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

E-Mail: scn@tamu.edu
WWW: <http://www-english.tamu.edu/pubs/scn/>

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CONTENTS

VOLUME 67, NOS. 1&2..... SPRING-SUMMER, 2009

- R. Burr Litchfield, *Florence Ducal Capital, 1530-1630*.
Review by JUDITH C. BROWN..... 1
- Todd Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*.
Review by MARGERY KINGSLEY 4
- Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink eds., *War, Religion and Service Huguenot
Soldiering, 1685-1713*. Review by EDWARD M. FURGOL 6
- Thomas Leng, *Benjamin Worsley (1618-1677): Trade, Interest and the Spirit in
Revolutionary England*. Review by TY M. REESE 9
- Derek Hughes, ed. *Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth
Century*. Review by BABACAR M'BAYE 12
- Alix Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early
Modern Europe*. Review by CELESTE CHAMBERLAND..... 16
- Nora E. Jaffary, ed., *Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas*.
Review by JANET MOORE LINDMAN..... 19
- Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-
1700*. Review by ELIZABETH R. WRIGHT 22
- John McCavitt with original drawings by Seán Ó Brógáin, *The Flight of the Earls: An
Illustrated History*. Review by MAUREEN E. MULVIHILL..... 26
- Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell*.
Review by NICOLLE JORDAN 33
- Heather Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus: Lyric Poetry and Early Modern
England*. Review by JANE HEDLEY..... 36

John T. Shawcross and Michael Lieb, eds., <i>“Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books”</i> : An Authoritative Text of the 1667 First Edition. Review by REUBEN SANCHEZ.....	39
Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross, eds., <i>“Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books”</i> : Essays on the 1667 First Edition. Review by REUBEN SANCHEZ.....	39
Mary A. Papazian, ed., <i>The Sacred and Profane in English Renaissance Literature</i> . Review by GRAHAM ROEBUCK.....	46
Christopher Baker, <i>Religion in the Age of Shakespeare</i> . Review by BYRON NELSON.....	50
Rebecca Ard Boone, <i>War, Domination, and the Monarchy of France: Claude de Seyssel and the Language of Politics in the Renaissance</i> . Review by PAUL COHEN	52
R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr, eds., <i>Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment</i> . Review by DARIN HAYTON	56
Hilaire Kallendorf, <i>Conscience on Stage: The Comedia as Casuistry in Early Modern Spain</i> . Review by ELIZABETH R. WRIGHT.....	59
NEO-LATIN NEWS.....	64
NEWS.....	89

R. Burr Litchfield. *Florence Ducal Capital, 1530-1630*. ACLS Humanities E-Book, 2008. Review by JUDITH C. BROWN, WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

This is an important book. It is the culmination of years of work by one of the leading historians of early modern Italy. Anyone interested in the culture and society of Renaissance Florence and of urban development in early modern European cities would benefit from reading it.

Before focusing on some of the specific topics it covers, I would like to turn to the book as an artifact because herein lies part of its significance. The book would not yield nearly as many riches as it does if it were not an electronic book. Its ability to lead the reader digitally to the cartographic, visual, and other sources on which the book's scaffolding is built make this a new kind of book—a book which could not have been envisioned before the digital revolution and which uncovers an enormous amount of valuable information and insight as one digs into its maps, census databases, footnotes, and other electronically available information.

As its title suggests, this book concentrates on what were once called the forgotten centuries of Florence. Yet the author also provides useful comparisons with what went on before and, occasionally, with what went on elsewhere, so as to set this moment of Florentine history in better perspective. He sets the scene by noting that in 1537, when Cosimo I de' Medici became duke, the city had already experienced 1500 years of urban development. Some of those periods, he claims, were more formative than others. He notes three in particular. The first was that of the Roman foundation, which established the city's site, north of the Arno river. The second was the Medieval and Early Renaissance period, when the city's development as an important mercantile republic was reflected in its rapid spread to ever expanding city walls, the building of imposing political and religious monuments, and the construction of patrician palaces for its merchant and banking elite. The third was the first century of the duchy, when the newly established Medici dukes made changes in the state's political structure that were reflected in the urban fabric of the city. After this period, the city remained basically unchanged until the middle of the nineteenth-century, when for a brief moment it became the capital

of Italy and yet again the site of major urban changes.

What then are some of the major transformations Litchfield observes in the social geography of the city in the period under central consideration? Changes in the fortification system began before the end of the republic in response to new military technology. But the first dukes added to them principally by building the Fortezza da Basso, aimed as much at protection against domestic enemies as against foreign ones. More important, Cosimo I began to implement his vision of a city as the capital of a more centralized state and the seat of a court that he hoped would be a player in the European court system. To this end, he acquired and enlarged the Pitti Palace—a project that together with the creation of the Boboli gardens also required the attention of his immediate successors. With the court installed there, a new axis of political power emerged, emanating from the Pitti Palace and running north along the Vasari corridor connecting it to the Uffizi, newly built to accommodate expanded governmental functions, and to the enlarged and redecorated Palazzo della Signoria (renamed Palazzo Ducale), where government offices were also located. In effect, there was now a new axis of political power, starting south of the river and running northwards. Members of the court, to be closer to the new source of power, social prestige, and economic possibilities, began to abandon their old neighborhoods, which had been the center of their political power and sociability, and moved into grander palaces also located primarily on a north-south axis—along Via Tornabuoni and across the river to Via Maggio and nearby streets (all visible in clickable maps). In less crowded areas and helped by new laws that facilitated the expropriation of small neighboring houses, patricians could now build themselves palaces (also clickable) fit for courtiers and top-level ducal bureaucrats, larger and more extravagant in style than those of the early Renaissance. All of this was more than a spatial change: it was a dismantling of the neighborhood-centered sociopolitical system that had existed in the republic.

As the patricians moved, leaving behind those neighborhoods that had greater concentrations of working-class people, the character of neighborhoods changed, becoming more differentiated by wealth and social standing. The most densely poor neighborhoods, often headed by women, clustered especially close to the northeast and southwest

edges of the city. Litchfield follows these changes through socio-economic information found in sixteenth and seventeenth century censuses and tax records, whose usefulness and lacunae he treats deftly both in methodological discussions and in maps that reflect the changing composition of neighborhoods. He notes that the building and redecorating that took place, the lifestyles of courtiers and patricians, and the manufacturing of some products for international markets supported a wide range of industries and economic activities whose vitality through most of the sixteenth century scholars have begun to emphasize only recently. A dense cluster of shops continued to dominate the center of the city; industrial occupations tended to be closer to the periphery; wool gave way to silk as the premier textile industry, which occasioned changes in the types and locations of related activities further out from the center and in the social and gender composition of those who worked in them. The wealth- and status-preserving strategies of the patricians, aided by the Catholic reformation, added to the number of people in religious institutions, especially women, who inhabited convents located largely at the edges of town.

Much more could be said about the findings of this book, which is in effect a study of how all aspects of its history are reflected in its urban fabric. Litchfield observes that in its heyday, Florence resembled the ideal city imagined by Leon Battista Alberti. But Alberti did not take account of the need to locate certain industrial activities at the periphery of town and that social stratification would place many of the poor in those locations. Thus, when in 1630, Florence was struck by a major plague epidemic that was making its way down the Italian peninsula, the poor were the first and the most grievously affected, partly because the plague entered literally through the town gates and partly because the poor were living in ever more crowded and difficult conditions due to the economic downturn of the previous decade. Litchfield follows the geographic advance of plague-related deaths in a fascinating chapter that uses the registers recording burials as well as the addresses of those transported to lazarettos. While precise mortality figures can only be estimated, one thing is clear: the city emerged a shell of its former self, having lost its former rank as one of the leading centers of European innovation. The book's last

map, showing the location of houses left empty by the plague, is a visual reminder of this loss of place and of past glories.

Todd Butler. *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008. x + 200 + 5 illus. Price \$99.95. Review by MARGERY KINGSLEY, CAMERON UNIVERSITY.

Imagination and Politics proposes a tantalizing corrective to the increasingly voluminous body of scholarship on political rhetoric in seventeenth-century England: shift our focus from the spectacle of power to the imaginative faculties that produce and process that spectacle and we allow for a wider “range of relationships among political actors” than is generally currently available (5). Rather than studying either language or visual rhetoric in relative isolation, Butler urges, we must remember that for the seventeenth century the mere act of thinking constituted political action—as witnessed by arguments in the trial of the Caroline regicides. In grounding politics in the imagination, a faculty which both produces images and enables a corresponding belief in those images, we reject “a bipolar and fundamentally repressive model of subjectivity for a more interdependent relationship between a nation’s political actors” (12). Power, thus rightly conceived, does not inhere in control of a material infrastructure for image production and dissemination, but rather is negotiated between an authoring subjectivity that seeks to exert its political will by creating images of power and the corresponding imagination of an audience that can choose to invest in those images or create its own, alternative, political action. The fact that images are produced, that is, does not necessarily mean that they are believed, and it is the dynamics of that disjunction that Butler seeks to trace through four important seventeenth-century bodies of work: the writings of Francis Bacon, the masques of the Caroline court, the dramatic and political works of John Milton, and the historical and philosophical writings of Thomas Hobbes.

The volume’s revisionist claims to demonstrate that imagination and belief, rather than reason, are the keys to understanding political rhetoric in the seventeenth century may seem somewhat overstated

in an examination of a period that produced the likes of Herbert, Milton, and Browne, but generally speaking a study able to rigorously expound and concretize a faculty psychology model of seventeenth political rhetoric would be a welcome addition to the literature, promising as it does to recover an experience of readership and resistance hitherto largely unexplored. As a promising step in that direction, Butler engages in a thorough review of the conceptualization of the imagination in seventeenth-century England: he teases useful models of faculty psychology out of the various texts he examines, and the volume successfully traces both the rise of skepticism regarding the utility of political rhetoric and the authorial strategies that developed for reclaiming the authority thus lost, particularly during the personal rule, and during and after the civil wars. A first chapter outlines Bacon's explanation of the role of the imagination in converting thought into political action, allowing a single individual to shape the thoughts and actions of others to his or her own ends. A second chapter traces the application of the imagination in the rise and fall of the Caroline masque, a form at first confident in its ability to exert political control through the production of imagery, yet later forced to admit and even dramatize its own failure to eradicate interpretive instability. Chapter three details Milton's distrust of the imagination as an instrument of political control, largely focused in the figure of Comus, as well as that writer's simultaneous, if somewhat paradoxical, efforts to create his own imaginative imagery, particularly in the more apocalyptic moments of his political pieces. A final chapter demonstrates that Hobbes as well at once seeks to restrain and control the unpredictable imagination even while attempting to use it to his own political purposes.

