's epic. As in the New Testament, the pressure to read the history of Israel in *Paradise Lost* typologically is tremendous. Through Adam's exchange with Michael, we are instructed to regard the Old Testament laws as the forms of a nation and providential history in the making. Yet rather than being perfectly linear, typology involves an on-going encounter with what it has fulfilled and left behind. The result, as Shoulson has effectively identified it, is "an inassimilable historical residuum, one that is inextricably bound up with the figure (and the body) of the Jew" (201).

The conclusion of *Paradise Lost* strongly resists a rigidly typological reading. The transition from prophecy to narration in book 12 is comparable to the "rabbinic replacement of the visionary mode of prophecy with the hermeneutic mode of midrash," as Adam becomes an active reader and historical actor, while Milton underscores the political and literary importance of writing, Shoulson observes (231). And yet one must note that Michael's move into narrative mode in Book 12 is occasioned by Michael's efforts at compensating for Adam's impaired vision (*PL* 12.8-11), which accounts for his misinterpretations of human history. At the end of the poem, consolation and insight are derived from Michael's Pauline prescriptions that offer a corrective lens. Moreover, the heavy reliance in Book 12 on New Testament passages, including descriptions of the persecution of early Christians, serves as a reminder of Milton's identification not only with the diaspora Jewish tradition (noted by Shoulson on pp. 37-38, 55, 80, 190, for example), but also with that of the "strangers and pilgrims" (1 Peter 2:11) who comprise the primitive Christian communities.

These observations are merely intended to suggest some ways in which the richly suggestive readings of *Milton and the Rabbis* open new avenues for exploration. Challenging the reluctance to examine the textual indeterminacies of Milton's works, Professor Shoulson has exposed the sites of contestation that lie within *Paradise Lost*, as well as within Hebraic and "traditional Christian" thinking to the epic responds. In doing so, he also demonstrates that he is as sophisticated a reader of Milton's works as he is of the rab-

binical writings that shaped the milieu in which Milton and his contemporaries worked out their relationship to Christianity and to the ancient and contemporary Hebraic traditions. The results are enlightening and truly rewarding.

Larry Isitt. *All the Names in Heaven: A Reference Guide to Milton's Supernatural Names and Epic Similes*. Lenham, MD, and London: The Scarecrow Press, 2002. xxii + 457 pp. \$75.00. Review by DAVID V. URBAN, OKLAHOMA BAPTIST UNIVERSITY.

This helpful resource offers a compilation of (by Isitt's count) the 2425 names and 237 similes found in *Paradise Lost*. Although the book is primarily a reference guide, it does have a clearly stated polemical goal: to use the compiled names to demonstrate that Milton's epic is, to quote Maurice Kelley in *This Great Argument*, "an Arian document" (xv). Isitt's book contains 32 chapters divided into three major parts, whose titles I quote: Part I) a "Complete Catalogue of Names in Book Order," giving one chapter for each book of the epic; Part II) a list of "Names by Character with Added Names from Other Works by Milton"—this section includes chapters listing names of the Father; the Son, Satan, Rebel Angels, Good Angels, and Adam and Eve; Part III) a list of "Epic and Simple Similes in Book Order." Names are listed in order of their appearance, including listings for the name itself, the subject named, the speaker of the name, and the one to whom the name is spoken. Below is a sample entry:

PL 3.139-40
 in him all his Father shon
 Substantially express'd
Named: Son
Speaker: *Milton's Epic Voice*
Spoken to: Reader (51)

Many of the individual chapters are prefaced with concise but valuable general commentary on the nature of the names discussed in that chapter, and much of this commentary highlights

what Isitt argues is the Arian nature of *Paradise Lost*. Isitt does indeed make a number of persuasive observations for his position, particularly in his prefaces to chapters on *PL* Books 3, 5, and 6, as well as his individual chapters on the names for the Father and the Son. It is not clear, however, which specific points are derived from other sources and which are Isitt's own. In his acknowledgements, Isitt states his indebtedness to Kelley's *This Great Argument* and Michael Bauman's *Milton's Arianism*, as well as the opposing view championed in William B. Hunter's "Milton's Arianism Reconsidered," but none of these works nor any other secondary sources are cited in his chapter introductions. Similarly, an essay that appears at the beginning of Part II, "Names and Milton's Arian Deity," contains informative brief discussions of Milton's theology in relation to the ancient and Reformation church creeds and also concisely outlines the modern debate over Milton's Arianism. But even this essay offers only minimal interaction with relevant secondary material. I will admit that I hesitate to offer such criticism, for Isitt should be commended for giving us more than a bare reference guide. Still, more citations and a bibliography of material germane to the Miltonic Arian debate would have been a welcome addition to Isitt's text.

The introduction outlines the book's structural format. Isitt defines "names" as "all proper names and epithets, as well as closely packaged paragraphs of description that develop character" (xv-xvi). Clearly differentiating his study from a concordance, Isitt notes that he does not list every appearance of a proper name, but that he does "list attributive names if they are repeated by different speakers" (xvi). He breaks down the names of *Paradise Lost* into three basic categories—adjectival names, substantival names, and clausal names—and he also outlines the major categories of name sources in the epic. In addition, each individual chapter's introductory material provides a statistical breakdown of the frequency both of characters named and the speakers of these names. Part I also highlights which names are metonyms and which are synecdoches, although, inexplicably, Part II does not do so. Part III

is prefaced by an informative “Overview of Epic and Simple Similes in *Paradise Lost*.”

Isitt’s method for determining the “named” character in cases where Milton’s deity is simply called “God” and/or the “Father” or “Son” is not specifically delineated (as occurs in Books 4, 7, and 8) reveals his interpretive slant concerning the epic’s alleged Arianism. In such cases, Isitt chooses to assign “attributive names of the highest order [such as ‘omniscient’ ‘author,’ and ‘Maker Omnipotent’] to the Father” (129). His explanation for this decision is that whenever the Father and the Son are depicted together, most significantly in Book 3, “Milton has been entirely consistent in naming the Father by these [absolute] qualities and by synonyms for them, while at the same time withholding them from the Son” (206). Consequently, Isitt affirms, “in the troublesome passages of the epic where it is difficult to know which of the two Milton speaks, we should take as our guide the clear indicators of Book 3 . . . in our determinations of who is being named, vague passages should give way to clear” (206). Although Isitt’s methodology is clearly explained and consistently applied, his interpretive decision here is arguably an overly-convenient simplification of a complex problem. It would have been appropriate in these uncertain cases to assign the “named” in a way that specifically signaled that Isitt’s assignments of attributive names are indeed his interpretation; using, for example, “*Named: (Father)*” instead of “*Named: Father*” for such entries would have allowed Isitt to affirm his interpretation while more overtly acknowledging the text’s ambiguity.

All this being said, Isitt’s book is indeed a valuable resource, not only for scholars debating the Arian nature of Milton’s epic, but for any reader desiring to investigate the implications of Milton’s names for the epic’s various characters. The fact that Part II also contains names of profiled characters that appear in *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Nativity Ode* will make fruitful character analysis all the more accessible. This book also will aid classroom teaching on a number of levels and should prove a beneficial tool for student essays on *Paradise Lost*.

David Loewenstein. *Representing Revolution in Milton and His Contemporaries: Religion, Politics, and Polemics in Radical Puritanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. xiii + 413 pp. \$60.00. Review by JAMEELA LARES, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI.

This valuable cross-disciplinary study offers an extended look at the various enthusiastic sects and personalities of the Interregnum in order to place Milton's work more securely in its historical context. Loewenstein first demonstrates how mid-century interactions of religion and politics were reflected in the publications of the various enthusiastic sects, and then locates ways in which Milton's later major poems reflect some of the same concerns.

The study is divided into two parts. Part one examines radical religious culture in Milton's time in terms of the careers and especially the polemical writings of their central figures: John Lilburne (Levellers), Gerrard Winstanley (Diggers), Abiezer Coppe (Ranters), Anna Trapnel (Fifth Monarchists), and George Fox (Quakers). In this section, Loewenstein is particularly interested in "the polemical language, rhetorical density, and powerful myths of the dramatic, intensely disputatious revolutionary writings by radical sectarian authors" (5). He shows how radical visionary writers exposed such ambivalent trends within the Revolution as tensions between political conservatism and religious radicalism, between radical social change and traditional social organization.

Lilburne the Leveler, for instance, harshly criticized the perhaps inevitable hypocrisy and conservatism of every successive political regime, identifying his own seven imprisonments with the national plight of the dispossessed, and claiming authority from numerous texts: biblical, theological, or even his own earlier publications. Winstanley the Digger, a religious radical both more apocalyptic and communal, insisted that "kingly power" continued in various subtle, menacing, and anti-Christian forms despite the claims of the new, "free" Commonwealth, and called for a paradisaical return to the land. Loewenstein claims that Winstanley's particular verbal power was "mythopoeic," as demonstrated by the latter's

allegorical retelling of biblical narratives. Abiezer Coppe and Anna Trapnel were both concerned with startling symbolic gestures as well as prophetic language. Coppe the Ranter advocated social leveling in vehement and inventive prose that was matched by the startling and subversive antinomianism of himself and his followers, though most of Coppe's extravagant actions would appear to be recorded—at least in Loewenstein's telling—by Coppe's report of them rather than by objective witnesses.

The Fifth-Monarchist Anna Trapnell delivered her own radical prophecies in a dramatic trance-like state which attracted large crowds, especially during a twelve-day trance at Whitehall in 1654. Her heavily symbolic prophecies attacked Cromwell's ambivalent regime as a spiritual crisis, and did so in language impressive both for its vigorous language and generic variety (songs, exhortations, prayers, and so forth). Most of these writers drew their startling imagery from the more apocalyptic books of the Bible such as Ezekiel or Revelation. One potent image used particularly in this period was the "Lamb's War" of Revelation 17:14: "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them." Loewenstein shows the particular resonance of this image in the often violent, millenarian writings of Quaker George Fox. A final chapter on Andrew Marvell in this first section shows Marvell attempting to negotiate the tensions between political conservatism and religious radicalism in his own verse propaganda, *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector*.

Having laid this foundation, Loewenstein in part two asserts that Milton, though not a social radical, deserves comparison with other religiously radical writers of the time even though he maintains his own polemical and authorial distance from them. Loewenstein's first chapter in this section considers how Milton's polemical response to the Irish Rebellion both demonstrates Milton's concern with politically motivated religious equivocation and suggests that Milton borrowed elements of Charles I's equivocations in the verbally dexterous Satan in *Paradise Lost*, even while his following chapter on *Paradise Lost* discourages any easy one-on-

one identification with recent political personalities. Rather, Loewenstein encourages careful reading of all ambiguity and equivocation in political language and behavior. Similarly, though Loewenstein draws heavily on Quaker writing to examine the intense inwardness of *Paradise Regained*, he examines not only a wide range of these texts but also radical works by Gerrard Winstanley, George Wither, and others to investigate the brief epic's apocalyptic subversiveness in relation to temporal powers and kingdoms.

Loewenstein's study of *Samson Agonistes* is particularly engaging. He makes the point, for instance, that radical saints are not the only ones in the drama having "inward motions," since Dalila is also claims to be moved, albeit by more secular motives. He also discusses how *Samson* treats the paradoxes and ambiguities of Puritan notions of Providence, and particularly how Milton combines these notions with the necessity of human agency and activism. Particularly good is Loewenstein's suggestion that the ambiguously copublished poems *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* are united by their focus on "inward motions" and victorious patience.

Throughout, Loewenstein carefully avoids collapsing differences between cults or between them and the work of Marvell or Milton. For instance, at pages 177-78 he insists on Milton's complex reaction to rebellion and its associated language; Milton engaged a range of contradictory political positions, and supported regicide but discountenanced social instability. Loewenstein's study is more reportorial than analytic, and Miltonists looking for a strong argument may be disappointed. But what Loewenstein has rather produced is a description of radical religious writing and Milton's relation to it that is so extensive as to invite comparison with William Haller's landmark *Rise of Puritanism* (1938). It also valuably focuses on the language itself rather than on merely the ideas framed by that language, as if the specific presentation of concepts made no difference to how they were received. True, Loewenstein might better have employed an explicit lexicon to demonstrate the act of persuasion as Milton and his contemporaries would have understood it rather than claiming that Interregnum texts were

either “literary” or “aesthetic.” His pervasive use of these words suggests a focus that he neither defines nor proves, but perhaps others can build on the considerable foundation he has laid to pursue that topic. In the meantime, he has produced a resource that will not need rewriting for some time to come.

The delay in publishing the following review is the fault of *Seventeenth-Century News*, and we would like to apologize to the author and reviewer:

DRD

Sharon Cadman Seelig. *Generating Texts: The Progeny of Seventeenth-Century Prose*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996. x + 202 pp. Review by MEG LOTA BROWN, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.

Sharon Cadman Seelig’s study of genre is distinguished by remarkably nuanced close readings of three pairs of literary works. Each pair is comprised of one text from the seventeenth century and one from a later period. Seelig allies the texts according to their authors’ shared perspectives. Her concern is with the extent to which “they adopted the same rhetorical strategies, the same mode, the same method; it is the similarity of conception—of the nature of the persona or voice, the nature of the quest, the nature of the inquiry—and of the structure that emerges to which I have tried to turn attention” (155-6). Seelig’s objective in comparing early and later works is less to find resemblances in their topics than to argue that “analogous approaches create analogous rhetorical and syntactic structures” (158). Idea, she maintains, produces form.

Building on the work of Claudio Guillen, Barbara Lewalski, David Radcliffe, Heather Dubrow, and Ann Imbrie, Seelig expands the notion of genre, skillfully demonstrating the flexibility of the category. She offers a valuable account of both genre and literary influence, as she explores how each is produced by a shared conceptual approach to the world and the self. At the same time, she points to defining differences in place, motive, voice, frame of refer-

ence, and tone, and she notes ways in which genres evolve over time.

Seelig gives illuminating readings of three “generating” and three “progeny” texts. The pairs of works are Donne’s *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* and Eliot’s *Four Quartets* (both designated as “meditations”); Browne’s *Religio Medici* and Thoreau’s *Walden* (termed “normative autobiographies”); Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* and Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* (“deconstructive texts”). Seelig’s analysis of the common vision and shared rhetorical strategies of the allied works is irresistible. She astutely demonstrates, for example, the formative concern of Donne and Eliot with both the power and the indeterminacy of language, with the anxious resolution of paradox, with the generative tension between abstract statement and concrete image, and with the relation of time to eternity. She shows affinities between their methods of incremental inquiry and dramatic presentation. And she illuminates the probing of experience that characterizes the meditative mode. In each pairing of texts, Seelig is concerned not so much with the influence of the earlier work on the later, but with the similarities of method that emerge from the world view of each author. She is at her best when she considers “what relationship exists in each work between conceptual genesis and mode of expression” (63).

Seelig categorizes *Religio Medici* and *Walden* as “normative autobiographies,” works in which the self is exemplary as well as idiosyncratic. Both proceed by ongoing modification, enacting the experience of discovery in the structure of sentences and paragraphs. They are both cyclical and progressive, and they both present the self as a model of discovery in which the reader is rhetorically, intellectually, and emotionally enlisted. Most importantly, Seelig argues, the works share a sense of “the metaphysical implications of everyday actions, and the linguistic and rhetorical means by which that conception is represented” (83). Both Browne and Thoreau find reason, analogy, and language to be essential but inadequate tools, and each author points the reader beyond those tools to what cannot be said or known.

Seelig's sixth chapter is a masterful examination of that generic pasticcio, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. She brilliantly limns Burton's "anti-method," his "attempt at order that manifests disorder," his "citation of authority [that] produces no unanimity," and his extraordinary efforts both to establish boundaries and to transgress them (110). From this anti-method, Seelig shows us Burton's method, navigating his carnivalesque prose with agility and infectious appreciation. Indeed, one of Seelig's great strengths is the obvious pleasure she derives from mining the language and the methods of her subject. She understands and celebrates the messiness of Burton's work, arguing that his divagations from the point are the point. The playful, transgressive, digressive text is about process, and it requires the reader to participate in the process of discovery. Considering the generic implications of the "studied indeterminacy" of Burton's work, Seelig focuses on his "fascination with process, with detail, with discovery, rather than with conclusion or resolution" (111).

In her final text of comparison, Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Seelig finds the greatest challenges to classification: "it is perhaps wide of the mark to define the genre of a work whose very point seems to be to test notions of genre" (130). Tracing the deconstructive characteristics that Sterne and Burton have in common, Seelig gives a cogent reading of the disjunctiveness, the unstable verbal texture, the deliberate deviations from expectations, the generic play and ambiguity of both works. Especially convincing is her account of the ways in which the authors engage, challenge, and collaborate with their readers.

Although Seelig's account of specific texts is itself generative, her discussion of generic kinship is not always as enabling. Genres are sometimes so generously and generally defined that they grow to embrace more instances of literary discourse than they are differentiated from. For example, Seelig defines the "normative autobiography" of Browne and Thoreau by describing their "similarities of approach": "Each articulates a relationship between the mundane and the cosmic; each sees through the reality we know to a world beyond, and, most significant, each creates rhetorical forms

that force us to make the leap that he does, that enable us to see what he sees" (3). While these remarks are unimpeachable, they also aptly characterize the "meditative modes" treated earlier in the book. Similarly, Seelig distinguishes the "deconstructive impulse" of Burton and Sterne, claiming that "Both are characterized by excess; each puts forward a form only to undermine it, to tease our expectations, or to manipulate our responses" (5). Both writers cite authority to such excess that authority is undermined by chaotic diversity, and both "play games with the reader, treating him both as partner and as object" (6). True, but the same, of course, could be said of *Pseudo-Martyr* or *Biathanatos*, *Ulysses*, or *Ada*, to name only a few, generically distinct, works. To speak of genre is at some point to differentiate. Indeed, Seelig distinguishes among her paired texts by making generic distinctions: meditative mode, normative autobiography, etc. But as she examines each of her categories, the contours of genre are replaced by an integration of epistemological systems, formal structures, authorial impulses, strategies, and attitudes. Seelig criticizes Alastair Fowler for his proliferation of generic distinctions, categories, and sub-genres, pointing out that his system "provides too little framework . . . thus destroying the function of genre, which is not only to help understand individual works but also to see them in relation to other works of the same kind" (9). At times, however, Seelig's generous view of genre and of relations among works over-corrects Fowler's excess.

Nevertheless, *Generating Texts* is a valuable contribution to the study of literary form and literary influence. Its governing assertion that ways of seeing the world are determinative of structure is eloquently argued and—more importantly—is borne out by the works of literature under consideration. Always sensitive to the subtle nuances of language and method, Seelig "unpacks" her subject with extraordinary insight and affection.

Ramie Targoff. *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,

2001. xiii + 162 pp. \$40.00. Review by JOANNE VAN DER WOUDE, THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In *Common Prayer*, her first book, Targoff studies the everyday practices as well as the ideological underpinnings of public worship. Spanning the Church of England's first fifty years, the book focuses on the standardization of worship and the relation between the outward performance of prayer and inward piety. Targoff shows that personal religious belief and expression were influenced, and even fundamentally shaped, by the public, "common" rites. First, she counters the belief that Protestantism fostered a new, individualized experience of religion. In her last two chapters, she studies the influence of standardized worship, in the form of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Bay Psalm Book*, on private devotional expression.

The succinct introduction figures a reading of Claudius' prayer in *Hamlet*, which, according to Targoff, reveals "the belief that external practices might not only reflect but also potentially transform the inner self" (3). Thus, for example, the habit of kneeling in prayer was seen as facilitating (and not merely indicating) sincere piety. Consequently, the construction of the Prayer Book in 1549 presented the church fathers with the opportunity to influence the internal religious sentiments of the people. By the seventeenth century "increasingly elaborate accounts of the involuntary correspondence between external and internal states of devotion" (10) surfaced. Prayerful imitation and adaptation of spiritual and secular texts, such as poetry, became common.

Chapter 1 discusses the main differences between the Catholic and Protestant liturgy in England. Targoff argues that the Latin service encouraged believers to pray privately, whereas the Protestant Prayer Book left little room for individual utterance. Apparently, the Protestants feared the "lewd and perverse imaginings" (16) of the laity, and sought to supplant them completely with collective prayers. Considerations of the Catholic *Primers* and the vernacular *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, show that the parishioners' main activity consisted of "looking up" from personal prayer to the sac-

rament; whereas the Prayer Book demanded complete auditory attention from the audience throughout the entire service. Interestingly, the 1552 revisions changed many first person singular pronouns to plural, making the utterances even more collective. The domestic use of the Prayer Book is viewed by Targoff as evidence of the public paradigm extending into the private sphere, though one could also interpret it as a sign of the re-privatisation of prayer.

Chapter 2 deals with Puritan and other non-conformist objections to the Prayer Book. They argued that the Prayer Book restricted the self-expression of the individual and they also objected to the mandatory use of the Book of Homilies. Because of their emphasis on the sermon, to be delivered by an educated minister, the non-conformists sought to preserve the difference between the laity's and the clergy's utterances. Hooker argued in response that the edification of the public was not to take place through the minister's words but through the internalisation of their "own," prescribed prayers.

According to Targoff, "the devotional impulses of a liturgical culture interested in generating new texts for corporate worship" (58) led to a great increase in metrical psalm translation in the years following the Edwardian Reformation. The appropriation of poetic forms to liturgical texts is discussed in chapter 3. Though perhaps too much time is spent on medieval versified Psalms, Targoff's readings of the reformation Psalters and the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter in particular are very insightful. She convincingly shows that poetry was recognized as a legitimate, separate category of devotional practice by the early seventeenth century.

As there was no clear distinction between individual and collective utterance in prayer, devotional lyric was also seen "as a viable form of collective expression" (86). Therefore, Targoff argues, upon their publication, George Herbert's poems would simply have been read as prayers, which were always public and private at the same time. In this manner, her analysis of Herbert eclipses the distance between public and private or "liturgy and inwardness" (98) in his poetry, that she claims Wordsworth invented, and

Martz and Lewalski respected. The fact that *The Temple* was printed at Cambridge University Press, which at the time specialized in “common” devotional texts, supports the claims for the relationship between Herbert’s poetry and public prayer.

In the conclusion on the *Bay Psalm Book*, Targoff points out that the singing of the metrical Psalms was sanctioned in the non-liturgical world of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony precisely because of their poetical status, which set them apart from other devotional texts.

In summary, *Common Prayer* is a highly readable book (despite its surprisingly small font!) with chapters that work very well on their own, but even better as a whole. In its explorations of subject-formation and the construction of interiority in post-Reformation England, this book surely stands as one of the most important studies of recent years.

Peter DeSa Wiggins. *Donne, Castiglione, and the Poetry of Courtliness*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000. viii + 174 pp. + 5 illus. \$34.95. Review by EMMA L. ROTH-SCHWARTZ.

In *Donne, Castiglione, and the Poetry of Courtliness*, Peter DeSa Wiggins addresses the problem of meaning and sincerity in John Donne’s secular poetry by casting Donne as a courtier who used principles of courtly behavior derived from Castiglione to promote his own political career. Wiggins uses the *Satyres* and selected lyrics to demonstrate how Castiglione’s principles are active in Donne’s poetry. By virtue of broad familiarity with Donne scholarship and with the social attitudes of Donne’s day, Wiggins brings new insight to the selected poems while he supports his vision of Donne as a courtier whose political aspirations shaped his behavior as a poet. It may be, as Wiggins claims, that the principles he derives from Castiglione can function as a hermeneutical tool for further analysis of Donne’s poetry.

Wiggins asserts that Castiglione's treatise had in the late 1590's been required reading in court circles for some time, and that Donne must have been familiar with it. He further asserts that Donne internalized its characters' values and worked to demonstrate his own worthiness to assume a position at court. It is easy to imagine Donne among the courtiers of Urbino, vying for distinction in the Duchess's witty parlor games; it is also very useful to be reminded by Wiggins that Donne never intended to be remembered for his poetry, and that in fact he may have held those who live by their pens in some disesteem, at least according to *Satyre II*. Wiggins portrays Donne as a member of the cultural system of court life whose poems explicitly reflect his commitment to a social and political structure that he was never able to be fully part of.

Furthermore, Wiggins postulates that throughout the *Satyres* and love poems, Donne used four techniques of courtly discourse demonstrated by the characters of *The Courtier*: 1.) The courtier is "disabused"; that is, aware of his own contingency and of his dependence on powerful others, and therefore tolerant of opposing points of view; 2.) Therefore, the courtier must rely on his ability to maneuver others into agreement with him by means of witty argument and turns of speech, making moves in a game but perhaps not advocating a position in which he strongly believes; 3.) His gamesmanship must appear as effortless virtuosity suggesting excellence in matters of more import and belying his own stake in the game; 4.) And to attest to his honesty, the courtier confesses his own ability to deceive, a disclaimer which is meant to disarm by surrendering the deadlier weapons of the courtly game. Although Wiggins does not discuss it, the Carey letter in particular benefits from being seen as a sparkling courtly trifle, meant to amuse and to impress, but certainly not to be taken literally.

Unsurprisingly, given his view of Donne's character, Wiggins relies heavily on John Carey and Arthur F. Marotti and on other commentators who emphasize opportunism, ambition, and guilt as strong elements of Donne's character. Wiggins also relies on Milgate and the Oxford editors perhaps more than is wise now that the *Donne Variorum* is becoming available; his use of these

sources is not uncritical, but his preference may have blinded him to sources that might have strengthened his case. Two lacunae in particular stand out as curious: John Shawcross's note on the speaker and interlocutor of *Satyre I* being the soul and the body would have enriched Wiggins' argument, and Ted-Larry Pebworth's treatment of manuscript publication and coterie poetry might have been used to support Wiggins's discussion of Donne's political ambition and self-promotion. Most questionable is Wiggins's dismissive comment on Shawcross's dating of the *Satyres* to 1697-98; Wiggins prefers a later date, apparently only because he believes that Egerton is an unseen but active presence in *Satyres III-IV*.

But perhaps the most significant weakness of Wiggins's approach is lack of consistency in separating the speaker from the poet. Wiggins does make this separation in his discussions of elegies and sonnets, but he interprets the *Satyres* as straightforward autobiography. This is risky in Donne criticism, especially in view of Wiggins's own belief that Donne's secular poems were calculated for political effect. The *Satyres* may have been intended as one book, as Wiggins supposes, but that they tell a straightforward story of Donne's own brief career at court is highly conjectural.

But there is great value in Wiggins's contention that Donne actually meant something that should be understood in terms of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and not in terms of twentieth century critical preoccupations. In fact, Donne's sincerity is a major theme of this book, as the courtier's sincerity is a major theme in Castiglione; Wiggins has made a significant contribution here in laying out the nature and extent of that sincerity.

Most of Wiggins's book is occupied with discussions of individual poems in which the four codes enumerated above are used to resolve a crux or to enrich our understanding. Although his discussion of the *Satyres*, in which all four codes are analyzed at length, suffers from the autobiographical approach, discussions of other poems are very cogent; Wiggins's commentary applies the four codes of the courtier to interpretation of "Air and Angels," "The Canonization," and "A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day," among

others. His complex, unexpected, and convincing reading of l. 25 of "Air and Angels" allows the reader to make satisfying sense of the chiasmus in ll. 27-28. Introduction of the concept of palinode, or retraction of what has been advanced in another poem, is a productive way of looking at poems that seem to contradict each other, such as "The Canonization" and "Nocturnall." Wiggins sees pairs of contradictory poems as the sort of game playing in which a courtier takes a position as a move in order to provoke a response. The courtier, according to Wiggins, is led by his own dependent status to use artifice to bring out truth.

Donne, Castiglione, and the Poetry of Courtliness certainly repays the reader with original insights into the poems it treats. But beyond that, Wiggins offers a convincing way of seeing Donne's poetry as purposeful and deeply felt but not anachronistically confessional. By respecting Donne's late Renaissance context he brings the poetry alive in a way that twentieth-century orthodoxies often fail to do.

Susan J. Owen, ed. *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001. xvi + 456 pp. \$99.50. Review by SUSAN B. IWANISZIW, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR.

This collection of 25 essays written by a number of stellar specialists in Restoration drama fulfills its titular promise to complement the dramatic texts and contemporaneous criticism that constitute the received canon. The collection also stimulates an expansion of that canon by its inclusion of less familiar but no less fascinating topics, which makes it an ideal text for mapping a Restoration revival. Despite the relative brevity of this literary period, *circa* 1660 to 1714, the re-introduction of drama after Charles II's restoration, its public staging and its topical economic, political, and cultural themes demand renewed scholarly inquiry in our own age of rapid global transformations.

Happily, the collection as a whole is sufficiently varied and well-written to be entertaining and instructive for the novice and

experienced scholar alike. These essays are anchored in history—whether the history of political systems, staging, or authorial biography—and few fail to fulfill this criterion of excellence. Mita Choudhury's disconcertingly saurian introduction to her critique of *The Prince of Angola* and her scant research into John Ferriar's involvement with Manchester's role in the abolition of the slave trade constitute one of the few disappointments of the book. For the most part, the editor has judiciously fostered a cultural studies approach, organizing the essays into three major sections. Part I, "The Drama in Context," covers the historical, theatrical, and social ramifications of dramatic entertainment; Part II, "Kinds of Drama," deals with variations in genre and issues of popular appeal; and Part III, "Dramatists," juxtaposes playwrights, both familiar and unfamiliar, whose works promote useful comparisons and contrasts in terms of authorship, genre, theme, or context.

Accordingly, this collection serves two vital functions. Primarily, it familiarizes students and new teachers with the vast range of canonical and innovative plays that competed for audience attention at this historical juncture. The essays constitute a reflexive network that includes plot summaries, crucial authorial, political, and social background as well as details about the theaters and techniques of stage performance. The clarity of presentation in these chapters makes the book an especially valuable resource for students embarking on research and for teachers establishing a new or more adventurous course curriculum. Totally self-justifying are those chapters that include readings and background material for essays or course construction based on genre or on themes such as libertinism, monarchical representation, actresses, and character types. At the same time, of course, the essays tend to solidify and expand existing knowledge while rarely venturing on to wholly novel ground. Secondarily, then, this volume provides for the seasoned scholar a comprehensive reference source illuminating in one handy volume the vast range of Restoration theatrical entertainment, both staged and printed. To be sure, the essays cannot lay claim to closure in any one topic, but each serves as a viable template from which to fashion further development. The notable

gap in the collection is a chapter on the emergence of extra-literary publication in the forms of literary biography appended to printed works and literary magazines that typically included dramatic reviews. To be fair, these extra-textual materials emerged toward the end of this era and typically acquired cachet later in the eighteenth century. Overall, Owen must be commended for the helpful organization of chapters, her editorial expertise in consolidating and facilitating the expansion of existing scholarship, and for her index which permits a quick cross-reference of innumerable themes and approaches.

The chapters are invariably well-formulated, but their variety is so great that appreciation of individual studies depends upon subjective interests. Of idiosyncratic importance to this reviewer are the editor's own contribution, "Restoration Drama and Politics: An Overview," that exposes evidence countering the common fallacies circulating in modern scholarship about the effects of political loyalties on dramatic production and reception (Part I); Todd S. Gilman's "London Theatre Music, 1660-1719" that provides an edifying account of the musicality of the Restoration stage—the music ranging from songs and tunes in the spoken play to the masque or musical interlude, the semi-opera or dramatic opera, and the English Italianate opera (Part II); and the much-needed treatments by Christopher J. Wheatley and Don-John Dugas of the minor writers Thomas Shadwell and Thomas Dufey and Elkanah Settle, John Crowne and Nahum Tate respectively (Part III).

More generally, in Part I, dramatic culture is refracted through a variety of social and cultural lenses. Edward A. Langhans recapitulates the standard history of theatrical revival supplemented by analysis of scenic innovation, the use of the forestage, and audience status. Matthew J. Kinservik reviews the methods and effectiveness of theatrical regulation to encompass performance, morality, and business modalities. Brian Corman, on the other hand, establishes a much-needed assessment of the reception history of various plays in order to illustrate the symbiosis of canon and repertory. Without doubt, contemporary scholarship frequently

fails to take into account the contemporaneous popularity of public entertainment in order to focus on those texts that fit fashionable critical paradigms. Now a paradigmatic text for colonial inquiry, Aphra Behn's *Widow Ranter* was performed, in its own time, quite unsuccessfully; its enthusiastic reception now is a salient example of our inadvertent distortion of Restoration tastes and mores. In Part II, in a chapter covering the conventions of authority and genre, Sandra Clark stresses the crucial mode of adaptation in the repertory at a time when the theaters were opened under strict regulation and new plays scarce. Addressing the well-known adaptations of Shakespeare's plays—including Nahum Tate's immensely well-received but now almost universally denigrated *King Lear*—Clark also reminds us of the almost forgotten re-workings of Beaumont and Fletcher plays which, as she observes, were far more popular than Shakespearean adaptations during the early years of the Restoration (284). Part III continues this essentially authorial-generic/authorial-thematic emphasis to encompass such combinations as Paulina Kewes's excellent evaluation of Otway's and Lee's plays and the changing valence of their embodiment of history within contemporaneous culture; Miriam Handley's informative contrast between the reputations of William Congreve and Thomas Southerne; and Richard Kroll's erudite evaluation of William Davenant's influence on John Dryden in a chapter that implicitly challenges Owen's own methodology in his criticism of any overly coherent or transparent application of thematics (315).

The overriding impact of Owen's volume is cautionary. Without knowledge of the conventions operating during the Restoration, culturally and theatrically, we cannot assess or analyze its dramatic themes and their import with any degree of authority. This volume guides us, as Kroll's chapter implies, perhaps too easily through the maze of overlapping and competing performances, texts, and contemporaneous and modern criticism, but it does not fail to illuminate the complexity and range of this remarkable, yet much maligned, age of theatrical innovation.

Tiffany Stern. *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000. xii + 337 pp. \$65.00. Cloth. Review by ANDREW FLECK, SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY.

Dramatic performance, especially early modern performance, would seem to be ephemeral. How can we really know how the performance of an Elizabethan play would have looked? We have a few fragments of journals, some financial records, and an ambiguous sketch or two, but reconstructing the conditions of the first performance of, say, *As You Like It*, would seem at first glance dubious at best. Recreating the conditions leading up to such a performance might therefore seem nigh impossible. But paradoxically, as Tiffany Stern demonstrates in her remarkable *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, it may be possible to know more about the preparations for an early modern performance than about the performance itself. Assembling a truly daunting number of instances from archives and from references embedded in playtexts themselves, Stern offers a wonderful three-dimensional look into the process of preparing and performing plays between 1567 and 1780. This encyclopedic study is indispensable for those interested in the conditions of England's early modern theater.

Stern covers five periods in this study: an overlapping discussion of Ben Jonson's theater and Shakespeare's up to the Caroline stage, followed by discussions of Restoration theater, early eighteenth-century theater under Cibber, and the practical changes to mid-century theater under Garrick. In each section, she approaches the questions of theatrical practice logically and systematically. She first provides some background information, follows this with an extended discussion of rehearsal practice, then comments on the performance. Under each subheading, Stern further divides her discussion so as to throw light on the duties and practice of all personnel involved in that particular portion of preparation or presentation. This helpful approach makes this study vital on many scores: it traces the waxing and waning of the importance of each participant in the theater, showing when and where the author or the actors or the managers might be more important to the prepa-

ration of a play for the stage; and importantly, it makes this wonderful study function as a useful reference, as a reader may consult a single section to find the information he or she may need about a single element of theatrical practice in a particular decade from these two centuries. It is one of the book's great strengths.