While Butler's premise and his readings have significant potential, however, the volume as a whole tends to back away from the model of rhetoric founded on interdependence and negotiation promised by the introduction and instead slips into a rather simpler equation of imagination with the production of images: the Caroline masques, Comus the magician, and the court itself become imaginative projectors of words and images that invariably seek to control the minds and actions of a generally figured populace. Resistance, when it does occur, is examined as the production of competing images by alterna-

tive sources of authority—the antimasque figures of Carew and Jones and the Lady of Milton's *Comus*, and the masses, when they appear, do so as a receptive audience with imaginations easily swayed by the rhetoric of power. The closest Butler does come to a truly alternative model of political rhetoric is in his analysis of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, as he acknowledges Hobbes's recognition that it is impossible to force belief upon another, but the potential of that recognition is forestalled as it is quickly subsumed by the textual strategies Hobbes consequently adopts to effectively trick his readers into accepting his imaginative vision. Such analysis is not in itself unuseful, but it does lead the reader to question why so much energy has been expended in foregrounding the imagination when the conclusions reached are still very much about the mechanisms of imagery production and equation of rhetorical persuasion and power.

All of that having been said, Butler does make a compelling argument for the prevalence of imagination as an instrument of political control in the seventeenth century, and he suggests important possibilities for reconfiguring our conceptualization of the dynamics of rhetoric in that period. If the reader ultimately feels that the volume has not lived up to its full potential, that reaction is in part merely a testimony to the revisionist power of the model it so promisingly posits, and Butler should be praised for daring to rewrite our understanding of the relationship between authorship and audience in the seventeenth century.

Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink editors, *War, Religion and Service Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007. xix + 296 pp. + 7 illus. \$124.95. Review by EDWARD M. FURGOL, NAVY HISTORY & HERITAGE COMMAND.

Glozier and Onnekink have edited a volume of stimulating essays covering the Huguenots who served in the militaries of several European powers before and following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The book adds to our knowledge of professional soldiers of early modern Europe, specifically those motivated (like Scots Protestants and Irish Roman Catholics) to pursue military ca-

reers outside of their native lands.

The book has fourteen chapters, all of which are well-grounded in both the primary and secondary sources for their topics. Trim's introductory chapter on Huguenot service outside France (c. 1560-1685) indicates that the Dutch proved the primary employers of those seeking service outside France before the Revocation. Childs' and Rambaut's chapters on Huguenots in the English army (1660-1702) also examine service before the Revocation. The latter observes that Louis, 2nd earl of Feversham, who commanded James II and VII's army in England, placed loyalty to the king above his personal faith. While potentially paradoxical, that theme of personal loyalty to a leader inspired many other Huguenots, such as the duke of Schomberg, and scores of officers who served William II and III of Great Britain. It appears throughout the book that with some exceptions Huguenots who followed a military career (whether in France or elsewhere) placed loyalty to a leader above adherence to anti-absolutist principles unless the leader attacked their religious faith. Thus Huguenot refugees could be co-opted to serve propaganda needs of Protestant states, but their concept of loyalty undermined any constitutionalist tendencies that commonly were associated with British Protestants serving abroad after 1660.

Chapters four to six extend the examination of service with the English army. Vigne's (4) and Murtagh's (6) essays deal chiefly with the Irish campaign of the War of the League of Augsburg/Nine Year's War (called King William's War in British North America). Perhaps the most surprising finding in those chapters is not the quality of service provided by Huguenot leaders (especially the earl of Galway), but the presence of Roman Catholic soldiers (between 150 and 700) in Huguenot regiments. Onnekink's article (5) analyzes the shifting perception of Huguenot soldiers in England, first as a bulwark of Protestantism, and then as a foreign element capable of assisting William establish an absolutist regime in Britain.

Chapters seven and eight return to studies of the Huguenots in service of the Dutch. Glozier and Onnekink (7) show that initially the exiles benefitted from the patronage of William of Orange and not employment by the Dutch estates. Eventually, the latter had seventeen regiments in Flanders and another five in Savoy-Piedmont. Ressinger

(8) examines how a duel between exile officers reveals the close family ties amongst the exiles.

Chapters nine-twelve look at Huguenot service in Germany, chiefly in Brandenburg-Prussia. (The editors should have asked the authors to resolve the number of officers in service of that country; the estimates range from 500 officers to 600 officers and non-commissioned officers to 600 officers and cadets.) As in Britain, the electors of Brandenburg initially established uniquely Huguenot units (pre-1697), and then (post- 1700) integrated the exiles into standing regiments in the military establishment. Similarly, Schnitter (9) and Harms (10) point out that the newcomers pledged their loyalty more to the electors than to the state. While 15% of Brandenburg's officers and 5% of its soldiers were Huguenots in the 1690s, their significance was greater due to their establishment of academies that trained native officers enhancing professionalism in the electoral forces. Ashe (11) indicates that as in Britain the favoring of Huguenots inspired resentment amongst the native population. Flick's discussion (12) of the duchy of Brunswick-Luneberg shows that a similar attitude arose there despite a tiny (38 officers) presence in the ducal army. He also indicates the exiles path to employment benefited from the presence of pre-Revocation Huguenots, in this case the duchess.

The final two chapters cover Savoy-Piedmont and Russia. In the former, Bianchi deals as much with treatment of civilian Protestants as he does with the duke's Huguenot regiment of 1703. That chapter oddly omits any detailed discussion of the Huguenot units serving there under Dutch pay in the 1690s. Glozier (14) surveys Huguenot service under the czars. That occurred after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, which led to demobilization in Western Europe. The Huguenots in Russian service arrived there from the United Provinces, Brandenburg-Prussia, or Poland-Lithuania. They numbered only a few hundred, but their general aristocratic pedigree allowed them to advance into positions of trust, integrate into the officer corps^and serve as professional examples and importers of specialized skills for the local nobles and army respectively. Intriguingly, in the coup of Czarina Elizabeth, Glozier refers to Huguenot political resistance theory.

There are two significant gaps in coverage. Very little is said about religious observance in Huguenot units. There is no indication that

regiments created consistories/kirk sessions as was common with Scottish Calvinist units. Second, nearly every chapter refers to the importance of Huguenot engineering officers in their new armies. None indicates whether they instilled Vauban principles within their host countries. Especially in the cases of the English and Dutch, who possessed their own traditions of military engineering, it would be instructive to learn whether the newcomers altered existing practices.

The volume has an array of supporting materials. In addition to an index, footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography there are a few illustrations. The absence of all but one map (of Savoy-Piedmont) is frustrating, since most readers will lack the geographic knowledge of the Irish and Flemish campaigns of the 1690s. Likewise maps showing the geographical origin of the refugees and their spread throughout Europe would have been extremely useful.

The book will hopefully serve not only to introduce readers to the impact of Huguenot soldiers (especially officers) on European armies, but will also inspire further research. As the chapters (especially on Brandenburg-Prussia and Brunswick-Luneberg) indicate additional research would be profitable. With the exception of references to fifty officers serving the kingdom of Denmark-Norway, Scandinavian research would also be useful. Furthermore, investigation into the presence of Huguenots in Dutch or British colonial service might further sustain the impact of these professionals on the international scene.

Thomas Leng. Benjamin Worsley (1618-1677): Trade, Interest and the Spirit in Revolutionary England. Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series. (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008). xiv + 230 pp. \$95.00. Review by TY M. REESE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

From 1642, when he received an appointment as a surgeon-general in the English army stationed in Dublin, until his death in 1677, Benjamin Worsley proved to be a schemer, a survivor and a man of multiple interests who strived, often unsuccessfully, to be accepted within each area. In his biography of Benjamin Worsley, Thomas Leng explores this schemer and uses his life to provide insight into a period of English history where the populace experienced great 'unease' (xiii)

and how one individual navigated the changes taking place.

To accomplish this, Leng relies upon a series of narrative chapters, interrupted by one thematic chapter on natural philosophy, which explore the life, influences and hopes of his subject. Worsley, a subject best known for his connections to the Hartlib circle, provides Leng with an opportunity to explore how one individual dealt with the political and economic changes of this tumultuous period. Little is known about Worsley's early life beyond the fact that by the 1630s he received admission into the company of Barber surgeons. In this initial chapter, Leng works to show how Worsley's experience as a surgeon, along with his life in London in the 1630s, shaped him as a man. Once Worsley traveled to Dublin as a surgeon-general, several experiences there shaped his ambitions. The first was that he found government service to provide a steady (and respectable) life, and this becomes something that he pursues into the 1670s. He was able, within the political changes occurring within his lifetime, to avoid being associated with any one faction, therefore allowing him to serve both the Commonwealth and restored monarchy. The other influence involved his scheme to produce saltpeter; this was the first of several unsuccessful ventures that Leng argues provided Worsley with a reputation that he utilized to acquire government posts. Each of Worsley's schemes was not intended to achieve its stated purpose, such as the production of saltpeter; rather they were mechanisms to increase Worsley's reputation and status. From Dublin, Worsley traveled to Amsterdam and it was there, according to Leng, where he developed the economic views that he later enunciated during his time on the Council of Trade. After a two-year stay in Amsterdam, Worsley returned to London with very specific economic beliefs, especially that England needed to challenge the dominant economic position of the Dutch, and he quickly became a vocal proponent of trade. Within this, he created yet another scheme that involved an unsuccessful attempt to purchase a dock from the East India Company. Worsley then returned to Dublin, where he encountered his nemesis, William Petty, and for much of the 1650s dabbled in numerous fields including saltpeter and apothecary. After returning to England, Worsley re-entered government service, again as a promoter of trade, while continuing his involvement in various schemes,(this

time a senna project) and his development into a ‘universal scholar.’

Leng’s work greatly expands our knowledge of Worsley’s life and his service to the English state and science, yet in his attempt to do too many things with Worsley’s life the focus of the work becomes lost. According to Leng, Worsley’s life provides insight into the three revolutions—the political, the commercial and the intellectual—within the guise of the rise of new science, along with the changing relationship between the state and the economy. Beyond this, Leng sees his work as an examination of Worsley’s conscience. A problem in the text involved the sources available to Leng as he constructed his biography. He relies upon the digitized Hartlib papers. These include correspondence between Worsley and Samuel Hartlib, along with the random mentions of Worsley, the pamphlets that Worsley published during his lifetime (including the discovery of a new one), and the contents of his library. It is interesting to know what books he owned but the reliance upon his library as a source raises two important questions: the first being whether he read every book that he owned and the second being how much each work influenced Worsley.

While these sources allow Leng to create a fuller picture of Worsley’s activities, they are problematic. An example involves Worsley’s activities in Amsterdam and then on the Council of Trade. Leng makes numerous educated inferences in both of these chapters based mainly on the fact that Worsley was there. Leng argues that Worsley’s interest in natural history “was thus likely cradled in Amsterdam” (43) while, because he was a member of the Council of Trade, he most likely influenced it. What this leads Leng to do is to provide a very broad context throughout his work and, as Worsley was involved (or there) he most likely influenced or played a role. At times, within his attempt to provide the context of Worsley’s activities, because of the dearth of sources directly related to Worsley, the biographical subject becomes lost. Beyond this, the overly narrative aspect of the work downplays its arguments. A final, and minor, annoyance to this reader involved Leng’s habit of questioning, but not expanding upon, historical categorizations. Thus, the “so-called ‘mercantilist era’”(1), the “what has been described as a commercial revolution”(7) the “supposed role”(27), and the “so-called ‘latitudinarians.’”(31) casts doubt upon the term yet Leng provides no further elaboration.

Leng's biography of Benjamin Worsley provides insight into the attempt by one man to maneuver through the challenges of this period and who, by being many things but not one single thing, avoided being pigeon-holed. His service to the state, and what he promoted, corresponded to very important political and economic changes; thus Worsley was one of many who advocated important changes within England with long-term consequences. The actual biography of Worsley, what we actually know that he did, provides a small part of the work with the larger being a case study of one individual and how he created a place for himself within the radical changes taking place.

Derek Hughes, ed. *Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2007. V + 381 pp. Paperback \$24. Review by BABACAR M'BAYE, KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

Derek Hughes' *Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth Century* brings together important European literary and historical representations of New World blacks and Native Americans from the mid-Sixteenth century to the third quarter of the Seventeenth century. These accounts show the effects of slavery and imperialism on these populations which Europeans either enslaved, massacred, or colonized

The book's major objective is to resist the revisionist practice of interpreting the past mainly through the lenses of modern theories of racial interactions between blacks and whites. Opposing this current academic trend, Hughes argues "that the oppressions of the Seventeenth century were driven by imperatives and anxieties that are not the same as those of more recent times and that it is a mistake to read the earlier period entirely in the light of the later one" (xvi). Using this theory, Hughes takes us back to a Seventeenth-century world in which the relationships between Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans were determined by "non-Christianity" (or the attempt of Europeans to use religious difference as a reason for conquering others) and not by race (xiv-xv). Hughes depicts the Seventeenth century as a historical context in which the interactions between Europeans and non-Europeans were not as rigid as they are currently perceived.

Referring to major works such as Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688) and Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko* (1696), Hughes argues that they "all portray black characters in conflict with—and generally destroyed by—white Europeans. All portray the alien with open-minded imaginativeness, and all treat the contrasts between alien and European as unstable, complex, and reversible" (xii).

Behn's *Oroonoko* is about a Moor prince who is captured from a sea port located in a region that was then known as Coromantine (in current Ghana), and brought to the English colony of Surinam in the West Indies. Behn describes the enslavement of Oroonoko as a tragic incident in which a European Captain tricked a group of Coromantine traders into visiting the belly of his ship and threw them in the dungeons. Behn writes: "The Captain, who had well laid his Design before, gave the Word, and seiz'd on all his Guests; they clasped great Irons on the Prince, when he was leap'd down in the Hold, to view that part of the Vessel" (150). This incidence suggests the neglected history of royal and noble Africans like Oroonoko who were enslaved not because they were captured at war or were sold into bondage by other Africans, but simply because they were kidnapped by greedy Europeans with whom they had traded goods and people.

A major trait of Behn's character of Oroonoko is his ability to offset his enslavement through strong bonds with the other enslaved Africans, especially with a Coromantine woman named Imoinda whom he knew in Africa. These connections allow him to gain the respect and admiration of the other blacks and counter the Europeans' attempts to take away his dignity and pride. Oroonoko has a strong leadership role among these blacks. When the treacherous English Captain promises to free him if he can encourage the other slaves in the vessel to eat (152), Oroonoko uses this invitation as a means to strengthen his fellow Africans by encouraging them to gamer the spirit that is necessary to survive the terrible voyage. Behn describes the following scene in which Oroonoko and his fellow Africans reunite in the ship: "Oroonoko, who was too generous, not to give Credit to his Words, shew'd himself to his People, who were transported with Excess of Joy at the sight of their Darling Prince, falling at his Feet, and kissing and embracing' em to bear their Chains with that Bravery that became those whom he had seen act so nobly in Arms;

and they cou'd not give him greater Proofs of their Love and Friendship, since 'twas all the Security the Captain (His Friend) cou'd have, against the Revenge, he said, they might possibly justly take, for the Injuries sustain'd by him" (153). As Behn suggests, after this reunion the other blacks "no longer refus'd to eat, but took what was brought' em, and were pleas'd with their Captivity" (153). This passage suggests Oroonoko's roles as both a political and a spiritual leader who had the unwavering support and faith of his fellow Africans during the Middle Passage. The quotation also shows the passive and subtle resistance that Oroonoko teaches his fellow Africans by convincing them to eat. This consensus allows the Africans to better prepare their resistance against the gullible European Captain by preventing him from suspecting the deceptive solidarity between Oroonoko and them and the mutiny they are secretly organizing in the ship.

Another aspect of Behn's Oroonoko is the power that he seems to have over women, especially the wealthy ones he meets. In Behn's version, this power stems primarily from Imoinda, an African Coromantine woman who preferred Oroonoko's gifts from those of a polygamous king who tried so hard to woo her. Behn writes: "She [Imoinda] express'd her Sense of the Present the Prince had sent her, in terms so sweet, so soft and pretty, with an Air of Love and Joy that cou'd not be dissembi'd; insomuch that 'twad past doubt whether she lov'd Oroonoko entirely" (134). Like Behn's, Southeme's Oroonoko is also loved by Imoinda who is later enslaved in the same plantation in Surinam where he, too, becomes a slave. Southeme describes the reunion between the two Africans as follows:

Oroonoko. Never here;
 You cannot be mistaken: I am yours,
 Your *Oroonoko*, all that you wou'd have,
 Your tender loving Husband.
Imoinda. All indeed
 That I wou'd have: my Husband! Then I am
 Alive, and waking to the Joys I feel. (229)

Southeme's Oroonoko is similar to Behn's because he maintains his African roots and sense of memory and his love for Imoinda despite the slavery which oppresses them both. Moreover, like Behn's Oroonoko, Southeme's is a black man whose diplomatic skills and savvy

allows him to bear the verbal violence of white slaveowners without losing his sense of African pride. These qualities of nobility are apparent when Southeme's Oroonoko resists the racist insults of an English Captain by holding on to his unshakable sense of African dignity and identity. When the Captain portrays himself as a "better Christian" who is different from "a Heathen" and "a Bloody Pagan [that] he [Oroonoko] is," Oroonoko replies "I know my Fortune, and submit to it" (213). Yet Oroonoko counters the Captain's insults by reclaiming his royal ancestry. Oroonoko tells the Captain, "I am above the rank of common Slaves ... Let that content you" (213). Oroonoko's reference to his special class in Africa allows him to satisfy the elitist whims of the racist Captain and keep him unaware of the strong bonds between the other blacks in Surinam and their Coromantine prince. Oroonoko rebuffs the Captain's prejudices by saying, "I am my self; but call me what you please" (214), signifying his ability to mentally reject the Captain's racism while pretending to tolerate it.

The remaining parts of *Versions of Blackness* include excerpts from works such as Bartolome de las Casas's "A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies" (1542), Richard Ligon's "A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados" (1657), and "The Germantown Protest" (1688). Las Casas's narrative suggests the treacherous ways in which the discovery of the West-Indies in 1492 brought chaos to the peaceful and prosperous inhabitants of the islands as Spanish soldiers replaced the missionaries who had preceded them in Hispaniola and killed and pillaged most of the populations of the island of Hispaniola. Las Casas writes: "To these quiet Lambs, endued with such blessed qualities, came the Spaniards like most cruel Tygres, Wolves, and Lions, enrag'd with a sharp and tedious hunger, for these forty years past, minding nothing else but the slaughter of these unfortunate wretches, whom with divers kinds of torments neither seen nor heard of before, they have so cruelly and inhumanely butchered, that of three millions of people which *Hispaniola* it self did contain, there are left remaining alive scarce three hundred persons" (283). Though it was written centuries ago, Las Casas's account was one of the first and strongest indictments of European genocide of non-Europeans in the name of greed, power, and tyranny. While it focuses on the barbarity of the Spanish soldiers, Las Casas's remonstrance also emphasizes

the inhumanity of a colonial Christianity which paved the way to a brutal conquest of Native Americans. A comparable indictment of European colonial Christianity is apparent in “The Germantown Protest” (1688), written by four German immigrants to Pennsylvania as a protest against the hypocrisy of the Christianity of Pennsylvania Quakers who were then involved in slavery. In their manifesto, the four authors (Garret Henderich, Derrick up de graeff, Francis Daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graef) accuse these Quakers of treating blacks as “cattle” and lament the fact that “Christians have liberty to practice such things” such as adultery, “separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others” (369). These grave accusations are comparable to those of Las Casas because they reflect the irreconcilable contradictions, ignorance, and evil that Europeans institutionalized in their Christianity by preaching religiosity which turned a blind eye to the inhumanity of slavery and colonialism.

Derek Hughes’s *Versions of Blackness* is an invaluable book because it represents the history of slavery and colonialism through the voices of multiple European authors who understood the systemic contradictions of such imperialisms and were able to criticize them vehemently. Hughes’s book makes excellent contributions to the study of slavery and colonialism by allowing scholars and general readers of multiple disciplines, such as history, literature, and anthropology, to study pivotal accounts of the history of European oppressions against peoples whom they viewed as “uncivilized” between the mid-sixteenth century and the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Alix Cooper. *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. xiii + 218. \$80.00. Review by CELESTE CHAMBERLAND, ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY.

In the decades since Alfred Crosby first identified the socio-environmental consequences of the Columbian exchange, the impact of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century trans-oceanic encounters has garnered much attention from historians of the Atlantic World. In their efforts to address the intellectual and cultural effects of coloniza-

tion and acculturation in the wake of the Columbian voyages, scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt, Patricia Seed and Anthony Pagden have explored European responses to material culture, customs, and substances indigenous to North and South America. Although their work has shed much light on the relationship between colonial encounter, geographical knowledge, and European identity formation, Atlantic World scholars have focused less on the ways in which scientific and intellectual culture adapted to such changes within non-colonial areas of Europe.

In *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe*, Alix Cooper judiciously addresses this omission by exploring the reasons why Europeans sought to document the natural environment surrounding them and compile detailed lists of local flora, minerals, and topographical features in the wake of the Columbian voyages. With the larger goal of clarifying the intersections between regional identity, geography, and local knowledge, Cooper contributes a compelling new dimension to the history of science by persuasively demonstrating that the emergence of regional natural histories in Europe was a product of the rapidly changing commercial and political landscape of the early modern period.

Based on a compelling analysis of a vast array of natural history texts, manuscripts, and correspondence between naturalists, Cooper asserts that the influx of so-called “exotic” commodities and knowledge from foreign lands fostered a new urge among Europeans to document local—or indigenous—vegetation and natural resources as a means of asserting territoriality and coming to grips with the foreign influences that increasingly surrounded them. This growing interest in rediscovering and affirming the pre-eminence of indigenous natural resources in Europe emerged in tandem with a virtual paradigm shift in geographical knowledge and the increasing availability of previously unknown exotic substances that resulted from Europe’s colonial ventures. As Cooper contends, moreover, claims to indigenous territoriality were further exacerbated by tensions between university-educated physicians and local purveyors of folk wisdom, and the political fragmentation associated with confessionalization in the Holy Roman Empire, a decidedly non-colonial region of Europe. Such polarities in the German lands resulted in the emergence of a

relatively high number of universities and institutionalized sites of knowledge, which generated a great deal of interest in botanical study and the recovery of regional natural histories.