Stern begins her work with a discussion of the fluidity of terms that would eventually acquire more or less fixed theatrical meanings in later centuries. As she demonstrates, the term "rehearsal" could be quite flexible in its denotations, running from rehearsing a lesson—something akin to "reciting"—through singular or continuous recallings, into imitations or mimickings, and including specific types of sermonizing. All these meanings contribute in one way or another to the "rehearsal" as preparatory to a performance, but even then, as Stern shows, the performance itself could be a "rehearsal" as acting companies were required to "rehearse" a play—either as a kind of audition or to receive permission—for civic authorities: mayors in cities visited while touring, or the Master of the Revels while in London. The companies also maintained the fiction that their regular performances in London were themselves "rehearsals" for court performances. Even early performances—we'd call them previews—functioned as a kind of rehearsal. At the heart of Stern's book is the point that rehearsal was an amorphous concept whose beginning and end is hard to delineate.

Stern arranges each chapter of her text around an ideal chronology, allowing readers to compare the process of acquiring, preparing, revising, presenting, and further revising a play across different periods. Before 1642, the process was extraordinarily hectic, though the pace slowed in the last years before the theaters were closed. At the end of the Elizabethan period, the professional companies put on dozens of plays each year—some of which, admittedly, were revivals of older plays, but even then there had been lengthy stretches in which the plays were out of use and the revivals would have additional material engrafted. When a play was nearing completion, the sharers would hear it and decide whether to take on the play; if they did, sides—speeches preceded by three

word cues—would be distributed to actors for individual study, by far the most time-consuming part of preparation. Actual group rehearsal, Stern suggests, was not necessarily required, and frequently the play might be put on without the actors knowing anything about the rest of the play. The effect of such haphazard rehearsal may have been ludicrous—and strain the modern imagination—but Stern finds evidence that actors may have stood on stage without always being in character or engaged in the play's progress. With so little rehearsal, Stern finds, plays could be prepared in under a week in a pinch (though three weeks seems to have been the norm). Variations on this typical period of preparation might include time for individual instruction from the playwright (in which the actor was meant to parrot the pronunciation and gesture given to him) or partial rehearsal before the typically single group rehearsal of provincial, university, and even public theaters. The playwright need not have been extensively involved in preparing the play, though after the first night's performance some revision might be necessary if the play were not damned and were to be performed subsequently.

Changes in the theater business after the Restoration (beyond the much-remarked matter of women on stage) brought some elements of the previous steps in preparing a play to the fore and had some small impact on the matter of rehearsal itself. Because it was imperative that a play gratify its initial audience, and because playwrights now had to hope that a play would reach a third night's performance (the "author's benefit"), changes in the preparation of the play took place. One new step in preparation was that the author, or his or her designee, would now read the completed play to the company as a whole for its judgment, though here the author's responsibility ended and individual study of parts was still the norm. Roles would be learned, not only as lines to memorized but as performances handed down from one generation to the next, supposedly linked to the actual performance styles of the pre-1642 theater and back to Shakespeare's instruction itself. Because plays would now have short "runs" rather than a few single performances, more time—perhaps as much as a month—might be devoted to pre-

paring the play, though ensemble rehearsal was still not very extensive. Rehearsing a play seriously was potentially a waste of time if its initial audience hissed it from the stage; no one could be fully committed to a play until it had survived its first performance. The first several performances of a play—including preview performances for influential patrons—might in effect serve as “substitute rehearsals” themselves (143).

The amount of time devoted to rehearsal continued to expand through the eighteenth century and at the same time the author’s importance to preparing a play continued to erode as actors took on greater responsibility. The author might not be present at the judgmental reading, during which the actors would decide whether a proposed play would suit. Ensemble rehearsal continued to be less important, though there was more emphasis on attending these, a rule that seems to have been honored in the breach of it. At the beginning of the century, the prompter comes to the fore as one who holds the performance together—there are many more metatheatrical references to the prompter in this period and printed texts often advertised themselves as coming from the prompt book, especially the book of the famous prompter William Chetwood. With the advent of Garrick on the English stage, some small revolutions in rehearsal began, though these were primarily a matter of style—handed-down performances were increasingly done away with. Garrick’s micromanaging served to extend the period of rehearsal, though not significantly. Nevertheless, Stern concludes, by the end of the eighteenth century, Garrick’s theater was not significantly different from Shakespeare’s. As she concludes, “Theatrical preparation did not fundamentally alter between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, though its emphases changed” (289–90).

Stern’s very dense, rich study is sure to spark heated debate. One might ask, for instance, to what extent evidence drawn from plays themselves constitutes viable support for a thesis about theatrical preparation or practice. Theater practitioners may doubt that plays could be prepared with the speed and in the way Stern describes. And yet her argument is quite compelling. The sheer

amount of dramatic references to the preparation of plays lends credence to the conclusions Stern draws here, and the exigencies of a wide and diverse repertory in the early theater certainly suggest that theatrical practice then could not be the same as it is now, the rehearsal itself being one likely space in which that practice differed. *The Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, then, is a truly landmark study, one whose thesis is worth serious consideration as we revise our understanding of early modern theatrical practice.

Larry F. Norman, ed. *The Theatrical Baroque*. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2001. viii + color plates + 70 pp. \$22.00. Review by KIKI GOUNARIDOU AND NICOLE GARVEY, SMITH COLLEGE.

The Theatrical Baroque is the catalogue of a 2001 exhibition at the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago. As the Director of the Museum, Kimberly Rorschach, explains in the "Foreword" that the book's goal—as well as that of the exhibition—is "to explore some of the many intersections between theatre and the visual arts in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe" (vi). It includes eight essays and numerous color and black and white plates as well as a "Checklist" of the 31 exhibited artworks by Callot, Quinault, Carlone, and van Dyck, among others. Larry F. Norman's introduction to the book is followed by seven essays, which discuss some of the exhibited works within the context of larger issues and ideologies that shaped baroque culture. As Rorschach further explains, the book and the exhibition "investigate how the more familiar devices of the period—grand scenography and dramatic gestures, for example—illuminate critical debates in baroque culture, including those concerning the proper role of art, the relationship of reality to representation, and the nature of social hierarchies" (vi).

In his introductory essay, "The Theatrical Baroque," Norman notes that, flourishing in the mid-seventeenth century, theatre was the most popular form of entertainment and art, as it "had allied

art and technology to create a medium that vanquished all competitors" (1). He further explains that the goal of this collaborative scholarly effort is to explore and identify the factors that contributed to the relationship between theatre and the visual arts in the baroque period. These include the Church's support for art that upheld the moral standards of Catholicism, the rising political power of the princely courts, and the aristocratic and powerful audiences that found their way to the theatre.

In "Baroque Space and the Art of the Infinite," Robert S. Huddleston discusses the struggle between "exhilaration and foreboding" that characterized the art and drama of the baroque period. In the seventeenth century, popular scientific thought centered on the idea of an infinite universe, one that extended beyond earth into a system of other planets. This way of thinking translated into art that was excited at this prospect, yet fearful of what it could bring. Thus, as art began to create illusions of space and possibilities of a world outside the canvas, so did the theatre use tricks involving scenery, drapery, and lighting to create the idea of infinite space.

Josh Ellenbogen's "Representational Theory and the Staging of Social Performance" highlights the difference between depiction of reality and depiction of reality artistically exaggerated, as both of these qualities are found in the art and theatre of the baroque period. As an example, Ellenbogen discusses Molière, whose work "represents an art form that duplicates rather than amplifies its subjects" (23). In concluding, Ellenbogen describes baroque art as being stuck between these two kinds of representation, thus creating a tension of ideas and concepts.

Brandy Flack and Rebekah Flohr, in their short essay "Interlude: Sets for Social Performance," highlight the relationship between theatre and social behavior by discussing the theatrical elements in the lives of the upper classes and illuminating the role of Louis XIV and his palace in Versailles, as the Sun King and his courtiers placed great importance on appearance, decorum, and gesture that served to place people into certain social contexts.

In “The Theatre of the World: Staging Baroque Hierarchies,” Anita M. Hagerman-Young and Kerry Wilks discuss the relationship between art and nature. The metaphor of “the world as a stage” or *theatrum mundi*, was used frequently to describe the hierarchical qualities that represented the world and the forces that threatened it. The use of horizontal or vertical lines in a painting or on a set, for example, helped to position things in an extremely orderly way. The point, as the authors explain, was to represent the importance of structure and hierarchy in the world and to illuminate the changes and tensions that existed within that order.

In “Staging the Gaze,” Delphine Zurfluh points out that the importance of the gaze in a painting or a play is often overlooked, yet is an essential element in most baroque art. During the baroque period, art was meant to evoke certain emotions and the audience was supposed to identify with the characters on stage or the figures in a painting. This was done primarily, Zurfluh argues, through the gaze; whether on stage or in a painting, a person gazing sorrowfully at the floor or looking longingly to the heavens will evoke certain emotions in the spectators that will allow them to identify with the characters. The gaze, Zurfluh explains, “reflects what is going on behind the curtain and in the wings of the stage” (47).

Matt Hunter’s “Time and the Baroque World” examines the representation of time in baroque art and theatre. The genre of *ars moriendi*, or the “art of dying well,” was a popular expression of the transience of the world and the value of our time on earth. The “sameness of all men” in front of death, regardless of their class or social status, became a reoccurring theme in the art of this period. Hunter concludes his essay with the discussion of another important artistic concern of the baroque period, that of *vraisemblance*, or verisimilitude, according to which the representation of people and places should be as close to reality as possible, thus illuminating the ever-changing world and the swiftness of time.

In the last essay of the book, “The Baroque Pastoral, or The Art of Fragile Harmony,” Véronique Sigu explores the relation-

ship between pastoral theatre and baroque pastoral painting. Signu maintains that the pastoral genre was at first identified by a plain style, but pastoral theatre and art became more complex and enjoyable as their simplicity was highlighted by self-conscious and artistically elaborate ideas and images.

The Theatrical Baroque is a visually appealing and instructive book. It is not a comprehensive treatment of the exhibition at the Smart Museum, but the result of an interdisciplinary scholarly project that promises to be very useful to art and theatre historians as well as to cultural critics.

Juliet Fleming. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. vi + 224 pp. + 33 illus. \$35.00. Review by THOMAS H. LUXON, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

This book recovers for critical attention a range of early modern writing practices hitherto either unknown or under-appreciated: "graffiti, tattooing, and the inscription of verse on implements, clothes and other objects" (9). In the process of such recovery, Juliet Fleming also invites us to consider two bold theses. The first is that early modern readers and writers did not rely as thoroughly as we do on a distinction between meaning and the medium that we regard as its vehicle; nor did they so clearly and persistently privilege meaning over matter. She claims at least some early modern practices as exceptions to "Derrida's rule that the Western philosophical tradition is characterized, from Plato to the present, by its systematic 'disdain of the signifier'" (25). Fleming takes more seriously than most Michel Foucault's description of the pre-Enlightenment episteme as one that regarded writing as primal language rather than simply a means for recording or remembering speech. Foucault's "Renaissance episteme," notes Fleming, "draws presence out of voice and gives it to writing" (27), and regards God's revelation of himself in the world as typically written, not spoken. The writing practices Fleming recovers normally are left out of our Enlightenment-born category of lit-

erature because they fail to survive the abandonment of matter—walls, window, skin, hair knots, clothing, pots—as extraneous to meaning.

Fleming's second bold thesis follows from the first:

The early modern period had a way of understanding the relation of writing to the mind, and to the world outside it, that was not that of representation or reference. This relation . . . proposes a mode of knowledge that simultaneously thinks through matter and accords it a sensibility of its own . . . it is the product of a way of thinking that held the natural and fabricated world to be structured by a non-propositional intelligence shared with the human mind. (164)

Fleming argues both theses successfully and uses them to produce wonderful readings of wall-writing both at home and in church, impresas and sentences written on clothes and jewelry. The sense of a sentence cannot be gathered independent of where it is written, and how. Over the mantel, in the abbey close, on the cathedral wall, upon a knife, or within the circumference of a ring, all these places and materials mean differently, and Fleming helps one see how. Especially fascinating is her brief consideration of white-wash as an early version of Freud's mystic writing pad (73-74) and the ambivalent uses to which whitewash was put by religious reformers (76-78).

Fleming's discussion of tattoos (chapter three) questions familiar notions of self-expression and, even more interesting, notions about where selves exist. Do tattoos offer a mode of self-expression, writing and drawing on the skin a representation of an individuality residing beneath? Or are selves constituted in large measure on the surface and then projected onto an imagined inwardness? And how did early modern people read tattoos? Fleming reminds us of the important role assigned to tattooed people in the early modern development of a British national consciousness. Tattoos marked the difference between the savage bodies of the new world and the Christian bodies of the old, but they also marked the bodies of those most ancient Britons, the Picts:

“Within the terms of the uneven cultural grammar that is the ground on which the early modern antiquarians began to work out a discourse of British national sentiment, the tattooed ancestor stands for a barbarian past that is at once acknowledged and disavowed” (106). The British self comes to be imagined not just in opposition to the practices and bodies of those in other times and other places, but also in this “avowal-that-is-not-one” implicit in Camden’s term for Pictish tattoos—the “*Britannorum stigmata*” (106).

Fleming’s careful book winds up with a Lacanian reading of early modern pots, those material forms that probably best illustrate the emergence of media as vessels even as they anxiously recall and punningly evoke earlier notions of “speaking crockery” and “the most common metaphor for mortality,” the consanguinity of flesh and clay (151). She suggests, with a *•iekian* twist, that we can also read such pots and mugs as emblematic of an emergent anxiety over modern subjectivity: “The pot is the first object organized around emptiness, and it thus represents the creation of a void in the real on which representation is predicated” (163).

Fleming’s second thesis, that the signifier “operated in the period as an image that neither imitated the world, nor expressed the mind, but was at one and the same time both part of the sensible world, and a mode of displaying the perceptual and intellectual complexities of man’s lived engagement with that world” (132), might be regarded as the latest contribution to a discussion that began with Coleridge and romantic theories of representation. I’m not convinced that she brings that discussion to a close, nor that she has rid the discussion of the nostalgia and mysticism that has always characterized romantic reflections upon the Renaissance. But she has produced a book that brings new theory, new readings, and new analytical rigor to such discussions.

David Hawkes. *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature, 1580-1680*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. xii + 294 pp. \$55.00. Review by WENDY HYMAN, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

In *La Société du Spectacle*, the French theoretician Guy Debord defines the late stage of capital as one in which workers are not merely alienated from their labor, but in which representation is reified over actual life (think “reality TV”). “Spectacular” society, he argues, mystifies objects to the detriment of subjects, makes us all observers rather than participants in our very lives. Walter Benjamin, likewise, condemned bourgeois culture’s investment of certain objects (original works of art, in particular) with a quasi-religious “aura”—a propensity he associated not merely with capitalism, but with fascism. Yet one need not be a post-Marxist critic to recognize that our culture fetishizes commodities, and is dazzled by bread and circuses. Indeed, argues David Hawkes in *Idols of the Marketplace*, a heated intellectual discourse about “objectification” and commodity fetishism was already well underway by the seventeenth century, albeit conducted via somewhat different terminology. What we recognize as commodity fetishism, that is, is just idolatry by another name.

If this equivalence sounds spurious, Hawkes argues, that is only because of our historical amnesia about the true scope of the term “idolatry.” Iconoclasts were often religiously motivated, to be sure. But they shared with twentieth-century leftist theoreticians a comprehensive sense of the interrelations between market, ideology, and culture; and the conviction that economic infrastructure largely determines the shape of spiritual, social, and political life. As such, the Early Modern critique of “idolatry” comprises more diverse realms than intellectual historians have heretofore recognized: “When, in 1583, Phillip Stubbes looked at the London playhouses, he saw ‘idolatry.’ When, in 1643, John Milton considered the divorce laws, he found ‘idolatry.’ When, in 1680, John Bunyan examined the workings of retail trade, he discovered ‘idolatry’” (5). Either Early Modernists were using “idolatry” as the loosest

of metaphors, or they meant the term to point beyond the misguided veneration of images towards a more fundamental, ubiquitous problem. *Idols of the Marketplace* makes the case that Early Modern authors from Shakespeare to Bunyan thought of religious idolatry as a symptom of a culturally endemic error: the transposition of *nomos* and *phusis*, of appearance and essence, of signifier and signified. More controversially, Hawkes argues that these authors placed the blame for this reversal squarely at the feet of exchange-value economics. The transition from a bullionist to a market economy was akin to a postlapsarian falling away from Presence, as market forces began to occupy the cultural space of “pure signification” once held exclusively by God.

An argument with this range, ambition, and confessed ideological agenda might well have been fumbled in less adept hands, but Hawkes’ treatment is nuanced, apt, and almost always convincing. He ranges widely and gracefully over historical, literary, and theoretical texts; draws as fluently from Luther and Paul as from Marx; and undertook considerable primary research in economic, theological, and popular documents, making the volume well at home in Palgrave’s interdisciplinary Early Modern Cultural Series. Some of *Idols’* nine short chapters offer genuinely original readings; all are scrupulously researched and smart.

Among the volume’s real successes, fittingly, are analyses not limited by an economic take on [anti-] idolatry, but which exemplify the larger scope of that term as introduced by Hawkes early on. For example, one chapter discusses Milton’s divorce tracts, wherein he condemns as idolatrous those who permit divorce only in cases of adultery—as if carnal union were the most important element of the marital contract (177). They thereby idolatrously promote one of marriage’s pleasures and signifiers with its true purpose. A chapter on Herbert, likewise, shows the poet’s ideological opposition to Baconian empiricism as “among such archetypally carnal temptations as ambition and sensuality” (137). Empiricism is classed among idolatrous errors, that is, because its proponents take as Truth the input of their fallen senses, and argue for a division between subject and object that Herbert’s poetics try to

unify. Hawkes' treatment of Donne, meanwhile, offers a fascinating account of alchemical teleology (gold was pursued not for its monetary value, but because of its ontological supremacy) via a new reading of the Anniversary poems, among others. If at times the intellectual history crowds the literary analysis, one gets the sense that it is only because Hawkes' fascinating readings are bursting at the seams: he would have nimbly consumed a book of twice this length.

One of the most exciting and complex chapters in the volume is "Sodomy, Usury, and the Narrative of Shakespeare's Sonnets." Hawkes pleases and surprises by using the Sonnets, rather than *The Merchant of Venice*, to treat these issues. He begins by historicizing Elizabethan sexual politics and the curious (to us) equivalence that culture drew between sodomy and usury—which were seen as "mirror images": "Sodomy is sinful because it makes what is properly generative sterile," Hawkes explains, "while usury is sinful because it makes what is properly sterile generative" (99). But Shakespeare, Hawkes suggests, upends the culture's Aristotelian teleology on its own terms by emphasizing the generative and therefore (here's the twist) *usurious* nature of heterosexuality. The poet thereby vindicates homoerotic or sodomitical desire, and redefines the "natural" (106-7). Again, this material takes us some distance from traditional readings of idolatry per se, but it is very much in keeping with the more capacious aims of *Idols*. The chapters on Bunyan and Trahearne are perhaps the most successful. They work through the issues of divine versus market value, and do so through authors who self-consciously embroiled themselves in both the economic and religious vocabulary of their day, thereby allowing Hawkes an argument which hugs his primary terms more closely.

At times the argument is somewhat counterintuitive. "Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in the Antitheatrical Controversy" offers the surprising thesis that a concern over commercialism is the real cause of some Puritans' antitheatrical attacks. Theater stages "art designed with the primary end of making money. But making money is not the natural *telos* of art. Therefore, according

to Aristotelian teleology, the commercial theater is bad art. This, it seems to me, is the philosophical heritage of Renaissance antitheatricalism" (86). Hawkes' primary documents support this reading—and as historians of prostitution and petty theft know, the commercial nature of the theater contributed in more ways than one to its "immorality". But *Idols* does not explain what, in this context, is so particular about the *public* as a new source of funding for art. Why would producing art for a patron not likewise upend art's natural *telos*? Is patronage somehow less sullyng than the marketplace? It would have been an interesting question to have taken up.

Idols of the Marketplace does a fantastic job locating the Early Modern critique of capitalism within contemporary debates about "idolatry," drastically expanding our sense of the cultural work that term was brought in to do, and thereby training us to hear a conversation in places we might otherwise not have been listening. Conversely, at times Hawkes' argument verges towards a positivistic identification of idolatry and exchange-value economics, without accounting for the fact that pre-market societies were hardly free from idolatry or objectification themselves. Feudal England, after all, was a breeding-ground for just the kind of fetishistic idolatry that Protestant reformers attacked. And the alienation produced by a market economy, however real, is not likely to be ameliorated by a return to feudalism. But Hawkes' lucid, provocative account deftly locates the Early Modern critique of commodity fetishism and aptly diagnoses no small component of the economic pathology of this last half millennium. If we fail to see all its ramifications or to imagine a preferable system, that rather impugns the totality of capitalism than the ethical critique of its opponents—who cannot "be fairly asked to abide by the decision of a tribunal" (in the words of Francis Bacon) "which is itself on trial."

John Michael Archer. *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. ix + 240 pp. \$49.50. Review by GALINA YERMOLENKO, DESALES UNIVERSITY.

John Archer's *Old Worlds* joins the growing body of colonial and cultural materialist studies of early modern Europe. Through eyewitness travel narratives, second-hand compendia of geographical and historical knowledge, and literary texts, the book explores the discourse of "decline" of the Old World non-European civilizations—i.e., the emergence of racial, sexual, and gender stereotypes about Egypt, Southwest Asia, Russia, and India—in early modern English writing. Archer's work does much to address the current lack of attention toward pre-eighteenth-century writings about Africa and Asia in current scholarship. Although Western scholarship on early modern Russia is rather well developed, and despite Russia's never having been part of civilized antiquity, Archer adds Russia to this list as an anti-model to the rest of the old worlds, an inheritor to the old anti-civilization of Scythia.

The book's major claim is that the English views of the old Eastern civilizations underwent radical reinterpretation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—from the veneration of them as cradles of learning and civilization, in the classical and biblical traditions, to a racist and supremacist perception of them as morally degenerate and decadent "peripheries." Reading early modern texts against classical authoritative sources on geographical and cultural knowledge allows the author to show the rewriting of "European traditions about a plural antiquity from the English perspective, with consequences for developing notions of racial and sexual difference" (19).

Archer connects this shift with the nascent capitalist expansion of early modern Europe and the ensuing new "international division of labor"—a claim largely informed by the neo-Marxist methodology, such as the world-systems theory of Wallerstein and Braudel with its interest in the "disposition of social relations across a geographical area" (5). At times, however, it is unclear to what

extent Archer relies on or critiques the world-systems theory. Wallerstein's claims that race is the "product and expression of the international division of labor between core and periphery" (9) and that such division legitimizes the exploitation of some groups by other groups within the system (6) underlie Archer's main argument. On the other hand, the validity of the world-systems theory for studying early modern Europe's role in the Old World is undercut by the author's critique of Wallerstein's rise-fall cyclical model (see 7; 68). Relying on a large body of recent cultural studies, Archer would modify the otherwise workable world-systems theory, advocating that "changes within economic systems be ascribed to chaotic, and sometimes violent, restructurings rather than regular cycles" and that the "'rise' and 'fall' model should be conceived as a restructuring of preexistent world economies" (7).

Early modern restructuring, argues Archer further, was taking place along gender lines: while the consumption of foreign luxury goods by European women was made synonymous with the process of "civilization" in early modern imagination, the colonized cultures (particularly oriental women) were more and more associated with corrupt and sterile sexuality (cf. 7-8).

Modeling, or "the systematic imagining of the world, and of the old worlds of Africa, South Asia, and Russia, in European texts" (11), forms the second methodological concept informing Archer's study. The idea of modeling provides a useful corrective to the systematic models of Wallerstein and Braudel in that "the analysis of models and systems in cultural theory can be used to expose the interests they inevitably perpetuate and partly serve" (18). Archer proposes that some aspects of the world-systems theory be combined with the critique of global models.

Overall, Archer's book is a meticulous study of a vast number of primary and secondary sources, and the author's erudition on the subject is very impressive. He skillfully combines ample research data with his own insights and delights the reader with in-depth discussions of—among other things—the Egyptian sphinx, the etymology of the word "slave" in various languages, the location of Eden, and the Hindu practice of *sati*.

The combination of travel narratives with literary texts in Archer's study raises, however, a few concerns. While the changes in perception can be more objectively traced in travel accounts and geographical narratives, establishing such clear-cut shifts in literary texts can be fraught with uncertainty. To what extent do early modern literary texts—known for their complexities and ambiguities—reflect, confirm, or go against the mainstream views?

This uncertainty is particularly noticeable in chapter 1, which shows how the mixed, complex view of Egypt in geographical compendia of antiquity was rewritten in the first decade of the seventeenth century to associate this region with decadence. While discussing the classical sources (Herodotus, Diodorus, and Heliodorus) in great detail, the chapter rather briefly overviews a few early modern travel accounts on Egypt (cf. 38-42), and the weight of the argument is placed almost entirely on Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Archer's reading of Cleopatra as "Egypt" invokes gender, sexual, and racial stereotypes, but does not show definitively that the play confirms the model of degeneration. The author argues that Egypt was reconstructed in early modern English travel and geographical accounts as a land of monuments and a "place where gender relations were inverted" (60), but he also admits elsewhere in this chapter that Shakespeare's play both "registers the tendency toward degeneration in the early-seventeenth-century discourse on Egypt" and contains "the signs of the other, still mainstream version of Egypt and its antiquity" (45). At the end of this chapter, the reader is left with the impression that Shakespeare presented the dead Cleopatra as a wonderful piece of work (61) and that early modern English fantasy of Egyptian empire was not altogether unattractive. Hence, the author's statements that *Anthony and Cleopatra* "coincides" with the shift in representation of Egypt and that it "both confirms and challenges the way Egypt was coming to be regarded during the period" (20) sound rather inconclusive. Another concern, in this regard, is whether Renaissance narratives of decline should always be viewed as narratives of moral or sexual degeneration.

It appears that literary texts, such as Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra* or Milton's *Paradise Lost* (chapter 2), transcend the clear-cut model of the old world's moral degradation. Although *Paradise Lost* regards all despotism as oriental (99), it also suggests that the glorious Babylonian paradise cannot be regained, not so much because of the region's fall into degeneration, but because of the fallen language and the impossibility to find "one's way back to Paradise through human knowledge about the external world" (91). Moreover, Milton's poem resists the very culture of consumption and commodification that contemporaneous travel accounts celebrate (98-99). As the author shows, in the figure of Milton's Satan—a veritable Renaissance traveler and explorer (86)—the poem criticizes the new imperial drive of the Restoration England, with its commercial ambition and hunger for territory (99).

The portrayal of Russia as "other"—in terms of race, sexuality, and gender in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, and John Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject*—in chapter 3 is likewise uneven. English perception of the uncivilized Scythia and of early modern Russia had remained essentially unchanged: Russia inherited Scythia's uncertain status, in the antique tradition, as both a civilization and anti-civilization. The author focuses more on English "anxiety of influence"—the anxiety of a growing empire about the barbarous Russia's limitless space and lawless excess. Early modern Russia provided such a vast collection of vices for early modern English imagination—servility, barbarism, crudity, drunkenness, darkness of skin ("Russian blackness"), overuse of face painting by women, and sodomy, to name a few—that the author's claims about their literary representations become at times overwhelming. When Archer stresses early modern English associations of Russia with sodomy, are we to assume that Sidney's comparing himself to a "slave-born Muscovite," in *Astrophil and Stella*, also carries this association?

Michèle Longino. *Orientalism in French Classical Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. ix + 274 pp. + 8 illus. \$70.00. Review by SUSAN READ BAKER, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA.

This erudite and timely study makes an exciting contribution to our appreciation of French classical drama, broadening avenues opened earlier by such scholars as Edward Said, Harriet Stone, and Mitchell Greenberg (to name but a few), and affording new perspectives on major works of the canon: *Médée*, *Le Cid*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, *Tite et Bérénice* and *Bérénice*, *Bajazet*, and *Mitridate*. As Longino states in her introduction, “The end-product aims to provide a suggestive space of speculation; it hopes to engage the reader’s participation in the ongoing project of making new sense out of old texts and events” (13). Longino has more than met this goal.

Longino’s thesis is predicated on the notion that the development of “Frenchness” as a collective identity, though not instigated in the seventeenth century, makes marked strides in that era and is intimately linked to the theater, the dominant form of both popular and elite entertainment in the period. As mercantilism brought French entrepreneurs into increased contact with the New World, the Caribbean, and India, the earlier perception of France’s identity, shaped largely by its contacts with Mediterranean “Otherness,” needed revision. Longino argues that the seven plays of her study are linked by their deeper probing of that “Otherness” and hence by the simultaneous constitution of “Frenchness” for contemporary theatergoers. Focusing particularly on the countries bordering the southern and eastern Mediterranean shore, Corneille, Racine, and Molière took up a hodgepodge of stories, myths, and earlier texts of many origins to formulate a proto-colonial ideology that would later justify French expansionism. Central to an exploration of this ideology is Said’s concept of “Orientalism” as “an entire apparatus for essentializing, objectifying, and fantasizing the unfamiliar, for constructing and communicating the ‘unknown’/the ‘different’/the ‘Other’ as a body of knowledge that can be controlled and manipulated at will” (7). Of equal importance to

Longino is the reconstruction of the context of her plays, as can be done by reference to contemporary documents of relevance to the scripts and to their audiences' current preoccupations. Finally, Longino argues that the notion of gender is an unavoidable aspect of the construction of a collective national identity.

Just as her project resists reductive formulation, so too does Longino's critical methodology, which is not limited to any one approach. Though conversant with "The New Historicism' or 'Cultural Poetics,' 'Cultural Materialism' or 'Cultural Studies,' 'Post-colonial Theory,' and especially 'Orientalism'"(10), Longino presents herself primarily as a critic of seventeenth-century French literature. Congruent with this eclectic methodology is her statement that her chapters may be read as single essays, though reading the book as a whole will affect the reader more and, presumably, drive home the persuasiveness of Longino's approach.

Before her reading of seven canonical plays, Longino presents an interesting prelude, "Orientation," which discusses the overweening presence of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern European worldview and the role of the Turk as the principal "Other" for France. Complete with contemporary maps of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and Constantinople, this section sets the stage for the chapters to follow. Despite their scorn for the Muslim world, French travelers were quick to recognize in Ottoman mores the same theatricality at work in their own culture. Role-playing was integral to both cultures, and only in tandem could "Otherness" come into awareness. Avidly read by the French public, French travelogs and correspondence relating the customs of the Ottoman Kingdom prepared and heightened the theater audience's interest in the construction both of a national identity and of the alien "Other."

Chapter One, "*Médée* and the traveler-savant," offers a powerful illustration of new perspectives to be gained when classical drama is read through the prism of contextualization. As is the case with later plays analyzed, a brief plot summary appears first, along with a number of "questions to ponder." Two aspects of Corneille's version of the Medea story have caught Longino's eye:

the introduction of a new protagonist, Pollux, and the fact that Medea no longer gives Creusa the poisoned robe. Rather, Creusa demands it, for her misfortune. Longino contends that Pollux figures the new traveler-savant produced by Richelieu's encouragement of overseas diplomacy and trade. Like Jean Chardin and Jean Thévenot, Pollux is a new kind of anthropologist who returns to his homeland with useful information and understanding of foreign lands and customs. Cognizant of the danger that Asian Medea poses to Greece, Pollux tries in vain to mediate between the sorceress, her faithless husband, and King Creon. Just as Pollux offers "the model of the worldly savant" (61), Corneille's Créuse figures the greedy Western woman of privilege whose materialism apparently justifies the plunder of foreign riches. Longino's reading of *Médée* thus in no wise contests recent feminist readings, but extends and enriches them by viewing Corneille's script as an early meditation on the ministerial promotion of a "colonialist mentality" (76).

Chapter Two, "Staging Politics: *Le Cid*," contains an equally original interpretation of Corneille's best-known play. Here, of course, the Muslim "Other" is explicitly targeted, and royal expansionism is heralded at the close. Longino again makes the point that the maritime threat to France, as figured by the play's Moorish invaders, was the Ottoman Empire that controlled not merely Constantinople, but northern Africa as well. She contends that the Christian/infidel conflict is transmuted in Corneille's play into a subtext of Western superiority vs. Oriental inferiority. In this opposition, Chimène is ideologically grouped with the Moors, for she persistently places herself outside the King's law. Longino's reading convincingly conjoins Chimène and the Moors as marginal "Others."

Longino's central but shorter Chapter Three, "Acculturating the audience: *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*," presents her study's only comedy. Molière's delightful play lends itself well to Longino's project. The traveler-savant of Chapter One returns with the Marseillais merchant D'Arvieux who served as Molière's consultant (111). The struggle for mastery between East and West, be-

tween bourgeoisie and aristocracy, and ultimately between Christian and infidel, is played out in complex patterns in this seemingly frothy *comédie-ballet*. This chapter proves a lynchpin between Longino's analysis of Corneille's plays and the chapters which follow.

Chapter Four, "Orienting the World: organizing competition and gendering geography in *Tite et Bérénice* and *Bérénice*," represents another masterly contribution to the study of classical drama. It is difficult to resist pairing these plays together, for the comparison yields a rich lore of similarities, but most especially differences, between the age's greatest tragedians. According to Longino, both plays were written at the height of French public interest in Orientalism and both are strongly marked by the conceptualization of the (Oriental) "Other" as female. In Corneille's version of the love story, the emperor must overcome Bérénice's feminizing influence to direct the Western State he heads; in Racine, the passive and melancholy Bérénice and Antiochus must be spurned in favor of a manly and ambitious Versailles project.

Chapter Five, "The Stage of France: *Bajazet*, *Mithridate*, communication and the detour," is one of this study's most stimulating chapters. The role of letters in both plays is only one of the links between the two texts, which showcase the failure of all attempts to communicate, to relate, and to overcome ambiguous diplomacy. All the ambivalence of France's relation to the Ottoman foe seems to come to the fore in these two tragedies of Racine, ostensibly written to position France vis-à-vis her Hapsburg adversaries. Nor has Racine forgotten his old enemy Corneille, with whom he continues to engage in figurative combat, outdoing his predecessor in the presentation of a combat by *détours* in order to arrive again at a concept of "Frenchness."

Longino's study is completed by a brief, suggestive "Conclusion," a lengthy "Bibliography," and an index. This volume is an indispensable addition to the library of any serious scholar of early modern France, or for that matter, early modern Europe as a whole. It reinvigorates admiration for the genius of three of France's greatest dramatists while encouraging the reader to relate the sub-

sequent history of France to the preoccupations of the classical period.

Mitchell B. Merback. *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. 352 pp. + 119 illus. \$42.00. Review by DANIEL BORNSTEIN, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Respect for the dignity of the God-man and for an established iconographic tradition combine to impose a certain formalism and restraint on depictions of Christ crucified. Even the suffering Christ of late medieval art, for all his evident pain, still conveys a majestic calm and resignation as he accepts the doom foreordained for him, and for the highest end. No such restraint, however, governed artistic representations of the two thieves crucified with Jesus of Nazareth. Wildly contorted, grossly distorted, broken, writhing, and wracked with unutterable agony, their bodies spoke their pain—indeed, screamed their suffering—from altarpieces and woodcuts, to an audience accustomed to such spectacles of punishment. Of course, no one in late medieval Europe had witnessed an actual crucifixion, since that particular mode of capital punishment had fallen out of use with the fall of the Roman Empire; but crowds did frequent public executions, theaters of cruelty in which condemned criminals suffered and died in nearly every other way the appalling ingenuity of the judiciary could devise. The consequent familiarity with the rituals and spectacle of punitive justice, argues Mitchell Merback, informed both the representation and reception of crucifixion scenes, and fostered “a distinctive mode of *judicial spectatorship*, fretted with the visual habits and devotional attitudes unique to this period” (128). In particular, the hyper-realistic depictions of Calvary so common in northern European art around 1500 tend to show the two thieves with all the signs of bodies broken on the wheel, a gruesome form of execution that would have been all too familiar to both artists and public.

Merback's boldly interdisciplinary approach to this topic draws on legal custom and performance theory, devotional practice and social history, to illuminate a body of visual art. In addressing "issues of audience participation in, and response to, the rituals and spectacle of punishment," he strives "to go beyond the cause and effect juxtapositions of (social) 'context' and (visual) 'text' in order to explore a reciprocal logic, embedded in medieval visuality, that made art and spectacle dialectical halves of the same experiential mode" (129). Merback brings to this task an alert eye and considerable learning, and carries it off with notable success. He writes with great flair, in lush language well suited to the vivid detail of the works he describes. He manages to maintain a tone of empathetic concern for the poor afflicted subjects of these horrendous images, even as he anatomizes their torments. And he makes a convincing case for the continuity "through and between spheres of life that modernity has proclaimed separate: religious devotion, public spectacle, punitive justice and art" (129).

Of course, any work so broadly conceived is bound to test the learning of its author, and Merback stumbles occasionally when he wanders farther afield, as when he reverses the dating of Paul's letters and the gospels (81). He also suffers from an odd verbal habit of reversing his intended meaning: he says that Lucas Cranach the Elder eventually became the scion of a family of painters (13), when what he meant must surely be sire; inverts the distinction between *latria* and *dulia* (49); uses torpor to mean its precise opposite, turbulent energy (72 and 75); and repeatedly asserts that the importance of devotional images can hardly be underestimated (45 and 193), rather than overestimated. On a more serious matter, I wonder about Merback's use of southern texts to describe a process of devotional visualization that is assumed to apply equally to northern art. The art and visual culture of Quattrocento Italy differed significantly from that of northern Europe, and in the examples of Italian crucifixions invoked by Merback, the classicizing formalism of a Mantegna or a Signorelli allows the crucified bodies of Calvary—including the two thieves—a dignity and a stability denied the writhing, tormented figures of Cranach's art.

But all in all, these are minor flaws, and do not seriously impair the value of this compelling and important book. Not the least of its many merits is the way it sensitizes the reader to the sort of connections Merback draws so persuasively and provokes further reflection about art, spectacle, law, and religion. While preparing this review, I happened on an illustration in the legal statutes governing the city of Cortona, in central Italy, depicting the punishment for sodomy: the condemned man is shown hanging by his feet, upside down, in the flames that burn him alive—a humiliating and dehumanizing (as well as especially painful) punishment, and one which (minus the added torment of fire) Merback says was typically reserved for Jews (188-189). Here, *pace* my earlier remarks about the distinction between Italian and northern visual culture, is an image that links the two, and in so doing suggests a visual rhyme between sexual and religious deviance. These harsh images, like the cruel realities to which they refer, are not for the faint of heart or weak of stomach; but they signify too much to be ignored. Mitchell Merback has faced them with unflinching clarity, both intellectual and moral, and we should all be grateful for the delicacy, wisdom, and insight with which he has treated this troubling topic.

Jason Scott-Warren. *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. xii + 273 pp. Review by EUGENE D. HILL, MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE.

Harington once wrote that “of all the Cases I haue loued the *Dative*” (158); and throughout his life he was an inveterate bestower of individualized copies of his works to friends, relations, nobles, and royals. To Jason Scott-Warren has occurred the happy idea of studying Harington’s career through these donated texts. The critic perhaps overstates the surprise that an audience of the twenty-first century will experience at the consistently “self-interested” (16) nature of gifts in the period, not least Harington’s. But there are good stories to be told and critical insight to be derived from this

approach. As it turns out, Scott-Warren offers only minor advances in understanding of his author's masterworks, but some real gains with minor works.

With the most familiar of Harington's literary productions, the translation of Ariosto's *Orlando*, the major finding is that Harington rewrites some elements of the poem in terms familiar to his readership and, in his version of Ariosto's biography, reworks the Italian sources to stress the "mercenary and careerist" (41) elements in the life. This is plausible without being striking. Much the same is true of the critic's handling of Harington's brilliant but often desperately obscure *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, where Scott-Warren has little to add to Elizabeth Donno's commentary in her fine edition of 1962. Neither here nor there is his contention that "[t]he value of the privy to gentlemen is that it will, by removing noxious odours, permit them to 'keep house,' to exercise that hospitality which was an important gentlemanly virtue and which was, as Felicity Heal has pointed out, a rather easier matter for Catholics—who still believed that indiscriminate charity brought spiritual rewards—than for Protestants" (94). This seems rather distant from the line-by-line coruscations of the *Metamorphosis*.

Much stronger is the fourth chapter, "the heart of this study" (23) as the critic notes in his Introduction. Here Scott-Warren examines in fruitful detail "probably the most elaborate of Harington's gift-books to have survived": a "lavishly customized" (99) text in the Cambridge University Library that includes 52 of Harington's epigrams and was a gift to the author's mother-in-law. Drawing upon Star Chamber testimony from a suit between Harington and his brother-in-law, the critic argues that "it is impossible not to see the anticipated death of Lady Rogers [the mother-in-law] and the dispersal of her property as the primary context" of the personalized collection of epigrams (128). Scott-Warren writes that "[i]f we take" the brother-in-law's "1604 claims about Harington seriously, we are dealing with someone who confers with a physician over the life-expectancy of a sick relative, who steals from that relative in the last days of her life, and who tries to prevent the knowledge of her death from getting out until

he has been through all of her papers and destroyed those which run counter to his claim upon her goods." This testimony has been noticed before in the scholarly literature, but never developed into a case for Harington's avaricious manipulation of the older lady. Without question the legal records have bearing on the unique presentation volume, though some students will conclude that Harington, assuming that his mother-in-law was as aware as he was and we are of the long tradition of mother-in-law jokes and inheritance-scrounging satires, was having some fun along with her, rather than simply exploiting the woman. He was joshing her, playing at the legacy-hunter in a way he expected her to recognize and find amusing—and, he may have hoped, irresistible. This disagreement noted, certainly Scott-Warren has drawn attention to an exemplar of some of Harington's *Epigrams* that can usefully complicate our readings of these poems—and perhaps of others as well. The method will reward further application.

By far the strongest pages in this monograph treat some of the political letters to and from Harington that were published in the late eighteenth century by Henry Harington in his *Nugae Antiquae*. Historians frequently quote these remarkable documents as evidence for the great disappointment that attended James' accession to the throne. Scott-Warren argues that personal concerns may qualify, even underlie, a satiric presentation of the Jacobean scene: "The description of the reeling court at Theobalds ends with references to the labours of sober statesmen . . . implying that the writer is one of their ilk, like them undervalued in a topsy-turvy world. And Thomas Howard predicates his criticism of the times on the question of whether Harington, learned in languages but behind in youth and fashion, will find favour. Given Howard's position, the letter should perhaps be read as an anxious avowal of the writer's inability to sue on his client's behalf" (203). So all of us need to be far more careful in drawing upon these captivating letters, which may have had intentions in their day not immediately obvious to scholars trawling for quotations. This is illuminating historical criticism that makes Scott-Warren's *Book as Gift* a

real contribution to students of the early seventeenth-century English court scene.

Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt, eds. *Write or Be Written: Early Modern Women Poets and Cultural Constraints*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001. ix + 281 pp. \$74.95. Review by ELIZABETH SKERPAN-WHEELER, SOUTHWEST TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY.

Feminist Studies has predictably gone the way of scholarly vogues: opportunism. Who is *not* jumping on the feminist bandwagon these days? Senior men scholars, who heretofore never deigned to include a woman author on their syllabi, are now editing entire anthologies of women's writings. Keen to expand their publications' list with trendy, politically correct titles, enterprising scholars of both sexes are now sharing by-lines with "name" feminist scholars.

This odd collection of essays assembled by Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt (academics with apparently no prior record in feminist scholarship) is a case in point. Despite the presence of several prominent scholars, *Write or Be Written* is ultimately a feebly conceived project based on ill informed historical assumptions. Over some 250 pages of analysis, Smith and Appelt's book offers as many as twelve essays on the subject of cultural constraints against women and against women writers as reflected in the work of Englishwomen poets during the early-modern period. What constitutes "early modern" in their view is anyone's guess, as the book's title surprisingly fails to supply the dates of the collection's timeframe; nor is temporal coverage specified by Appelt in her introduction. The essays, so uniformly brief as to suggest editorial truncation, address four large units: *I. Strategies and Contexts* (Pamela Hammons on Katherine Austen; Anne Russell on Aphra Behn; Margaret Ezell on Damaris Masham); *II. Poetic Conventions and Traditions* (Clare Kinney on Mary Wroth; Jacqueline Pearson on "the female body and the country house"; and Margaret Hannay on women writers' uses of psalm literature); *III. Negotiating Power*

and Politics (Joan Linton on Anne Askew; Shannon Miller on Mary Sidney; Andrew Shifflett on Katherine Philips); and *IV. Writing the Female Poet* (Helen Wilcox on authorial self-construction; Bronwen Price on Katherine Philips; Jeslyn Medoff on Behn). Only a few of these contributors are established specialists on women writers.

The collection's coverage, though clearly interesting, is unbalanced at best; in fact, specialists will be agog to see *two* essays on Katherine Philips, two essays on Aphra Behn (neither of which addresses Behn's brave political verse), *yet not one dedicated essay* on such important women poets as Margaret Cavendish, Lucy Hutchinson, Jane Lead, Elizabeth Singer Rowe, Anne Killigrew, Anne Wharton, Anne Finch, Sarah Egerton Field, and certainly the "Ephelia" poet (Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond), whose bold political broadsides on the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis merited a strong essay by, perhaps, Carol Barash, Elaine Hobby, Marilyn Williamson, Germaine Greer, Warren Chernaik, or Ephelia's principal advocate, Maureen Mulvihill. How is it that many of these nine overlooked women poets, all apropos the collection's theme, are not even listed in the book's index? The most conspicuous snub in the collection, though, is the absence of Anna Weamys, whose *Arcadia* (1651) recently saw a first modern edition from Oxford University Press in 1994, by Patrick Cullen, himself an Ashgate series co-editor.

As to the book's organization, it is unacceptable that such a collection would not rivet the readers' attention on the very sources of women's perceived "cultural constraints" in, for example, the institutions of law, marriage, education, authorship, the Church, etc. Women poets directly engaged with all of these large issues in varying ways; yet, the editors display but a tentative and casual grasp of the early modern period by not guiding their contributors (and each other) along these more finely targeted lines. Curious that the publisher or readers on this manuscript did not recommend a sensible bipartite organization—women poets before and after 1660—which would have resulted in an appealing range of contrastive treatments.

Bondage and patriarchal oppression is the controlling thesis of this small collection. Now this sort of doctrinaire feminism was essential, even exciting, a few decades ago when Feminist Studies was cutting its teeth; but by 2001, the "victim" view of the woman writer has become an outdated cliché. Smith and Appelt needed a crash-course (at least) on the seventeenth century before launching this project. They needed to hear, for example, that England's literary culture did not systematically oppress or fetter women writers throughout the early-modern period. The central thesis of their book is contradicted by the very record of women's published work by a fair number of prominent London stationers; and women writers, moreover, were aggressively promoted by many of their male literary contemporaries. While Tudor and early-Stuart women poets produced mostly religious texts, in manuscript, circulated amongst a select coterie, Stuart women poets after 1660 enjoyed a far more hospitable, public reception of their published work. And it is just this essential distinction between eras that Smith and Appelt fail to appreciate. After the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, women poets took an enormous leap forward in cultural status and frequency of publication. They began to distinguish themselves in the literary market as authors of successful verse-collections, as poetic collaborators with one another and with men poets, as translators of Classical poetry, and as contributors to poetry miscellanies edited by men poets. London publishers were intrigued by this rising breed of new poet; and on several occasions, women's small octavos were taken into second editions, which featured commendatory verses mostly by their male publishers and men poets.

Aphra Behn, at the height of her success, was promoted by several prominent men: publishers Jacob Tonson and Joseph Hindmarsh, the poet-laureate John Dryden, and principals at the court of Charles II. Katherine Philips became a national icon and modern-day Sappho; this is the obvious iconography of William Faithorne's engraving of the Vander Gucht portrait-bust of Philips which her publisher, Henry Herringman, selected as frontispiece to Philips' posthumous *Works*. Similarly, Anne Killigrew, though falsely

charged with plagiarism by her male contemporaries, was praised as an accomplished poet by Dryden.

Patricia Crawford, David Cressy, and Lawrence Stone have each introduced persuasive statistical analyses of women's rising literacy rates after 1660, as well as a dramatic increase in publications by women writers (including poets) throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. Crawford, for example, in "Women's Published Writings, 1660-1700" offers a statistical table which supports the view of women's increased literary output after 1660 (*Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior [London: Methuen, 1985]).

Appelt, exposing astonishing ignorance of seventeenth-century history and literature, writes as if this body of seminal research, now a full twenty years old, never existed. This is precisely the sort of havoc which doctrinaire feminism can wreak upon a book. Suffice it to say that Englishwomen writers published progressively more poetry throughout the second half of the seventeenth century than ever before; and that they evidently were not held back from self-expression and publication. While it is true that women as a class of writer were harshly ridiculed by some of their male contemporaries throughout the seventeenth century, it is also true that Englishwomen writers got published, were courted by publishers, and were raised to national prominence by their culture after 1660. So whence "cultural constraints"?

For an anthology to make a true contribution to scholarship, it needs to do more than attract a few strong essays, which could have easily found other venues. It needs a strong editorial vision. Because the book does valuably bring attention to little-known material and some attractive new literary figures, a reader may well wonder why the editors and publisher did not enliven this unattractive volume with portraits, as well as facsimiles of title-pages and autograph manuscripts. This visual adjunct, conspicuously absent, would have lent interest and a measure of authenticity to the entire presentation. Moreover, a reader may question why the two editors themselves have not contributed an essay on a woman poet. Did they judge themselves unfit for the task? Even

more irregular in this book is the curious absence of Ursula Appelt's co-editor, Barbara Smith, who did not even co-author the introduction. Especially in light of the expense of the book, prospective readers should look for other works by the contributors. Their editors did not serve them well.

Lady Mary Wroth. *The Second Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*. Ed. Josephine A. Roberts; Completed by Suzanne Gossett and Janel Mueller. Tempe: Renaissance English Text Society in conjunction with Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999. xlv + 575 pp. + 13 illus. \$60.00. Review by KATE GARTNER FROST, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

This edition, a memorial tribute to Josephine Roberts, under whose editorship Part One appeared in 1995, has achieved a double distinction as a model both for editorial practice and for scholars in the field of women's studies. Beginning as consultants on the Part I project, Suzanne Gossett and Janel Mueller found that their discussions of editorial procedure were to bear fruit when, on Roberts's untimely death in 1996, they took over the incomplete editing of Part Two of Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*, heretofore found only in a Newberry Library holograph manuscript. The enterprise was daunting: after constructing a system for references to the text that would smoothly incorporate the scattered preliminaries of Roberts's work, they had to provide critical and textual introductions, textual notes and annotations, and indices of characters and places, with Roberts's computer disks and file folders as their only guides. Not the least among these tasks was dealing coherently with her transcription and the Newberry folios themselves.

Their answer was to maintain Roberts's practice of modernized punctuation and paragraphing for rhetorical passages and to base final editorial decisions on her transcription of the manuscript. This done, the edition was coordinated with Part One (which had been published by Louisiana State University Press in 1995) and Robert's commentary-in-progress, supplying missing annota-

tions where possible from her extant files. Finally, they were able to preserve her conventions for analyzing Wroth's compositional process.

If the editors pay tribute to Roberts as a "model of scholarly graciousness" (xiii), they at the same time demonstrate graciousness of another kind, for Part Two demonstrates a praiseworthy subordination of their own scholarly and critical bents. Part of this can be ascribed to a reverent use of Roberts's material, which, as they admit, they left largely intact. Having become, in effect, her alter-ego, Gossett and Mueller have achieved her goal: Parts One and Two of the *Urania* form a nearly seamless whole. This is no mean feat since, for example, in preparing the textual introduction literally from the ground up they faced an entirely new set of problems (as their meticulous and exhaustive textual notes demonstrate) as the *Urania* moved from the Part One printed copy text to the holograph of Part Two.

If there is room for quibble, it is with aspects of the commentary. While one might have hoped for annotations sometimes less tendentious (although their aim is to leave the commentary for future "robust interpretative" scholarship (xiii), some annotations step over the line of scholarly information into the realm of modish interpretation) and for no anachronisms (for example, the 1776 State Seal of Virginia is cited as critically relevant to iconography practiced in the early seventeenth century), in the end there are few slips between cup and lip here, and the whole is helpfully cross-referenced with the Part One commentary.

A good edition gives one more than one wishes to know—depending, of course, on what one wishes to know. So here: we learn that Part Two is slightly more than two-thirds the length of Part One, its narrative focus moves to the second generation of that Part's characters, that the manuscript was likely begun in late 1621, that its emphasis on illegitimate children may reflect the ending of Wroth's connection with Sir William Herbert (amply documented in Part One), that the manuscript's provenance from its likely inception at Baynard's Castle until its purchase by the Newberry in 1936 is open to scholarly inquiry, that the bifolio concerning

Ampilanthus's (read Herbert's) fling with the lascivious Queen of Candia has been removed mysteriously, and that the hand throughout is Lady Mary's own very difficult one writing in her then-fashionable interplay of trailing and balancing syntax. Interestingly, the manuscript breaks off in midsentence and is peppered with blanks presumably to be filled in later with poems and names. In view of this, the editors attempt to forecast the convoluted marital and dynastic affairs of the second generation of characters is perhaps overly hopeful. Space is better spent pointing out the book's geopolitical scope. Part Two reflects a sophisticated understanding of the conflict between Europe and the Ottomans, manifesting a Christian Imperialism congruent with James I's vision of a New Holy Roman Empire. This orientation, however, does not obviate the autobiographical "shadowing" described by Roberts in Part One, opening the text, although not reductively, to inquiry regarding the ultimate disposal of Wroth's loyalties in the light of her children's rejection by their father.

Particularly interesting are the inserted illustrations of the author's handwriting and of maps which underwrite the geopolitical scope of Part Two, especially in its connection with the journeys of St. Paul (a significance ignored in the commentary, which provides a mere two scriptural annotations). Genealogies are followed by indices of characters, places, and first lines of poems.

If Professor Roberts is honored by this edition, more so is Lady Mary Wroth, one of the first English women who clearly saw herself as a writer by vocation: hers is the first published work of prose fiction in English by a woman and the first extended fictional portrait in English of a woman by a woman. *Urania*, questioning the pastoral romance's male heroic ideal, created new boundaries for political and social satire where women could become heroes outside the standards of masculine aggressiveness and where the creative life of a woman is on a par with that of the Petrarchan poet/lover/convertite. Josephine Roberts's intention was that her edition of *Urania* "meet scholarly standards and yet [be] accessible and inviting to modern readers" (xl). This

goal has been amply achieved in its completion by Professors Gossett and Mueller.

Jo Wallwork and Paul Salzman, eds. *Women Writing: 1550-1750*. Victoria: Meridian, 2001. 251 pp. \$20.00. Review by MIRIAM TASHMA-BAUM, THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY.

Women Writing: 1550-1750 is a collection of sixteen essays, earlier versions of which were given as presentations at a conference on early modern women's writing held at La Trobe University in Melbourne in July, 1999. The volume is a special book issue of *Meridian*, the La Trobe University English Review, 18.1 (2001). Following an introduction by Paul Salzman are essays by Elaine Hobby, Susan Wiseman, Julie Sanders, Lloyd Davies, Rosalind Smith, Sheila T. Cavanagh, Andrew McRae, Patricia Pender, Kim Walker, Mona Narain, Kate Lilley, Sophie Tomlinson, Jo Wallwork, Diana Barnes, Heather Kerr, and Patrick Spedding. Ten of the contributors are Australian, both academics and postgraduate students, and one of the purposes of the book is to showcase the significant amount of work being done on early modern women by Australians. The essays indeed display a variety of approaches to this fast-growing field, however despite its seemingly wide-ranging title, the collection is confined to essays on English writers and one American writer—Anne Bradstreet—writing of England.

The opening essay by Elaine Hobby interestingly analyzes attitudes towards the male and female body in Jane Sharp's *The Midwives Book* (1671), a modern edition of which was recently produced by Hobby, arguing that the empirical data found in such texts puts in doubt theories of the early modern body based on Foucault and Lacan. Hobby also argues for the need for further recovery of lost works by seventeenth-century writers "regardless of the gender of [their] author," for only through "an integration of work on male and female texts" can the latter be fully understood (20-1). Another article questioning traditional views is Patrick Spedding's "Eliza Haywood, Writing (and) Pornography in 1742"

which reveals that Haywood, who according to former biographers had transformed into a “moral crusader” (238) following her denunciation in Pope’s *Dunciad* (1728), was in fact responsible, together with William Hatchett, for the anonymous translation of Crébillon fils’ notorious erotic novel *La Sopha* in 1742.

Kim Walker’s and Susan Wiseman’s articles are both devoted to Anne Halkett. The former studies Halkett’s use of models taken from romantic drama to define her self and her life story. Susan Wiseman promotes the political valency of Halkett’s work, arguing that “the very dynamic of writing about conspiracy, involving drives to both concealment and revelation, has assisted in the obscuring of the significance of Halkett’s text as a political as much as a sexual memoir” (42). The two articles on Mary Wroth similarly insist on the link between the political and the literary. Sheila T. Cavanagh’s “East meets West in Wroth’s *Urania*” argues the centrality of Mary Wroth’s “ambitious world vision” of a “unified, global Christian territory” (97) for understanding the motivations and failures of the protagonists of *Urania*. Rosalind Smith’s essay on Wroth’s sonnet sequence *Lindamira’s Complaint* focuses on Wroth’s attempts to exploit the flexible genre of the complaint for political and authorial self-promotion. Two essays on Katherine Philips, by Sophie Tomlinson and by Kate Lilley, again combine historical and literary contextualizing. Tomlinson discusses the “Sources of Female Greatness in Katherine Philips’ *Pompey*” and finds them in the theatrical precedents of the femino-centric court of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, transformed by Philips to fit the Restoration stage. Lilley attempts to deflect the “catachrestic riddle” of the relation between Philips’ love elegies and early modern lesbianism “in favour of a rhetorically motivated analysis of readers and writers, textual practices and orientations” (174).

Three essays in the collection deal with Margaret Cavendish. Jo Wallwork discusses the Duchess of Newcastle’s critique of Robert Hooke’s *Micrographia*, finally suggesting—not entirely convincingly, in my opinion—that Hooke’s work, with its fascination with the microscopic world, and Cavendish’s fantasy of *The Blazing World* are similar in that they “both signify a poetic and untram-

meled vision of the ‘new’” (198). Another article on Cavendish is Heather Kerr’s fictocritical essay, “Margaret Cavendish and Queer Literary Subjectivity,” which explores Cavendish’s—and Kerr’s—self-perceptions and generic experimentation. Lastly, Diana Barnes discusses the “Restoration of Royalist Form in Margaret Cavendish’s *Sociable Letters*,” arguing that Cavendish appropriates this courtly genre in order to paint a picture of female friendship which “models the behavior and modes of affiliation that constitute a reformed or restored royalist polity” (204–5).

An essay on a very different work of epistolary fiction, but one that again argues the use of the epistolary mode for the promotion of a female reading of political culture is Mona Narain’s “Body and Politics in Aphra Behn’s *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister*,” which traces the subtle links between the sexual and the political iconography in the novel. Both, according to Narain, are “ultimately reduced only to a sign of a sign . . . repeated endlessly in a cycle of market exchange—a herald of the coming capitalist age” (161). Andrew McRae also focuses on nascent capitalism, from a very different angle, in his study of “The Travel Journals of Celia Fiennes.” McRae observes that “on the one hand, [Fiennes] endorses a nation built on godly thrift and industry, which is consequently malleable to the touch of the bourgeoisie . . . Yet on the other hand, the country’s strength must also rest on a more traditional commitment to property . . . the female traveller . . . may thus rightfully expect that England’s economic success will produce relatively standardized forms of civility and beauty” (112).

Patricia Pender’s “Anne Bradstreet’s *A Dialogue Between Old England and New*” is similar to McRae’s study in that it focuses on women’s writing which accords with rather than resists the ideological milieu within which it was written. Pender defends this early political work of Bradstreet, which privileges the “dutiful daughters of colonial New England” over their “imperial mother,” (124) against what she regards as the dominant feminist reading which accords value only to writings that seem “isolated, autonomous . . . articul[at]ing some form of proto-feminist polemic” (127). Pender convincingly argues that such an approach may blind the

reader to historical difference, and to the actual qualities and strengths of much early modern female writing. Very similar arguments are also made in Lloyd Davies' study of Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* (1616), which insists that Leigh's "thought-provoking conformity" allowed her to "raise some testing arguments about existing relations among men and women, parents and children, and masters, mistresses and servants" (60). Similarly, Julie Sander's article on "The Coterie Writing of the Astons and the Thimelbys in Seventeenth-Century Staffordshire" observes that the study of the epistolary writing of Constance Aston Fowler and Winefrid Thimelby breaks the feminist pattern of "the isolated and alienated Renaissance and early modern woman writer" (50). Sander's insistence that the letters need to be studied within their coterie context, and not in an isolated category of female writing, fully accords with the position of Elaine Hobby as well.

As a group, with the exception of Heather Kerr's essay, the articles share an insistence on historical contextualization. They thus move beyond the search for ideal female resistance and 'authenticity' to a more sophisticated combination of careful historical research and theoretical insight. The theoretical attitudes themselves are varied, and I would agree with Paul Salzman that, as he says in his introduction, "taken together, the essays collected here offer a snapshot of the diverse ways in which the field was addressed at the very end of the twentieth century" (10).

Anna Trapnel. *The Cry of a Stone* (1654). Ed. Hilary Hinds. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000. i + 119 pp. \$28.00. Review by U. MILO KAUFMANN, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN.

Anyone who has spent a day or two reading in the British Library's large collection of apocalyptic tracts of the English mid-seventeenth century will have no difficulty appreciating the charged atmosphere which is context for this prophetic work by Anna

Trapnel, now offered in a well-edited modern version complete with a fifty-page introduction, twenty-one pages of notes and eleven pages of bibliography.

The matter of the editorship for *The Cry of a Stone* is much more readily addressed than that of its authorship. Hilary Hinds thanks Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education for the semester's leave which allowed her to finish this work, and she had help from a number of libraries both in the UK and in the US. The work exists in two different editions, both published in 1654. Her working copies were those held at Cambridge and the British Library; though other copies are available at Harvard, the University of Chicago, and three of the Friends or Quaker colleges in the U.S. Sixteen libraries in all have copies, a fact suggestive of the book's erstwhile popularity as well as its relevance for both political and religious radicalism. Hinds' editorial policy is well laid out and she provides excellent annotations for virtually all the proper names that turn up in the primary document. But the primary document is vexatious, as the editor freely admits, in the questions it poses concerning authorship.

The conundrum of authorship has two parts. On the one hand much of the text is the imperfectly remembered transcribing of an anonymous reporter who, we gather, had a phenomenal memory, for, while admitting his limitations, he still reproduces reams of material delivered spontaneously by Anna Trapnel, who often prophesied for hours at a stretch. This reporter did not attend all of her remarkable sessions, nor did he catch everything at those he did attend, candidly confessing more than once that he could not catch words when her voice dropped. It is true that this reporting is introduced by Trapnel's brief personal memoir, of a piece with the spiritual autobiographies of the period, in which she modestly gives her credentials as a prophetess, including a supernatural healing and a divine calling. Yet the fact remains that an invisible mediator stands between the reader and the primary material of Trapnel's prophecy. What were this reporter's penchants and prejudices in filtering that prophecy to the reader? We cannot know.

The second part of the authorship mystery is an eternal one associated with primary religious experience. Hinds touches on this without grasping the nettle as firmly as she might have. Anna Trapnel insists that she is God's mouthpiece. She is self-effacing to an extreme, and it is natural to interpret this more in light of the biblical prophets than in terms of the position of women in the English seventeenth century. In our post-Enlightenment age it is a bit awkward even to raise the question of supernatural provenance for certain sorts of utterance, though, given the dynamism of true belief in many parts of today's world, it is not irrelevant to ask such questions.

We can distinguish between two related kinds of such mysterious utterance and put our question somewhat more exactly. While *The Cry of a Stone* is without real literary merit—the spontaneous poetry in particular is pretty poor stuff—it invites consideration in terms of two traditional categories: those of prophecy and of apocalypse. These are by no means identical, and though Trapnel is a Fifth Monarchist, which means she followed the sect which credited Daniel's apocalyptic revelations of the four kingdoms and the subsequent reign of God, her work is much more a thing of prophecy than of apocalypse. The latter genre, in both its biblical and its intertestamental manifestations, stressed a fixed future, the salvation of a few from a richly elaborated catastrophe, numerological signs, and typological recapitulation of Old Testament motifs. Prophecy, in contrast, stressed the possibility of change and redemption, the concerns of immediate justice, especially for the poor, and so the call to action in the public world, rather than resignation and a qualified hope.

Fifth Monarchist or not, Trapnel clearly follows the model of prophecy rather than that of apocalypse. She repeatedly grieves for the neglect of the poor, a concern at the heart of the radical agenda. She faults Cromwell for betraying the trust of many in taking on the trappings of power. While we need not suppose she had supernatural knowledge of Cromwell's last several years, it remains that she gives a penetrating critique of his immediate and anticipated failures. At the same time she shows little interest in

the typical apocalyptic preoccupations. While many around her are fixing a date for Christ's second advent, she scarcely touches on the subject. She has little or no interest in an earthly reign with the saints. This self-forgetting brings us around again to the mystery of authorship.

Her title, *The Cry of a Stone*, implies the miraculous inspiration of the mute. How, then, do we as enlightened moderns address the wonder which drew all manner of prominent public figures to witness a common woman speaking out of religious ecstasy? It is the sort of question which Milton in his invocations to the muse in *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan in his Apology prefacing the *Pilgrim's Progress*, spoke to directly, if in terms uncongenial to our own time.

The reader of the editor's introduction will certainly notice the prudential nod to any number of currently fashionable critical strategies. There is, I suppose, no escape from fashion, but it may that so idiosyncratic a work as *The Cry of a Stone* warrants consideration in less familiar terms. That said, I affirm Ms. Hinds' service in making this remarkable work available in a modern edition.

Mary Beth Rose. *Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002. xxii + 139 pp. \$15.00 (paper). Review by M. J. VECCHIO, MIDDLE COLLEGE/LAGUARDIA CC, CUNY.

"Heroism is a space into which a culture projects its idealizations, and, as such, designates meaning and determines value," writes Professor Rose. Her book argues that, during the seventeenth century, English literature's prevailing "active male heroism of rule, exploration, and conquest" transforms itself into one that "valorizes the patient suffering of disaster and pain." Characterized by endurance, not action, the terms of this new heroic mode align with those historically employed to idealize women (113). Under this revised definition, women may be classified as heroes, a category reserved previously for men, because all features of the "heroism of endurance" are feminine. Moreover, in this model men

display heroism through traditional female attributes. The author demonstrates that, as literature develops in this age, male figures strive for omnipotence using means that transcend violence. They seek to “monopolize all dominant subject positions” which are gendered (114). In doing so, they adopt attitudes and behaviors usually gendered female and transform the male heroic portrait.

Rose addresses the gendering of heroism in Chapter One and investigates selected works by Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare. Discussing *Tamburlaine*, she questions the stability of the hero and regards the gendering of his identity as “complex.” Tamburlaine “at his most awesome . . . is himself constructed by others as an inspiring aesthetic object.” As a result, he plays “a woman’s part,” and even when “most magnificently male” occupies a traditionally female position (6-7). Jonson, sharing Marlowe’s pessimistic view of an increasingly unstable masculine heroism, similarly creates in *Volpone* a character who intends to monopolize: “To watch himself watching others watching him—in other words, to occupy all subject positions at once, thus annihilating all objects—is Volpone’s goal.” Although attempting to act in accordance with conventional male heroics, Volpone “places himself and finds himself placed in female subject positions” (16-17). Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, an investigation of “aristocratic male heroism,” is a definite signpost in the shift. A devastating “critique of masculinity,” the play reveals the heroic ideal as both destroyed and mourned, while it “gestures toward the future trajectory of the heroic.” Going forward, “the terms in which heroism is constructed come increasingly to resemble the terms in which women are idealized; the heroic, in other words, becomes increasingly feminine” (25). Arguments here are provocative; however, the *Macbeth* discussion would benefit, for example, from more attention to Lady Macbeth’s masculine heroics.

Chapter Two on “Gender and the Construction of Royal Authority” has particular intensity, clearly attributable to the author’s recent work on Elizabeth I. A major figure in the transformative period, the Queen, also seeking omnipotence, recognizes the “prestige of both female and male subject positions.” Consequently, she establishes her “rhetoric of heroism” by adopting diverse gendered

positions in order to acquire and manage power. Crucial to an understanding of Elizabeth's 45-year reign is a perspective of how her self-representation changes so as to use her problematic gender to political advantage. To invent her "heroic persona," Elizabeth shifts metaphors, both opposing and employing the traditional male/female rhetoric of authority. Rose rightly opposes critics who overemphasize the Queen's reliance upon the emblems of *virgin* and *mother*. She argues that Elizabeth soon abandoned these tropes, turning instead to self-definition in terms of the king's two bodies and divine right, metaphoric constructs reserved exclusively for men (28-31). Furthermore, she cites Elizabeth's masterful rhetoric in the Tilbury speech, where she created a dual identity, combining the *weak virgin in need of protection* device with her self-portrait as the chivalric hero capable of providing protection (36). Declaring a special female authority which rested on her personal life, she attributed the wisdom of her decisions to that experience. Such remarkably concrete evidence validated the Queen's claim that self-sacrifice resided not in dying, which was easy, but in living and survival, which were hard. This revolutionized, first, the meaning of courage and, ultimately, that of heroism (37-40).

A key element in Rose's argument is that, prior to this period, the heroic portrait was an active, public one, which omitted the private sphere. By definition it excluded women, whose strength and influence were personal. But as the century progressed, this interior life was credited with more substance. Accordingly, in evading Parliament's demand that she marry, Elizabeth upset the conventions of gender by "asserting her rights to her own desire" and to her own "self-definition" (43-44). As years passed, her relationship with subjects developed from one totally dependent upon rank into one based on love and loyalty as sources of her power. Since existence requires both achievement and struggle, the male heroic mode of dominating and risking destruction eventually was converted to a masculine-feminine mode, which focused on suffering and submission. Out of this, a third all-inclusive model mani-

feats, one which Rose believes was the key component in Elizabeth's self-created identity: heroic survival (53-54).

Survival as a pattern for heroism unfolded to include women in more typical circumstances than the Queen. Gradually, parameters that had widened to embrace interior life expanded yet further to include marriage experiences. As the importance attached to these grew, so also did the relevance of their associated feminine attributes. Autobiography, a genre still in its infancy, became a means by which the voice of heroism in private and married life could find expression. Thus, Rose explores four autobiographical works authored by aristocratic women: Margaret Cavendish, Ann Fanshawe, Alice Thornton, and Anne Halkett. She underscores cultural changes generated by extraordinary political events, here the English Civil War. In her relationships with society, husband, and family, each woman had the opportunity to act in ways previously inconceivable for her sex, a fact which dramatically influences the discovery and expression of her own heroic identity. This section gains much from Rose differentiating fine points of variation in heroic stance. A feminist, she grows impatient with Cavendish who contradicts herself; however, Fanshawe "succeeds remarkably in subsuming contradictions in her representation of her own heroism" (65). While Thornton uses "her female body to construct herself as a hero of endurance," it is Halkett who grasps most confidently her heroic role, "actively creating—rather than avoiding (Cavendish), adapting (Fanshawe), or enduring (Thornton)—her unique destiny" (80).