According to Cooper, the self-conscious formation of local environmental knowledge in early modern Europe not only reflected the changing context of scientific culture and medical lore, but also revealed larger political and economic objectives, particularly with regard to the ambitions of cameralists, such as Johann Joachim Becher, who rejected the uncertainties of mercantilism and instead advocated relying solely on local resources as an essential route to regional economic self-sufficiency. In one of the most intriguing sections of *Inventing the Indigenous*, Cooper explores the connections between cameralist economic philosophy, natural history texts, and nascent patriotism, and explains that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, interest in previously overlooked natural objects grew to such an extent in German territories that it resulted in a form of budding tourism, as authors of regional mineralogies sought to retrieve and publicize the locations of potentially useful geological resources.

Although Cooper identifies early modern Europe as the regional and temporal scope of her work, this designation is somewhat misleading, since *Inventing the Indigenous* focuses predominantly on the formation of German, Dutch, and English indigenous knowledge, and provides only a cursory explanation of the ways in which natural histories emerged—either subsequently or concurrently—in the Mediterranean lands of Spain and Italy. Although she scrupulously addresses the relative dearth of natural history texts in Spain, and clearly identifies the ways in which early modern natural history was derived from the vocabulary of ancient Greece and Rome, further discussion of the distinctions between Central, Western, and Southern Europe in the formation of local natural histories would strengthen an already sound study of the role played by natural history in the oft-neglected context of Central Europe. In a chapter devoted to the emergence of regional mineralogies, for example, Cooper offers a passing mention of the Spanish involvement in Peruvian silver mines as a point of contrast with the exploitation of mineral wealth in German territories one century later, but is less clear about the ways in which attitudes toward Spanish natural resources adapted in the years following the

Price Revolution. In due fairness, however, further expansion of this study's scope might have detracted from its incisiveness and likely would have rendered the task of charting the emergence of distinct natural history traditions throughout Europe an undertaking of Braudelian proportions.

On the whole, *Inventing the Indigenous* is well executed and a clear manifestation of Alix Cooper's superb ability to weave fascinating anecdotes seamlessly into substantive analyses. What Cooper's study lacks in geographical breadth, it more than makes up for in scholarly originality, analytical depth, and cogency. Her engaging narrative style and incisive explications work in tandem to create a sophisticated, yet accessible study of local knowledge that will be of great interest to historians of science and non-specialists alike, and will undoubtedly expand our understanding of nascent patriotism in Europe by underscoring the links between natural history and the assertion of regional identity. The burgeoning study of local flora that first materialized in the early sixteenth century in the work of iconoclastic medical writers like Paracelsus may have culminated in the Linnaean contempt for local flora in the early eighteenth century, but, as Cooper persuasively asserts, the relationship between foreign and indigenous flora still resonates among scholars and scientists, and likely will continue to provoke significant political and intellectual debate for years to come.

Nora E. Jaffary, ed. *Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007. xii + 206 pp. \$78.00. Review by JANET MOORE LINDMAN, ROWAN UNIVERSITY

This anthology asserts that “gender, race, and religion were centrally involved in both the ideology and praxis of colonialism” (2). By providing a variety of historical narratives from diverse colonial sites, i.e., Brazil, Peru, Mexico, North America and the Caribbean, this volume seeks to “unite” two subfields: “the comparative study of the Atlantic World and the gendered dynamics of imperialism” (3). A comparison of gender and colonialism in these areas evinces “a more nuanced understanding of how particular contexts operated to modify some of the patterns and realities of women's lives in colonial settings

that are represented in existent scholarship” (10-11). The volume includes eleven essays, an introduction by the editor and a conclusion by Patricia Seed. The contributors are European and Latin American historians from American, Canadian, and British institutions.

“Frontiers,” the book’s first section, starts with Alida Metcalf tracing the experience of female go-betweens in sixteenth-century Brazil. Cultural mediators came in many forms and though women participated in some capacities, they remained a minority; men dominated the role of go-between. Gender and honor in relation to violence is the subject of Bruce Erickson’s essay on the northern frontier of New Spain. Violence was codified within the Spanish army and used not only against native combatants but also against women. The indigenous population was tamed as a gendered and racial hierarchy was created. Ben Marsh turns to demography to argue that the Georgian migration mirrored the New England experience, but that once settled English women faced a demographic regime similar to the Chesapeake. Though some female settlers commandeered significant power in colonial Georgia, the “elasticity” in their economic and political opportunities could stretch either way.

The second section, “Female Religious,” opens with Susan Broomhall’s essay on a Mi’kmaq woman who became a member of a Benedictine convent in France. Antoinette de Saint-Estienne’s story reveals “the significance of both gender and geography in European perceptions of indigenous, colonial and missionary experiences” (59). Her successful adaptation from “savage” to “sister” at the Abbey of Beaumont-les-Tours indicates that cultural exchange was mutual. A similar interaction is evident in Joan Bristol’s article about a black servant named Juana Esperanza de San Alberto, who lived in a seventeenth-century Mexican convent. Originally a slave, Esperanza was bequeathed to a Carmelite order and worked for them for more than 60 years. Upon her deathbed, she asked to become a nun, a choice prohibited to women of color. Her exceptional experience did not change colonial hierarchies. Kathryn Burns ends this section with an analysis of *beaterios* in colonial Cuzco. As cloistered communities, *beaterios* provided an active spiritual life for religious laywomen—*beatas*. Many were inhabited by indigenous women, who provided education and acculturation to Indian youth and carved out

a space for themselves in colonial Peru.

Nora Jaffary's article on marriage dispensation cases in late colonial Mexico begins the third section entitled "Racing Mixing." She argues that the church granted most applications, particularly to indigenous couples, whose sexual behaviors and marital patterns resembled pre-contact customs. These traditions persisted among natives, and impacted the Spanish population, despite two centuries of dominance. Racial anxiety is the subject of Yvonne Fabella's essay on eighteenth-century Saint Domingue. The image of the *mulâtresse* (free mixed race woman) became "a convenient foil" for white anxiety about racial mixing and for the creation of a "white creole identity" (110). Free black women challenged white hegemony as fluid identities pushed French leaders to fix boundaries of race and rank. While race mixing engendered fear in the French Caribbean, métis women of the Upper Great Lakes region enjoyed prominence in trade relations, family networks, and political alliances, as Bethany Fleming shows. She disputes the view that the middle ground between Indians and Euro-Americans disappeared in this region by 1812. This cultural space persisted among métis women, as they pursued native practices and adopted American customs.

Nancy van Deusen launches the final section, "Networks" by contending that women in early modern Lima created "epistemological communities" (137) as nuns, *beatas*, and laywomen. They pursued faith through a variety of means and in varied locales, sharing a practice of "*interiodad*" (internal spiritual contemplation). Linda Rupert's study of seventeenth-century Dutch Curaçao and Spanish *Tierra Firme* examines religion, gender, and ethnicity. Inter-imperial trade, both licit and illicit, forged a close relationship between the two colonies. Women engaged in commercial enterprise and traveled the seas for many reasons, as "the peoples of two separate imperial realism developed multiple ties" (163). Patricia Seed's concluding chapter summarizes the major findings of this volume by stressing the specificity of female experience in the trans-Atlantic world. Local conditions were paramount in the formation of social identities. Noting that traditional gender ideologies persisted, women in some colonial settings accessed a new degree of independence. Racial mixing differed by place, as "the Atlantic world remained disjointed; neither amalga-

mation nor segregation nor melting pot.” (171). The movement of women to and within colonial settlements reveals the need to rethink gendered notions of physical space and the simplified bifurcations between men and women of various races in the early modern world. American geographies provided women with new roles, new avenues of religiosity, and new means of identity.

This volume greatly adds to studies of the trans-Atlantic world and knowledge of gender as a constitutive element of American colonialism in all its permutations. As a reciprocal relationship, the colonial project brought Europeans in contact with Indians and Africans, and vice versa; all sides were changed by their colonial encounters. This book advances our understanding of religion and its relationship to the shifting nature of gender and race. In addition, its specificity by time and place demonstrates the creation and persistence of social identities and practices in the early modern Americas.

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. 344 pp., 55 illus., \$65 cloth, \$26.95 paper. Review by ELIZABETH R. WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA.

In this ambitious intellectual history, Jorge Cañizares examines how the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors and colonizers who cast their enterprises in providentialist and epic terms anticipated Puritan thinkers. Throughout, the author grounds his impassioned arguments in brief discussions of a large number and variety of printed texts and manuscripts, among which epic poems figure prominently. As well, he interweaves over fifty annotated illustrations into his chapters. Indeed, a reading entirely focused on the visual material Cañizares presents would, by itself, be illuminating. Literary scholars will, at times, find his discussions of epic poems and plays limited by a thematic framework that slights formal issues. More generally, many of the connections and resemblances Cañizares highlights will need the more focused analysis of case studies to fully take root. With these two caveats in mind, the six chapters I describe below reward careful examination together, at the same time each stands well on its own.

In his introductory chapter, Cañizares proposes the “satanic epic” as the linchpin which brings together the histories of the Iberian and Puritan colonization enterprises. Ashe fleshes out this genre label in the introduction and in the eponymous second chapter, the author shifts between “epic,” understood as narrative poetry, and a more general notion of any kind of writing which casts the enterprises of conquest and colonization as heroic quests. As concerns the former, genre-specific notion of the term, Cañizares avers that “the satanic epic was a literary tradition that first evolved in Portuguese and Spanish America” (27), thereby passing over such neo-Latin precursors as Petrarch’s *Africa* and Vida’s *Christiad*. Still, the spotlight Cañizares casts in Chapter 1 and 2 on this sub-genre is important, given that of the numerous Iberian epics of the colonial period, only Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana* and Luis de Camoes’s *Os Lusíadas* have been widely studied and edited. He thus invites renewed considerations of such works as the Jesuit Jose de Anchieta’s *De gestis Mendi de Saa* (1563), which casts the third governor general of Brazil as a Christian Ulysses; Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega’s *La Mexicana* (1594), which presents Hernán Cortés as an agent of divine providence protected by the archangel Michael; and Pedro de Oña’s *Arauco dormado* (1596), which builds on and corrects Ercilla’s account of Spam’s brutal campaign to control Chile.