In an analysis of texts by Milton, Aphra Behn, and Mary Astell, Rose takes the position that "the heroics of endurance, gendered normatively as female, had achieved sufficient prestige to become the primary model of literary heroism" by the late seventeenth century (86). Exploring the "sustained critique" of physical power as the source of male dominance, she quotes *Samson Agonistes*, finding not lamentation in Samson's soliloquy, but an inquiry into the meaning of strength: "But what is strength without a double share/ Of wisdom?" (88-89). The "defining condition of the heroic" in these texts is either "compromised agency" or

agency “inscribed in contradictions” (86). Therefore, it is not Oroonoko’s conventional heroism that interests Behm, but rather the “paralyzed, grieved and oppressed” aspects of his heroism in slavery (102). Similarly, Mary Astell’s case for women’s heroism in *Some Reflections upon Marriage* is founded upon their condition of enslavement brought about through seduction. Finding evidence of extreme anger and despair in all three texts, Rose draws the initial conclusion that only revolution can change existing systems of power and gender. However, because revolutions fail, it is the “compromised” situation which finally constitutes heroism (111).

In closing, Rose cautions that the study would miss its aim if seeming to celebrate the “replacement of the male-defined heroism of action by a heroism of endurance that can be understood best as female.” On the contrary, her dual purpose is to critique “idealized domination and idealized suffering,” two alternatives which comprise the “option of survival,” equally applicable to an Elizabeth or an Odysseus (116). That survival option lends her argument authenticity, the relevance of which extends beyond the work’s historical compass. Occasionally strained, perhaps owing to its length, still, this penetrating analysis of heroic identity is especially poignant today.

Heather Wolfe, ed. *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*. Renaissance Texts from Manuscript, Number 4; Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Volume 230. Cambridge: RTM; Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001. xxxiv + 544 pp. + 5 illustrations. \$35.00 paper. Review by JULIE D. CAMPBELL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY.

Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters is a welcome addition to Cary studies. It shifts attention away from Cary’s play, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, which has previously dominated Cary scholarship, and focuses squarely on Cary’s life by presenting the biography, *Lady Falkland: Her Life*, with correspondence by Cary, her family, and others. Wolfe begins by discussing the defining

moment in Cary's adult life: her conversion to Roman Catholicism. Wolfe proceeds to document meticulously the events leading up to the conversion, arguing that Cary's decision to convert "was not mere political opportunism; rather, it was well-informed, based on readings of Scripture, Patristic writers, and polemical religious works in Latin, French, Spanish, Hebrew, and English, along with conversations and disputations with Protestants and Roman Catholics" (3). The attention to detail and the wealth of well-documented sources are hallmarks of this book. Wolfe brings to light numerous contemporary references to Cary's circumstances, providing a rich historical context against which to consider Cary's life, letters, and the biography.

As a backdrop for exploring Cary's choices, Wolfe examines Protestant, Puritan, Arminian, and Catholic religious practices in England. She discusses at length, for example, the use of casuistry as she addresses issues of conscience among recusants. Wolfe also provides glimpses of how Cary was perceived outside England, noting that in 1629 or 1630, she "is referred to by the anagram 'Falconia' in an English Catholic allegorical play entitled 'Hierarchomachia, or the Anti-Bishop'" which "enjoyed scribal circulation and is mentioned in correspondence from England, Rome, and Paris" (9). To contextualize the *Life* and the letters, Wolfe examines the writing practices of the nuns at Cambrai and general life-writing approaches during this period, as well as letter writing practices. She writes, "fact and fiction overlapped in surprising ways in the 'non-fictional' genres of the early modern period. The letters edited here, as well as *Lady Falkland: Her Life*, were written to persuade readers to action, both spiritual and physical. They were rhetorical texts to be admired for their inventiveness within a well-known set of formulaic rules" (44-45). Thus, Wolfe lays the groundwork for teaching us how to read these documents within their early modern contexts.

Regarding the *Life*, Wolfe investigates Cary's daughters' experiences at the English Benedictine monastery of Our Lady of Consolation, Cambrai, pointing out that they were all professed in 1640, and that "[k]nown writings by this 'class of 1640' indicate

that as a group, they were more prolific than any other group of nuns educated and professed together" there (45). Upon considering handwriting identifications, textual clues, and the nuns' practice of writing "loose papers," Wolfe posits that Lucy Cary, who became Dame Magdalena, is the main author of the *Life*, but notes that it was a collaborative project, with marginal annotations and deletions added by her sister Mary, her brother Patrick, and another unidentified hand.

Wolfe refers to internal and external evidence to disclose the veracity and lack thereof of many aspects of the *Life*. She comments, for example, on the partially deleted references to Cary's episodes of depression and madness, indicating where the references would have been considered harmful to the message of the book vs. where they support the message of God's divine providence for the Cary family. She also examines Lucy's manipulation of the evidence regarding the establishment of "a Catholic continuity" in her family by describing the Protestant family members as closet or deathbed Catholics (81). Wolfe points out that *Lady Falkland: Her Life* was written during the same decade as Father Peter Salvin's *Life of Father Augustine Baker* and Father Leander Prichard's *Life of Baker*, both of which demonstrate that life writing "could provide comfort and serve as a form of penitence for both writer and reader" (51), as she believes the *Life* is meant to do. Additionally, Wolfe addresses the hagiographical nature of the biography, explaining that the "*Life's* combination of 'visions' and 'truth,' and providence and testimony, as well as its emphasis on Lady Falkland's loyalty to what 'she conceived of as the call of God,' is more in keeping with Marian martyrologies and Protestant hagiography than it is with medieval saints' lives" (66). Wolfe's insights into the practices and purposes of life writing at this time help to clarify many aspects of the *Life* that have intrigued its modern readers.

Wolfe suggests that the impulse to juxtapose the *Life* with *The Tragedy of Mariam* only serves to perpetuate the biography's function as a "decoding device," which can be limiting and misleading. Rather, she argues that the method of this present edition, putting

the *Life* in context with Cary's letters, "can afford the reader some sense of perspective on what is clearly a biased text" (96). In her edition, Wolfe identifies the authors of the glosses, reproduces deletion marks, indicates where cropping has occurred and, in general, attempts to give the reader an authentic sense of the state of the manuscript and its authorship. At the same time, she expands abbreviations and provides interlinear insertions and copious footnotes to facilitate reading. She uses similar practices with the *Letters*.

In the *Letters*, Wolfe includes 137 documents consisting of letters, obituaries, Privy Council orders, petitions, and decrees, spanning the years 1625-1671, which cover the expanse of time between Cary's return to England from Ireland until the death of her daughter Anne. Wolfe notes that this edition "includes all known letters by Lady Falkland, and selected additional letters and records which contribute to an understanding of her post-conversion life and *Lady Falkland: Her Life*" (225). She identifies the letters as holograph, autograph, or copy when that information is known. Photographic reproductions of three letters are included.

In the introduction, Wolfe explores the rhetoric of Lord and Lady Falkland's letters, demonstrating how they reflect traditional training in letter writing. About the Carys' extreme claims in their correspondence, Wolfe asks, "Were Lord and Lady Falkland truly without bread, clothing, or meat?" She suggests that they were perhaps using "exaggerated hyperbole" which they might have learned from a source such as Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis*, in which he recommends the persuasive power of demonstrating neediness. She also suggests that they were making use of what Frank Whigham calls "a conventional vocabulary of begging" used by Elizabethan suitors (43). Regarding Elizabeth Cary's dogged rhetorical strategies in her letters, Wolfe points out that "[a]lthough her person was forbidden from court, her words were not" (36). Therefore, her "earnest pressing" was marked by appeals "both logical and passionate, sensitive and persuasive" (36) meant to keep herself, her family, and their problems at the forefront of the minds of those who could aid them. Wolfe writes, "Only by presenting

her case eloquently and persuasively could Lady Falkland hope to counteract her husband's smear campaign, lift his financial embargo, and regain control over the future of herself and her children" (32). The letters provide a fascinating in-depth look at her attempts to accomplish these goals.

The inclusion of correspondence in response to Cary's is especially helpful as it gives readers a broad sense of her situation, how others viewed it, and the effects that her rhetoric produced. Wolfe includes, for example, letters between Cary and Lord Conway from August to September of 1627, in which Cary writes of being threatened with the "uttermost of misery" in one, and, dissatisfied with the lack of results, in spite of Conway's desire to give her "all satisfaction" when he could get the King to consider her case. She writes again, sharply opening with, "My Lord, my necessitys presse mee, more then I can doe your lordship; I haue yet gotten nothing, and I protest, it is not possible for mee . . . to subsist any longer" (297-300). We then see that Lord Conway corresponds with Sir Richard Weston on her behalf, under the authority of the king, to charge him with taking a course that ensures "from some hand or other her present necessitie may be supplied and her future maintenance prouided for according to former directions" (301). He is rewarded with a letter in which Cary thanks him profusely for his intervention on her behalf and, at the same time, he finds himself faced with a new demand: to intercede on behalf of a "poore gentleman" who was "taken" in her house. She closes this appeal by noting that she is already his servant, but if he will do her this favor, she will become his slave (301-302). These and many other examples of her correspondence illustrate Cary's reliance upon her pen to supply her needs.

Additional features of Wolfe's volume include a detailed chronology of the Cary family's life from 1575 to 1694, a family tree, two photographic reproductions of portraits of Henry Cary and Elizabeth Cary, a glossary of names that appear in the letters, and an extensive bibliography of manuscripts, facsimile editions, early printed books, modern editions, and secondary sources. With so many useful components, *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and*

Letters would be an important addition to the library of anyone interested in Cary studies.

Liam E. Semler, ed. *Eliza's Babes: or The Virgin's Offering* [1652]. Madison, Teaneck, and London: Associated University Press, 2001. 202 pp. \$37.50. Review by HUGH WILSON, SUNY AT PLATTSBURGH.

L.E. Semler is also the author of *The English Mannerist Poets and the Visual Arts* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), and his edition of the anonymous *Eliza's Babes* is a laudable contribution to the movement to recover the lives and works of neglected women poets. Semler's edition, his learned annotations, and his three pertinent periodical articles, make Eliza's poetry far more accessible than the plain facsimile in *Early English Books*.

Of course, Semler's introduction is not comprehensive—the reader is advised to read Semler's three periodical articles on *Eliza's Babes*. (These articles were forthcoming when the book was being published.) The introduction and the periodical articles contain valuable insights omitted from the introduction.

The introduction itself seems to ramble from topic to topic, without a compelling schema. For all the theoretical jargon (and puns) describing the editor's attempt to "locate" the work in a "complex literary-cultural ecosystem of Protestantism flourishing . . . inhabiting a discursive matrix," the sub-divisions of the introduction seem to be ad hoc rhetorical expedients with no obvious inevitability. Some of the argumentation—like that against previous (and implausible) conjectures that Eliza was a "royalist," or against the idea that she was a Quaker, a Leveler, or a Ranter—are unnecessarily labored. Intellectual history seems to be privileged over economic, social, or political history, and this reader misses the sturdy framework of a clear time-line. Still, the idea of examining the other publications issued by Eliza's printer is shrewd and illuminating.

Semler claims that *Eliza's Babes* is "scarce, fascinating, deeply and sympathetically human as well as aesthetically original and

ingenious," that is "a work of genuine literary merit." Although editors *should be* sympathetic to their subjects, in my opinion, Eliza's poetry does not impress by means of its formal qualities, or the originality of the ideas. Frankly, I was quite disappointed after my first reading, but repeated readings have moved me toward liking the writing a little better. (The poems do convey an audible "voice," they seem to constitute a real series, and they are interlinked in interesting ways.) In my opinion, this is decidedly "minor" poetry, and the comparisons with Herrick, Herbert, or Vaughan are not flattering. "Eliza" never approaches the elegance of Herrick or the eloquence (or nuance) of Herbert; she lacks the aesthetic sense and political consciousness of Vaughan. Eliza does not write as well as Mary Sidney, Mary Wroth, Emilia Lanier, Anne Southwell, Anne Bradstreet, Katherine Phillips, Jane Barker, or Anne Finch, but she still managed to leave a record when many of her peers perished in silence.

Although the literary quality of the poetry leaves much to be desired, the continuing suppression of women makes the collection interesting as a human document, and Eliza's poetry raises a serious problem of judgment: how does one fairly evaluate the work of the member of an oppressed group? Given the probability of systematic disadvantages—the denial of full access to education, the social stigma, the systematic discouragement—a gifted person from an oppressed group might achieve at a lower level of "technical competence" than a privileged person with more meager talents. Still, formal excellence is never the sole criterion of literary value: awkward craftsmen like Theodore Dreiser, can be major writers; and consummate virtuosos, like Algernon Swinburne, can be relatively unimportant figures. The special difficulties involved in fairly assessing the literary quality or the human significance of the work of a member of an oppressed group preclude my reservations from being conclusive.

The poems are not numbered, but there appear to be 101 poems, and 32 meditations. (Sometimes the typography makes it a little uncertain whether a prose insert is a coda to a preceding poem or a preamble to one following.) The first poem may be a

“proem,” followed by about a hundred poems. If one counts the preface as a meditation, there are thirty-three meditations. The convention of a “century” of sonnets or “resolves,” and the Dantean significance of the number 33 suggest the possibility that some sort of numerology is in play. This pattern would have been more clear if the poems had been numbered in square brackets.

As to formal qualities, these poems, as Semler readily admits, are often crudely worded. Eliza privileges “rhyme over grammar (including the spoiling of subject-verb agreement and syllabification over spelling, and she employs some horrid verbal inversions and circumlocutions as padding” (32). Eliza’s vocabulary is pedestrian, her rhymes tend toward the obvious, and she often resorts to contorted syntax. Still, underneath the flaws, one can sometimes discern a distinctive personality.

In terms of the content, the poems are highly repetitious. They ring changes on a few narrow themes. At times, a few poems and meditations excepted, the personal salvation of the author seems to swallow up all other concerns, including convincing concern for the well-being of anyone else. The tone of the poetry suggests that Eliza was fairly affluent, and the second great commandment—the one which presses Christians toward concerted social activism—does not seem to have had much impact on her view of herself or the world. In roughly 1600 lines of poetry, the word “me” occurs at least 170 times, and the word “I” appears over 350 times.

In terms of the spirit of the verse, one will look in vain for any profound social consciousness: Although Eliza followed the current and supported the English revolution, although she was a reformist, as Semler remarks, there are “no signs of genuine (what we might call “radical”) political freethinking” (19). In the introduction, Semler suggests “Eliza” seems to have been a “Presbyterian” in doctrine (20), but in his *Albion* essay, he associates her with an “Independent” Calvinist, John Simpson. (By 1652, a significant fraction of the Presbyterians had deserted the Parliamentary cause and joined the Cavaliers.) Semler credits “Eliza” with a “vigorous living out” of her faith, but others will find vapid platitudes. Still, there are occasional revelations of a person genuinely struggling

in the trammels of their belief, trying to reach beyond their mind's horizon. For those with patience and imagination, that can be fascinating.

Although some scholars prefer a "clean" text annotated by distanced endnotes, others of us will prefer more readily accessible footnotes. There are no descriptive running titles for the endnote pages, and some poems are without annotation. Readers are likely to find themselves turning pages to find elusive notes. Some of the notes seem beside the point, or excessively hortatory: compare this; cf. that. Some of the "parallels" seem weak, and others seem like mere commonplaces. On the other hand, Semler has clearly read obscure seventeenth-century tracts and treatises, and some of his points are quite germane. The footnote format would make assessment of the various parallels more straightforward. As it is, I had to "key" my edition with reciprocal notation indicating where I could find the appropriate endnote (or the noted poem) quickly, without using the index or ruffling through pages searching.

Pioneering work is difficult, and first draughts are rarely perfect. As might be expected, there is room for improvement. Still, this edition, and Semler's three articles should initiate an interesting discussion. Semler's edition of *Eliza's Babes* should be readily available, along with the works of other women poets—Sidney, Wroth, Lanier, Southwell, Bradstreet, Cavendish, Behn, Phillips, Barker, Chudleigh, Ephelia, and Finch—in any decent undergraduate library. Semler's diligent research facilitates the comprehension of a vanished era.

Sheila T. Cavanagh. *Cherished Torment: The Emotional Geography of Lady Mary Wroth's Urania*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2001. ix + 287 pp. \$60.00. Review by JUDITH SCHERER HERZ, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

Sheila Cavanagh certainly knows the highways and byways of romance, its forking paths and endless vistas, as her work on Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and now, in *Cherished Torment*, on Mary

Wroth's *Urania* attests. As a result of the extraordinary labors of Josephine Roberts (and after her tragic death, the devoted work of Janel Mueller and Suzanne Gossett who brought the second volume to completion), the two parts of Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (the two volumes weighing in at slightly over five pounds) are now available for scholarly scrutiny. The first part, published by Roberts in 1995 for the first time since its original publication in 1621, has already received considerable critical attention, notably in the work of Barbara Lewalski, Naomi Miller, Gary Waller, Mary Ellen Lamb, Maureen Quilligan, Paul Salzman, Helen Hackett, and most recently, Christina Luckyj. Cavanagh's, however, is the first book to work with the entire text: the 1995 edition, the Newberry manuscript of the narrative's continuation and, toward the end of her project, mostly for citation purposes, the 1999 (in reality 2000) volume of the now edited and annotated manuscript. Her easy familiarity with the often bewildering array of characters and events is impressive. She tracks characters, motifs, themes, ideas with a quiet assurance.

The *Urania's* multiple story lines, their collisions, divergences, repetitions and contradictions, confusing enough in the 1621 text, are even more so in the manuscript, which, of course, was never prepared for publication. It seems simply to have been put aside, unfinished, unrevised, its last semi-sentence "Amphilanthus was extremely . . ." "pointing to an ocean of possibilities, the *in extremis* of the romance mode. How does one read such a text? What can we make of it? These are questions that are both simple and difficult to answer. Simple. Well, it's fun to read (at least in measured doses). There are charming scenes and funny scenes nor is the pathos to be sneered at. Despite the fancy dress and, to a degree, the play-acting of the cast of lovelorn, misguided, mistaken, misplaced players, there is a sense that something important is at stake here for the author. The object of the quest is not always clear, but the importance of the quest is. There is an urgency in the endlessly unspooling parataxis that keeps the reader going. But the questions are also difficult. What narrative of literary history do we write it into, what contexts do we invoke to frame it, to place it?

Her uncle's *Arcadia*, the "Sidney family romance" in Waller's phrase, the text's obvious *roman à clef* characteristics, even if determining who is who is an imperfect science, are typical approaches here. And what do we place it in relation to? Are we more interested in reading the text or reading through it to, say, questions of gender relations, to take the most frequent reading strategy as an example?

Although acknowledging the obvious relevance of biographical approaches and very aware of the "figurations of gender" (Miller's phrase) in Wroth's work and the place of that work in the still forming canon of early modern women's writing, Cavanagh wants to make a quite different argument. Her claim is that the *Urania* is an intellectually rich text that engages "with many of the vital political, philosophical, and literary issues" of Wroth's day (218). She argues that the text is structured on a complex cosmographical foundation that provides an intellectual pattern holding together what might otherwise seem disparate and repetitive.

Two chapters examine the importance of geography, the narrative implications of the relation of character to place. Pamphilia, Amphilanthus and Rodomandro are placed astrologically, geographically, and politically. Cavanagh constructs an intellectual context that includes, among others, Apollonius of Perga, the Acts of the Apostles, William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse*, John Maplet's *The Diall of Destiny*, and George Abbot's a *Briefe Description of the Whole World* as part of her larger argument concerning Wroth's interest in the unification of East and West, the "Christian conversion of the entire world" (41). Other characters—Nereana, Antissia—are examined for the perils associated with abandoning geographic responsibilities. There is a chapter on the role of the four elements and the stars, another on the intertwining of fate and faith, of destiny and destination, of travail and travel that creates "conduits between the physical world and the more elusive aspects of the *Urania's* cosmographic structure" (125). The last two chapters, one on death, the other on dynasty and destiny complete the argument that even though it may be unclear whether, for example, Rodomandro is dead or alive, or whether Pamphilia and Amphilanthus are moving toward marriage or not, there is still

“reasonable closure,” and that a “new era [will] follow . . . that destiny is preparing for a mystical, Christian world where love becomes certain, merit precedes heredity, and the Knight of the Faire Designe can triumph as leader of a renewed domain” (218).

Characters, episodes, and encounters—a vast number of them—are looked at in relation to this conclusion and the continuo refrain that “the *Urania*’s cosmological representations often mirror the broader indeterminacy of Wroth’s narrative” (163) and shape its contours (8). Some characters, Parselius for one, greatly benefit from this approach. Overall, however, there is too much of a gap between the cosmographic/cosmological refrain, which functions both as premise and conclusion, and the textual details that provide the putative evidence. Cavanagh makes a convincing case for the serious intellectual content in Wroth’s writing, although I would not go as far as calling it a “pansophic text” (14), and she has done important work here in making these affiliations and influences visible. Wroth certainly read widely and in a great variety of subjects and gave considerable thought to the structure and patterning of her work. A modern reader needs to be reminded of the multiple political and intellectual currents that inform the text. But I find Cavanagh’s method, although wide ranging, too end-determined. Characters are picked up and dropped as they fit into the scheme. We are asked to look at Antissia, for example (my favorite character), almost entirely as she illustrates the “perils associated with political usurpation and the consequences of personal usurpation” (70); her later contrition is used as evidence for another argument, which may in fact be contradicted by the earlier assertion that “a ‘cured’ Antissia may not equate with a forgiven one” (76). Procedurally Cavanagh seems boxed in by a critical model that is at once extrapolated from the materials of the *Urania* and then made the grid to control interpretive moves.

Sheila Cavanagh has written an ambitious and a very interesting even if frustrating book. It shares with its source text a highly detailed slipperiness that is perhaps inevitable. Nonetheless, one learns a great deal about the *Urania*, Mary Wroth, and the

debates and issues at the turn of the seventeenth century in its pages.

James Grantham Turner. *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. xxii + 343 pp. + 10 illus. \$65.00. Reviewed by MATTHEW J. KINSERVIK, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE.

Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685 is an ambitious and innovative book. As the subtitle indicates, Turner aims to bridge periods normally kept apart by academic convention, and he does so by discussing the very things that seem to have been fundamentally changed by the Civil Wars and Interregnum: sexuality, politics, and literary culture. To be more precise, he reads sexual literature from 1630 to 1685 for what it says about the class and gender troubles that persist throughout this particularly troubled period. As a result, Turner challenges the liberationist claims about libertine literature of the Restoration era by linking them to very different earlier texts under the rubric of "pornographia." This faux-Renaissance term signifies "the sexually explicit discourse of prostitution and its application to social institutions and political events," including not just literary texts, but also church court records, obscure lampoons, and graphic prints (xii). The scope of "pornographia" goes beyond printed matter and includes other sexual signifying practices, such as charivari demonstrations and the infamous naked mountebank sermon performed by Sedley and Dorset.

Given so ambitious a scope, what is the precise goal of the book? Turner explains, "My goal throughout is to reveal common 'porno-political' preoccupations across widely different decades, and to embed illicit sexual discourse in the material life and rituals of the metropolis, relating them to the ambivalent mixture of festivity and violence expressed in charivari, carnival, and apprentice

riots" (xiii). To "reveal" and "embed" and "relate" is not to answer or to solve any specific critical or historical problem. As a consequence, the book is highly descriptive. But if that might be regarded by some as a weakness, it is also the book's greatest strengths. Turner discusses a truly impressive array of pornographic texts, acts, prints, and other representations, noting the continuities between such different texts as Puritan satires on women's petitions to parliament in the 1640s and 50s and Wycherley's dedication to *The Plain-Dealer*. Uniting such disparate material is the tendency of English writers throughout the period to use the figure of the prostitute to define or mark other people and institutions (and sometimes themselves) as whores. The aims and goals of this "pornotropism" vary widely, but as Turner shows, the terms remain remarkably stable.

The source of most pornographic motifs is Italy, so Turner starts there. Texts like Ferrante Pallavicino's *La retorica delle puttane* (Englished as *The Whore's Rhetoric*) establish the two paradigms of the prostitute that recur throughout seventeenth-century "pornographia": the noble courtesan (*cortegiana honesta*) and the common whore (*puttane errante*). While both are types of prostitutes, the former particularly troubles class and gender boundaries with her pretensions to honor, riches, and rhetorical sophistication. If the binary system of classifying women distinguishes only between the chaste and the unchaste, the honorable and the infamous, then what does one do with an oxymoron like the noble courtesan?

This figure presents a dilemma not just in terms of literary representation, but also in actual fact, given the ennobling of some of Charles II's mistresses. It suggests a graduated system of sexual categorizing that is incompatible with the binary. This presented a problem for women because the figure of the noble courtesan could be invoked to describe any woman with pretensions to honor or agency: any active woman is a whore. Turner convincingly shows that female social action is not just a theme of libertine literature in the seventeenth century, but is "its motive and core" (xvi). The desire to mark active women as whores is one of the animating principles of "pornographia." Indeed, women faced a

further problem of sexual representation because the binary system could trump the graduated at any time. Using an unfortunately mixed metaphor, Turner explains: "The simple designation *whore*, then cuts through this aura of paradoxical qualification and nails the errant woman in the coffin of abjection" (8). The result is a rhetorical instability that could be exploited to bring the highest down to the level of the lowest.

The figures of the wandering whore and the noble courtesan introduce a high/low tension that is at the heart of "pornographia," whether it concerns the actions of female whores or male whoremongers. Is a Skimmington ride a sanctioned expression of moral disapprobation of errant sexuality, or is it an excuse for the display of prurient symbols and the release of sexual energy? Is Rochester's "mannerly obscenity" a strategic and privileged appropriation of low-class debauchery, or is it evidence of a breakdown between the high and the low? Are the apprentice riots of 1668 an assault on the many common whores of London, or do they actually aim at the noble courtesans at Whitehall? Specific answers to questions like these are, of course, impossible, but Turner is not much interested in them anyway. He is more interested in linking the supposedly high libertinism of Charles II's court to the "low-libertine" practices that persist throughout the period.

Among the most valuable sections of the book are chapters two and three. Drawing on the work of social historians like Martin Ingram, Turner analyzes the semiotics and rhetoric of the subculture of sexual "festive violence" in Chapter Two. He convincingly shows urban and elite participation in a subculture that is conventionally thought of as exclusively plebian and rural. Whether it be the actual mingling of classes in a designated "zone of misrule" like Bartholomew Fair or the high literary appropriation of a low-libertine practice like the charivari, the high and the low mingle promiscuously. In chapter three, he looks at "porno-political" writing that addresses political concerns in sexual terms, explaining that during times of crisis, "the division between sexual and national politics dwindles away, and figurative correspondences become literal" (76). As sexual behavior becomes politicized, so does

political behavior become sexualized. Female political action during the Commonwealth, such as petitions to Parliament, is ridiculed as a form of (manly) sexual aggression while male rulers are too sexually promiscuous, and therefore effeminate. As a result, writers as different in their politics as Margaret Cavendish, Lucy Hutchinson, and John Hall all “link the chaos of gender-confusion directly to political events” and worry that “the world is now dominated by lady-like tyrants of both sexes” (112).

The chief virtue of *Libertines and Radicals* is its comprehensive scope. By casting so wide a net in terms of years covered and types of representations considered, Turner reveals a remarkable continuity in sexual and literary culture between decades that seem to be fundamentally different on these very grounds. I think it would be very difficult to discuss the upper class courtesan and libertine after 1660 without taking into account the connections Turner makes between these Restoration figures and their pre-1660 antecedents. In that sense, then, “pornographia” is a term that usefully unifies cultural practices and periods that are usually kept apart. I’m less convinced that some of Turner’s other neologisms are of much use, such as “pornosphere” (175), “pornotopian” (202), and “pornocracy” (255). If he sometimes strains verbally, he also stretches some of his claims a bit. Is “Cinderalla” really a cognate of “Fuckadilla” from *Sodom* (10)? And was Edward Kynaston a “transgendered” actor (216) or just an occasionally transvestite one? The discussion of plays like *The Rover* and *The Country Wife* are surprisingly readerly and untheatrical for a book that considers gesture to be equivalent to text and calls Rochester a “performance-artist” (233). And a quick look at the English Short Title Catalogue reveals that the 1684 *Parliament of Women* does not bring “to a sticky end a long tradition of imagining such female gatherings” (265). There are such publications in 1685, 1686, 1708, 1710, and 1750.

David Parrott. *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. xxiv + 599 pp. \$90.00. Review by THOMAS WORCESTER, COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Interest in Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), the chief minister of King Louis XIII, never seems to fade, whether among anglophone scholars of French history, or among the French themselves. An enduring icon of France's glory and grandeur, Richelieu has often been imagined as having succeeded in carrying out a comprehensive plan to subordinate all of France to the king and his ministers, and to subordinate all of Europe to French interests. David Parrott's new book on military history goes a long way toward showing both the prevalence and persistence of decentralization in Richelieu's France, and the apparent absence of any overall strategy to change things very much.

Parrott does an excellent job of demonstrating the pragmatic and reactive nature of Richelieu's military policies. France lagged behind new developments in armaments and battle strategies pursued by other states in Europe. Contrary to much of received interpretation, this study also shows that the Cardinal did not carry out—at least not in the military sphere—a master plan that achieved centralization of power and subordination of unruly elites, such as the great noble families. Those families did what they had done for centuries: they used military service, and especially the holding of military offices, to bolster their own prestige and power; only secondarily, if that, did they seek to serve (or in fact serve) royal interests. Parrott's Richelieu achieved whatever (small) success he had in the Thirty Years War, not by overturning the traditional aristocratic military ethos in favor of royal authoritarianism, but by a pragmatic cultivation of that ethos. While the notion of a more domesticated, court nobility may be valid for the later seventeenth century and beyond, Parrott suggests that it does not apply to the reign of Louis XIII.

War in Richelieu's France was financed in part by army officers who not only bought their offices from the state, but also paid

out of their own resources at least a portion of the living and other expenses of their regiments. Military command was certainly not a suitable occupation for anyone looking for a lucrative career; while socially useful for those looking to maintain or gain the status of *noblesse d'épée*, it could be economically ruinous. Parrot shows how Richelieu relied heavily on these traditions of aristocratic generosity (a kind of *noblesse oblige* mentality and practice) to make up for grossly insufficient tax revenues. But even with such generosity, France continued to field an underfunded army.

While officers and would-be officers might be plentiful, numbers of soldiers were chronically inadequate during Cardinal Richelieu's ministry. Parrot shows how statistics were often inflated to mask this problem. John Lynn's work, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army 1610–1715* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), examined how, in the personal reign of Louis XIV (1661–1715), the size of the French army expanded rapidly, and how the army was brought under greater centralized, royal control. Parrott's work suggests that such developments were not anticipated or foreshadowed in the age of Richelieu. Devoting an entire chapter to the size of the French army, Parrott argues that one must distinguish clearly between the exaggerated figures promoted by Richelieu's government and the reality that existed in the field. Claims of totals between 125,000 and 150,000 soldiers—claims designed to impress and intimidate France's enemies—coexisted with actual figures closer to 70,00 to 80,000 men.

As for control of the army, Parrot finds that jurisdiction was frequently contested, and that "multiple hierarchies" (366–367) prevented clear lines of authority from functioning. The king and his ministers, provincial governors, princes and other nobles, and military officers all sought to direct matters. There was no neat pyramid of authority, and not much rational planning. The presence of the king himself at certain battles (e.g., Arras 1640), while bolstering production of heroic images of Louis XIII as a warrior king, actually compromised centralized royal control of the war effort, an effort that included several fronts and a vast, complex geography.

This book includes a useful glossary of terms, and a number of helpful maps. It also offers a detailed index and a thorough bibliography, and thus may function as a kind of reference work as well as one to be read cover to cover.

The book's length may well discourage some potential readers, even as some *lacinae* disappoint others. Though the origins of this study were an Oxford doctoral dissertation, completed in 1985, the book sometimes reads more like a University of Paris *doctorat d'état*: much too long, unedited, long on quantity where quality would do better. Annoyingly verbose at times, Parrott's book also passes too lightly over some significant topics. Several interesting questions, such as the effects of the plague on the military, receive only brief mention. In general, there is very little social history in this tome. Parrott's approach to the past privileges institutional, political, administrative history; one learns too little about the average soldier in Richelieu's armies. Key issues such as food, battle injuries, epidemic disease, hospitals and medical care are viewed as administrative problems, and are never explored from the point of view of the soldier. Frequent disciplinary lapses, such as desertion, and the tendency of encamped armies to pillage and loot among local populations, Parrot treats only as challenges for officers and ministers to face (or, more likely, ignore). Again, the perspectives and experiences of actual soldiers and other ordinary people remain distant and out of focus for Parrott, just as they may have been for Richelieu and his administration.

Yet this is an important book, and it ought not to be ignored by scholars of seventeenth-century France. Parrott shows convincingly that the notion that "Richelieu had laid the foundations for a strategy that was about to bear fruit in the 1640s must be questioned" (162). If a centralized France prospered in the years after Richelieu's death, Parrott implies that the Cardinal Minister of Louis XIII merits little credit for it. If France ultimately emerged from the Thirty Years War in a powerful position, it must have been due to factors other than a brilliant Richelieu at the helm, for there was no overall direction of the French army in the era of his ministry, but rather various "levels of administrative confusion

and incoherence" (415). In the light of this study, images of Cardinal Richelieu as the clever mastermind behind the triumph of French royal absolutism, at home and abroad, in peace and in war, may seem more part of the history of French government propaganda than as anything else.

Michael J. Braddick. *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. x + 447 pp. \$28.00. Review by MOLLY MCCLAIN, UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO.

What connects the study of witchcraft trials to a book on the English navy? What links a history of the English civil wars with a study of the Society for the Preservation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK)? The answer, according to Michael Braddick, is the early modern state.

Braddick argues that the state is at the heart of every history of early modern England, be it social, military, political, or religious. This fact is obscured by the increasing specialization of the discipline and by the often narrow approach of historians and their graduate students. For example, it might seem as if Keith Wrightson (*Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling 1525-1700* with D. Levine) and Conrad Russell (*The Causes of the English Civil War*) are writing about completely different subjects. However, on closer inspection, it appears that both are concerned with the nature and use of political power. Braddick believes that "bringing the state back in" will offer some new answers to old questions. It will also provide "a fruitful way of thinking across boundaries set by our professional specialisations" (8).

To this end, the author marshals an impressive array of works on social, political, military, and religious history. His footnotes alone are worth the price of the book. He describes a variety of historiographical controversies, both past and present, and shows how often disparate narratives can be used to tell the larger story of the development of the English state.

Braddick's organizational methods are highly empirical. He divides the book into five sections. Part I provides a definition of the state and a description of the uses of political power. Parts II-V focus on four different conceptions of the state: "patriarchal," "fiscal-military," "confessional," and "dynastic," each of which is adopted by a different group of historians. He does not try to create artificial similarities among these discourses. Instead, he emphasizes their differences. For example, the issue that separates the "patriarchal" state from the "fiscal-military" state (and the social from the political historian) is the issue of change. To what extent did the English state change over time? What were the turning points? Who pressed for change? Where did innovative practices lead the state?

According to Braddick, the "patriarchal" state changed quite slowly. Social reformers were not radicals; instead, they were local officials who directed their efforts towards controlling those persons perceived to be most threatening to the established order. As a result, administrative innovations, such as the poor law and crisis measures taken in response to famine and outbreaks of the plague, were often backward-looking and, after 1640, "increasingly routine and less spectacular" (173). In some ways, the eighteenth-century administrators described by Norma Landau (*The Justices of the Peace, 1679-1760*) do not look all that different from those discussed by Paul Slack (*Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*).

The "fiscal-military" state, on the other hand, adopted many innovative practices, becoming recognizably "modern" after 1640. Political historians often discuss change in abstract terms without identifying the individuals responsible for choosing the design of a new warship or the source of a new tax. Instead, structural changes are produced by "specialised, differentiated institutions" which appeared to be "relatively autonomous" from social interest (429). As a result, the emphasis is on the relative modernity of state forms. Not surprisingly, these historians justify their approach by pointing out that seventeenth-century writers increasingly used "a language of state—an impersonal political entity to be defended" (273).