By contemplating long-neglected epics in relation to a wide range of other sources from the period, Cañizares convincingly refutes a long-standing paradigm in Hispanic literary studies that posits that Spanish conquistadors made sense of the new lands and people they encountered in the Americas by drawing on romances of chivalry. Popularized through simplifications of the path-breaking biographical detective work Irving Leonard recorded in his 1949 study *The Books of the Brave*, this theory of misidentification has long fomented conceptions of Spanish or Iberian intellectual backwardness. Here, the variety of sources Cañizares engages is a source of strength. At other moments, however, the author’s application of the same analytical tactics for epic poems as for non-fiction prose sources yields simplifications. For example, he sets aside Pedro de Oña’s *Arauco domado*, saying “I have briefly summarized cantos 1 to 4 of *Arauco domado*, which accurately captures the tone and argument of the remaining

fifteen” (48). Moving on, he notes that “I could continue almost endlessly my analysis of the numerous epic poems written about Iberian America in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries [. . .] all of them, however, follow the same basic structure, with the conquest of the New World cast as a cosmic struggle pitting God against Satan” (49). Turning too briefly to *Paradise Lost*, Cañizares hypothesizes that Milton’s heroic conception of Satan drew inspiration from the Iberian epic tradition. He does not, however, delve into this connection. Chapter 3, “The Structure of a Shared Demonological Discourse,” applies insights gleaned from Puritan typology—where theologians read Old Testament narratives as prefigurations of New World colonization—to illuminate demonological discourse in Iberoamerican sources. At times, however, the division into multiple subsections diminishes the chapter’s narrative coherence. For example, Cañizares quotes the Franciscan Andrés de Olmos, who describes how Satan “humiliates” his Amerindian vassals by chaining them in dungeons. An illustration on the facing page extracted from Diego de Valadés 1579 *Rhetorica Christiana* features woodcut illustrations of the devil leading a row of Amerindian slaves chained with collars. But without discussing in detail either the Andrés de Olmos citation or the Valadés illustration that follows it, the author moves to a discussion of Cotton Mather’s notion of moral serfdom (84). In like manner, in noting how colonizers often alleged Amerindian cannibalism to justify settlers’ violence Cañizares jauntily marks a transition by saying that “lest the reader be tempted to discard this story of cannibalism and collective demonic harassment as merely typical Iberian medieval claptrap, let us turn to colonial New England for another illuminating example” (93). Again, Cañizares leaves the precise mechanisms of cultural cross-fertilization up to the reader to infer or investigate.

Chapter 4, “Demonology and Nature,” examines texts that conceive of conquest and colonization as the transformation of a demonic landscape into a sacred holy place. As examples, the author comments on how this trope shapes canonical texts, most notably Spenser’s *Fairie Queene* and Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*. He also draws attention to works that were widely influential in seventeenth century Europe, but are now little known outside colonial Latin American studies, including monumental works by two Jesuits—the *Historia natural*

y moral de las Indias by José de Acosta and the *Historia Naturae* by José Eusebio Nieremberg. Many issues raised in Chapter 4 reemerge in Chapter 5, “Colonization as Spiritual Gardening,” which discusses how Iberian and Puritan writers deployed horticultural tropes to depict their struggle to control the New World. Once again, some of the connections Cañizares proposes need more analysis to be convincing or meaningful. For instance, he draws attention to how the early eighteenth-century Puritan theologian and preacher Jonathan Edwards echoes the sixteenth-century mystic Saint Teresa of Avila, when he describes being touched by God in terms of “holiness of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm, nature” (213). Without detailed analysis, however, the comparison adds little to our understanding of spirituality, whether in Counter-Reformation Spain or Puritan New England.

Chapter 6, “Toward a ‘Pan-American’ Atlantic,” invites renewed attention to Herbert Eugene Bolton’s “Epic of Greater America,” (*American Historical Review* 1933) in the hopes of expanding early American colonial studies beyond the confines of the original thirteen colonies. Cañizares relates this Anglo-American exceptionalism to notions of modernity from which Spain and Latin America have been excluded, a conception that has important implications for university curricula. As an example, he notes how Oxford University Press’s widely used textbook, *Modern Latin America*, depicts this region as the redoubt of traditional, indigenous societies. Yet he also finds examples of welcome change, as in the case of the prestigious *William and Mary Quarterly*, which has become increasingly receptive to scholarship about colonial Spanish- and Portuguese America. In closing, Cañizares emphatically and convincingly restates his contention that scholars examine North and South America in the colonial erain relation to one another.

This proposal is timely, given the increasing visibility of the Spanish language and Hispanic cultures in the United States. Already, Cañizares has inspired enthusiastic discussions among scholars of early-modern Spanish- and Spanish American literature with his bold prescription for a more expansive conception of the early modern Atlantic world. Given that Cañizares does not consider the aesthetic dimensions of the narrative poems he discusses, English Renaissance

specialists who wish to read more in-depth analyses of Iberian epics will find it useful to supplement this book with literary studies by Elizabeth Davis, James Nicolopoulos, Paul Firbas, Antonio Sanchez-Jiménez, and José Antonio Mazzotti. This limitation notwithstanding, *Puritan Conquistadors* is a goldmine of information and ideas that will be as valuable to scholars of Renaissance English literature who engage Spanish- or Portuguese-language sources as it will to their Hispanist counterparts.

John McCavitt with original drawings by Seán Ó Brógáin. *The Flight of the Earls: An Illustrated History*. Co. Down, No. Ireland: April Sky Design. 144pp + 127 B&W ill + 35 color ill. Cloth, £20, paper, £14. Review by MAUREEN E. MULVIHILL, PRINCETON RESEARCH FORUM, N.J.



Éire's Choice Heroes: Rory O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill, with Flight of the Earls facilitator (far right) Cúchonnacht Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, disguised as a French mariner. A modern rendering by Seán Ó Brógáin (An Clochán, County Donegal) © 2007. From jacket (verso), John McCavitt's *Flight of the Earls: An Illustrated History* (2007); and image detail, p 74. With kind permission, May 2008

Warrior heroes and the lore of warrior heroes are the foundation of Irish cultural memory. One of the great set pieces of early modern Ireland is the clandestine exodus (or ‘flight’) of two such warriors: the charismatic Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and his fellow chieftain Rory O’Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell.

On the morning of 14 September 1607, these desperate fugitives from the English crown quietly departed the shores of Lough Swilly, Rathmullan, Donegal, in an 80-ton French vessel (or ‘barque’) carrying ‘ninety-nine persons’ according to contemporary diarist and Flight of the Earls participant, Tadhg Ó Cianáin. Cúchonnacht Maguire, disguised as a French mariner, was instrumental in rescuing the earls from imminent danger. It was Maguire who procured the vessel, christened ‘Maguire’s ship’ by a mournful bardic poet at the time. It was Maguire who helped to navigate its perilous transit to the Continent. It was Maguire who effectively secured the mission. And as Jerrold I. Casway has reminded us, the Flight of the Earls was not without its women. Be they nobles or domestics, the seventeen women in the Flight of the Earls can no longer be overlooked in modern accounts of this moment in Irish history (*New Hibernia Review*, 7.i [2003], pp 56-74).

The goal of the fleeing earls was twofold: escape from the Crown forces of James I and securing military might from Catholic Spain, England’s longstanding arch rival. But serious actions often have negative results; for this secret ‘flight’ left Gaelic Ulster without critical leadership. Indeed, the action effectively ceded control to the Crown of large swaths of Northern Ireland. Adding to this, Philip III of Spain did not prove the faithful ally the Irish warlords had hoped.

Its high drama and noble purpose notwithstanding, this quiet departure has been a polarizing subject for historians. The majority view is harsh and vocal: The Flight of the Earls was a strategic, intemperate, ill-advised blunder: “Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project of their setting out on the voyage!” (*Annals of the Four Masters [Annála na gCeithre Mháistrí]*, 1630s, as quoted in Cusack, *Illustrated History of Ireland*, 1868; rpt 1995, p 468). The reaction in Ireland at the time was utter bewilderment, owing to the utmost secrecy and apparent impetuosity of the action. It was viewed in the oral culture of the

early seventeenth century as a sorrowful loss: a wake, without a body in view. Bardic poetry of the period documents a genuine longing for the earls' return, particularly the Earl of Tyrone, characterised as an Irish Moses. Sadly, this liberator neither recreated nor found a promised land for his tribe. Rash pragmatism and self-serving impulses of two shrewd and wily chieftains with money on their heads led to the Flight, so we read in most modern accounts; and the action was not only a failure, it smacked of cowardice—*this was not a 'flight,' this was an escape*. Modernists roundly agree that the action failed in its immediate goal to secure military succor from Catholic monarchs on the Continent. The earls had hoped to return to their homeland with new supporters and a winning agenda for the clans: *but there was no glorious return*. The romantic saga of the rebel earls began and ended that September morning in 1607. The chief criticism of such contrarians, of course, is that the Flight left large areas of the north of Ireland (Armagh, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Cavan, Donegal) wholly destabilized and vulnerable to foreign incursions and then domination. The Flight effectively left leaderless most of the north and its demoralized clans; this created an immediate opportunity for the English crown to accelerate its agenda for the wholesale resettlement of northern Ireland, being the crown's program of land confiscation (and some documented atrocity) known as the Plantation of Ulster. The Flight also marked the first of many Irish diasporas to foreign lands. For Ireland, a small and vulnerable island long-battling for political and cultural independence, few events in early-modern history had as many serious repercussions as the Ulster Plantation and the steady emigration of Ireland's native stock. The Flight of the Earls clearly played a role in the country's increasing Anglicisation. As late as 1943, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of The Gaelic League, Eamon De Valera would publicly lament the island's continuing disunity and its loss of cultural characteristics, primarily its principal ethnic identity: its language. "Restoration of the unity of national territory and restoration of a national language are the greatest of our uncompleted national tasks" (radio broadcast; for full audio text, see "The Ireland That We Dreamed Of," courtesy RTE; http://www.rte.ie/laweb/11/11_t09b.html).

Cometh the hour, cometh the man. John McCavitt (PhD, Queen's University, Belfast; presently, Senior Master, The Abbey, Newry, County Down, No. Ireland) is a newly-elected Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, London, and author of two books on seventeenth-century Irish history: *Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605-1616* (Belfast, 1998) and *The Flight of the Earls* (Dublin, 2002); his third book (2007), the subject of this review, is a fitting complement to his previous research. His recent book is a self-published venture owing to costs (the book includes many color plates and illustrations, more than McCavitt's publisher, Gill & Macmillan, were willing to finance) and also timing (the book's publication date was timed for the Flight of the Earls 400th Anniversary events in 2007). Critics of the self-published book need to take a look at the magic McCavitt has wrought.

McCavitt's new book on the Flight of the Earls is remarkable on two grounds: its historical approach and its multimedia methodology. First, McCavitt the historian. We see in this scholar a broad, even-handed contextual view of his subject. While certainly not valorizing the fleeing earls, he asks that we see this moment in Irish history under a wider lens. Working in the best mode of 'revisionist' historiography, he has set in place the facts and significance of this important moment by valuably moving the event from lore and 'cultural studies' to serious historical scholarship. "I give all sides a fair hearing—that's my rubric as an historian....As for Hugh O'Neill, I consider him to have been an outstanding military leader and an able politician. But that doesn't mean I've airbrushed his marital problems or have hidden away the 'fact' that his wife had an affair with the nephew of the Irish primate in Rome (an English spy). Everything is mentioned in context." McCavitt views the incongruities of seventeenth-century politics with the distancing eye of a neutral scholar; he is assembling a subject with facts and contemporary commentary (reportage): one does not sense a political agenda afoot and he fairly engages both the English and the Irish view of the Flight. In this, his second book on the subject, McCavitt has given history his own contribution to the 400th anniversary of the Flight of the Earls (2007) while also rerepresenting the subject as a more layered, complex set of events than heretofore appreciated. The recent commemoration of the Flight, incidentally, inspired lectures, scholarly essays, book-length studies,

and special events in Louvain, Lisbon, Rome, London, Chicago, and New York City, as well as a handsome commemorative stamp for the Irish postal service illustrated by Seán Ó Brógáin. Clearly, the subject has come into its own as an important historical moment and it will continue to garner scrutiny.

Most historians of seventeenth-century Irish history perforce mention the Flight of the Earls, but no one until now has supplied the full canvas. Roy Foster, e.g., in *Modern Ireland* (1988), a received canonical text, merely glances at the subject (Chapter 2) and the event even fails to make the book's index. As McCavitt explains on his website, his new book probes the subject of the Flight as an event with serious local, national, and international contexts. His approach emphasizes, for example, the impact of the imprisonment of Dublin aldermen following the Gunpowder Plot in England in 1605 and the way events unfolded at Rathmullan two years later. Also considered in greater depth is the role played by the Fermanagh chieftain, Cúchonnacht Maguire, in orchestrating the earls' escape. Relevant events in Derry are also introduced, as is the European cast of the Flight: "People from at least four different countries were involved: Irishmen, French, a Spaniard, and a Scot. While many who departed from the shores of Lough Swilly were Ulstermen, evidence shows that all four provinces were represented on the vessel that left Rathmullan." The diasporan aspect of the Flight cannot be overstated: The exodus of the northern earls marks the beginning of the Irish Diaspora. Finally, McCavitt lends considerable attention to the 'Noble 99' of the Flight: he supplies a partial list of known and recorded passengers (71-72) and he sorts through some of the myths that have arisen over the centuries about them. Of special interest, he is able to document the sad life of the earls after they left Ireland; he also can comment on the fate of those few who managed to return (defeated) to their homeland.

The principal achievement of this second book of McCavitt's on the Flight of the Earls is its multimedia approach. In a slim book of only 144 pages (format: 8" x 10") McCavitt presents 127 black-and-white images and 35 color images (many of these being full-page color plates), as well as an illustrated dust-jacket. Realizing the limitations and constraints of the print medium, McCavitt shows how the cultural memory of the Flight throughout the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries has been preserved in a broad range of sources; he has newly presented a good many of these sources with full annotation. He is effectively recreating for a twenty-first-century audience both the historical facts of his subject as well as its construction as an iconic moment in Irish cultural memory, and he does this in the book medium by exploiting the agency of print and especially the visual image. This is all a bit more than merely creating a mood or an atmosphere for one's subject with a few diverting illustrations; and this is surely no coffee-table picture book. This is rather a systematically assembled visual narrative of a complex subject from the images of the time. When he attempts, for example, to convey contemporary attitudes to the Flight, he presents not only his own balanced commentary, as well as Tadhg Ó Cianain's eye-and-ear witness account, but also visual documentation, such as a photograph of the detailed title-page of C P Meehan's narrative of the Flight (*The Fate And Fortunes...* [Dublin: James Duffy & Sons, 1886, 1890]); but then McCavitt jumps mediums, so to speak, by also presenting selected illustrations from the popular media of the time—printed music of drinking songs, as well as ballads, slogans from the oral culture of the day, and the like. While many scholars and writers over the years have lent their talents to the romantic saga of the Flight of the Earls—the Reverend Meehan, Paul Walsh, Canice Mooney, Tomas Ó Fiaich, J J Silke, Nicholas Canny, R J Hunter, Jerrold Casway, Murray Smith, Grainne Henry, Mary Ann Lyons, Brian Friel, inter alia—it fell to McCavitt to cleverly assemble this illustrated book on the Flight based almost entirely on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visual sources. This first-ever imagistic reconstruction of the story offers good selections from all of these many mediums: portraits, signatures, costume, military armaments, navigational vessels, title-pages, sketches and cartoons, broadsheet ballads, topography, maps and travel itineraries (Donegal to Spain, then to France, then on to Rome), castles, funereal inscriptions, broadsheets, tracts, ephemera, etc. One of many special images is a rare portrait of Owen Roe O'Neill, courtesy of the chief of the Clondeboy O'Neills, Dom Hugo O'Neill, Lisbon. John McCavitt is the first historian of this subject—and the first historian of seventeenth-century Irish history—to apply a broad multimedia approach to a serious subject of Irish historiography. Yes, there were

precedents for such an approach, but precedents on other material, such as the handsomely illustrated bicentennial edition of Thomas Pakenham's *Year of Liberty: The Great Irish Rebellion of 1798*. (Random House, 1998) and Mary Frances Cusack's *Illustrated History of Ireland* (London: Longmans, 1868; rpt Senate/Tiger Books UK, 1995). It is McCavitt's new book of an illustrated history of the Flight which will come to be accepted as the working model of this essential historical methodology.

The high costs of this book, as McCavitt mentions, were partially met with financial assistance from Bertie Ahern, former Prime Minister (Taoiseach) of Ireland, who also distributed copies of the book to selected foreign dignitaries and recent visitors, such as former U.S. President William Clinton. Irish ambassador to Italy, Seán Ó Huiginn, former ambassador to the USA and a key figure in the Northern Ireland peace process, described McCavitt as "the universally acknowledged leading academic expert" on this subject when McCavitt spoke at his residence in April, 2008 to a capacity audience, as reported, an audience which included John Hume and Cardinal Brady. More recently, McCavitt was a guest in Lisbon at the ancestral villa of the present Chief of the O'Neill clan: Dom Hugo O'Neill, a distinguished historian in his own right.

There are a few items which McCavitt may have included or may wish to mention in further work on the matter: (1) In the interest of making his work forcefully multimedia, he should consider including, in future printed material, a CD-ROM disc of, say, selected songs and lectures associated with the Flight. (2) There is the recent lecture (6 February 2007) on the Flight by Dr Edel Bhreathnach, with special focus on the relevance of the Wadding Papers archive, University College Dublin. (3) Adding to McCavitt's research on constructions of the Flight in Ireland's oral culture, this reviewer calls attention to the famous pub sing-along, "O'Donnell Aboo" (O'Donnell forever or O'Donnell triumphant), being the clan Connell war song and an emotional appeal for homerule (copies, National Library of Scotland, Broad-sides Collection). The song has been sung and recorded by the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem on Irish Gold (I:44; Disc 2; audio clip at http://www.last.fm/music/The+Clancy+Brothers+and+Tommy+Makem/_/O+Donnell+Aboo). The lyric was written, circa

1840s, by Michael McCann of Galway and evidently first published under the title, “The Clan Connell War Song” in *The Nation*, January 1843. A copy of the tune in broadsheet format may be viewed at <http://www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15846/criteria/donnell>. This reviewer is grateful to Eoin Shalloo, Curator, Rare Book Collections, National Library of Scotland, for prompt and generous information on this matter.

John McCavitt has further plans for the Flight of the Earls: a play he has recently written, “Destruction by Peace” (the very words of Hugh O’Neill); and a biography of O’Neill timed for the 400th anniversary (2016) of O’Neill’s death. In McCavitt, we have a scholar who has fully claimed his subject. May continuing success attend him.

Diane Kelsey McColley. *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007. 252 pp. + 10 illus. \$99.95. Review by NICOLLE JORDAN, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI.

Diane Kelsey McColley offers an original perspective on seventeenth-century poetry, tracing certain poets’ awareness of the tactile and sonorous quality of language and its capacity to awaken the mind to experience that integrates humanity with the wider world. Her commitment to environmentalism drives her interpretation of the material, and in this sense, our own climatically fragile historical moment is what grants her readings their urgency. She organizes her book around a sequence of threats to the environment, with most chapters integrating discussion of contemporary natural historians that complements or contrasts with the poetry under investigation. Two poets—Marvell and Milton—serve as bookends for the project, and, (as the title suggests), heroes of the story. Thus Chapter One, “Perceiving Habitats: Marvell and the Language of Sensuous Reciprocity,” is a close reading of *Upon Appleton House* that interweaves poetic analysis with the ideas of such men as Robert Hooke (author of *Micrographia*), John Ray (co-author of *Ornithology*), and the sermons of Richard Bentley. Milton matches Marvell in terms of linguistic achievement, and in the final chapter, “Milton’s Prophetic Epics,” McColley suggests that the *Paradise* epics illuminate a path to ecological

harmony that Marvell helped to blaze. Her readings of these poets' innovations in perspective, scale, and prosody are persuasive and often fascinating. The introduction lays out a scenario in which the poets under scrutiny began to shift away from emblematic, allegorical, and typological techniques toward a poetic responsiveness influenced by empiricism. Thus, these poets "increasingly subordinated figurative meanings to observation, questioned or discarded oppressive hierarchical assumptions, and expressed specific and affinitive perception of actual animals, plants, elements, and processes" (5). Between Marvell and Milton, Chapters Two through Six introduce readers to various forms of Baconian, instrumentalist language that violates the (primarily religious) traditions fostering greater harmony between the earth and its inhabitants. McColley draws upon poetry by Henry Vaughan, George Herbert, Anne Finch, Abraham Cowley, and Michael Drayton (among others) to suggest that this politically diverse range of writers registers a collective resistance to modes of thought that conceive of the earth as dead, or at least non-divine, matter.

Monism and vitalism constitute the key categories for McColley's study of poets who, she argues, articulate principles that have coalesced, in our own time, under the banner of environmentalism. Her introduction posits that Marvell, Milton, and others write "monistic poems" (2) that resist the dualism permeating certain strands of early-modern theology and natural philosophy (whose interconnections McColley deftly attends to). Such dualism produces familiar binaries—matter/spirit, body/soul, nature/God—that underwrite the subordination of the natural world to humanity's self-interest. Close readings of these poets' works reveal an abiding refusal to see the natural world as absent of spiritual import or as substantially different from the stuff of human life. Thus, in her reading of *Upon Appleton House*, for example, McColley claims that Marvell's language "offer[s] abundant perceptual experience that enlarges the human continuum of mind, body, and spirit" (14). In keeping with a refusal of such distinctions, vitalists—"who objected to the separation of matter and spirit" and for whom "all matter is living" (6)—elaborate the assumptions of monism by exploring the similarities and continuities between human and non-human life. The linguistic dimension of this endeavor is central to McColley's argument; poets are the crucial players in the

drama of what used to be called the scientific revolution, because poets devise a “language [that is] responsive, in sound and form as well as image and thought, to the lives of plants, animals, elements, and places—which can help the way we speak and the earth we care for heal each other” (7).