Braddick reconciles these two very different visions of the state by reminding the reader that they are both right and wrong. Hence, the subtitle of his concluding chapter, “actions without design, patterns without blueprints.” The essential point is not the usefulness of terms like “patriarchal” and “fiscal-military,” but whether they can be understood and appropriated by historians working in different fields. For example, “conceiving of offices as social roles integrates intellectual and administrative history, and the abstract order of the state with the actual experience of political authority, thus drawing attention to ways in which ideas and values can drive political action” (431). He wants early modern English historians to read works outside their areas of expertise and to realize that they share with their colleagues a common interest in the development of the state.

If there is any flaw in this book, it is Braddick’s provincial approach. He admits that “this book is principally concerned with the impact of the state in English villages and wards” (27). As a result, he spends little time discussing the territorial expansion of England, writing only a brief survey of the literature on Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. This is surprising given the fact that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, like her continental neighbors, was exporting state power to the farthest corners of the world. Somehow, the early modern state evolved into “the British Empire” but it is not clear from this book how that transformation took place.

The most important contribution of this book is that it reminds historians and, most importantly, their graduate students to look for the “big picture” when they are tackling even the narrowest subjects. Why did the study of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attract Whig historians? To what extent are we still drawn towards narratives that describe the birth of political parties, the rise of constitutional government, and the beginnings of religious liberty? Finally, how do twenty-first century ideas about women’s rights, the status of ethnic minorities, and the role of the media shape our vision of the early modern English state?

Karen Skovgaard-Petersen. *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588-1648): Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002. Review by MARY E. AILES, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA AT KEARNEY.

Throughout his reign (1588-1648), Christian IV of Denmark filled his court with artists and scholars and encouraged a cultural renaissance partially to showcase his kingdom's wealth, influence, and power. Skovgaard-Petersen examines an aspect of this cultural trend by analyzing two Latin histories of Denmark written in the 1620s by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius. In her examination, the author does not analyze the works for their historical accuracy. Instead, she discusses how they revealed the methods that politicians and intellectuals used to create and present a "national ideology" (16). In analyzing this issue, she poses such questions as what was the nature of the Danish monarchy, what impact did the kingdom have upon European politics, and what was the nature of the kingdom's relations with neighboring states particularly its traditional enemy Sweden.

To tackle these issues, the author first discusses the factors that led Christian IV to hire Pontanus and Meursius to produce a Latin history. Prior to their appointments, the crown had hired three other scholars to write a national history. Each failed in their task for reasons varying from sudden death to producing historical accounts that did not fit the crown's vision of how the kingdom should be portrayed. During the 1620s, the king became more concerned to produce a national history due to the kingdom's growing involvement in the Thirty Years' War and to the publication of a Swedish history that claimed that "Scania," a province that Denmark ruled, had formerly belonged to Sweden (28-30). Thus, the king desired the creation of a national history partially to justify Denmark's position within Europe, to glorify the royal family, and to provide historical evidence supporting the kingdom's control over its territory.

The author devotes the book's remainder to an in-depth account of the two Latin histories that Pontanus and Meursius produced in the 1630s. She discusses the works' physical characteristics such as the appearance of the title pages, the length of the books, the dedications, and the authors' differing styles in dating events within the texts. She then surveys the books' historical content, the sources upon which they were based, the themes that each author emphasized, and the authors' differing writing styles.

Through this discussion, Skovgaard-Petersen concludes that Pontanus and Meursius wrote two different, but complementary works. In analyzing Pontanus' book, Skovgaard-Petersen categorizes it as part of the "antiquarian tradition" (149-152). The work covers a multitude of topics including a history of the Danish kings from ancient times until 1448, Denmark's geography, its social structure, its legal system, its economy, and its cultural achievements. Additionally, he relates Danish history to events in Europe in an attempt to make Denmark's past part of a wider European history. Along the same lines, he draws parallels between incidents in classical literature and historical events in Denmark to illustrate that the kingdom's past was equal to that of ancient Greece and Rome (412-413). Pontanus thus presents a comprehensive account of Danish history, but its scattered nature leaves the work lacking a central theme. In contrast, Meursius' work is more tightly focused. It only discusses Danish political history by focusing on the country's rulers from the legendary King Danus to Christian III (1536-1559). Additionally, the book expresses the theme that God's will guided the course of history. Meursius judged the king's actions upon Christian morality and portrayed the kings as God's representatives on earth (411).

Despite the differing emphasis, both scholars presented similar overall themes that the author believes helped to create a specific impression of the Danish monarchy and kingdom. Both authors emphasized the kingdom's power and strength, its ability to conquer and subdue neighboring states, and the monarchy and council's organization. They stressed that from an early era, Denmark was a civilized kingdom with an independent monarchy that enjoyed

the people's support. Thus the two histories advocated the advantages of monarchical government and the kingdom's long tradition of possessing such institutions. These historians also highlighted the Danish monarchy's hereditary nature. Although Denmark possessed an elective monarchy, since 1448 members of the same family had ruled the kingdom with the oldest son usually following his father on the throne. In stressing the monarchy's "almost hereditary" nature, the histories emphasized the monarchy's continuing stability (422-423). The author concludes that the histories target audience probably was academics, diplomats, and noblemen in state service. With their wealth of information on Denmark's past, its society, and its values the works could be useful to diplomats and politicians, both foreign and native (424).

Skovgaard-Petersen has created a well-written and detailed account of two previously neglected national Danish histories written during Christian IV's reign. Since the 400th anniversary of the king's ascension to the throne in 1988, historians have produced many works highlighting Christian IV's achievements. The book adds to this already active discussion by expanding the investigations into how the king used culture to strengthen his kingdom's reputation on a European wide level. This is, however, a very specialized work that is targeted to scholars that possess a good background in Scandinavian history.

Despite the book's strengths, the author does not demonstrate that Pontanus and Meursius' histories helped to create a national ideology. While she does speculate that the Danish government ordered the historians to portray the kingdom in a particular light, she does not investigate how contemporary intellectuals and diplomats received the works. Were these works widely read? Did intellectuals, both foreign and domestic, accept the version of Denmark's history that they presented? Did Danish diplomats use these works to justify the kingdom's position in European-wide politics? To what extent did cultural productions influence political events in seventeenth-century Europe? Investigating such issues would strengthen her discussion of the histories' intended

purposes and of their impact upon the European intellectual and political scene.

Betty S. Travitsky. *Subordination and Authorship in Early Modern England: The Case of Elizabeth Cavendish Egerton and Her "Loose Papers."* Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999. xii + 290 pp. + 35 illus. \$30.00. Review by LISA J. SCHNELL, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

In 1981 Betty Travitsky edited *The Paradise of Women: Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance*. Though slim in size, it was huge in scope and influence: a whole generation of scholars whose work has been focused on early modern women writers can point to that anthology as their starting point. In the preface to the 1989 reprint of the book, Travitsky herself reflected on the work her compilation initiated: "For the literary scholar, the examination of previously unnoticed, and sometimes misrepresented writings by Renaissance women (often written in unconventional genres) has raised important questions about the nature of literature and the empowerment of the literary canon" (xvii). Almost 20 years later, Travitsky asks those same questions of the manuscript papers of Elizabeth Egerton.

As the title of this recent volume implies, Travitsky has produced not just an edition of Elizabeth Cavendish Egerton's "Loose Papers," but she has used the occasion of editing the papers to produce a book-length "case study": a 170-page consideration of the conditions of early modern authorship, particularly for women. The impetus for the monograph came at least in part from Travitsky's profound frustrations—which she details in full—with the gaps in the Bridgewater family library, most of which was acquired by Henry E. Huntington early in the twentieth century for what is now the Huntington Library. Her frustration is entirely understandable: some books were deemed duplicates (of books already housed at the Huntington) and sold at auction; some papers were deemed private or personal (including the manuscript

Travitsky edits as part of this volume) and remained at Mertoun, in Scotland and are available only as poor-quality facsimiles; still other documents and books have been mislaid, or miscataloged; certain documents, perhaps by Elizabeth, have been misattributed to her sister, her mother-in-law, her husband. Such problems produce gaps in the record of Elizabeth Egerton's life and literary pursuits that, though they frustrate Travitsky, become "silently instructive" (13).

For Travitsky the main piece of instruction concerns the issue of early modern subjectivity. In a sentence that articulates this argument, even while it also illustrates some of the weaknesses of her writing, Travitsky says: "Perhaps the most significant of the unexpected insights effected by the gaps and silences in the record is a negative general hypothesis concerning the writings of the countess, of other women in her family, by extension, of other conventional, i.e., law-abiding, women writers in early modern England, and (most unexpectedly to me) of subordinated men: that the subjectivity commonly attributed to these early modern women writers as well as to other subordinated early modern persons should be interrogated, that it may be highly limited, even a fiction, an ahistorical (mis-)reconstruction of early modern consciousness on the model of twentieth-century experience" (13-14). Her point, though not particularly well-executed, is well-taken, but it is hardly the first time this argument has been made. And indeed, there is not enough acknowledgement in the monograph of the extensive and sophisticated work that has been done by Arthur Marotti and others on early-modern manuscript culture.

But if the monograph reveals some critical lapses in the larger argument Travitsky is attempting to make, it is almost entirely redeemed by her fascinating account of the specific situation of Elizabeth Egerton's subordinated subjectivity. Elizabeth Cavendish Egerton, the daughter of William Cavendish and Elizabeth Basset Howard, grew up in one of the wealthiest families in pre-Civil War England. Travitsky is particularly interested in the influence exerted by her father, who seems to have encouraged in all five of his surviving children (5 others died in infancy) a taste

for extravagant country living and a courtly (as opposed to a pious) sort of literary sensibility. One suspects that Travitsky would like to do more with the effect produced on Elizabeth Egerton by her stepmother, Margaret Lucas Cavendish, whom her father married shortly after the death of Elizabeth's mother in 1643. Travitsky spends a lot of time discussing the literary notoriety of Margaret Cavendish but the discussion amounts, in the end, to little other than thin speculation about the relationship between Cavendish and her stepdaughter. Indeed, by 1643, at the age of 17, Elizabeth was already married and would appear to have been fully subsumed by yet another prominent aristocratic family. Elizabeth's husband was John Egerton, probably best known as the youngest brother in the first performance—before the Egerton family—of Milton's *Comus*. The Egerton family surely numbers among the most literarily sophisticated aristocratic families of the seventeenth century, but the family is also a splendid example of an aristocratic family in crisis.

Travitsky's thick description of the household over which Elizabeth and her husband presided is aimed mainly at understanding the kind of patriarchal "interference" that can be seen in some of the extant Egerton manuscripts, in particular one by Elizabeth—"Divine Meditations upon every particular Chapter in the Bible"—that is heavily edited in her husband's hand (curiously, it is not this manuscript that Travitsky reproduces in the edition, but instead one for which no real evidence of editing exists). And though one suspects that Travitsky's own ambitions reside primarily with her argument concerning literary subordination, both the monograph and the edition of the illuminating, and occasionally deeply moving, "Loose Papers" that follow it are perhaps most valuable for the scrupulously-researched account of a prominent—and remarkable—early modern aristocratic household. Indeed, the way in which Travitsky has opened the door to further consideration of this important material, together with the timely reminder (in an age that seems to be retreating from book culture) of the intricate and sometimes hidden economies of "papers" that so often determine what we know of a literary career, make this volume as

important a contribution to seventeenth-century studies as was *The Paradise of Women*.

Mark Charles Fissel. *English Warfare 1511-1642*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001. xviii + 382 pp. + 38 illus. \$25.95 [library edition \$85]. Review by IAN GENTLES, GLENDON COLLEGE, YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO.

Mark Fissel advances a strong and ably-supported thesis—that the English accumulated a great deal of military experience in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that they were conversant with the new techniques and technologies of the “military revolution,” that they sometimes achieved military victories against the best armies of Europe, that they were courageous, adaptable, and eclectic, but that they refused to become a military culture. He thus effectively challenges the argument of David Eltis and others that England was militarily backward and inexperienced during this period.

English Warfare is grounded in a breathtakingly impressive quantity of research. It is densely factual, and up to date with the most recent historiography in the field. Fissel writes clearly, but his prose is some times less than sure-footed, resulting in a book that takes considerable effort to read. But the effort is rewarded.

For example, Fissel highlights the relatively little-known fact that Elizabeth sent more men to the wars than her bellicose father. Her reasons were also more compelling than those of Henry VIII: the genuine defence of the realm and protestant commitment. It is surprising to learn that English involvement in the Dutch war of independence dated, not from the Earl of Leicester’s expedition of 1585-6, but from 1572, when Elizabeth sent a contingent of ‘voluntaries.’ Within a few years these troops had won their spurs, demonstrating that they “could work in unison with allies, hold their ground, and perhaps even more importantly, maintain discipline in the crucible of battle, even against the best forces in Europe” (141).

Their most glorious moment came under the Earl of Leicester at the battle of Zutphen in September 1586. There a combined force of fewer than 600 cavalry and infantry routed a much larger force of Spanish and Italian troops. The cavalry won the day by the sheer fury of their attack, during which they held their formation and penetrated Spanish lines under a withering barrage of arquebus fire. The consistently impressive performance of the English troops bears eloquent testimony to Elizabeth's unwavering resolve to back the protestant cause on the continent.

Not only did English soldiers master the new weapons based on gunpowder—the musket, the caliver, and the many varieties of cannon—they also learnt about drill, formation, and troop deployment from the greatest commanders of the age, including Henry of Navarre, Maurice of Nassau, and Gustavus Adolphus. They became equally adept at siege warfare, and showed great skill in making the new siege works, based on the so-called *trace italienne*. Thus between the summer of 1601 and January 1602 Horace Vere conducted a brilliant defense at the siege of Ostend against a massive assault by Catholic forces. The English won respect for both their bravery and their mastery of siegecraft. They had become expert miners and sappers, and had more than kept abreast of contemporary developments in artillery, to the extent that their small cannon (sakers, minions and falcons) were in great demand on the continent.

England had its share of military fiascos: the Earl of Essex in Ireland; the Duke of Buckingham at Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé. But these were offset by Mountjoy's conquest of the Earl of Tyrone whose formidable army had been stiffened by the addition of 3500 Spanish *tercios*, at Kinsale in 1601, and Thomas Wentworth's creation of a superb army in Ireland during the 1630s. Had Wentworth been permitted to deploy this army against the Scots in 1640 Charles would have suffered no humiliation at Newburn, nor been compelled to summon the Long Parliament, Fissel persuasively argues. Nor, had Wentworth been alive to lead his army, would the Irish rebellion of 1641 have had a chance of getting off the ground.

Fissel is right to emphasize English pride in their mastery of the longbow, and its continued relevance as a weapon well into the seventeenth century. However, he allows himself to be misled by a contemporary military writer, Sir John Smythe, into thinking that the bow, along with the pike “be natural weapons and therefore need not teaching” (288). On the contrary, as Charles Carlton has shown, the chief reason why the lethally accurate longbow was abandoned by Charles I in favour of the laughably inaccurate musket, whose range was also much shorter than that of the longbow, was that acquiring the strength and skill to be an effective military archer was the work of many years. On the eve of the civil war there were not enough men in England who had kept up the training, thanks to Charles’s failure to insist on it. A musketeer by contrast could be trained in a matter of weeks.

A second point of dissent: Fissel accepts perhaps too uncritically J.M. Hill’s thesis about celtic warfare and the celebrated Irish or highland charge, which was supposed to be so devastating in its effectiveness for nearly two centuries. Hill’s claim has been treated with scepticism by Stuart Reid and Pàdraig Lenihan.

English Warfare is graced with many illustrations, portraits, and exquisite maps, several taken from contemporary manuscripts. The ones specially drawn for this volume, while useful, are unfortunately much less appealing to the eye.

These cavils apart, *English Warfare* makes a solid contribution to the military history of early-modern England. Fissel demonstrates incontrovertibly that, through their involvement in warfare in Ireland and on the continent, many tens of thousands of Englishmen gained first-hand experience of the military revolution. They mastered the new infantry and artillery weapons, as well as logistics, drill, and siegecraft. Above all they won respect in battle, both for their skill and for their bravery under fire. In 1642 several thousand of them returned from foreign theaters to England where, for the next decade, they turned their hard-won skills against one another.

Chris R. Kyle, ed. *Parliament, Politics, and Elections, 1604-1648*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. xi + 355 pp. \$65.00. Review by SIMON KOW, UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE, HALIFAX.

Parliament, Politics, and Elections, 1604-1648 attempts to redress the neglect of important parliamentary documents in political histories of early modern England. The authors in this volume have reproduced documents which reveal additional aspects of Parliament in this period to those addressed in studies of MP's diaries, though consideration of diaries and journals is not excluded. The volume thus brings out the complex dynamics within and without Parliament in the Jacobean and civil war eras. The emphasis, however, is on reproducing primary sources rather than detailed analysis of them. The volume should therefore be regarded principally as a resource for specialists in seventeenth-century parliamentary history.

The introduction explains the focus of the volume. Kyle writes that the entries seek to "discuss and deconstruct the nature of parliamentary sources and how they can be utilised in the study of parliamentary history" (1), though discussion and deconstruction of sources is less ambitious than the reader might expect. Kyle assesses the "problematic nature of many of the parliamentary diaries" (4), given the subjective character and thus frequent unreliability of the authors' accounts. But he concludes that such problems have been exaggerated. Accordingly, the subsequent chapters are intended not to displace but rather to balance the current scholarship focusing exclusively on diaries. The neglected documents thus more fully show how "[e]arly modern English Parliaments were institutional events" (1), in that they were both established institutions by the time of James I's reign and loci of political activity throughout this turbulent period.

The first chapter, by far the longest, is a collection of four diaries by MPs which provide a window on the proceedings of the first session under James I (1604-1607). As such, Simon Healy writes, they reveal "the active role played in the politics of these

sessions by the King" (13). Parliamentarians debated not only over the King's accession speech, particularly in regard to the union of England and Scotland and the question of religion, but also over Parliamentary privilege and the Buckingham election dispute, of which the King offered his own opinions. The chapter also serves to elucidate how the different authors of the diaries and journals—Sir George Manners, Sir Robert Cotten, and Sir Edward Montagu—give differing accounts of the session with emphases placed on certain issues according to their particular interests and perceptions.

The remaining chapters reproduce less conventional documents in parliamentary history. Two letters written by Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador in James I's court, are edited and translated by Brendan Pursell. They relate James's efforts to assuage an anti-Spanish Parliament on the one hand while reassuring Gondomar on the other in 1621, in the midst of the Thirty Years War. Kyle selects and transcribes 33 House of Commons Attendance Lists from 1606-1628 which indicate poor attendance except at committees on local issues. Kyle's point is exhibited by the scant interest and participation in the committee on "An Act for the Better Attendance of the Members of the House of Commons" (184-85). Jason Pearcey reproduces a document unusual for the time: Sir Edward Dering's list of freeholders and their (in some cases speculated) voting preferences in the 1640 election at Kent. For Pearcey, the list suggests no clear ideological division between the candidates.

The final chapter is a selection of letters from Hull MPs Peregrine Pelham and Francis Thorpe to the corporation of Hull in 1644-1648. The letters are notable for the light cast on the use of bribery—including "Hull ale"—in order to advance the local interests of Hull in the midst of civil strife. Despite the pressing public affairs surrounding the war with the King, the Hull mayor and aldermen displayed a persistent preoccupation with protecting local business and trade. As the letters show, the corporation even entreated its MPs to persuade Parliament to exempt Hull from the

Northern Association, proposed by the Long Parliament to strengthen parliamentary forces in northern England.

The documents, while occasionally elucidating and even amusing, make for generally tedious reading. Nevertheless, the editorials competently address major themes and issues. The volume will be chiefly of interest to scholars of parliamentary history. For a wider audience, a cursory reading of the contents is sufficient to convey the sense of Parliament's growing importance in early modern England, a thesis quietly reflected in the book's cover—a mischievously altered reprint of an engraving from Robert Glover's *Nobilitas Politica et Civilis*. The original, which depicts Elizabeth I's recognition of the need for Parliament's consent in passing legislation, is reproduced with the substitution of James I on the throne.

Alan Marshall. *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660-1702*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999. x + 234 pp. \$79.95. Review by MOLLY MCCLAIN, UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO.

Alan Marshall has produced a well-researched and entertaining survey of the later Stuart court. He writes with considerable authority on the politics and personalities in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William III, and Mary II. In Part I, the author provides a brief survey of recent historiographical controversies before turning to a description of the machinery of government. He describes the royal residences, the major household offices, the rituals of court life and the system of patronage which linked the king to his leading subjects. He also includes information on the much-neglected subject of "female politicians" such as Louise de Keroualle, duchess of Portsmouth, and others (49).

The later Stuart monarchs, like their continental contemporaries, often used visual means to display their power. For example, Charles II hired the Italian painter Antonio Verrio to create Baroque illusions on the ceilings and walls of his chambers at Windsor Castle and Whitehall Palace. In St. George's Hall, the

king appears enthroned in glory, overcoming rebellion and faction. In another room, he is disguised as Perseus rescuing Europe disguised as Andromeda. The author notes that “as patron of such arts Charles was able to indulge, in relative seclusion, the ideals of absolutism which such baroque paintings projected, even if he was unable to express them outside the palace walls” (66).

Other glimpses of court life show the duke of Monmouth losing money hand over fist at the horse races due to his addiction to horoscopes; Queen Catherine and her two ladies, “dressed as country girls, attending a fair only to be discovered by the crowds around them because of their strange accents”; and Charles II arranging to have a “Muscovit” sledge built to pull him round the canals of St. James’s Park. He was joined by Mary of Modena, the new duchess of York, who, “when not throwing snowballs at her somewhat austere husband that winter, was ‘pulled up and down the ponds in [her sledge] every day” (74).

It is not surprising to learn that court life changed considerably between 1660 and 1704. The drunken roistering which had taken place in the sexually-charged atmosphere of Charles II’s court nearly disappeared after 1685. James II instituted a programme of moral reformation “stemming from either the King’s strong self-righteous streak or his guilt complex (for he had indulged in sin as much as anyone in his brother’s reign)” (78). His daughter Mary continued to promote a moral atmosphere. Under William III, the court moved from Windsor Castle and Whitehall Palace to Hampton Court and Kensington, setting the trend for “the smaller and more homely English court of the eighteenth century” (21).

In Part II, Marshall provides a narrative of court politics, stressing the active role played by each of the later Stuart kings. Charles II, for example, is characterized as a “courtier king” with great tactical intelligence and a knack for secret intrigue (92). He managed to outmaneuver most of his ministers, avoiding the outbreak of renewed civil war and dying peacefully in his bed. James II, on the other hand, was a reformer by nature. He is characterized by sobriety, decorum, and hard work. Unlike his brother, he

was manipulated by his advisors, principally the earl of Sunderland who played a decisive role in wrecking the reign. Finally, William III comes across as a “natural autocrat” who dreaded the ceremonies of monarchy and adopted a business-like approach to government (156). He also “disliked and distrusted most of the English politicians he came across” (158). His reign would lead to the expansion of the powers of Parliament and the beginning of the great age of political party.

The historical documents reprinted at the end of the volume are well-chosen and highly descriptive. Here, Marshall provides a diagram of the arrangement of rooms in the monarch’s public and privy chambers. He reprints court satires written during the reign of Charles II; descriptions of the court by John Evelyn, Roger North, and Thomas, earl of Ailesbury, among others; reports by the Venetian ambassador; a selection from Thomas Shadwell’s comedy, *The Lancashire Witches* (1682); and the memoirs of Queen Mary II. These sources, along with a good bibliography, make this book an excellent choice for advanced undergraduates and graduate students.

The only problem with this book is its price. Only research libraries will be able to spend \$79.95 for this slim volume. Manchester University Press should be encouraged to bring this volume out in paperback. Its style, brevity, and wealth of examples make it an excellent teaching tool as well as an enjoyable read.

Gigliola Fragnito, ed. *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Trans. Adrian Belton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. x + 264 pp. + 4 illus. \$59.95. Review by ERMINIA ARDISSINO, UNIVERSITY OF TURIN.

Although devoted primarily to the vicissitudes of the promulgation of the *indices librorum prohibitorum*, which took place between the last sessions of the Council of Trent and the full implementation of the Clementine Index (1996), this collection of

essays is of extreme importance for the understanding of Italian intellectual life in the seventeenth century. The book offers a clear perspective on what approaching a book in this century must have meant, a century when the vernacular translation of the Bible was forbidden, the *Decameron* had to be read in an expurgated version and all printed matter (even Hebrew religious books), had to pass the control of censors and inquisitors. For any scholar dealing with religious, literary, civil or intellectual Italian history of the seventeenth century it is essential to bear in mind the disruptive effect the *indices* had on printing, on the transmission of texts and on the reading and use of previous writings.

The essays collected by Gigliola Fragnito are the results of the first researches conducted in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith after its opening in January 1998. Thus, they benefit from documents never before seen. As Fragnito shows in her introductory essay, these results mean that the old and fixed ideas on the repressive apparatus of the Roman Church, which was far more conflictual and complex than might appear from the results of the censorship imposed, are now outdated. Fragnito is also the author of the first essay "The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship" (13-49), in which the history of censorship, dating from the initial preoccupation of the Church with the spread of ideas through print, is reconstructed. In her essay, she writes about the interactions and the profound disagreements which characterise the activity of the three organisations in charge of the control on books: the Congregation of the Inquisition, the Congregation of the Index and the Master of the Sacred Palace (to which we should add the Pope since he often influenced decisions). The inability of the central power to dominate over the peripheral organisations is clearly apparent. Fragnito also deals with the expurgation of books and the response of political powers to censorship and gives an overview of the kinds of books which were subjected to condemnation.

The following essays deal with specific aspects of Catholic censorship. Luigi Balsamo in his essay "How to Doctor a Bibliography: Antonio Possevino's Practice" (50-78), shows how this Je-

suit planned to replace Gesner's *Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta* with a series of bibliographical tools (*Bibliotheca Selecta*, *Apparatus Sacer*, *Cultura degli Ingegni*), which can be considered as doctrinal *vademecum* or Counter-Reformation encyclopaedia intended as guides to building a Catholic culture. Balsamo also analyses how Possevino expurgated Gesner's work, evidence of which remains in the annotations left on his copy (now preserved in Bologna). "The Roman Inquisition's Condemnation of Astrology: antecedents, reasons and consequences" (79-110) deals not only with censorship of books on astrology, but with the changing attitudes towards the study of the stars from the time of Pico's *Disputationes contra astrologiam divinatricem* to the age of Galileo. The author, Ugo Baldini, analyses all the subtle differences in attitudes towards astrology throughout the century, publications in the field, and the attitude of the ecclesiastical powers. The need to correct beliefs sharply in contrast with the Faith, helped to define epistemological fields, which served to determine modern thought. Among the many and enduring consequences of the destruction of books is the change in the devotional attitudes of Italians. If at the end of the century the Bible in the vernacular was still the book most commonly found in Italian houses, the ban on translation of the Sacred Scriptures, on the other hand, resulted in the Bible being sprinkled with heretical writings. Consequently books of spirituality underwent profound revisions and gave way to new ones more in tune with the Tridentine orders. These issues are presented by Eduardo Barbieri in his "Tradition and Change in the Spiritual Literature of the Cinquecento" (111-33), in which he also analyses the trends in the market of devotional publications, the closest to the lower classes.

With the aim of preserving believers from moral and doctrinal deviations, censorship also invaded Hebrew devotional literature, which was considered to be a way of spreading blasphemous attitudes towards Christianity. With a detailed analysis of the events concerning the prohibition of the Talmud, Fausto Parente, in his "The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII's Index" (163-93), shows the Inquisition's uncertainty in this affair, the various failed at-

tempts to expurgate the book, and the effort made by the Italian Jews to save their cultural patrimony. The inquisitorial preference for a totalitarian attitude, which characterised the history of the Talmud, appears to be dominant even with regard to books of literature. The first *Index* did not consider literature, but in the course of the definition of dangerous books much of the production of both high and low literature was considered to be a vehicle of moral deviation. Ugo Rozzo in his "Italian Literature on the Index" (194-222), in a detailed analysis, shows the many ways in which Italian literature was offended by prohibition, expurgation, library control, bonfires, and even an imprecise amount of self-censorship. The radicalness of the "endeavour to reinterpret and rewrite, for doctrinal and ideological reasons, a large part of Italian literature" created a "virtual literature," whose "influence on Italian cultural, political and religious history thereafter was more disruptive than we realise" (222).

Finally, there are two essays devoted to books on law and social behaviour: Claudio Donati in "A Project of 'Expurgation' by the Congregation of the Index: Treatises on Duelling" (134-162) shows the many ambiguities of the censorship in dealing with books on duelling. As these were indispensable supports to nobiliar and chivalric ideology, they were, at first, indicated as books subject to expurgation. The failure to emend them suggested the need for suppression, but chivalric science continued, tolerated by an ecclesiastical hierarchy coming mainly from noble families themselves. In the sector of books of law, as Rodolfo Savelli outlines in his "The Censoring of Books of Law" (223-253), the conflict was no less intense. The intent to purge Italian culture of every attack on papal power and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as on the State of the Church conflicted with the need of the jurists to be familiar with foreign legislation. Savelli deals in particular with Du Moulin's writings.

Despite the richness, novelties, and importance of the material offered by this collection of essays, the editor forewarns the reader that the book "reflects a phase of research that can be considered

'exploratory,' given the extraordinary richness of the sources and their only recent accessibility" (2).

James Doelman. *King James I and the Religious Culture of England*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000. viii + 194 pp. \$75. Review by BOYD BERRY, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY.

James Doelman sets out to examine "the interaction of James' ideas of religious life with that of his subjects" (*sic*, 4) or *King James I and the Religious Culture of England*: "While James is the starting point for this study, frequently attention comes to rest more firmly on his subjects and their response to his perceived interests and views" (2). This is an area, he feels, which has been less discussed than Caroline religious culture partly because of its neo-Latin work and partly because of James' emphasis on the verbal over the visual. Like many of his age and nation, James felt that his personal religious practices and beliefs "should play a significant role in shaping how that faith was publicly expressed" (4) and that a king should set out the form of the national church and lead it. That did not always work out, and so at times Doelman shows "the failure of the religious culture to be shaped" (5).

Doelman first takes up early assumptions about a king's role in the church, noting that "James' published writings would seem to offer a perspective on his religious views," but do not since "most deal with the question of authority in church and state rather than theology or faith *per se*" (12). Early on, James was affected by Scotch contests among Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians; and Doelman speculates that in 1603, James must have relished the thought of leading an Episcopalian church in England. James was also a religious poet; he enjoyed duBartas and translated a section, *Uranie*, in which the poet converts from secular to sacred verse in order to achieve the laurel.

The latter point leads to a consideration of the "optimism among writers that James would patronize religious and philosophical verse" (20) and what Doelman represents as an initial,

new flowering around his court. Clearly, Puritans felt change could be expected before Hampton Court, but Doelman represents others as expecting a change in court literature. He proposes that previously, religious poetry “was generally not inspired by the culture of the court,” or “the Queen” (24). In contrast, even while in Scotland, James was being courted by religious poets—Drayton, William Leighton, John Davies of Hereford, and translators of duBartas, although the latter ran the risk of competing with James’ own translation. Sir John Harrington cleaned up his act in anticipation of James. “Now to more serious thoughts my soule aspyers,/ This age, this minde, a Muse awsteare requiers,” he wrote (33).

Harrington’s efforts raise a question about all of these competitors for James’ attention—how serious was their religious verse—for Harrington’s turn to religious writing was not the first turn he had made. Similarly, Doelman quotes Davies’ *Microcosmos*, giving Machiavellian suggestions about the way a king should play off the nobility (32). But finally, chapter 2 concludes by showing that James had only a limited impact on would-be clients. Sylvester and a few others prospered, but James gradually lost interest in serious—i.e., philosophical and religious—poetry, and the hopes of many poetical courtiers went unfulfilled.

James himself was often termed a “prophet king” on the model of David. At the same time Doelman urges that “the prophets received little attention in England from the Reformation until 1640 (41), a view Doelman’s own argument questions. On the model of Calvin, “prophesying” could occur or be directed at the court, while the word itself was used of activities in the “conventicles” of the “godly.” Many published voices employing prophetic diction were laudatory, at least until near the end of James’ reign. Then, laments for the death of James, a summer plague, and concerns about Charles produced quite a number of less than celebratory prophesies. Charles was certainly not perceived to be a prophetic king, and Doelman repeatedly stresses that he was not received as his father had been in 1603.

Turning to the interaction between James and Andrew Melville, as well as the neo-Latin taste for epigrams, Doelman traces

out the tangled relation between James and Melville, sometimes in favor, sometimes under arrest: "Throughout Melville's years in Scotland he experienced a tension between serving a godly prince, and criticizing that prince who too often failed to measure up to Melville's understanding of godliness" (62). Once James arrived in London and pressed for an Episcopalian structure in the church, the two feuded. Finally it remains unclear how important the "epigram wars" were, although epigrams in manuscript could not be monitored as books and sermons were, and so could be more critical. By Melville's death, his Presbyterian views were ridiculed by supporters of James' Episcopalian policies, while "the use of the satiric religious epigram in this internecine fashion reflected the fracturing of the Protestant unity which had been the chief dream of both Melville and James" (72).

Doelman then turns to the religious figures used to laud James, the trend being to praise him initially as a Constantinian ruler, leading or founding the church, and later as a Solomonic peacemaker. To be sure, early on, James was likened to Solomon, partly because of his taste for writing, partly for pursuing peace even at his daughter's expense. Indeed, the situation of Elizabeth and husband and the effort at the Spanish match sparked complaints about the pacific reign. And again, James' urge to be *beati pacifici* was replaced by Charles' very different approach to rule.

Opposition to Rome created an interest in converts. Initially, "James took a personal interest in the conversions, and saw them as a central part of the theological and political controversies that were raging at the time," (103) yet "by late in his reign James' influence on the dynamics of conversion had come to an end" (134), while Buckingham and Charles seemed much more anti-Roman. The conversions seemed promising at the outset, but, as the muddy tale of Marco Antonio de Dominus exemplifies, then often became confused when *convertitos*, many from Venice, found themselves the objects of bickering in England and in some cases re-converted.

A discussion of psalm translation shows well the topsy-turvy world Doelman surveys. James revered the psalms, and while many sought to make a full translation, they were partly put off by the

possibility that James would complete and publish his own. Needless to say, that did not entirely deter George Wither. James' psalms were "a sort of phantom work" (157), and they continued much the same, although under another guise, with Charles, who concocted a set which he joined to the new prayer Book and imposed on the churches of both England and Scotland, claiming they memorialized his father.

Doelman concludes with a meditation on James' death and particularly a sermon by bishop John Williams. Williams hearkened back to James' Solomonic pursuit of peace and leadership in the church—the images which had heralded his accession—and shows how "Williams' sermon was a sort of lone light, in striking contrast to the general speed with which the late English king's life and death were forgotten, as attention turned to the immediate situation of a royal marriage and foreign conflicts" (158). Finally, he focuses on Robert Aylett's divine poem, *Urania*, which carries us back to the beginning of his tale. For James had translated a section from duBartas entitled *Uranie*, and in both the poet resolves to forgo secular for sacred writing. This is to suggest that a new crowd of sycophants formed around Charles' court, just as it had around James' in 1603.

Few of the characters Doelman takes up appear from his telling to have been very seriously religious. His is a tale of a monarch who had this or the other religious interest, which subsequently waned, or from which he was distracted, and of a number of writers about him who basically aspired for place. Part of the reason Doelman's topic has not been much developed would seem to owe to the fact that James had George Abbot and John Williams as bishops, while Charles had Laud, or that Queen Anne was a very different figure from Henrietta Maria. Matters of religion heated up after 1625, and that heat, while it may not have produced much light, generated and has generated considerably more intense reactions to royal policy in the church than they did or do under James.

Perry Gauci. *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660-1720*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. xvi + 302 pp. \$65.00. Review by JOSEPH P. WARD, UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

This book explores the interconnections between politics and commerce during an era in which both were undergoing important changes that would facilitate England's—later Britain's—imperial ascendance in the eighteenth century. The role of commerce in the politics of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England has hardly gone unnoticed by historians and literary scholars, but Perry Gauci brings a fresh perspective to his subject that should draw the attention of every serious student in this field.

The first three of the book's six chapters examine the public lives of overseas merchants. Gauci's approach is neatly summarized in his insistence that "in order to understand the public merchant, you have to understand the private man, and appreciate how his activity was inseparably linked to business and personal associations" (105). His study therefore concentrates on the social worlds of London merchants, since the metropolis was the center of English commerce throughout the period with which he is concerned. Building upon the works of scholars such as Peter Earle, Richard Grassby, Henry Horwitz, Mark Knights, Gary De Krey, and Steve Pincus, Gauci takes his reader through the common career paths of his sample of 850 metropolitan merchants. He also recovers the various kinds of associations that traders relied upon, from the regulated and unregulated overseas trading companies to the older livery companies that continued to provide opportunities for traders to make valuable connections with others in their line of work (indeed, more than half of the merchants in Gauci's sample were members of livery companies). Gauci's research indicates that, among other things, metropolitan merchants were rather indifferent to becoming landowners, which allows him to challenge effectively the assertion, made quite powerfully by Daniel Defoe, that merchants considered landowning as the essential path to social status. In addition to focusing on London, these early chapters

each contain a section on “provincial parallels” that discuss similar developments in Liverpool and York. Although these comparative sections are rather brief, they do suggest ways in which Gauci’s research into London traders can yield insights that help us to comprehend national trends.

The argument hits full stride in the book’s second half, which focuses on the role of overseas traders in national politics with particular attention paid to Parliament. He begins with a discussion of the growth of the commercial press, especially in London, which increasingly provided guidance for the growing mercantile lobby in Westminster, and then he moves to a highly detailed account of the efforts by merchants to affect Parliamentary debate. Here, Gauci’s disagreements with the works of other historians seem clearer than elsewhere. According to some scholars, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a time when Parliamentary politics increasingly came to be dominated by the mercantile interest, which made its views known with increasing clarity because of the greater presence in the lower House of Members who had themselves been traders. Along those lines, Gauci finds that the debate over the government’s proposed, and ultimately doomed, French commerce bill in 1713 played a crucial role in demonstrating to government ministers and contemporary political commentators that the commercial sector fully grasped the workings of parliamentary government in the post-Revolutionary period. However, drawing upon an extensive study of the records of the House of Commons, Gauci acknowledges that “the Augustan period was an important stage in the changing relationship between the merchant classes and Parliament, with evidence of a rise in the number of merchant MPs, increased petitioning, growing sophistication in economic debate, and improved success rates for commercial bills,” but argues forcefully that “it was not a revolutionary era, and with every advance there was a check to balance the impact of these innovations” (233). Similar to his earlier conclusion that metropolitan merchants did not aspire to the status of country gentlemen, Gauci finds that merchants did

not undertake a concerted effort to use their wealth to wrest power in the lower House out of the hands of the gentry.

Gauci has written a well-balanced, thoroughly researched account of an important aspect of English government during a period that has often been considered one of both commercial and political revolution. The argument is both detailed and subtle, and it should be of interest to scholars actively engaged in research on related topics. It is not the sort of book to which novice students could be referred with confidence, but it may certainly be considered one of the starting points for future work in the field.

Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds. *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000. xx + 296 pp. \$90.00. Review by DAVID A. SALOMON, BLACK HILLS STATE UNIVERSITY.

This collection of essays is divided roughly between the topics of orthodoxy, conformity, and Catholicism. In their introduction, Peter Lake and Michael Questier note that the recent historiography of early modern England has focused on “debates about what sort of Church the Church of England was” (ix). The book intends to “comment upon and modify” the propensity in the literature to dichotomize the study of the Church between doctrine and discipline, ultimately hoping to find a “third (or middle) way” (xiv). Recent study of the Anglican Church has stressed the conflict with Recusancy. This volume is a refreshing “diversion” from that obsession.

The essays in the volume have all been researched meticulously as evident in the detail with which they treat their subjects. Nicholas Tyacke’s “Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism” begins with the following argument: because Andrewes’ work was published and reprinted before and even after the English Civil War, and because he was “a quintessential exponent” of Anglicanism, he is to be regarded as “an Anglican benchmark” (7). Tyacke is adept at showing how both reception

and publication of Andrewes' work changed over the course of a hundred years depending upon the publisher, the editor, and even, sometimes, unknown glossers. Overall, this is a textual study that relates publication history to Andrewes' work and influence. Tyacke notes that Andrewes' teaching and practice fail to present "a unity"; what unity we see today is the result of redactors and publishers who assimilated the texts to present an overall Andrewes' philosophy and theology.

Thomas Freeman's "Demons, Deviance and Defiance: John Darrell and the Politics of Exorcism in late Elizabethan England" examines the little-studied Puritan preacher and exorcist John Darrell. The Cambridge-educated Darrell stressed fasting as an essential component of exorcism, but the fasting was apparently not intended only as an ascetic practice. Instead, fasting led one to prayer and, thus, to hearing the word of God. One can also see fasting as a component of the spiritual exercise as reflected in Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Darrell's exorcizing of Mary Glover in 1602 contributed to the denunciation of exorcism from the pulpit and ultimately gave rise to the Canon 72 which in essence banned the practice of exorcism.

"Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodox in early Seventeenth-Century England," by David Como, aims to explore "the rhetorical and polemical strategies that were deployed in building and maintaining [the] consensual Calvinist coalition" regarding doctrines of predestination (65). Judith Maltby's "From *Temple* to *Synagogue*: 'Old' Conformity in the 1640s-1650s and the Case of Christopher Harvey" begins with Harvey's poem "Church Utensils" which laments the destruction of the prayer Book. The essay goes on to address Harvey's *Synagogue*, a book of poems modeled after George Herbert's *Temple*. Between 1640, the first publication of *The Synagogue* and 1840, Harvey's poem was often published with Herbert's *Temple*, and although Maltby does admit that some of Harvey's verse is "at times dreadful," the work's literary and historical merit is well noted here. Maltby's essay is a welcome contribution to the study of a lesser-known poet.

Kenneth Fincham's "Clerical Conformity from Whitgift to Laud" argues for a better understanding of "contrasting readings of conformity" that arose in the seventeenth century. The essay is a good historical overview of an often-complicated subject. "Archbishop Richard Niele Revisited" is Andrew Foster's study which takes up Fincham's claims and examines the career—"a long and complex career"—of Richard Niele. Foster argues that Niele was "subtly changing notions of 'orthodoxy' as well as 'conformity'" (178).

Peter Lake's "Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church" looks at John Burgess' run-ins with conformist authority. Lake has a propensity for cliché and slang: "spill the beans," "which way the chips would fall" (203). Nevertheless his examination of Burgess concludes with Burgess' death, before which he was "fulminating in print against the radical puritan arguments for nonconformity of Williams Ames" (204). Alexandra Walsham's contribution to the volume, "Yielding to the Extremity of the Time': Conformity, Orthodoxy and the Post-Reformation Catholic Community," is something of a case study of Thomas Bell, who was at one time the most active Catholic priest working in the north of England. Although not a Jesuit, Bell became involved in the Jesuit cause. Curiously, Bell eventually preached the Protestant faith and returned to that faith sometime in 1592. As she does in *Church Papists*, Walsham's research here is flawless, and she presents us with the history of a neglected figure.

Michael Questier's "Conformity, Catholicism and the Law" studies the intersection of the Church with the law—the sacred and the profane. Questier looks at some of the many cases where Church officials were prosecuted after the 1559 Settlement. The volume concludes with Pauline Croft's "The Catholic Gentry, the Earl of Salisbury and the Baronets of 1611."

This is a well-executed volume. The selected essays give us a good introduction to the problems of conformity and orthodoxy in the English Church. The case studies included are insightful and meticulously researched. Lake and Questier have compiled a group

of essays that are related to each other in such a way that reading the volume through from the first essay to the last does give an overall impression of the subjects being addressed. In particular, the essays on Catholicism shed new light on how Catholics fit into the debate over conformity and orthodoxy at a time when the Catholic faith was under fire in England. As the second volume in Boydell's "Studies in Modern British Religious History" series, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church* succeeds in the series' goal of "understanding the importance of religion for the history of modern Britain."

David Martin Jones. *Conscience and Allegiance in Seventeenth Century England: The Political Significance of Oaths and Engagements*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1999. ix + 267 pp. + Appendix. \$70.00. Review by GEOFFREY M. VAUGHAN, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, BALTIMORE COUNTY.

In exasperation Mark asked, "What do you want me to swear on, the counter-top?" My brother-in-law's question was prompted by the demand to swear an oath at the county offices, coupled with the news that they did not have a Bible. I could not help but think about this story and its implications as I read David Martin Jones's book about the pivotal period of oaths and oath-taking in the history of England. For here in pluralist, secular America we use oaths to assure truthfulness in almost every official business of the federal government, the states, and all localities, but we have deprived them of the divine sanction that was the original guarantor of assurance and was, indeed, the cause of so much controversy during Jones's long seventeenth century.

Jones traces the use of oaths from the Henrician Reformation to the Hanoverian settlement, although, as the title suggests, the bulk of his research and writing attends to the seventeenth century. And "bulk" is the appropriate word here. It appears that Jones has found almost every reference to oaths and oath-taking in statutes, legal decisions, speeches, pamphlets, diaries, public and

private correspondence, plays, poems, and novels. His Appendix even reproduces 21 oaths, along with a brief account of their history and consequence. Students of the seventeenth century will not only be impressed by his efforts, they will also be indebted to them. But here the advantages of detail give way to the disadvantages of excess, and Jones's argument is lost under an unwieldy amount of information.

Much of the book's text traces the history of casuistry in England, a history that was built upon the Tudor imposition of oaths, the Stuart continuation of them, the further use of them by the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and their persistence through the Restoration and Glorious Revolution. Not until the very end of this period did casuistry begin to acquire the taint that now is so associated with the term. Rather, through the most turbulent periods, official casuists were looked to by all contending parties to provide guidance through the maze that was being developed by compounding oaths. The only casuists to suffer as a group were, of course, the Jesuits. Their probabilism reasoned that, in the extreme, any opinion could be followed if even one doctor of the church supported it (82). In the political struggles they directly engaged, the Jesuit casuistry sought ways to loose Catholics from the fear that breaking their oath to the king would damn them to hell. As we know, this did not endear the Society to the British nation.

Jones suggests that the unique experience brought about by this struggle over conscience may be responsible for the divide between Continental and Anglo-American philosophy. He writes, "One of the more interesting and generally unrecognized features of much contemporary theorizing about justice as fairness is that it merely dresses in the fashionable language of moral norms a seventeenth-century English Protestant understanding of conscience adumbrated by eighteenth-century radical democracy and a modified version of Kantian rationalism" (258). Unfortunately, this interesting insight is not so much developed as it is left to be developed. But with so much in one book, Jones provides us with

many interesting suggestions that raise a curiosity which is certain to be disappointed.

The puzzling problem for Jones is that the oath returned again and again as the sole guarantor of political stability throughout the political turmoil of the period he examines, even though the very turmoil these oaths were meant to forestall had not been held in check by prior oaths. Did no one learn anything during this period? Jones does not indulge in the simple arrogance a question like this implies. Instead, he engages the history with a patient attention to its complex development. So, a device used by Henry VIII and copied by his daughter Elizabeth—when she had the strength to do so (41)—became, in the course of more than a century, the foundation of the political regime. According to Jones, even as James II could claim from exile that the entire country had sworn allegiance to him, by 1689 there was no philosophically acceptable alternative to the state oath (204). This explains the peculiar, if very familiar, contortions the political nation underwent to accommodate its conscience to William and Mary.

If there can be said to be a central argument in this book, it is that the oath is a paradox. As the experience of the Civil War suggests, an oath is either unnecessary or it exacerbates the problem it was meant to solve (167). In Jones's words, "if the oath was accepted it was really unnecessary because it merely confirmed an antecedent natural obligation; if it was not accepted, however, it actually served to increase doubts about the authority that imposed it" (267). But by his own evidence this seems to have been recognized, at least in part, by the Tudors who first used the oath on a large scale: Elizabeth used the oath sparingly until she had consolidated her power. It was over the course of the next century, by which time state oaths had become commonplace, that the paradox was lost to view. And this brings me back to my brother-in-law. In an age such as our own, when oaths are used regularly but lack a divine sanction, the paradox is even more perplexing. What do we hope to accomplish with our oaths? Anyone wishing to answer that question would do well to consult *Conscience and Allegiance in Seventeenth Century England*.

Margaret J. Osler, ed. *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xii + 340 pp. \$69.95. Review BY RENZO BALDASSO, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

Dedicated to the memory of Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs and Richard Westfall, this volume comprises fifteen essays. Its coherence comes from the authors' engagement with some aspect of the Scientific Revolution. Despite the title, no essay is a real attempt to rethink the Scientific Revolution. Rather, "this book reflects the problematization of the canon in recent scholarship" (3). Each essay provides valuable qualifications to the recent efforts of reinterpreting the Scientific Revolution. Collectively, these papers not only provide to the reader food for thought, but they also represent the state of the field.

In her introduction, Margaret Osler offers a balanced overview of the high points of the historiography of the Scientific Revolution, reviewing in detail the revisionary efforts of the last decade while also presenting her own recommendations partially based on the conclusions of the papers in the volume. Unlike some recent scholars who have questioned the validity of the concept and the existence of the Scientific Revolution, Osler, like all of the volume's contributors, remains committed to it. Although she rejects "the Whiggish tendency to understand the history of science as the unfolding of ideas by their own, internal logic" (6), she approaches the Scientific Revolution from the perspective of intellectual history. She argues that historians may gain a better understanding of the changes in natural philosophy that took place during the period 1500 through 1700 by abandoning the assumption that there is a right or preordained way for ideas to develop. In seeking historical explanations, historians should take "questions of agency seriously . . . using actors' categories to account for the development of ideas" (6). Furthermore, she stresses the usefulness of the notion of appropriation, for which thinkers appropriate concepts and methods from traditions known to them and adapt the ideas to solve their own problems.

One of the earliest challenges to the old canon was Dobbs' work on Newton's alchemical and biblical studies. Her research forced scholars to rethink his position as the first modern scientist and the culmination of the Scientific Revolution. A succinct but insightful overview and import of Dobbs' scholarship is her address to the History of Science Society presented in 1993 which Osler reprints. Dobbs's paper is set against Richard Westfall's reply. His essay represents a modern interpretation of the old canon. Westfall defends the view that "with Newton the new science and the new philosophy of nature found their definite form in which they shaped the scientific tradition of the West for the coming two centuries" (48); "alchemy helped Newton transcend the limitations of conventional mechanical philosophy, [but he] abandoned alchemy after he incorporated transmuted alchemical concepts into his notion of force" (53).

The next eleven essays are grouped under two rubrics: "Canonical Disciplines Re-Formed" (Peter Barker on the role of Lutherans in spreading Copernicanism; Bruce Janacek on Sir Kenelm Digby's natural philosophy and alchemy; Pamela Smith on Johann Rudolph Glauber; William Burns on astrology in the Interregnum; and Jane Jenkins on More and Boyle and the religious issues raised by the void) and "Canonical Figure Reconsidered" (Jan Wojcik on Newton's and Boyle's different conceptions of the power and scope of human reason; Lawrence Principe contrasting Newton and Boyle's alchemies; Paula Findlen comparing Newton and Athanasius Kircher as Baroque intellectuals; James Force on Newton's integration of science and religion; J. E. McGuire on Newton's theology; and Richard Popkin on Newton's biblical studies). The first group of papers stresses the well-known notion that in the early modern period natural philosophical speculations were often closely intertwined with religion, and connected with "non-canonical" subjects such as astrology and alchemy. The second group "rethinks" the figure of Newton. Possibly, the most interesting essay is Smith's presentation of Glauber—a chemical entrepreneur—exemplifying the import that artisans had in producing not only knowledge but also, and more importantly, a new

epistemology based not on the authority of the classics but in practices and tangible results. Under the rubric “The Canon Constructed,” the closing essay by Margaret Jacob shows how the old canon of the Scientific Revolution was developed in the eighteenth century; Jacob underscores that it was then that mathematical sciences—and specifically Newton’s contributions—were selected and separated from theological and alchemical issues.

In sum, readers of this journal will find this volume useful for the merits of the individual essays. For those familiar with the discussions of the past decade in which historians of science have tried to reassess the Scientific Revolution, the volume does not offer any radical new idea. Finally, it is significant that—save Smith’s—none of the essays focused on medicine or technology, or other larger cultural trends that may have helped shaping cultural styles and influenced the approach to understanding and representing nature.

Jorge Secada. *Cartesian Metaphysics: The Late Scholastic Origins of Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. x + 333 pp. + \$59.95. Review by LUCIANO BOSCHIERO, UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

Most of the scholarly works during the past fifteen years regarding Descartes’ career have provided valuable contributions to our understanding of Cartesian natural philosophy. Jorge Secada’s text, focusing on the origins of Descartes’ metaphysics, manages to enrich further this field of study in seventeenth-century history and philosophy of science. He illustrates a model for understanding Cartesian metaphysics by addressing the significance Descartes placed on defining the essences of substances. Furthermore, Secada suggests that Descartes’ essentialism originated from Late Scholastic thought. In fact, the aim of Secada’s book is “to offer a unified reading of Descartes’ metaphysics against the background of Scholastic philosophy” (1), thus opening the way for a thorough and contextual account of Cartesian metaphysics.

Secada begins by introducing what he believes was an important question for Cartesian and Scholastic philosophy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This concerned “the order of knowledge of essence and of existence” (1). Scholastics had long believed that once we know that a substance exists, we could then come to establish its essential definition. In contrast, Descartes contended that it was first necessary to know the nature of something before being assured of its existence. So, “what is in dispute is whether one can know the nature or essential definition of a substance without knowing whether it exists and, conversely, whether one can know whether a substance exists without knowing its nature” (8). This is the scenario that Secada introduces in Chapter One to distinguish Aristotelian natural philosophy and its reliance on sense experience, with Descartes’ metaphysics and his belief in the intellectual conception of knowledge. Throughout his early works, Descartes suggested that our knowledge of nature is independent of our sensory skills; that “the Cartesian way to knowledge starts with the unveiling of a world of essences which exists within the mind and which the intellect alone can perceive clearly and distinctly” (18). This is not to say that sensory perceptions are irrelevant according to Descartes, they are in fact our gateway to the world, but how we come to understand what exists from our senses is based on our intellect and our knowledge of the essences of substances.

Despite Descartes’ formulation of this anti-Aristotelian philosophy, Secada contends that it is not difficult to trace the Scholastic origins of Cartesian metaphysics. To begin with, Descartes was educated in a Jesuit School and according to Aristotelian beliefs that were widely accepted by the beginning of the seventeenth century. So when he began to formulate a new natural philosophy to replace Aristotelianism, he was using the same theological and metaphysical tools as some of his Scholastic predecessors, such as Thomas Aquinas and Francisco Suárez. The use of terms such as “essences” and “existences” characterised both Cartesian and Aristotelian philosophies, as did their attempts to frame these concepts according to their understanding of God and His

relation to humanity and nature. Therefore, Descartes was seeking solutions to the same questions being asked by Aristotelians since the Middle Ages. This point, made by the end of Secada's first chapter, "affords us a tool for the examination of Descartes' metaphysics and for the fruitful articulation of its relations to Late Scholasticism" (26).

With this in mind, Secada provides an account of the mathematical and physico-mathematical principles that Descartes encountered in his education. Early in his career, Descartes began to associate the mathematical arts that he was taught by his Scholastic teachers, with certainty of knowledge and purely intellectual inquiries. Furthermore, he was beginning to subscribe to a neo-Platonist sceptical approach to the use of sense experience in order to promote a Christian essentialism reminiscent also of St. Augustine. That is, that since God is in all of us, we do not need to follow our senses to know his existence. So Descartes was in fact intent on improving on Scholastic thought with the Jesuit education afforded to him, by striking out against the Aristotelian notion of the primacy of sensory cognition. According to Secada, "Incarnating the ideals of the Jesuit Reformation and persuaded of the weakness of Scholastic learning, Descartes gradually came to adopt as his life project the construction of a new system of knowledge, in harmony both with the faith and with the new science, to take the place of Aristotle's" (50).

In Chapter Three Secada continues to discuss the importance of theology, scepticism, and intellect in Descartes' formulation of an essentialist metaphysics. In particular, he points out how Christianised Platonism from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were used by both Descartes and Late Scholastics to discuss the notion of eternal and immutable essential definitions of substances that can lead to our knowledge of God's existence. So, even though Descartes then continued along the anti-Aristotelian path of scepticism and mathematics, he and his Scholastic predecessors shared some essentialist beliefs. Descartes was framing ancient and early modern Scholastic notions in a manner that allowed him to construct the metaphysical groundwork for his new

natural philosophy. This concludes Part One of Secada's book. It is the most important part of his thesis since it outlines the basic concepts of Cartesian metaphysics. More importantly, Secada shows that Descartes was addressing the same problems and using the same tools as his Scholastic predecessors and contemporaries. As promised in the Prologue, Secada is fulfilling his aim "to redress the unbalanced but extended picture of the Cartesian philosophy as a radical break with the past" (55).

In Part Two, Secada looks at the details that strike at the heart of Descartes' essentialism. That is, his beliefs regarding the mind, the self, and God that are dealt with mainly in the *Meditations*. These refer firstly to how ideas are created in the mind, followed by the identification of the autonomy of our intellect from all sensory perceptions, allowing us finally to recognise the essence of our own existence as well as that of God. According to Secada, these points provide Descartes with the foundations for an essentialist metaphysics and an anti-Aristotelian philosophy of nature.

In Part Three, Secada finally looks at Descartes' doctrine of the essences and existences of substances. That is, Secada is pointing out how according to Descartes, every substance has its own essential definitions, allowing us to form an ontology based on the Cartesian essences of extension and thought. The issues dealt with here and in Part Two are at the core of the Cartesian metaphysical and natural philosophical views that came to replace the Scholastic traditions from which they were born, and which are explained in Part One of Secada's book.

The only shortcoming of Secada's thesis is that he does not define the views of "modern" philosophy that he refers to in the title and throughout the text. In particular, while he discusses the Scholastic origins of Cartesian metaphysics, he does not specify how these early modern essentialist discussions supposedly constitute the birth of "modern" philosophy of science. This indeed may not even be necessary since Secada skilfully manages to deal with Descartes' arguments in the context of early seventeenth-century natural philosophy. The value of this book is therefore in the contributions it makes to our understanding of the metaphysi-

cal assumptions that came to make up the basis of Descartes' natural philosophical beliefs. More specifically, Secada skilfully examines Cartesian metaphysics in the context of the dominant Scholastic views regarding essentialism, existentialism, theology, and sense experience. For this reason, it would be a useful source for scholars wishing to establish a solid understanding of the complexities that came to make up Descartes' natural philosophy.

Ronni Baer, with contributions by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., and Annetje Boersma; ed. by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Gerrit Dou (1613-1675): Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000. 159 pp. \$65.00. Review by LINDA STONE-FERRIER, THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

Gerrit Dou (1613-1675): Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt, a beautifully illustrated, scholarly catalogue, accompanied the exhibition of the same name that opened in 2000 at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and traveled to the Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, and to the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague. The international loan exhibition offered the first focused look at 35 paintings by the esteemed Leiden painter, Gerrit Dou. Although the young artist trained for three years with Rembrandt, Dou's subsequent style of painting, which was referred to in his own time as *fijnschilderij*, or fine painting, differed significantly from that of his teacher by virtue of its stunning illusory and detailed effects. Dou enjoyed a lifetime of professional and commercial success as a painter of domestic scenes of mothers and their children, scholars, astronomers, artists in their studios, portraits, still lifes, and religious hermits. Later generations of collectors and critics, however, did not always find Dou's bejeweled painting surfaces as praiseworthy.

In the first of the three scholarly essays in the exhibition catalogue, Arthur Wheelock charts from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century the changing critical and commercial suc-

cess that Dou's paintings received and proposes reasons for such fluctuations. The second essay, written by Ronni Baer, presents an overview of Dou's life and art. The third essay, written by Annetje Boersma, analyzes Dou's technique as a result of the conservation of two of his paintings. The three essays are followed by catalogue entries for each of the 35 paintings in the exhibition, which are stunningly illustrated with full-color reproductions and several details. A full bibliography follows the catalogue entries.

In his essay, "Dou's Reputation," Wheelock charts the commercial success that the painter enjoyed and the professional esteem in which he was held until the mid-nineteenth century. Early commentators praised Dou's seemingly effortless manner of what was actually painstaking painting that resulted in remarkably detailed images and the convincing representation of material surfaces, such as satin, fur, glass, and metal. Shortly before the tide of taste turned in the mid-nineteenth century, Dou's paintings found praise for the patience with which he depicted scenes of daily life that included figures with emotions and gestures that were regarded as truthful as those rendered by the best Italian painters (13). Dou's reputation, however, and the concomitant collecting taste for his painting, plummeted after mid-nineteenth century with the recovery of the reputations of Frans Hals and Rembrandt and the resulting demand for their loosely painted, gestural art work. Where previously Dou's paintings had been regarded as impressive by virtue of the technical virtuosity and the patience required for their execution, they were now assessed as dry and uninspired (14). Wheelock cites many art historians and critics who, into the first part of the twentieth century, perpetuated Dou's fall from favor by their dismissal of his meticulous painting style (14-16).

Curiously, none of the cited observers before mid-twentieth century who admired *or* reviled Dou's art analyzed the subjects of Dou's paintings as if the value or lack of value of his artwork lay completely in the manner in which the images were produced. This insistence on the separation between Dou's painting style and the subjects of his works—as if the paintings could ever be divided into two unrelated elements, that is, style and iconography—is not

addressed by Wheelock. What did the lack of analysis of Dou's subject matter by his earlier admirers and his later critics reveal about the ways in which pictures assumed value?

On the other hand, just after mid-twentieth century, when Dou's reputation began to be revived by the art historian Jan Emmens, the scholarly emphasis was placed on the painter's subject matter, which was argued to have either philosophical or serious moralizing meanings. Emmens' discussion excluded any consideration of Dou's meticulous painting style, as if there were no meaning inherent in the manner in which the works were painted (17). Although Wheelock acknowledged this "irony" and claimed that we "now recognize the intimate connections between style and content" (19); subsequent scholarly examinations of Dou's paintings (Eddy de Jongh, Eric Jan Sluijter, Peter Hecht) (19-20) leave our understanding of the meaningful relationship between his painting style and his specific choice of subject matter still elusive. Wheelock's final question, "Can Dou's refined technique express an inner, spiritual life as well as surface texture?" (22) perpetuates the traditional criteria for assessing Dou's paintings rather than getting closer to an understanding of the idiosyncratic ways in which the *integration* of Dou's style and specific choice of subject matter bears meaning.

Ronni Baer's essay, "The Life and Art of Gerrit Dou," presents an overview of Dou's biography and paintings that provides relevant background to the works in the exhibition. We learn, for example, that Dou was particularly known for various subjects that he interpreted in a characteristic way, including the hermit in a *vanitas* context, the doctor with a vial of urine, the grocery shop, artificially constructed window niches, the illusion of a parted curtain or tapestry over the edge of the painting, and the incorporation of the lighting effects of candles and lanterns (27). The author details Dou's family background, his early training with Rembrandt in Leiden and that city's social and economic climate (27-31). Dou enjoyed the patronage of European royalty as well as the States of Holland and Westfriesland (31-32). The high price of his paintings (600 to 1000 florins each, comparable to the cost of a house)

resulted in the wealth and esteem that Dou enjoyed until his death (31). The author comments that Dou never married and for that reason would not have had children (32). One wonders then what might account for the fact that he painted domestic scenes of mothers and children as much as he did. Although Dou produced self-portraits throughout his career, by the mid-1640's he significantly reduced the number of portrait commissions that he accepted and concentrated on scenes of daily life, solitary religious hermits, astronomers, schoolrooms, musicians, doctors, elegantly dressed, flirtatious young women, and shopkeepers (34-39).

Perpetuating the traditional division between discussion of Dou's subject matter and discussion of his painting style, the author moves from the sub-section "Subject Matter" to a separate sub-section entitled "Working Method" and the evolution of his *fijnschilder* technique (39). We learn that the artist used a magnifying device, that he was said to be obsessed with attempts to keep dust out of his studio, that the painter introduced gold into his pigments, and that curiously, no preparatory drawings are extant (39-40). The "Working Method" sub-section, however, continues by re-introducing a discussion of Dou's subject matter "that is often situational rather than anecdotal or narrative. Intended to embody ideas, or personify concepts, his works, more often than not are metaphorical abstractions and do not depict a moment in time, despite the plausible reality of the scene" (40). The re-introduction here of a discussion of subject matter is confusing in light of the distinct sub-division of sections into "Subject Matter" and "Working Method." We learn that Dou employs the *tableau vivant* construction to cue the viewer that his paintings are self-conscious artistic constructions (40), which prompts the reader to want to know more about the artist's relationship to contemporary Dutch theater. Baer's essay is most provocative when she acknowledges the inseparability of style and content in Dou's paintings and addresses his "active engagement of the viewer by all means: beautiful surfaces; small dimensions; convincing illusionism; seductive subject. This uncanny congruence of medium and message is fundamental to an understanding of the appeal of the artist's paint-

ings" (41). Much still needs to be done by art historians, however, in accessing "this uncanny congruence" through the close looking and thoughtful analysis of individual paintings.

Annetje Boersma's essay, "Dou's Painting Technique," offers the reader an excellent example of the type of highly sophisticated technological examinations that many seventeenth-century Dutch paintings have undergone—most notably as undertaken by the Rembrandt Research Project—through x-radiography, infrared reflectography, and the stereo microscope. In her discussion of Dou's *Young Mother* (The Hague: Mauritshuis) and *Lady at Her Toilet* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen), Boersma unfortunately does not define these technical processes of examination or the related terms that she employs in her essay, although she does report on her findings in several different categories: perspective, pentimenti (underdrawings), supports, ground, craquelure (cracking of the paint surface), cross sections, and Dou's use of color. In some instances, the reader is apprised of the author's findings without any conclusions drawn, for example, the ground consists of a very thin layer of chalk and the paintings manifest "alligatoring cracks" (58). In other instances, the author shares the significance of her findings for our better understanding of Dou's paintings. We learn that the artist understood one-point perspective as revealed by pinholes in the paintings that are consistent with the vanishing points from which string would have been extended to assure correct orthogonals (57). Boersma reports how x-radiography, infrared reflectography, and the stereo microscope reveal compositional changes in both paintings that indicate that the artist worked and re-worked his paintings over long periods of time (57-58; 61). Further, Dou worked on single panels without joins to help ensure the polished finish of his *fijnschilderijen* (58).

The catalogue entries for the 35 exhibited paintings include their provenance, bibliography, and the known exhibition history of each picture. The most thorough and provocative essays in the catalogue entries begin with a careful description of the paintings and fan out to interpretive issues raised by the paintings' style and/or subject matter; a comparative discussion of works by con-

temporary artists of the same subject, identification of patronage, if known, and a discussion of the larger cultural context in which the works of art were produced. After one reads the catalogue entries and admires the beautiful reproductions of the exhibited paintings, one wonders out of scholarly curiosity what were the determining criteria for the selection of these 35 stunning paintings for this important exhibition, as opposed to other works from Dou's oeuvre.

Gerrit Dou (1613-1675): Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt offers the specialist in seventeenth-century studies a long overdue, in-depth look at a Dutch artist whose dazzling paintings were revered in his own day and whose reputation has been justly resuscitated since the middle of the twentieth century. At the same time, the scholarly essays, catalogue entries, and bibliography also provide the reader a welcome overview of the current research on seventeenth-century Dutch genre imagery in general.

Michael Zell. *Reframing Rembrandt: Jews and the Christian Image in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. xix + 264 pp. + 114 illus. \$55. Review by AMY GOLAHNY, LYCOMING COLLEGE.

Despite the chronological breadth of its title, this study interprets select images from the Old and New Testaments by Rembrandt from around 1655 in light of philosemitism. Combining evidence from the study of history, theology, art, and philosophy, Zell proposes that Rembrandt expounds a Protestant view that seriously re-affirms the Old Testament as the basis for Christian salvation. His study builds upon the firm ground laid by Christian Tümpel and Henri van de Waal, and other outstanding scholars including Julius S. Held, Franz Landsberger, Erwin Panofsky, and Shelley Perlove. Their studies have generally presented Rembrandt's relationship to the Jews as one of mutual sympathy and kindred ethical and spiritual values. Zell revises this point of view in light of a nuanced reading of broad cultural is-

sues, and a careful analysis of the contacts between Menasseh ben Israel and the leading theologians of Amsterdam, including Isaac Vossius, Gerbrandt Anslo, Caspar Barlaeus, Paul Felgenhaur, and Petrus Serrarius. Zell emphasizes that the Protestant leaders in Amsterdam gave the Jews a fragile and conditional acceptance, predicated on the hope that the Jews would recognize Christ as their savior.

Chapter One considers the Amsterdam Sephardic Jews as patrons and collectors of art, and surveys their attitudes toward representational imagery. The relatively few extant Dutch representations of Jewish ceremonies and portraits of prominent Amsterdam rabbis are fairly well known. Less familiar are the art collections of several wealthy Dutch Jews. Although the surviving documentation makes it difficult to generalize, clearly some members of this group collected paintings of religious and secular subjects. To varying degrees, this group maintained its character as a separate cultural entity within the broader Dutch milieu, but overall it identified with the majority culture in which its members lived (32). From the little surviving evidence, it is likely that these Jews would have been sympathetic toward the art of Rembrandt and his pupils, although only one is known to collect Rembrandt's art.

Chapter Two examines the seventeenth-century Amsterdam attitudes toward the Jews and their distinctive landmarks, including the cemetery at the Ouderkerk, made famous by Jacob van Ruisdael. Non-Jewish visitors to Amsterdam regarded the Jewish cemetery and synagogues as exotic or unique to the city. Representations of the Sephardi synagogue and literary descriptions of Amsterdam Jewry presented their subjects for the non-Jewish audience. Rembrandt's position as portrayer of Jews, Zell shows, is far more complicated. For example, early in the study of Rembrandt's prints, owners, and cataloguers gave some of these works Jewish titles that endured, even when proven doubtful. Thus, *The Little Jewish Bride* is now considered a study of *Saskia as St. Catherine*, and the oddly named *Great Jewish Bride* should bear a more plausible title, such as *Esther* (41). Some of Rembrandt's

paintings of men in odd hats were traditionally associated with Jews; Zell investigated these types of costume and determined that these paintings may indeed represent Polish Jews (47). With respect to Rembrandt's heads often identified as representing Jewish types, including several heads of Christ, the critical attitudes become complicated from the time of Rembrandt onward. On the one hand, Rembrandt may have sought accuracy in his rendering of the features of Christ, and therefore regarded Jewish types as more authentic likenesses of Christ. On the other hand, a Jewish model, by definition, rejected Christ as the savior; and so an artist portraying the bearer of the new dispensation might want to avoid visual analogies between Jesus and the Jews. Zell cites a poem by Rembrandt's contemporary Jan Vos, who formulated this perceived contradiction between rendering Christ as a Jew, and imbuing the same rendition with the values of Christ. Zell is thus led to conclude: "Using a Jewish model . . . for a portrait of the Christian Savior did not meet with unanimous approval among Rembrandt's contemporaries" (57).