Chapter Two, “Earth, Mining, Monotheism, and Mountain Theology,” describes various projectors who, despite their occasional sensitivity to the earth’s fragility, nevertheless perpetuate environmental degradation in their eagerness to extract and profit from mineral ore. Henry Vaughan serves, alongside Lady Anne Conway and Margaret Cavendish, as a counter to the forces threatening the earth’s integrity. These poets give voice to the life of the land, rendering vital—alive—the stones, flowers, and animals that animate their poetry. Chapter Three, “Air, Water, Woods,” uses a similar technique, juxtaposing the work of projectors and poets such that petitioners for fen drainage compete with Michael Drayton and “The Water Poet” John Taylor in a contest over how to manage the “Terraqueous Globe” (85). As McColley attends to the political implications of the environmental issues she addresses, she notes that “It would be tempting but wrong to divide these viewpoints [about nature] politically between royalists, like Cowley and Waller, and supporters of Parliament, like Milton and Marvell” (15). Thus, in her discussion of air pollution in Chapter Three, John Evelyn emerges as the royalist champion of the environment, and analysis of his *Fumifugium* helps to set the scene in which a politically volatile, and resource-depleted, England compelled members of opposing parties to devise solutions to a shared ecological dilemma.

Chapters Four and Five explore theological debates about whether matter is imbued with divinity. The former, entitled “Hylozoic Poetry: The Lives of Plants,” introduces the theological concept of *hylozoism*, building upon its *OED* definition as “the theory that matter is endowed with life.” By tracing the term’s etymological variants, whose Greek root, *hyle*, means both matter and wood, McColley develops an ingenious theory that “Christian vitalist poets retain a hylozoic sense of the origins of matter and the materials of language in their words and forms” (110). In close readings of Vaughan, Milton, and Marvell, she traces the poetic response to physico-theological debates waged among the likes of Catholic priest Pierre Gassendi and the

Platonist Ralph Cudworth. She demonstrates how each poet, in his own way, intimates that the same (divine) matter constitutes both plants—especially trees—and humans. The subsequent chapter, “Zoic Poetry: Animals, Ornithology, and the Ethics of Empathy,” notes the era’s enthusiasm for animal specimen (on view, for example, in John Tradescant’s personal museum) and then explores a poetic tendency to seek inspiration rather than profit in the contemplation of animal life. Milton figures prominently in this section; McColley argues, “He presents Eden not only as a paradise lost by the original sin but as an arena of original righteousness to be renewed” (149). McColley then elaborates empathetic impulses toward animals in Chapter Six, “Animal Ethics and Radical Justice.” Suturing together discussions of Aristotle, Plutarch, the bible, and early-modern theologians such as John Calvin and Godfrey Goodman, she implies that poets articulate the most effective resistance to species abuse because they “awaken human consciences to the effects of violence on other species and its possible relation to violence toward our own” (195).

There is much to sympathize with in McColley’s treatment of the subject at hand. Scholars who are skeptical of a presentist approach may resist her claim that “Seventeenth-century England had the same ‘environmental’ problems we have today” (2). Others might wish for greater synthesis of the lengthy passages quoting various theologians and natural historians and philosophers. Nevertheless, she amply demonstrates that the poets in her study awaken us to aspects of nature and language that we might otherwise never experience. It is unfortunate that her book was not edited more carefully; typos, missing words, and irregularities in font size distract readers from her complex ideas. But curious readers will no doubt be rewarded by McColley’s insights into early-modern sensibilities that commune with nature.

Heather Dubrow. *The Challenges of Orpheus: Lyric Poetry and Early Modern England*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. x + 293 pp. \$49.95. Review by JANE HEDLEY, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

Among scholars of the lyric, and especially of Renaissance lyric poetry, Heather Dubrow is surely the most flexibly-minded. Like her

other three book-length studies of early modern poetry, *Captive Victors: Shakespeare's Narrative Poems and Sonnets* (1987), *A Happier Eden: The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamium* (1990), and *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and its Counterdiscourses* (1995), this latest book takes an approach to the lyric's rhetorical and performative dimensions that is inextricably formalist and New Historical. It is an approach that fully accepts the challenge implicit in her title's plural noun "challenges": to resist oversimplification, both of the complex figure of Orpheus and of the poetry that was produced in England under his aegis in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. As Dubrow's introductory chapter points out, many definitions and conceptions of lyric, many different kinds of guilt, inhibition and transgression as well as of potency and empowerment, were associated with its production, reception and circulation.

The Challenges of Orpheus is more ambitious in scope than Dubrow's other three books, and includes some of her most important thinking to date about issues that are central to the study of lyric poetry in any period. The distinctiveness of her approach and of her scholarly voice are apparent both microcosmically, as she speaks from the page in a prose that is nuanced and witty, and macrocosmically in the interlocking problematics she has delineated for study: the status of lyric as a literary kind; the vexed question of its relation to narrative; the audiences it presupposes and/or seeks to engage; the expectations of immediacy, presence and "voiceability" that it resists or modulates with distancing devices of many kinds; the co-existence of length and brevity, fluidity and stability, in stanzaic poems and lyric sequences. Within each of these interlocking foci, "the variety and lability of lyric" are what this study is seeking to demonstrate. Every chapter takes issue with critical and scholarly commonplaces that have been wrongly presupposed as a kind of bedrock for the study of the lyric, in order to show how much more shifting and multi-dimensional is the terrain of its actual practice.

For me this book's most interesting chapter is the one that focuses on lyric audiences. That chapter arrestingly begins by citing the use of transparent glass in certain public buildings of recent design to render the distinction between inside and outside, actor and observer, image and reflection, provocatively undecidable. Dubrow makes a telling use

of this architectural analogy to suggest that the *mise-en-scène* of the early modern lyric has been more complex than we have hitherto noticed, both with respect to the roles its author and/or speaker could occupy and with respect to the audiences its “rhetorics” put in play. The poems she uses to test this premise disclose a layering of audiences and a complex interplay of detachment and participation, diegetic and extra-diegetic perspectives, reception and performance. Turning to discourse analysis, a subfield of linguistics that has been pretty much ignored by literary critics, Dubrow garners fresh terminology and new ways to approach the potentially interchangeable positions of author, speaker and auditor in lyric poems.

Dubrow is a poet herself, and her deep knowledge of modern and contemporary poetry has enabled her to avoid parochial claims and emphasize continuities. Her critique of influential theorists such as T. S. Eliot, J. S. Mill, Northrop Frye, and Helen Vendler, whose treatment of the voicing of lyric has oversimplified its modes and strategies of address, gains traction not only in the context of early modern poetry studies but also vis-à-vis specialists in Romanticism and twentieth-century poetry, whose thinking about “the” lyric has all too often been limited to, and hence distorted by, the perspective of a particular historical moment or a particular set of aesthetic preferences. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, as Dubrow points out, the possibility of addressing multiple audiences simultaneously, as well as of engineering shifts in positionality among these audiences within the same poem, was endemic within at least four subgenres of lyric that flourished simultaneously: love poetry, devotional verse, pastoral, and the literature of patronage. As she moves back and forth between these lyric subgenres, which she exemplifies both with canonical examples and with poems less often discussed, she builds sturdy bridges between them. Her account of how Protestant devotional practices—especially the novel practice of having the entire congregation participate in the singing of psalms—are likely to have contributed to the deployment of dynamically interactive and interchangeable subject positions in secular as well as religious lyrics is a small *tour de force* of historical scholarship. In terms of their impact on the lyric these devotional practices had been hiding in plain sight, their complexities occluded by the presumptive transparency and

coerciveness of religious practice.

Dubrow closes her book by suggesting that lyric poetry's relationship to subjectivity is overdue for reconsideration; such a reconsideration would be especially timely insofar as the Foucauldian and/or Althusserian approaches that have underwritten much recent work on subjectivity are also ripe for re-consideration, with a view to more nuanced understandings of the self as agent and the self-in-process. Perhaps she will give us that study herself, but until she does there is much to be gleaned from this book concerning the relationship between subjectivity and performance in a genre whose status is alternatively, and even on occasion simultaneously, that of artifact, memorial inscription or trace, and script for soliloquy or dialogue.

"Like all my previous books," Dubrow comments in a concluding chapter that is aptly titled "The Rhetorics of Lyric," "this study has attempted to foster a more capacious and generous approach to critical methodologies" (238-39). There is an ethical as well as an intellectual stance implicit in this retrospective statement of intention, and indeed Dubrow's goal of sustaining a "capacious" scholarly conversation is apparent on every page. She never succumbs to the temptation most of us know intimately, of seeking to create an audience for our subject by making large pronouncements that simplify its contours and achieve a specious clarity by suppressing nuance and accountability. Like her earlier books this one not only delivers a powerful set of lenses for re-reading the early modern lyric, but also harvests the work of other scholars in a spirit of judicious yet generous inclusiveness.

John T. Shawcross and Michael Lieb, eds. *"Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books": An Authoritative Text of the 1667 First Edition*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2007. xvi + 456 pp. bibl. \$68. Review by REUBEN SANCHEZ, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross, eds. *"Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books": Essays on the 1667 First Edition*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2007. xii + 288 pp. index. append. \$60. Review by REUBEN SANCHEZ, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Until recently, we have had access to the first edition of *Paradise Lost* (1667) via rare books and facsimiles, or via electronic and microfilm versions. But with this publication edited by John T. Shawcross and Michael Lieb, we now have access to the ten-book poem in an authoritative, hard copy edition. This is a transcription of the Newberry Library's copy of the first edition (first issue), the transcription then collated with the British Library's copy of the first edition (first issue), and with the two twentieth-century facsimiles (one published in Harris F. Fletcher's *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Facsimile* [1943-1948], the other published by the Scholar Press [1968], although the editors caution us about the reliability of these facsimiles). In preparing their text, the editors have, further, made use of all the first edition issues (six from 1667 through 1669), the extant manuscript of Book I, and a copy of the second edition (1674). The result is a carefully prepared text, as unadorned, appropriately, as the first issue of the first edition. Following the poem is a seventy-seven page section titled "Discussion of the Edited Text," organized into subsections comprised of interesting and useful bibliographical information on the first edition, on its various issues, and on the second edition. This section and the poem testify to the care, expertise, and thoroughness with which the editors have done their work on this volume.

The accompanying volume is a collection of ten essays by various scholars. In their preface to the collection, Lieb and Shawcross contend that because we know of the "existence" of a work, it does not necessarily follow that the work is "known" to us (vii); for most, the first edition of *Paradise Lost* will be a "discovery" as opposed to a "rediscovery" (vii). The publication of the poem and the accompanying collection of essays, therefore, "represent a 'first' for Milton studies" (vii). Since scholarship is usually based on the 1674 edition (hereafter referred to as "1674"), the editors offer the essays as ways by which to "elucidate major aspects of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*" (viii). They emphasize, however, that they do not wish to place the 1667 edition (hereafter referred to as "1667") above 1674, but rather to show how and why the former is important in its own right and yet how it leads to, and results in, the latter. This aim validates 1667, at least partly, by demonstrating its value to 1674, thus inadvertently shifting the focus of the collection away from 1667: Some of the es-

says take 1667 as a starting point, but their interest lies mainly in later editions or in various issues of the first edition; others infrequently cite 1667, instead focusing on matters extra-textual—the historical period in which Milton lived, for example; still others offer analyses that do not seem endemic to 1667 per se but rather to the poem in any of its editions.