Chapter Three examines Rembrandt's relationship with Menasseh ben Israel, the Portuguese rabbi who was the "representative of European Judaism" to the Protestant intellectual world. As the first Jew to have a sustained dialogue with the Amsterdam Christians, Menasseh ben Israel occupies a crucial position in Dutch theological circles. Zell, like others before him, however, stresses that Menasseh's ideas were not accepted by the Amsterdam Jewish community; his acclaim lay outside it. Rembrandt evidently knew Menasseh as early as the 1630s, but the main artistic legacy of their relationship consists of four etchings that he made to illustrate the rabbi's book, *La Piedra gloriosa* of 1655. The iconography of the etchings implies an exceptional case insofar as the patron must have carefully guided the artist's invention. Verbal instructions must be presumed, since no written record survives and it is unlikely that Rembrandt read Spanish. Zell situates both Rembrandt and Menasseh within the primarily Christian Amsterdam circles of philosemitic millenarianism, which main-

tained that a future harmony between Jews and Christians would exist in a coming messianic age.

Chapters Four and Five concern two small etched series, one vertical and one horizontal, both of the mid-1650s, in which Rembrandt depicted the life of Christ. In both series, the theme is the establishment and renewal of the covenant, which Zell explains in terms of Amsterdam philosemitism. Chapter 6 concerns how Rembrandt interpreted the Old Testament in terms of Christian salvation, in two very different works: a grand painting, *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph*, and an etching, *Abraham Entertaining the Angels*, both of 1656.

In his presentation of the case studies of Rembrandt's imagery and foremost religious issues, Zell has elucidated important aspects of Rembrandt's faith and oeuvre, and made a major contribution to the histories of art and religion. To readers interested in pursuing additional aspects of his topic, several other recent studies may be mentioned. Shelley Perlove's recent essay on the critical responses, between 1800 and 1945, to Rembrandt's representations of figures that writers identified as Jewish, reminds us that the history of collecting Rembrandt's works is inseparable from the often subjective labeling of his images (*Dutch Crossing* 25 [Winter 2001]). Two publications, outside the scope of Zell's study but generally supporting its premises, concern the earlier generation of artists and scholars who helped shape Rembrandt's intellectual milieu: Christine Goettler's essay on Rubens' *The Circumcision of Jesus* ("'Nomen mirificum,' Rubens' Beschneidung Jesu für den Hochaltar der Jesuitenkirche in Genua," in *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit*, special issue: *Aspekte der Gegenreformation*, ed. V. von Flemming, 1 [1997]: 796-844), and Peter T. van Rooden's study of Hebrew scholarship in Leiden (*Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989]).

Jan Lechner. *Repertorio de obras de autores españoles en bibliotecas holandesas hasta comienzos del siglo XVIII*. Utrecht: Hes & De Graaf, 2001. 361 pp. Euro 96,20. Review by HILAIRE KALLENORF, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Jan Lechner, Professor Emeritus of Spanish at the University of Leiden, has undertaken a Herculean task in this comprehensive bibliography of works by Spanish authors in Dutch libraries until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This book is a real *tour-de-force*, the culmination of over ten years of careful research. Its ambition is only to be matched by its supremely user-friendly format, with multiple indices providing tools for studying many different angles of this important new field in the history of the Spanish book. Indeed, this is more or less the first book of its kind, at least in terms of scope and exhaustiveness. Professor Lechner is to be congratulated on his fine achievement and thanked by Hispanic studies scholars everywhere for his vital contribution to what is now more than ever a burgeoning discipline: the bibliography and history of the Spanish book outside of Spain.

This bibliography was compiled using three primary sources of information: Dutch publishers' catalogues beginning from 1599, municipal and university libraries, and 1200 time-of-death inventories of private collections. It covers almost 6,000 editions of nearly 1,000 Spanish authors published by over 1,500 printers spread out over 150 European cities. The entries are admittedly short, but each one includes at least the following information: author, title, place of publication, publisher, date, structure of the book (folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, etc.), number of references to the book encountered in the above three sources, and cross-references to other standard bibliographies such as Palau. There are also codes for abbreviations for religious orders of authors and the disciplinary categories (science, classics, history, grammar, law, fine arts, medicine, theology, etc.) into which the books might fall.

A bibliography is often only as good as its indices, and by that standard this book surpasses all reasonable expectations. The main bulk of the book consists of the *repertorio* of Spanish authors printed

in Spanish or Latin as well as translated into French, Dutch, Italian, etc. But it also contains three valuable appendices of non-Spanish authors who wrote about Spain, non-Spanish authors of Spanish grammars and dictionaries, and non-Spanish authors who wrote about America. There is also a table which divides the books into categories by discipline. Furthermore, there are four essential indices at the end of the study: one for printers, editors, and booksellers; one for places of publication; one for *editiones principes*; and one for booksellers' catalogues. Finally there is a selective bibliography, mostly of other bibliographies.

This book is potentially useful for scholars in many different subfields of Hispanic studies. Too often Spanish historians of this time period, and especially scholars of Baroque Spanish literature, have been tempted to focus on Spain and the New World to the exclusion of such Spanish-controlled areas as Italy and the Netherlands. A visit to the Plantin-Moretus museum of printing history in Antwerp, where one can see letters written on-site by the humanist Justus Lipsius—whose correspondents included the Baroque Spanish poet Francisco de Quevedo—is enough to convince anyone that such willful scholarly oblivion results in distortion at best. Undoubtedly most Hispanists' lack of mastery of the Dutch language has contributed in large part to this unfortunate oversight. It is refreshing to see a Dutch Hispanist throwing wide the portals of this hitherto unexplored realm to other Hispanists around the world who could conceivably make use of Dutch collections.

As with all bibliographies, there are some unfortunate typographical errors. These are more understandable for individual entries than for titles of indices, for example "Indice de impresoires [read: impresores]" (311), etc. One lamentable omission from a book historian's perspective is the lack of any sort of provenance index for individual owners of books recorded in library inventories (there is such an index for the 1200 *post mortem* inventories of personal collections). But as every paleographer knows, deciphering hand-scrawled names on flyleaves can be a long and torturous process, and ten years is enough to spend on a book of this staggering scope.

All in all, a monument of scholarship, and a valuable scholarly tool that will probably not be written again. These are the books that remain on our shelves half a century after publication—and longer.

Martha Hollander. *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002. xvi + 263 pp. + 89 illus. \$55.00. Review by MELINDA K. VANDER PLOEG FALLON, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY.

Hollander considers the play between main and subsidiary scenes within a shared pictorial space. She privileges composition, in this case the construction of space, and explores its social and psychological functions. Despite consciously downplaying narrative and allegory, she permits symbolism to add meaning to paintings. A statement of this methodology and some historiography constitute the book's brief introduction. Each of the subsequent four chapters starts with analyses of select paintings from the oeuvre of a prominent artist and then expands to treat similar works by various other Dutch painters. A first chapter ranging from history painting to landscapes establishes that medieval and renaissance traditions produced an emblematic approach for understanding images containing divided spaces. Hollander implicitly argues that this approach lingered and affected the seventeenth-century conception of genre paintings. In the following three chapters Hollander employs the emblematic approach and, by doing so, offers an innovative response to the question of meaning in Dutch art.

In the first chapter Hollander fleshes out the introduction. She first acquaints the reader with *doorsiens*, "look throughs" or openings into another space that allow the addition of subsidiary scenes to the main scene by examining paintings and texts by Karel van Mander and then jumps back in time to establish the roots for the emblematic reading of images containing multiple scenes. The subsequent discussion establishes that Dutch artists continued to

use *doorsiens* and that the device found strong support in seventeenth-century Dutch art theory. Appearing in the chapter are various early visual precedents for incorporating multiple scenes into one image for the sake of commentary such as marginalia on manuscript pages or devotional images where a narrative cycle appears within individual frames around a main image. Hollander's consideration of tripartite theater sets as another visual medium that facilitated the simultaneous presentation of several scenes complementing or commenting on a central scene testifies to the range of her sources. Particularly important for understanding Hollander's later analysis of individual works is the section where she likens the composition and reading of scenes containing *doorsiens* to that of emblems. Both incorporate diverse elements rendered at different scales into one image to provide visual commentary reinforcing or expanding the implications of one subject. Through the comparison of *doorsiens* and emblems, she presents a mode of interpretation that departs from narrative readings of Dutch genre paintings and the decoding associated with Edy de Jongh's studies of emblems and Dutch genre painting. Hollander then explores the functions of *doorsiens* within domestic scenes in the remaining three chapters.

The chapter on Dou begins by comparing his backgrounds to *doorsiens* and then likens his paintings to emblems. Hollander then extends the discussion to backrooms and paintings within paintings as a means used by other artists to provide similar visual commentary on a primary scene. Whereas the focus on the emblem-like structure of the images is thought provoking, the interpretation of several images could have been enriched by additional consideration of the precedents mentioned in chapter one. For example, the multiple openings in the theatrical arches she referenced (pp. 31-35 and figs. 13 and 14) were surrounded by reliefs or sculpture that commented on the art of drama just as the arched openings framing Dou's figures are often adorned by reliefs dealing with the art of painting.

The remaining two chapters reveal a strong interest in gender issues by focusing on the ways Maes and de Hooch located their

subjects within socially meaningful architectural boundaries, that is, whether the artist situated a woman within family or servant quarters. The chapter on Maes introduces his paintings of eavesdroppers from the 1650s. Hollander brings together information about the compartmentalization of activities within seventeenth-century Dutch homes and relations between mistresses and maids to posit that the artist's explorations of transitional spaces in these images underscored the mutability of feminine identities. She stresses an emblematic reading of the paintings that asks whether the main figure will behave like a mistress or a negligent servant. In so doing, Hollander downplays too strongly the narrative tension created in each image by the central and pivotal eavesdropper whose gaze and finger to the lips pulls the viewer into amiable collusion. Plays like those Hollander mined to present options for the interaction between mistresses and maids sometimes feature eavesdroppers whose activities generate similar tensions and amusement for the audience. The comic suspense generated by Maes's scenes was surely familiar to his contemporaries and crucial in their responses to these images.

In the chapter on de Hooch, Hollander examines his device of showing open doors in interiors or alleyways in courtyards to emphasize the contiguity of domestic space and activities with public spaces and life. In Hollander's reading, the intersections between such spaces in the images parallel the porous nature of both gender divisions and private/public life in the seventeenth century. The interpretation works well for images of interiors or courtyards opening to community spaces but the attempt toward the end of the chapter to assert that Dutch artists incorporated domestic life into public scenes by showing figures such as mothers nursing seems out of place because it departs from the book's overarching theme of spatial junctures. At the end of the chapter, a two-page section serving as the book's conclusion appears. It shifts from de Hooch to several paragraphs lauding the ambiguity of many seventeenth-century Dutch paintings.

Hollander's new approach to interpretation is laudable, but the book's wandering structure sometimes distracts the reader. The

absence of a distinct conclusion clarifying the main points and reinforcing their links to the book's themes is lamentable. Grasping the main points currently requires a kind of active engagement with the material that readers may lack time or training to perform. A full conclusion could make the book's many original and intriguing observations more approachable.

Finally, the frequency of various small inexactitudes should put the reader slightly on guard. Several can be caught by simply comparing the text with the illustrations. Such is the case with the statement about a plan for a house and courtyard by Daniël van Breen (fig. 67) that, "next to the privy another flight of stairs leads to the basement." According to the key on the plan itself, that "privy" is merely a cistern for rainwater. Other inaccuracies strike only an informed reader, such as the statement that Petronella de la Court's dollhouse was, "an exact replica of her actual house" (125) when a comparison of the dollhouse with de la Court's estate inventory reveals that the dollhouse contained far fewer rooms than did her house and that many paintings in the dollhouse correspond neither in subject nor artist to those known to have adorned the walls of her home. While bothersome, such errors only question individual points.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

Vol. 50, Nos. 3 & 4. Jointly with SCN. Subscriptions: \$15.00 (\$20.00 international) for one year; \$28.00 (\$37.00) for two years; \$40.00 (\$52.00) for three years. Checks or money orders are payable to *Seventeenth-Century News*, 4227 TAMU, College Station, Texas 77843-4227. NLN is the official publication of the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies.

Edited by Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University; Western European Editor: Gilbert Tournoy, Leuven; Eastern European Editors: Jerzy Axer, Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, Centre for Studies in the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, University of Warsaw. Founding Editors: James R. Naiden, Southern Oregon University, and J. Max Patrick, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Graduate School, New York University.

'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni. By Ronald G. Witt. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 74. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2000. xiv + 562 pp. \$132. Upon picking up this book for the first time, one is likely to think that the last thing the world needs is another general history of humanism in early Renaissance Italy. This book, however, shows how dangerous it is to rely on first impressions. Scholars who are active in this field have been hearing about Witt's study for some time before it was actually published—it has been some twenty years in the making—and from this point on it will serve as the standard treatment of its subject.

Witt begins by stating clearly the premise from which he believes a new history of the origins of humanism should be written: that the origins of humanism are not to be found in *dictamen* but in grammar, from which the new movement affected poetry first, then the other genres in turn. More pre-

cisely, the story begins around 1180, when the fortunes of grammar revived and invaded northern and central Italy from France. Within a hundred years, Lovato de Lovati was writing Latin poems that can reasonably be identified as the earliest surviving humanist works. Humanist classicizing remained restricted to poetry until 1315, when a humanist of the second generation, Albertino Mussato, began writing history in prose. This means that the tendency to label Lovato and Mussato as 'prehumanists' and to identify the beginnings of the movement with Petrarch has seriously distorted the history of humanism: in Witt's view humanism began in Padua, not Florence, and Petrarch is a third-generation humanist who did not invent a new cultural movement, but reoriented one he inherited from his Paduan predecessors. It was indeed Petrarch who crystallized the goals of humanism and made it capable of a broadly based appeal, but in doing so he also took what had been an essentially secular movement and crafted from it an uneasy union with Christian values and ideals. The Christian and the classical remained in a close but centrifugal relationship in the work of Coluccio Salutati, the fourth-generation humanist on whom Witt has long been the acknowledged expert. The leading figure in the fifth generation was Leonardo Bruni, who anchored humanism thoroughly in a Ciceronianism that gave it its distinctive character for the next several generations.

A noteworthy feature in this history of humanism is the emphasis placed on changes in prose style. As Witt puts it, humanism may be seen "as the gradual development of a language game, a kind of aesthetic exercise among a few literati to begin with that in time became a broad-based movement with high aspirations and sweeping consequences" (p. 29). Thus humanist composition was marked from the beginning by careful attention to rhythm and meter, word choice, syntax, use of the figures, and sentence structure, and the modern scholar who would reenter this world must do so through the gates of grammar. From this perspective we can come to some surprising conclusions: the stylistic dependence of Mussato's history on

Livy, Sallust, Caesar, and Suetonius suggests not only that *dictamen* was an unlikely source for humanism, but that it was in fact a significant impediment for anyone seeking to recapture a truly classicizing style. With Petrarch in turn, the need to deal with issues confronting the Christian society of his day encouraged a fusion of ancient and ecclesiastical features that actually sidetracked the movement toward a truly classicizing style. The humanists themselves argued that this truly classicizing style only emerged after 1400, when Ciceronian models displaced the Senecanism of early humanism and began shaping the oratory and letter-writing of the day.

Witt's analysis, however, gives due account to the setting in which humanism developed as well. While humanism arose initially in Padua, it took hold and flourished in Florence, for the communes of Tuscany offered a greater social mobility and access to political office that linked their republican structures to those of ancient Rome. Almost fifty years ago Hans Baron identified the political events of early fifteenth-century Florence as central to the humanist movement, but Witt goes farther in suggesting that for Leonardo Bruni, the key player at the time, the recovery of a Ciceronian style facilitated the application of Cicero's republican ideology to Florentine politics. That is, a balanced, nuanced Ciceronian style facilitated the amicable dialogue on which a republic rests, for "encoded in this formulation of dialogue were norms of tolerance and goodwill that made harmonious life in republics possible. Whereas Cicero's oratory played a vital role in helping Bruni formulate his conception of republicanism, Cicero's dialogues contributed to his vision of the kind of civil discourse that nourished the political life of the ideal republic" (pp. 439-40). This approach also eased the separation of moral issues from their Christian foundations, thereby stimulating ethical problem-solving through explorations of ancient texts in a language that was tailor-made for discussing those texts.

Some readers will undoubtedly feel that parts of Witt's argument remain debatable. One can argue, for example, that Lovato de Lovati was the true founder of humanism and Petrarch simply reoriented a movement that was already two generations old, or one can argue that humanism was founded not by those who took the first hesitant steps in its direction, but by the man who crystallized its goals, made striking progress in achieving those goals, and transmitted the new values effectively to an international audience. An ungenerous reader might also complain that at least *in ovo*, these key ideas are not new: a good graduate student knows that humanism demands discussion of prose style, that Petrarch had precursors, and that the political history of the Florentine republic affected the unfolding of culture in its day. In each case, however, the nuancing provided in this book marks a significant refinement in the way we understand generalizations like these. The value of this book lies partly in these refinements, and partly in the breadth that sets well-known figures like Petrarch and Brunni beside figures like Urso da Genova, Giovanni da Cermenate, and Giovanni Malpighini. In the end, however, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients* succeeds because of its magisterial sweep, in which minor figures and nuanced generalizations lead to a systematic, generation-by-generation history of humanism from its obscure origins to its establishment as a broadly based cultural movement on which much of western thought is still heavily dependent. This is the 'big book' that most of us dream of writing toward the end of our careers, and Witt is to be commended for his courage in undertaking it and his success in bringing it to fruition. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Filippo Beroaldo der Ältere und sein Beitrag zur Properz-Überlieferung. By Anna Rose. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 156. Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2001. EURO 94. The philological activity of Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, one of the foremost humanists of the fifteenth century, has been overshadowed

owed for centuries by that of his more famous contemporaries, Angelo Poliziano and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. This situation, however, is beginning to change. A critical edition of Beroaldo's *Annotationes centum* (reviewed in *Neo-Latin News* 46,1-2 (1998): 108-10) appeared a few years ago, and Rose's book should bring welcome attention to his commentaries as well.

The study begins with a 150-page biography which focuses in particular on Beroaldo's relationships with other prominent humanists, from which information can be gleaned on his philological method and on which manuscripts he used, and with his students, from which his effect on the development of humanism can be traced. Beroaldo's philological activity is distinctive in part for its close relationship with the early development of printing in Italy: his teaching method relied on an intensive use of scholarly commentaries conceived as textbooks, but it also relied on the press to print the books that would be used in class. His timing was good, in that he joined the University of Bologna at a point when it was flourishing and when two excellent printers, Francesco (Plato) De' Benedetti and Benedetto di Ettore Faelli, were at work. Beroaldo wrote four commentaries and prepared for the press countless editions of the classical authors on which he lectured, giving masses of students the daily contact with classical texts which the new humanist movement required.

Like other humanist scholars of his day, Beroaldo sought to create a standard text of the classical authors on which he worked. He relied on his own judgement, creating conjectural readings *ope ingenii*, but he also sought copies of the text that carried better readings. Like many scholars of his day, he did not name the manuscripts he used, nor did he distinguish manuscripts from incunables. The main focus of Rose's book is on clarifying Beroaldo's philological method, using his Propertius commentary as an example. She begins by collating all the incunables containing these poems and creating a stemma that shows which manuscript groups the early editors used. Against this base, she identifies the variant readings that can be se-

curely attributed to Beroaldo from those that he took from earlier editions but which are often mistakenly attributed to him in modern critical editions of Propertius. The result is a book that clears up ambiguities in the transmission of Propertius's text, corrects a good many mistaken attributions of conjectures to Beroaldo, and fills *lacunae* in the ordering of variant readings.

As is generally the case in this series, this book is an essentially unrevised version of the author's doctoral dissertation. It is, nevertheless, a fine piece of scholarship which should raise questions about the current practice in American universities of deemphasizing dissertation-based work. Rose's book invites comparison with Matteo Venier's *Per una storia del testo di Virgilio nella prima età del libro a stampa (1469-1519)* (Udine, 2001), a recently published thesis which also integrates the texts in early printed editions into the manuscript tradition of a classical author and the history of scholarship in the Renaissance. This is interesting work, and I hope that doctoral students looking for a dissertation topic will mine incunables of other authors as well for what they can tell us about classical texts and their Neo-Latin editors. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Cassandra Fedele: Letters and Orations. Ed. and trans. by Diana Robin. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. xxvii + 181 pp. \$45 cloth, \$15 paper. Diana Robin's excellent edition of the Quattrocento humanist Cassandra Fedele's *Epistolae et orationes*, the most recent installment in Chicago's ground-breaking and invaluable series, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*, poses two crucial, related questions for contemporary criticism: (1) How ought we to interpret the works of early modern women who, perhaps to the disappointment of feminist readers, 'write like men'? and (2) Can a woman *ever* simply 'write like a man'?

Unlike her contemporary, Laura Cereta—whose works appeared in the same series, edited and translated by Robin, under the telling title *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997)—Fedele’s letters largely treat humanist commonplaces in fairly standard ways, only lightly inflected (if at all) by the hint of gender. “Apart from her suggestion that women, too, could benefit from education,” Robin admits, “one looks in vain for feminist themes in her letters” (p. 11). As the basis of her text, Robin turned to the only published edition of Fedele’s works, Jacopo Filippo Tomasini’s *Clarissimae feminae Cassandreae Fidelis venetae. Epistolae et orationes* (Padua, 1636), to translate 122 letters, helpfully grouped into six chapters according to addressee. These epistles date almost exclusively from the decade beginning with the twenty-two-year-old Fedele’s public oration at Padua in 1487 and ending with her marriage (which effectively signaled the end of her career in letters) in 1499. A final chapter presents Fedele’s three public orations: the “Oration in Honor of Bertucio Lamberti” (the only work published in Fedele’s lifetime and the basis of her widespread fame), an undated speech “In Praise of Letters,” and a final oration on the occasion of the Queen of Sarmatia’s visit to Venice in 1556, which Fedele performed, remarkably, at the age of ninety-one, two years before her death. While Robin’s description of Fedele as “the first professional woman to speak in a public, city forum and the first to address public issues in her own voice” (p. 154) implicitly posits this priority as the rationale for both this edition and the renewed critical attention to Fedele’s writings, the volume tells the story of a prodigious young woman whose career was over by the age of thirty-three, whose works were eclipsed by those of a new generation of women writers in her lifetime—of whom, Robin writes, “her [Fedele’s] letters show no sign that she foresaw better times coming for female authors” (p. 12)—and who, for the last forty years of her life, suffered poverty and hardship. It is characteristic of Fedele’s “voice,” moreover, that her oration “In Praise of Letters” promises “to ponder what the *constant and debilitating* immersion in scholarship might do for the weaker sex in general, since I myself intend to pursue immortality through such study” (p. 159; my italics), but contin-

ues for several pages to discuss the benefits of the humanistic studies to *men* before ending with a derisive rejection of “the lowly and execrable weapons of the little woman—the needle and the distaff” and the inconclusive comment that “even if the study of literature offers women no rewards or honors, I believe women must nonetheless pursue and embrace such studies alone for the pleasure and enjoyment they contain” (p. 160). Robin adds the ellipsis to imply that “the original speech was longer than this” (p. 166)—that is, that Fedele *did*, in fact, publicly ponder the possibility of women’s immersion in scholarship, debilitating or otherwise, although that meditation is now lost.

If Fedele’s works paint a portrait of “the first [woman] to address public issues in her own voice,” then the characteristics of that voice, particularly its gendered traits, remain to be identified. Robin’s introduction undertakes this task, suggesting three themes that display Fedele’s “self-consciously gendered voice”: “those concerning her sexual identity ... those defining her in terms of female lack . . . and those that praise the purity of her body” (pp. 8-9). Indeed these themes emerge continually in Fedele’s letters, where, for example, the author’s conventional gesture of self-deprecation is sexualized to portray Fedele as “an improperly bold little woman” (p. 24), “only a girl and not truly learned” (p. 48), and to describe her “little letters” (p. 44) as a “homely Minerva” (p. 78). Fedele’s “programmatically” (p. 9) letter to Francesco Gonzaga, which introduces the 1636 edition (in Robin’s restructuring, incongruously and unfortunately buried in the third chapter), describes her decision to abandon “feminine concerns” and “to exercise [her] virile, burning, and incredible—though not improper, I hope—desire to study the liberal arts so my name will be praised and celebrated by excellent men” (p. 44). Yet the exchange of letters contained in this volume fascinatingly illustrates that these themes, which Robin argues comprise Fedele’s self-consciously gendered voice, are shared by her male correspondents. Thus Fedele is frequently cast as a virago who proves “that women, though their sex be

unchanged, can acquire traits that clearly belong to the male” (p. 110). While Fedele praises the Queen of Hungary by invoking a catalogue of Roman worthies (p. 27), male humanists frequently praise Fedele herself by invoking similar catalogues (pp. 65, 83, 90, 110, 129). When Fedele insists upon her modesty despite the publicity of her career, her male correspondents also praise her as “a most pure girl” (83). Indeed, the somewhat paradoxical praise of Fedele’s “maidenly lines” (p. 68), while simultaneously insisting upon her virility and her chastity, becomes a favorite theme of her male correspondents. Thus Poliziano’s letter to Fedele—which is in many respects the high point of the collection—marvels at “a girl . . . who would rather cover papyrus with ink than her skin with white powder” (p. 90), and he recalls elsewhere an occasion when Fedele “appeared like a nymph from the forest wearing a beautiful gown and so beautiful [herself]” (p. 93) that he was rendered speechless.

If, in other words, Fedele’s self-consciously gendered voice simply adopts and reverses the gendered roles her male contemporaries assign her, does she necessarily ‘write like a man’? And if Fedele’s career is marked by her willing submission to these male-authored roles, to what degree can we describe her voice as “her own,” as Robin wishes to do? By bringing Fedele’s letters and orations to teachers and students in such an accessible form, Robin’s edition will contribute wonderfully to both classroom and scholarly discussions of these pressing concerns as contemporary readers of early modern women come to terms with both the generic and the original, the conventional and the proto-feminist, aspects of their texts. While individual readers will, of course, provide their own answers to the questions prompted by Robin’s edition, I would offer the observation that, despite her docile prose, Fedele’s letters and orations also include direct indictments of her culture’s limitations on women’s mobility and achievement (pp. 37, 155), and resiliently announce that “as long as I dwelt on the whims of the malevolent, it slowed me down in my writing” (p. 51). The fact of Fedele’s

sex is always at issue in these works, rewriting even her most conventional gestures as 'unnatural' acts. This woman, at least, can never write like a man.

This edition is a must for readers interested in early modern humanism, women writers, and women's education. Robin's introduction—along with the series introduction by Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, Jr., which should be required reading in any course that studies early modern women—will help to locate the works for students, and Fedele's orations and key letters (for example, the epistle to Gonzaga and those to women patrons), along with Poliziano's encomium, will offer undergraduates a concise and multi-faceted entry into consideration of the issues raised by the text. Unfortunately, titles in the OVEME series have tended to go out of print far too quickly, but while it is available, this book will be a valuable addition to syllabi at all levels. And Robin's excellent translation of Fedele's works should influence criticism in the field for some time to come. (Patricia Phillippy, Texas A&M University)

Marsilio Ficino. *Platonic Theology*, vol. 2: Books V-VIII. Ed. by James Hankins, with William Bowen. Trans. by Michael J. B. Allen, with John Warden. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 4. 398 pp. *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and trans. by Craig W. Kallendorf. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 5. xvi + 358 pp. Polydore Vergil. *On Discovery*. Ed. and trans. by Brian P. Copenhaver. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 6. xxx + 722 pp. Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2002. \$29.95. This is the second group of books to appear in The I Tatti Renaissance Library, a new series designed to make available to a broad readership the major literary, historical, philosophical, and scientific works of the Italian Renaissance written in Latin. The review in *Neo-Latin News* (50,1-2 (2002): 182-84) of the books appearing in 2001 discussed the series as a whole, along with the first volume of

Ficino's *Platonic Theology*. Since the second volume simply continues the project begun in the first, I shall move immediately to the other two volumes in this group.

Humanist Educational Treatises contains the following works: Pier Paolo Vergerio, *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth*; Leonardo Bruni, *The Study of Literature*; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*; and Battista Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*. Along with Maffeo Vegio's *On Education and Excellence of Character in Children* (which will appear in a later volume in the series), these treatises represent the fullest expression of the Italian humanists' theory of education. This theory helped students distinguish the values and style of antiquity from what they inherited from medieval Christianity, as a basis for the curricula that predominated in Europe and America through the beginning of the last century. These works of theory did what they recommended as practice and echoed repeatedly the ancient sources, especially the treatise *On the Education of Children* (attributed to Plutarch in the Renaissance) and St. Basil's *Letter to Young Men on Reading Pagan Literature*. The lofty ideals developed in these treatises were certainly not reached by every early modern schoolmaster, but these ideals did shape the day-to-day activities of inspiring teachers like Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona. The translations of the Vergerio and Guarino texts are the first accurate, modern renderings of this material.

The Italian humanist Polydore Vergil (*ca.* 1470-1555) was born in Urbino but spent most of his life in England, where he managed to retain his church offices amid the turbulence of the early Tudors. Vergil edited Niccolò Perotti's *Cornucopiae* and authored *Anglica historia*, but his best-known work is *De inventoribus rerum*, or *On Discovery*, which appeared in more than a hundred editions in eight languages. As originally conceived, *On Discovery* explores how various things were invented or found, covering the educational curriculum in Book 1, law in Book 2, and agriculture in Book 3. The work is marked by an interesting tension, for Vergil absorbed a certain pessimism from

Pliny's encyclopedia along with an optimism derived from Quintilian, Diodorus Siculus, Vitruvius, and Virgil, so that he sees the present now as a degeneration from a better, purer past, then as the fruit of progress and maturation. He never developed a sophisticated method for explaining change or reconciling discrepancies in his sources, but *On Discovery* was an important reference book in the Neo-Latin culture of its day and merits the careful attention it has received here.

Plans call for the appearance of two or three volumes a year in this series, which will be the subject of regular reviews in *Neo-Latin News*. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Two Aristotelians of the Italian Renaissance: Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo. By Edward P. Mahoney. Variorum Collected Studies Series, 697. Aldershot, Burlington, Singapore, and Sydney: Ashgate, 2000. \$105.95. This book contains twelve essays, focused on two Aristotelians of the Italian Renaissance: Nicoletto Vernia (d. 1499) and Agostino Nifo (ca. 1470-1538).

"Philosophy and Science in Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo" provides an overview of the thought of Vernia with a chronological analysis of his writings along with a discussion of Nifo's commentary on Averroes' *Destructio destructionum*. "Marsilio Ficino's Influence on Nicoletto Vernia, Agostino Nifo and Marcantonio Zimara" shows the importance of Ficino's translations of Plato, while the remarkable impact of the Greek commentators on Vernia is the subject of "Nicoletto Vernia on the Soul and Immortality." "Nicoletto Vernia's Annotations on John of Jandun's *De anima*" suggests the importance of Judaism as an authority in late fifteenth-century Aristotelianism, while "Plato and Aristotle in the Thought of Agostino Nifo (ca. 1470-1538)" draws on a conversation that Nifo had with Pico della Mirandola concerning Plato's ideas about the soul. In "Agostino Nifo and Neoplatonism," Mahoney shows that Nifo turned to the Neoplatonists for ideas about cognition, individuation, and immortality. In "Agostino Nifo's Early Views on Immortality," we see Nifo reject an Averroistic interpretation of

Aristotle that he had accepted earlier in his life, while “Agostino Nifo’s *De sensu agente*” situates Nifo’s work on the cognitive power known as the agent sense within the tradition of medieval and Renaissance work in this area. “Antonio Trombetta and Agostino Nifo on Averroes and Intelligible Species: A Philosophical Dispute at the University of Padua” traces a previously unexplored dispute between Nifo and Trombetta, a Franciscan theologian. “Pier Nicola Castellani and Agostino Nifo on Averroes’ Doctrine of the Agent Intellect” returns to the agent intellect, comparing and contrasting two interpretations of Averroes’ doctrine. “Agostino Nifo and Saint Thomas Aquinas” sets forth a basic analysis of Nifo’s use of Aquinas, and “John of Jandun and Agostino Nifo on Human Felicity (*status*)” puts Thomas in dialogue with Jandun and Nifo regarding whether the human intellect can achieve a direct, intuitive knowledge of separate substances during the present life.

The essays reprinted here are significant contributions to Renaissance philosophy. All of them were published elsewhere, as is the custom with books in this series, but many of them are buried in specialized Italian essay collections that can be found in only the largest research libraries in North America. These few libraries will not need the reprint, but most other libraries and many individual scholars will find *Two Aristotelians of the Italian Renaissance* a worthwhile addition to their collections. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Julius Caesar Scaliger. *Orationes duae contra Erasmum*. Ed. and trans., with notes and introduction by Michel Magnien. *Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 329. Geneva: Droz, 1999. 458 pp. 98.49 EURO. As a soldier-humanist, Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) never doubted his courage on the battlefield or in the cut-and-thrust of debate. In fact, if he described his past as one of military distinction, the aspirations of this northern Italian physician who relocated to Agen in southern France shifted attention to literary creativity and criticism (*Oratio II*, p. 326, ll. 2624-40). Certainly his *Poetices libri septem*, published posthu-

mously in Lyon in 1561, confirms his contributions to the development of sixteenth-century poetics. Glory, though, seemed to have eluded him in his lifetime. However, thanks to the recent edition of the *Poetices libri septem* (Stuttgart, 1994-95) and to Michel Magnien's masterful annotated edition and accompanying French translation of the *Orationes duae contra Erasmum* (1531 and 1537), Scaliger's critical acumen, vituperative verve, and role in the fray between the ancients and the moderns establish more firmly his importance as humanist theorist and Renaissance rhetorician.

Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* (1528) provides the point of departure for Scaliger's *Oratio prima*. Comic in tone but serious in substance, Erasmus's Socratic dialogue presents the inanities of slavish imitation. The interlocutor Nosoponus, in cataloguing and incorporating into his writing every aspect of Ciceronian style, stifles creative expression. Ironically, Nosoponus practices a mimesis contrary to Cicero's creative use of rhetorical resources to convey personal thought and temper. Nosoponus loses his case, and Erasmus satirizes the narrowness and shallowness of Ciceronianism. Unlike Erasmus, who indirectly champions Cicero's use of rhetoric, Scaliger does not distinguish the "wheat" of Cicero from the "chaff" of the Ciceronians. A *querelle* ensues. In the first oration Scaliger praises elaborately and even hyperbolically the virtues of Cicero's style and the success of his followers. Erasmus is the object of vitriolic attack, for he denies the richness of Cicero's eloquence and the *elegantissima aetas* of republican Rome (*Oratio I*, ll. 161-62, 1320). Further, he becomes entangled in self-contradictions, engages in debauchery, supports Lutheran reforms, and appears heretical, preferring effigies of God (i.e., Apollo) to the truths presented in Cicero's writings. He is a northern European who questions the authority of Rome and is, in fact, a coward who, as *bellua* and *parricida*, denounces a defenseless Cicero.

Erasmus responds to the first oration with stony silence and, upon receiving a copy of it in November 1531, attributes it to his adversary J. Aleandre. Scaliger sees himself deprived

of fame, and his ambitions for glory are further frustrated by the publication of Etienne Dolet's *Dialogus de imitatione Ciceroniana* (1535), which vigorously defends the Ciceronian Longueil and, at the same time, vehemently criticizes Erasmus and his rhetorical practice. Similar tracts by Ortensio Lando (1534), Gaudenzio Merula (1535), and Pietro Corsi (1535) add fuel to the flames of controversy. During this period Scaliger directs his energies constructively to the writing of epigrams, epitaphs, and religious hymns. Nevertheless an inner anger is raging, and it is released by the delayed receipt of a letter from Erasmus to Petrus Merbelius and Giambattista Laurentia in 1535. In this letter Erasmus acknowledges the lies and personal attacks in Scaliger's *Oratio I*, but he doubts the authorship and dismisses any reason to debate these allegations with "any such spirits" (*cum talibus ingeniis luctari non est animus*, p. 320, ll. 2392-93). Scaliger's *Oratio II* responds to this perceived indignity. Whereas the first oration depicts Scaliger as an advocate for Cicero and his imitators, the second discourse defends Scaliger's character and cause. In extolling his courage and his skills in writing, he decries Erasmus's moral depravity, his subtle subversions of Catholic dogma, and his blatant criticism of Ciceronian eloquence. In the second oration, moreover, Erasmus the man becomes the focus of condemnation; and, if Scaliger has always sought and never extinguished friendships, Erasmus has created controversy and encouraged enmity. The dispute continues with J. Maurisotus's *Contra Ciceronis calumniatores* (1550) and Scaliger's *Oratio III*, which, perhaps extant in several fragments, attempts to defend Latin over Erasmus's Hellenistic distortions of the language.

The publication of this exemplary edition attests to Scaliger's triumph over Erasmus's silence, and Scaliger is indeed fortunate to have Magnien to establish a text so accurately, to translate his Latin so faithfully, and to explain so fully the contexts of these important tracts. Even more remarkably, he describes the conflicts of continuity and change, and portrays a personal drama that derives from intellectual aspirations and human

ambitions. In brief, Magnien has brilliantly fulfilled the responsibilities of editor and invites readers to explain more completely the learning and rhetorical strategies that Scaliger employs to praise and to blame. (Donald Gilman, Ball State University)

Juan Luis Vives. *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*. Ed. and trans. by Charles Fantazzi. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. xxx + 343 pp. \$20 paper. Between 1996 and 1998, Fantazzi published the first complete English translation of Vives' *De institutione feminae Christianae*. It accompanies the meticulous critical edition of the complete text that he prepared with C. Matheussen as part of the *Selected Works of J. L. Vives* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, vols. 6-7). The purpose of that valuable edition was "to present this important text to the interested reader in a modern scholarly edition with minimal interpretive commentary" (*De institutione* 1: ix), and consequently, the introduction was succinct. Fantazzi's more recent translation, reviewed here, addresses a more specific readership as part of the series edited by Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil Jr., *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*, which publishes works by or about early modern women. Each volume in the series is introduced by King and Rabil, who review traditional male views of women and the female voices raised against them. Juan Luis Vives' treatise, in spite of its explicit support for the universal education of women, fits into the first category.

Fantazzi's excellent "prelude to the other voice in Vives" draws attention to the manual's impact throughout the sixteenth century, particularly in England, where it "laid the groundwork for the Elizabethan age of the cultured woman" (p. 3). It outlines the treatise's positive contribution—its defense of universal education for women; its unprecedented appraisal of their intellectual capacity, equal to any man's; and an apology in favor of the learned woman. It also acknowledges Vives' most unpalatable extremisms, such as his pessimistic

views of human nature and his fear of the body, which leads him to exalt chastity and inveigh bitterly against the female sex in highly declamatory style.

The subsequent account of Vives' life and works is a useful framework for understanding the treatise. He was born into a *converso* Jewish family of Valencia, some of whom were burned at the stake during Vives' life. This trauma can account for the treatise's pessimism and aggressiveness, and its extreme orthodoxy is characteristic of a man wishing to distance himself from his judaizing relatives. Fantazzi presents a remarkably well-documented overview of Vives' education, publications and travels, patrons and friends. The remaining sections, "Circumstances Surrounding the Composition of the *De institutione*," "Content and Analysis," "Sources and Cultural Background," "Translations and Later Influence," and the bibliography, complete an exhaustive introduction to the Valencian humanist.

Against the treatise's evident misogyny, Fantazzi describes the influential position of noblewomen in Spanish society and the numerous treatises and tracts on the *querelle des femmes* published earlier in Castilian and Catalan. Many of these pro-feminist works are dedicated to Castilian queens. One of them, Isabella the Catholic, had introduced the new humanist teachings into the education of well-born girls at court. Her daughter, Catherine of Aragon, followed the family tradition and insisted on reforms in women's education. At her request, Vives wrote *De institutione* and other minor works like *De ratione puerilis* (On a Plan of Study for Children) for Princess Mary.

Vives was undoubtedly as well acquainted with pro-feminist works as with the dour invectives of the detractors of women or the traditional views of the Church Fathers. The treatise's conventional harshness towards women, openly criticized in a letter by Erasmus, who hoped Vives would be more gentle with his own wife, is counterbalanced by its unrestrained praise of a happy marriage. Contrary to the misogynist tradi-

tion, Vives states that the goal of marriage “is not so much the production of offspring as community of life and indissoluble companionship” (p. 20).

Perhaps these sparks afford a glimpse of Vives’ contentment with his wife, Margarita Valdaura, and the treatise’s most troubling examples are no more than mnemonic devices and meditative techniques. Time-honored arts of memory prescribed the use of shocking images to recall material to be learned. The troubling passage describing the dedication of Vives’ mother-in-law to her syphilitic husband is so graphic that it made one stunned reviewer aptly exclaim, “This is the stuff of hagiography” (Constance Jordan, “More from ‘The Other Voice’ in Early Modern Europe,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 271). But the passage can be better understood within the framework of a well-known technique of meditating on Christ’s humanity, in which the devout are asked to reconstruct every horrific detail of the passion to fill their hearts with devotion. With these methods, offensive as they are to modern sensibilities, Vives wanted to impress upon a young girl’s mind some basic precepts that would improve her moral behavior.

The elegant translation is based on the critical edition and translation mentioned earlier. To the present edition, Fantazzi has added highly informative footnotes and a useful index of biblical references. He includes a general index as well that blends the *index locorum* and *index nominum* of his previous translation and incorporates numerous topics suitable to the series’ aims. Fantazzi’s new edition is a testament to the best erudition and a pleasure to read. It is equally at home in a scholarly library and an undergraduate cultural studies course reading list. (Sol Miguel-Prendes, Wake Forest University)

Erasmii opera, vol. 1: *Notulae Erasmianae*, 1-4. Series edited by Alexandre Vanautgaerden. Brussels: La lettre volée à la Maison d’Érasme, 2001. 596 pp. 60 EURO. The new series *Notulae Erasmianae* is devoted to publishing the lesser-known texts of Erasmus (e.g., his poetry, pedagogical treatises, pamphlets, and

unedited correspondence), with a translation into French or Dutch accompanying the original Latin. The boxed set being reviewed here consists of the first four volumes in the series. Volume 1 is a collection of texts pertaining to Erasmus's polemic against Edward Lee in 1520: "Le grammairien, l'imprimeur et le sycophante ou Comment éditer une querelle théologique en 1520 (Érasme et Lee)," by Alexandre Vanautgaerden; "Lettre apologétique d'Edward Lee en réponse aux deux lettres d'Érasme," translated by Marcel A. Nauwelaerts; "Apologie d'Érasme de Rotterdam en guise de réponse aux deux invectives d'Edward Lee," translated by Alain Van Dievoet; and five epigrams, by Adam de Fulda, André Camicianus, Eobanus Hessus, and François Faber le Silésien. The second volume explores Erasmus's relationship with England, to which he made several trips to see friends like Thomas More, to search for patrons, and so forth: "Érasme ou les muses rendormies," by Alexandre Vanautgaerden; "Lettre d'Érasme au duc Henry," translated by Marie Delcourt; "Ode d'Érasme de Rotterdam pour dire les mérites de l'Angleterre . . .," translated by Alexandre Vanautgaerden and Alain Van Dievoet; and "Érasme et l'Angleterre," by Jean-Claude Margolin. Volume 3 contains Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus*, edited and translated by Franz Bierlaire as "Petit manuel de savoir-vivre à l'usage des enfants," along with an introductory essay, "*Habent sua fata libelli*," also by Franz Bierlaire. The fourth volume contains texts devoted to aging and death: "Poème sur la vieillesse à Guillaume Cop," edited and translated by Jean-Claude Margolin; "Déploration sur la mort de Jean Froben," edited by Alexandre Vanautgaerden and translated by Robert Deprez, Marie Theunissen-Faider, and Alain Van Dievoet; "Le *Chant alpestre* d'Érasme," by Jean-Claude Margolin; and "Bibliographie des travaux de Jean-Claude Margolin," by Alexandre Vanautgaerden.

This is a nice series that I can recommend without reservation to the readers of this journal. The idea of taking smaller, often-overlooked works of Erasmus and printing them along

with the texts they respond to and that respond to them is a good one, and the scholarly essays that contextualize the material are of high quality. This set is visually appealing—it won a design prize from the Type Directors Club of New York and comes in a box that reproduces a sixteenth-century book, even down to the title penned onto the edge to allow for horizontal placement on a bookshelf—and at 60 Euros for the set, the price is certainly right. It is worth noting that other parts of the publishing program of Le Musée de la Maison d'Érasme are of interest as well: *Le Cabinet d'Érasme*, a series of art books connected to the expositions and other activities of the museum; *Colloquia in museo Erasmi*, the proceedings of selected conferences held at the museum; *Nugae humanisticae sub signo Erasmi*, an annual publication beginning in 2000 devoted to humanistic studies; and *Melissa*, a journal with articles in Latin on Latinity from antiquity to the present. The museum itself, in a Gothic house in which Erasmus lived for six months in 1521, contains a fine working collection and is well worth a visit. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Droz has added two volumes to its series of Calvin's *Opera omnia*: the exegetical *Commentariorum in acta apostolorum, Liber primus* (XII, 1) and *Liber posterior* (XII, 2). Like Calvin's commentary on the Gospel of St. John (see *Neo-Latin News* 49,1-2 (2001): 176-78), these volumes are edited by Helmut Feld. The first contains a useful introduction of 132 pages which gives information about earlier editions and translations, Calvin's sources, the content and significance of the Acts of the Apostles, and a bibliography. Both volumes have excellent indexes, which include sections for Biblical references, proper names, place names, and modern authors and editors (188 pages and 156 pages, respectively). Droz's commitment to the monumental and scholarly task of making Calvin's *Opera* available to the twenty-first century deserves both admiration and gratitude. (Jeanette Beer, Purdue University)

Elizabeth Jane Weston. *Collected Writings*. Ed. and trans. by Donald Cheney and Brenda M. Hosington. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2000. xxxi + 448 pp. Since the establishment in the 1980s of a preliminary canon of the writings of early modern British women, the figures at its centre, such as Mary Wroth, Aemilia Lanyer, Mary Herbert, Elizabeth Cary, and Margaret Cavendish, have received a good deal of critical and editorial attention. Others, however, have been neglected: secular lyric is read in preference to devotional prose, for instance, and writings in English are unsurprisingly more widely studied than those in other languages. So, interest in women's writing in Gaelic and Welsh is at an early stage; an edition of the verse and letters of Mary Queen of Scots, whose preferred literary language was French, is a desideratum; and so, until the appearance of the volume under review, was an edition of the writings, all of which are in Latin, of the one Englishwoman to have a literary reputation in continental Europe, Elizabeth Weston (Westonia). Women poets writing in Latin around 1600 are by definition remarkable, and her work was, quite apart from its intrinsic merits, praised by Melissus and Heinsius. Until the 1970s, Weston was mostly studied by Czech scholars interested in Rudolphine Prague, and there is no mention of her in the first edition of IJsewijn's *Companion*, but times are changing: she does appear in the second edition of IJsewijn, she has been discussed by a number of writers since the 1970s, and there were two papers on her at the eleventh IANLS congress in 2000, with more to be expected at the twelfth. Weston's two main collections, the *Poëmata* of 1602 and the *Parthenica* of 1607 or 1608, are now available in an unattractive and quite expensive facsimile published by Ashgate in 2000, and the latter also in a more pleasing digital version freely available online as part of CAMENA (the Corpus Automatum Manhemense Electorum Neolatinitatis Auctorum), but many of her poems were never collected, and at least one was, by the late 1990s, known only from a photocopy of a lost printed *unicum*. This edition presents a text of the *Parthenica*,

collating textual variants from the *Poëmata* and other occasional publications of its contents, followed by all the poems not in *Parthenica* and a number of early tributes to Weston. There is a facing-page translation into English, a brief introduction, and some explanatory notes.

Its editors, Donald Cheney and Brenda Hosington, deserve the thanks of many scholars; they have made an important contribution to the study of early modern women's writing and to that of seventeenth-century Latin verse. Now Weston's work is available to the reader with Latin who previously had no access to the occasional verse, and to the Latinless reader as well. The book will surely enjoy a wide circulation, and rightly so. Cheney and Hosington are clear about the limitations of their work: the translations do not attempt to "do justice ... to the expressive qualities of the verse," some of the notes are admittedly "an open invitation to better-informed readers," and so on. In other words, this pioneering edition modestly renounces any claim to be definitive. However, it is not likely to be replaced in the near future, not least because acquisitions librarians are unlikely to be enthusiastic about purchasing multiple editions of the work of any neo-Latin author. It is therefore unfortunate that it does have a number of avoidable defects which will irritate or ensnare readers for years to come.

There are, for a start, some very odd moments in the translation, even though David Money, who is an excellent Latinist, checked it and "rescued it from numerous infelicities, ambiguities, and downright blunders." It occasionally lapses into nonsense: *Regni Bohemiae Archipincernae haereditarij*, for instance, comes out as "[of the] Heir to the Realm of Archipincern Bohemia" rather than "[of the] hereditary principal cupbearer of the kingdom of Bohemia." Elsewhere it betrays less drastic confusion: *equus auratus* is not "golden knight," as at one point, and hardly "knight of the golden spur," as at another, but simply "knight." At other points, it is very much *ad verbum* rather than *ad sensum*: for instance, the *quinque tui sonis discrimina oris*

for which Melissus praises Weston are surely not “the five different qualities in the sounds of your voice” but “the five languages you speak.” A number of other examples could be given.

The annotations are often useful, but they are not beyond criticism. Textual notes appear at the ends of poems rather than in the usual position at the foot of the appropriate page. Where a long poem is extant in two or three versions, as in the case of the first poem in *Parthenicon liber ii*, more than a page of collations may therefore follow it, to be used only by keeping several fingers at several points in the text. Some of the explanatory notes appear to have been put together in haste. Weston claims to be quoting Cicero on three occasions, and at each point, the editors confess that the quotation could not be identified, although all three are in fact easy to track down: one is from the *Epistolae ad familiares*, one is from the *De officiis*, and one is rephrased from the letters of Seneca (Weston was evidently, and interestingly, quoting from memory). Likewise a moment’s consultation of library catalogues should have allowed the editors to identify the Scaliger who worked on Ausonius as Joseph Justus, not his father, and the Caelius who is cited in Weston’s borrowed catalogue of learned women as Lodovico Ricchieri, alias Caelius Rhodiginus. The grammarian Agallis whom they cannot identify has a good clear entry in Pauly, which explains that the *pila* with the discovery of which she is associated is not “presumably a grammatical term” as they guess, but just a ball, as usual: Agallis claimed that Nausicaa was the inventor of ballgames. Finally, since this book will be the starting point for many readers interested in knowing more about Weston, the introduction might usefully have ended with a guide to further reading; at the very least, it might have mentioned the early account of her (and brilliant introduction to her milieu) in Robert Evans’s *Rudolf II and his World*.

All that said, it is worth repeating the point that this is a most welcome and useful edition. I have used it in my teaching, and students have responded warmly to it—one went out of her

way to say how much she liked the translation. None of them would have been reading Weston if it had not been for Cheney and Hosington. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson draw on it in their splendid *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*, and the excerpts there will bring Weston's work to an even wider audience. It will, faults and all, be the foundation for all work on this remarkable cultural figure for years to come. (John Considine, University of Alberta)

Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588-1638, Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform. By Howard Hotson. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. xiv + 271 pp. £45. The Moravian philosopher-theologian and pedagogical reformer Jan Amos Comenius has attracted much scholarly attention, his teacher at the Calvinist academy at Herborn, Johann Heinrich Alsted, far less. Yet, argues Hotson, to appreciate more fully the reform programs of Comenius and of his colleagues Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, it is necessary to examine the intellectual climate and the store of reform ideas developed in central Europe which so influenced these men. For Hotson, it is Alsted, like no other, who best reflects the progress of the central European reformed movement during the early decades of the seventeenth century toward its goal of further reforming individual, church, and state and thus the philosophical, theological, and pedagogical traditions from which Comenius and his fellow reformers drew. In offering this tightly packed biographical study of Alsted, whose life spans both the heyday and subsequent dispersion of the reformed community of central Europe, Hotson has added significantly not only to our knowledge of an important reformer and certainly the greatest encyclopedist of the period, but also to our understanding of an era of European history of pivotal significance for the reformed movement.

Hotson has divided the greater part of Alsted's academic life into its Herborn, Heidelberg, and Marburg years. Each institution—the Calvinist academy at Herborn in the Rhineland at which the young Alsted studied and to which he later re-

turned as a professor of philosophy and theology; the University of Heidelberg, the old, conservative, and chief academic institution of the Palatinate, “the capital of Reformed central Europe” (p. 24); and the University of Marburg in Hesse, innovative or from a traditional standpoint radical in its attempt to include the questionable discipline of alchemy in its curriculum—made an indelible mark on Alsted’s developing thought. To most scholars Alsted’s mature thought, perhaps represented best in the second edition of his vast *Encyclopaedia* (1630), appears somewhat peculiar. But Hotson shows that when the aggregate is analyzed, many of its basic elements and certainly its roots are traceable to and thus representative of the reform programs Alsted had encountered at Herborn, Heidelberg, and Marburg.

Herborn, as Hotson notes, made an immediate and lasting impact on Alsted, for it was here that he became acquainted with and then sympathetic to a modified version of the utilitarian philosophy of the Frenchman Petrus Ramus, whose pedagogical principles were centered on simplicity and clarity and were hostile to the complexities of pagan philosophers, especially Aristotle. Breaking with the traditions of both scholastic and humanist pedagogy, the academy at Herborn offered a Ramist-based education, somewhat amended, whose streamlined curriculum focused on those disciplines considered essential for the rapid preparation of students for service to church and state. Herborn’s emphasis on simplicity, clarity, and order became a cornerstone of Alsted’s explicatory method.

At Heidelberg, where pure Ramist dialectic was passionately rejected in favor of the more sophisticated and much sounder logic of Aristotle, Alsted came under the tutelage of Bartholomaeus Keckermann. Like Alsted, Keckermann had received a Ramist-based education as a boy. But by the time he had joined the faculty at Heidelberg, Keckermann was an Aristotelian convert. If Herborn’s aim was the most efficient training of future pastors and state administrators, Hotson shows that Heidelberg’s was to prepare scholars able to enter the theo-

logical and hence confessional debates of the day. And in this polemical arena, a knowledge of Aristotelian logic was indispensable. But as Keckermann knew, Aristotle is difficult. Thus he attempted to make the complexities of Aristotelian thought, and for that matter of all philosophy, more easily digestible for his students by organizing and explaining them in Ramist fashion, adapted but still soundly based on the presentational methods of simplicity, clarity, and order. Realizing the efficacy of Keckermann's pedagogical approach of fusing closely the substance of traditional philosophy to Ramist form, Alsted adopted the method and then carried it further. Gradually he expanded the range of its application to include knowledge of universal scope.

Hotson reveals Marburg to be the main source of Alsted's interest in hermeticism. By the time of his arrival in 1606, the university had earned a reputation for its program in the natural sciences. Hotson points out that it was the first European university to establish a chair in medical chemistry. But within the realm of general chemistry, Marburg alone among reformed institutions was wont to include and thus to grant legitimacy to the practice of alchemy. In fact the university had attracted to its faculty a number of academic exiles who, in an unfettered climate not to be found elsewhere in central Europe, attempted to combine, no matter how paradoxical, Calvinist theology with alchemical science and occult philosophy. Alsted was attracted to this combinatorial possibility. Hence the hermetic pursuits of his Marburg professors and the writings to which he was there exposed help to explain what would become Alsted's lifelong interest in and devotion to the arts of alchemy, astrology, and memory.

In sum, Hotson paints Alsted as an eclectic and combinatorial scholar, the components of whose thought represent the variant traditions for educational experimentation and reform espoused at Herborn, Heidelberg, and Marburg. In the mass of published and unpublished work which Alsted produced, from his earliest boyhood writings to the first and second edi-

tions of his monumental *Encyclopedia*, in his responses both to the vicissitudes of Calvinism caused by the Thirty Years War and to the ecclesiastical controversies that polarized the reformed church of his day—controversies and crises which prompted Alsted's participation as a deputy at the Synod of Dort and his final escape from the Rhineland not to Holland or England but to Transylvania—in the millenarianism which undergirded much of his later life and in his ever-abiding zeal for further reform, Hotson always finds the seminal imprint of Alsted's three *almae matres*. As Hotson states in his *Introduction* (p. 14), "Our task is therefore clear: to place Alsted in the context of three institutions which most shaped him and to place these institutions in the context of three models of further reformation which in turn shaped them." Through careful prosopographical inquiry, Hotson has successfully completed his task, and in so doing he has made a valuable contribution to Oxford's *Historical Monographs Series*, by offering an intellectual biography of a man whose career and writings represent in a synthetic way much of the general tenor and influential power of the central European reformed movement of the early seventeenth century. (Michael Kumpf, Valparaiso University)

"De nostri temporis studiorum ratione" di Giambattista Vico: prima redazione inedita del ms. XII B 55 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, indici e ristampa anastatica dell'edizione Napoli 1709. By Marco Veneziani. *Lessico intellettuale europeo*, 92, *lessico filosofico dei secoli XVII e XVIII, strumenti critici*, 6. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2000. LXI + 440 pp. Lit. 190,000. In the series *Lessico intellettuale europeo*, which now offers some eighty anastatic reprints and concordances of early modern philosophical texts, this is the seventh volume dedicated to the works of Vico, whose *Scienza nuova* (both 1725 and 1744 editions), *Orazioni inaugurali I-VI*, and *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* have already appeared.

Besides the usual computer-generated lexical analyses, this volume is distinguished by an edition of unpublished material: a draft of this oration copied in a Neapolitan manuscript which the editor Nicolini dismissed as inferior to the 1709 edition. This version, which was copied by a scribe but contains some additions in Vico's own hand, is substantially the same as the published one, although there are a few interesting variants, as described on pp. XIX-XXIV of Veneziani's introduction.

This introduction also provides a useful outline of the intellectual and historical background of the work. As professor of rhetoric at the University of Naples, Vico delivered seven inaugural orations in Latin between 1699 and 1707. Inspired by the Austrian occupation of Naples in the summer of 1707, an event that aroused hopes of greater intellectual freedom, Vico delivered the last of these orations, *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (On the Educational Method in Our Time), on October 18, 1708. In the following year, the university decided to dedicate a series of studies to Charles III of Austria, and Vico revised his oration, which was published in 1709 with a dedication to Charles III and a preface to Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani. Beginning with an allusion to Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Vico's *dissertatio* offers reflections on contemporary teaching, comparing its methods and goals to those of the ancients.

While praising contemporary progress in the physical sciences, Vico emphasizes the centrality of rhetoric and poetry. Indeed, only the first quarter of the oration deals with logic and the natural sciences. After that point, Vico turns to the humanities, which he regards as neglected by the rationalists.

Several passages in Vico's oration reflect themes later developed in his *Scienza nuova*. In particular, his reflections on ancient and modern law anticipate observations made in Book 4 of that work, "On the Course of Nations," such as the fundamental distinction between natural and civil equity. Of all the disciplines included in Vico's survey, jurisprudence receives the most detailed analysis: in addition to his citing of Roman

laws and codes, Vico refers to legal thinkers such as Hugo Grotius, Jacques Cujas, Andrea Alciato, and the lesser-known French jurist Edmond Mérille (who does not appear in the *Scienza nuova*).

The topic of the *querelle des anciens et des modernes* naturally leads to a discussion of imitation and of the dangers of excessive classicism. As in his *magnum opus*, Vico posits what might be called the Homeric sublime: artists who create by imitating Nature are themselves inimitable. When Virgil imitates Homer, and Tasso imitates Virgil, such poets can only achieve a secondary sort of greatness. Creativity eschews servile imitation. Vico relates how Titian, when asked why he used such bold brush strokes, answered that he did so to avoid imitating either Michelangelo or Raphael.

In his conclusion, Vico observes that the need for modern universities is justified, but he laments the fact that the diversity of new disciplines has replaced the unity of Greek philosophy. In a utopian spirit, Vico proposed that the rectors of the University of Naples create a unified teaching suited to religion and the republic. Presumably he had in mind something like the union of philology and philosophy in the *Scienza nuova*. (David Marsh, Rutgers University)

Myrica: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef IJsewijn. Ed. by Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy. Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 16. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000. viii + 690 pp. 49,57 EURO. In 1997, Jozef IJsewijn, the premier Neo-Latinist of the twentieth century, received a *Festschrift* (*Ut granum sinapis*, reviewed in *Neo-Latin News* 46,3-4 (1998): 169-71) containing essays written by a number of distinguished colleagues in Europe and the United States. *Myrica*, which unfortunately appeared after IJsewijn's untimely death, includes essays written in his honor by his Belgian colleagues and by his students. It begins with a memorial poem by Marc van Rooij, a brief "Ritratto di Jozef IJsewijn (1932-1998)" by Dirk Sacré, and a monumental "Bibliography of Jozef

IJsewijn, 1956-2000," which covers more than a hundred pages, by Gilbert Tournoy. Then come twenty essays on various topics in Neo-Latin Studies: "Ludovico Lazzarelli's *Fasti Christianae religionis*: Recipient and Context of an Ovidian Poem," by Angela Fritsen; "Giovanni Gigli and the Renaissance of the Classical Epithalamium in England," by Gilbert and Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen; "April in Paris (1514): J. L. Vives Editing B. Guarinus. A New Vives 'Princeps', a New Early Vives Letter and the First Poem in Praise of Vives," by Marcus de Schepper; "Erasmus, Rhetoric, and Theology: The *Encomium matrimonii*," by Marc van der Poel; "In Praise of Brabant, Holland, and the Habsburg Expansion: Barlandus' Survey of the Low Countries (1524)," by Ari Wesseling; "Les explorations d'Hannon de Carthage et de Pythéas de Marseille: lectures plurielles de témoignages fragmentaires au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle," by Monique Mund-Dopchie; "Theory and Practice of the Journey to Italy in the 16th Century: Stephanus Pighius' *Hercules Prodicus*," by Marc Laureys; "From North to South: Some New Documents on Lipsius' Journey from Leiden to Liège," by Jeanine De Landtsheer; "The Scottish Doctor William Barclay, His *Album amicorum* and His Correspondence with Justus Lipsius," by Jan Papy; "Just Pricing and Profit Making in Late Scholastic Economic Thought," by Toon Van Houdt; "A Greek *Xenion* in Latin Dress: Nicolaus a Wassenaer and Theodorus Schrevelius," by Hans van de Venne; "Wendelinus versifex: The Latin Poetry of a 17th-Century Polyhistor," by Andries Welkenhuysen; "For He Rides the Surf of the Mighty Tide," by Arthur C. Eyffinger; "Town and Gown in the Dutch Golden Age: The Menippean Satires of Jan Bodecher Benningh (1631) and 'Amatus Fornacius' (1633)," by Ingrid A. R. De Smet; "*Melissomachia*: An Unpublished Epic from the Brussels Jesuit College (1652)," by Dirk Sacré; "Daniel Papebrochius, S.J., and His *Propempticon* to Three Flemish Jesuits Leaving for the China Mission (Louvain, 2 December 1654)," by Noël Golvers; "'Displacuit multis, multis mea forte placebunt': Janus De Bisschop (*fl.* 1686-1700), deux poèmes néo-latins inédits et quelques lettres

destinées à Jacobus Gronovius," by Rudolf De Smet; "The *Liber congregationis maioratus Silveducensis*: A Register of a 17th-Century Leuven Student Fraternity," by Michiel Verweij; "Rollariensia Latina (1775-1875): une première exploration," by Paul Thoen; and "Imitating Petronius: H. C. Schnur's Petronian Supplement," by Christian Laes. There are two indices, of names and of manuscripts.

Some comment on the unevenness of the essays is almost de rigueur in reviews of *Festschriften*, but this is not the case here, for the essays are of uniformly high quality in this volume. The essays on Lazzarelli, Gigli, Barclay, Schrevelius, Papebrochius, De Bisschop, and the *Liber congregationis* are especially successful, presenting editions of little-known texts along with analyses of why those texts merit further study. Two other essays—a life and list of works of the Belgian polyhistor Godefridus Wendelinus and a survey of the Latin literature produced in Roeselare (a city in West Flanders) between 1775 and 1875—provide other tools for further scholarship, and the essay on the *Melissomachia* succeeds admirably in whetting our appetite for the critical edition that is now underway. Wesseling, Mund-Dopchie, Laureys, and De Landtsheer explore various aspects of Neo-Latin travel literature, from the letters and literary works recording the travels of important people to their value as propaganda and their roots in the travel literature of antiquity. The essays of van der Poel, Van Houdt, and De Smet are the solid, bread-and-butter studies on which basic scholarship rests, but the volume also contains its share of surprises: the discovery of a new letter by Vives, a link from Grotius to recent *fin de siècle* musings on culture and civilization, and a study of the supplement to Petronius' *Satyricon* by the late Harry Schnur, one of the most gifted Latinists of the twentieth century.

In short, this volume reflects both the range of interests of its dedicatee and the high level of scholarship for which he was known. In every way, it is a fitting tribute to his memory. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives. Ed. by Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press, 2000. xii + 308 pp. \$29.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper. In 1548 the first Jesuit school was founded in Messina, Sicily, to be followed within the next few years by some thirty more, including the one that would eventually evolve into the first real Jesuit university (the Gregorian University in Rome). Before the end of the century Jesuit education had expanded into Macau in east Asia and into Japan, and by 1773, when the Society of Jesus was suppressed by the pope, there were 800 Jesuit educational institutions around the world. They educated Descartes, Molière, and Voltaire, and they hired Palestrina and Chapentrier to teach their students music.

The Jesuits, in other words, were the first real teaching order within the Catholic church, and they inspired other religious orders along the model they developed. This model began with the so-called “Parisian method” by which the founding members of the order had been trained: the students were divided into classes (*lectiones, ordines, regulae, loci*), through which they progressed in a graduated system; the students became active learners through a series of classroom exercises (*disputationes, theses, themata, repetitiones, argumenta, conferentiae, concertationes*, etc.); and the students imbibed wisdom and eloquence from great drama by acting in plays. But Jesuit education became distinctive by combining the *modus Parisiensis* with the basic features of pre-university humanistic training as it was developed in Renaissance Italy. The curriculum for the early classes therefore rested heavily in the classics, with the goal being a Christian *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, a person of *pietas* who was able to function successfully in the world, not cloistered from it.

The central document around which this educational model was developed was the 1599 *Ratio studiorum*, which provided guidance in turn for the areas of administration, curriculum, method, and discipline. Four hundred years later, Fordham

University sponsored a conference to examine this widely influential Neo-Latin document, from which the volume being reviewed here emerged. The volume contains the following essays: Howard Gray, S.J., "The Experience of Ignatius Loyola: Background to Jesuit Education," with a response by George Aschenbrenner, S.J.; Gabriel Codina, S.J., "The 'Modus Parisiensis'," with a response by Louis B. Pascoe, S.J.; John W. O'Malley, S.J., "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education," with a response by John Elias; John W. Padberg, S.J., "Development of the *Ratio Studiorum*," with a response by Jenny Go; Rosemary A. DeJulio, "Women's Ways of Knowing and Learning: The Response of Mary Ward and Madeleine Sophie Barat to the *Ratio Studiorum*"; John W. O'Malley, S.J., "From the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* to the Present: A Humanistic Tradition?"; and Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J., "A New *Ratio* for a New Millennium?". There are also two appendices which contain the English texts of two recent documents designed to guide Jesuit education in the present day: *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education* and *Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach*.

As with all volumes like this, one can complain that some of the essays are better than others and that some of the material is little more than a rehashing of books and articles previously published elsewhere. This is, nevertheless, a worthwhile contribution to recent literature in Neo-Latin studies. Directly or indirectly, the *Ratio studiorum* has had a greater effect on more people than most other things written in Latin, and this collection of essays shows clearly that Neo-Latin has much to contribute to the history and theory of education. It is worth noting that Boston College has sponsored two conferences on Jesuit education, with the proceedings of the first one already in print (*The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999)). Twenty years ago contact between Neo-Latinists and the Jesuit educational system was mostly limited to an occasional rare book with an inscription like *Collegii Rom. Societ. Jesu Catal. Inscr.*, which indicated that it once resided in the library of a Jesuit college before mak-

ing its way into a library like the Morgan or the Beinecke. Since the publication of John W. O'Malley's magisterial *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), however, more and more attention has been devoted to the *Ratio studiorum* and what it has produced. One can only hope that this trend will continue. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

Latin Bibliography 15th Century to 2001. 2nd CD-ROM edition. World Bibliographies on CD-ROM. Munich: K. G. Saur, 2001. 1,520 EURO. This single CD-ROM contains approximately 395,000 entries from 140 countries covering material written in Latin from the fifteenth century to the present day. Reflecting the worldwide importance of Latin as a language of culture and education, the bibliography covers theology, philosophy, science, works of humanism, official ecclesiastical writings, Latin Bible translations, editions of classical authors, and Neo-Latin literature in general during its entire history.

The bibliographical entries, which have been entered in MARC format, can be called up and printed either as a brief list or as full records. The bibliography can be accessed via twenty-two search criteria: keyword, author, keyword in author, title, keyword in title, subject heading, keyword in subject, series, series number, place of publication, country, publisher, publication year, form of material, language, publication type, Library of Congress classification number, Dewey classification number, ISBN/ISSN, author/title-acronym, title key, and record number. These search criteria can be combined and limited at will, making it easy in theory to find out, for example, how many editions of Seneca were published in Paris in the sixteenth century or how many Latin sources may be found from the reign of emperor Charles V. The search engine is quite user-friendly, with an extensive on-line help function and a Windows interface available in English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian.

In order to get at least an impressionistic feel for this database, I tried it out with another scholar who, like me, has done bibliographical work on Latin sources ranging through this period. Her area of expertise is demonology, and when she did a subject search in this area, she immediately turned up references to books she did not know about. On the other hand, several admittedly obscure books she has used in the past do not appear at all under an author or title search. I tried a combined search, for editions of Virgil printed before 1600, and got 315 books. A closer look, however, reveals that the 1501 Aldine Virgil, for example, is entered five different times, so that there are actually far fewer than 315 different books in this bibliography. By comparison, the same search on World Cat yields 604 books; again there are multiple entries, but there are clearly more editions to be found there. I also tried a narrower search, of Virgil editions printed in Venice before 1600. After the duplicates were purged, the bibliography gave eight entries, out of the 132 known to me.

This bibliography is certainly a useful way to begin a search of this material: for the scholar interested in Neo-Latin sources, publications in the vernacular are conveniently purged away. In the end, however, I have hesitations about whether the current version is worth its hefty price tag. World Cat, of course, is not free either, but most scholars can access it at no cost through their university library, and at this point its database contains more books relevant to this field than the CD-ROM bibliography does. This CD-ROM bibliography, however, bears watching. It is being updated, and the second edition, which is sold at a 33% discount to those who bought the first edition, contains almost 100,000 more entries than the first edition but costs a thousand marks less. I suspect that databases like these will always be plagued with multiple entries for the same book and maddening inaccuracies, but if the number of entries continues to rise dramatically while the price falls proportionally, this CD-ROM may become a good investment a few years from now. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

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