After the preface, the collection is framed by two essays that evidence the shift from 1667 to 1674 and beyond. In “Back to the Future: *Paradise Lost* 1667,” Lieb argues that 1674 cannot be fully known without recourse to 1667. But he also emphasizes the “transformations” 1667 underwent through the six issues of the first edition, as well as the “transformations” from the first to the second editions. Lieb adds that after the third edition (1678), the last three seventeenth-century editions (1688, 1691, 1695) witnessed much change. How would Milton have felt about such transformations resulting from Tonson’s marketing strategies or Hume’s annotations? Lieb believes Milton would not have been comfortable with them. In “That which by creation first brought forth Light out of darkness!/: *Paradise Lost*, First Edition,” Shawcross discusses “authorial revisions,” particularly those reflected in 1674, in order to account for Milton’s “bowing down to commercial demands” (213). 1667 is Milton’s “creation,” which “presents a significant meaning for the reader that *Paradise Lost* (1674) obscures” (216). Shawcross emphasizes the changes resulting from the poem’s division from ten books into twelve, how the changes appeared in 1674, and why those changes gave readers what Shawcross claims they expected.

The other eight essays begin with Joseph Wittreich’s “More and More Perceiving?: Paraphernalia and Purpose in *Paradise Lost*, 1668, 1669.” Quoting Stephen Orgel, Wittreich contends that the poem is “less a product . . . than a process, part of an ongoing dialectic” (31). He describes that process and how it applies to Milton’s works, particularly *Paradise Lost*, with some consideration given to Milton’s general publishing practices. When Wittreich does address the poem, it is to note the revisions made from 1667 to 1674, and what those revisions reveal about “each poem’s contradictory relationship to its counterpart. Each poem seems to subvert its own claim The contradiction at the heart of each poem opens upon various contra-

dictions between the two poems” (55). The essay is thus about 1667’s anxious and contradictory relationships with later editions. In “Simmons’s Shell Game: The Six Title Pages of *Paradise Lost*,” Stephen B. Dobranski considers contemporary publishing practices in order to explain why there were so many title pages to 1667. Dobranski concludes that there is no correlation between the “errors” within the text and the different title pages (65). Samuel Simmons, Milton’s publisher, used different title pages as ways by which to advertise because title pages could be posted even before a book became available to the public. Dobranski also points out that the way Simmons published the title pages of Milton’s epic—for example, in the way the author’s name or initials appear—would not have been unusual when one considers Simmons’ publishing practices with other authors.

In “Milton’s 1667 *Paradise Lost* in Its Historical and Literary Contexts,” Achsah Guibbory considers the ways in which the poem participates in the “cultural conversation” of the 1660s (79). When one considers the types of books published in the decade after the Restoration, Milton’s poem stands in opposition as “an alternative, counterculture discourse and ideology” to those many other books that presented Royalist visions of kingship and history as well as the reestablishment of the Anglican Church and its ideology (80). 1667 was out of step, then, with other contemporary publications. Richard J. DuRocher explores the similarities between Charles II and Satan in “The Emperor’s New Clothes: The Royal Fashion of Satan and Charles II.” Subtle references to Charles II’s style of dress are worked into the first two books of *Paradise Lost*, “believed to be among the last completed parts of the epic” (100). DuRocher points out that Charles’ “‘Persian’ style” of dress can be dated between 1666 and 1674 (100). In 1667, Milton’s attack on Charles and the Caroline court would have been an example of Milton “writing under censorship” (100). The essays by Guibbory and DuRocher represent good examples of how the new historicism can be used effectively to help explain the relationship between historical context and literary composition.

Laura Lunger Knoppers takes the gardens of post-1660 London as her subject in “‘Now let us play’: *Paradise Lost* and Pleasure Gardens in Restoration London.” 1667 was published at a time when these gardens were associated with the profligacy of king and court. Such

gardens were intended for leisure and play, but Milton associates leisure and play with laboring in the garden: “Adam and Eve [therefore] fall when they separate labor and pleasure” (124). Knoppers discusses, at some length, Pepys’ entries about feeling guilty that he neglects work for pleasure in the gardens, a tendency that Pepys ascribes to Charles II. Not until seven pages into her seventeen-page essay does Knoppers begin to discuss Milton, whose concern is with Adam and Eve laboring in the garden together, which thus becomes “more of a test than a task” (137). Because it can never be complete, laboring in the garden tests the obedience of Adam and Eve. The most interesting and persuasive essay in the collection, the quality of this essay is consonant with Knoppers’ other new historicist studies—*Historicizing Milton*, for example, remains one of the finest studies of the “late” Milton—and yet, Knoppers hardly mentions 1667. She quotes from it but, like some of the other contributors to this collection who quote from 1667, she could just as well be quoting the same passage from 1674, to the same effect. In “[N]ew Laws thou see’st impos’d: Milton’s Dissenting Angels and the Clarendon Code, 1661-65,” Bryan Adams Hampton connects “the politics of nonconformity and dissent in the early 1660s, and the Church of England’s programmatic legislation against it through the Clarendon Code” to Milton’s depiction of the rebel angels (142). In response to small groups of dissenters, the Restoration government enacted new laws, toward which Milton’s felt “ambiguous” (142): As a dissenter he opposed the established church, but he also criticized the dissenting angels because their rebellion resulted from “implicit faith” (156). In this new historicist analysis, Hampton focuses primarily on the history of the period rather than on 1667; he does not begin to address the poem in any detail until more than half way through the essay, where he discusses the elevation of the Son in Book V as leading to the rebellion. But by that time, the references to *Paradise Lost* seem tangential to the description of the times in which Milton lived.

In “Poetic Justice: Plato’s *Republic* in *Paradise Lost* (1667),” Phillip J. Donnelly explains why Milton chose to write ten books instead of twelve: Milton’s use of “the ten-book structure emphasizes a direct engagement and transformation of the major arguments in Plato’s *Republic*” (161). Donnelly argues for a numerological reading where

there are precise, “architectonic symmetries” between the two works (161). He contends, for example, that Satan was inspired by Thrasymachus, and that the first two books of *Paradise Lost* respond to the “Thrasymachus problem,” which characterizes the first two books of the *Republic* (165). As regards the several structural parallels Donnelly posits, however, while the traditional, ten-book structure of the *Republic* is certain, it is not certain whether Plato or a later editor divided the *Republic* into those ten books. Since Milton would have known Plato’s work in its traditional form, Donnelly naturally bases his assertions about the “architectonic symmetries” on that form. But because he wishes to explain Milton’s “engagement and transformation” of Plato’s “major arguments,” and because he insists that those points of contact occur in precisely paralleled books in both works, we might note the arbitrariness of the way in which Plato’s arguments could have been initially presented. The ten-book structure may be more a result of the way books were produced in Plato’s time, rather than the result of a carefully structured and sequential argument. A *book*, or in this case a *dialogue*, was incorporated onto a papyrus scroll, its argument and length, therefore, potentially dependent upon the length of the scroll. The *Republic*’s argument may seem unified, but to convey argument and sequence more clearly, scholars have sometimes chosen to abandon the traditional, ten-book structure, instead dividing it into three or four major sections, with further subsections, which is reflected in some modern editions. Michael Bryson points out that the London disasters of the 1660s were seen as God’s punishments, which elicited differing explanations about why God punished, most explanations based on the belief that God was a “partisan” for one side or the other (186). In “The Mysterious Darkness of Unknowing: *Paradise Lost* and the God Beyond Names,” Bryson concludes that Milton rejected “partisan notions of God” (186). The essay focuses on negative theology, or what became known as apophatic theology. Milton did not write a theodicy but rather an apophatic theology in which he did not try “to define what God actually *is*” (212). Hence, our images of God gleaned from the text are misreadings. For Bryson, after all, apophatic theology is “a dismantling of images, a denial of concepts, and a negation of the qualities that are posited to the divine” (187). God is thereby deconstructed into that which cannot

be known, imagined, or named—into “the mysterious darkness of unknowing,” in other words (212). Bryson himself notes the similarity between apophatic theology and deconstruction (186). But his argument—which threads its way through positive and negative theologies, deconstruction, Pseudo-Dionysius, Neoplatonism, medieval and Renaissance theologians, and *De doctrina christiana*—finally seems distanced from 1667 itself.

While these essays teach us much about Milton, his poem, and the time in which he lived, the collection, as a whole, does not substantially enhance our understanding of 1667. But the publication of 1667 is cause for celebration. This is, after all, a hard copy of the first issue of the first edition, and in reading it, one experiences the poem as Milton originally intended it. When one does begin on those ten-thousand five-hundred and fifty lines of poetry, though, one quickly encounters a glaring error in this publication: There is no punctuation at the end of the epic’s most famous line, “Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav’n” (I.263). The first edition copies owned by the British Library and by the Huntington Library show a period at the end of this line, as does the extant manuscript of Book I (as does every other edition one cares to name, for that matter). If the bibliographical history of *this* poem has taught us anything, however, it has taught us that most, if not all, publications of it contain errors. And yet, however egregious or trivial the errors, we continue to get excited about new editions of *Paradise Lost* because it is the poem itself, not necessarily what editors and publishers do to it, that finally matters. Of course, the closer we can get to what we think were Milton’s original intentions, and the smoother those intentions read, the better. For those of us who teach *Paradise Lost*, our classroom text has been 1674, or a text based on a combination of 1674 and later editions. But now that we have this fine, ten-book edition of the poem, we *almost* have a choice: Perhaps someday an introduction, annotations, an index, a more extensive bibliography than the one offered here, and other such pertinent material will be added to enable teachers, if they choose, to use 1667 as their classroom text.

Mary A. Papazian, ed. *The Sacred and Profane in English Renaissance Literature*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008. 377 pp. \$75.00.
Review by GRAHAM ROEBUCK, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY

The thirteen essays gathered here “seek to reclaim the space where the secular and the sacred overlap” (18), in the words of the editor’s introduction. If it is not clear from whom or from what this space must be reclaimed, the collection may fairly be said to succeed in breathing new vigor into a perennial, sometimes hackneyed, theme. It follows two successful volumes on the interplay of the sacred and the profane—one focused on George Herbert, the other on early-modern British literature—that arose from a conference in the 1990s at the University of Groningen convened by Helen Wilcox and Richard Todd. On the evidence of questions opened and perspectives examined in the present collection, this deep well is by no means dry.

The editor’s introduction suggests that a general or neophyte readership might be expected to pick up this attractive volume, clothed in its handsome jacket’s reproduction of an illuminated miniature that vividly depicts the excruciating pains (and devilish pleasures) of Hell. A potted history of Renaissance and Reformation in England and synopses of essays disclose, for example, that Dr. Johnson was “an eighteenth century man of letters,” that Marvell was “a later seventeenth-century poet,” and that the English Civil War occurred in mid-seventeenth century (25). Yet, in truth, the erudite, scholarly and generally very well-written essays that follow would reward any reader willing to become familiar with the texts discussed. There is very little jargon or stuffiness. The range of the essayists is pleasingly broad, their learning assuredly deployed.

Of the major poets discussed, Milton is the most popular, followed by Donne, Sidney, (principally his *Apology for Poetry*) and Herbert, but others, too, of abiding interest—Southwell, Crashaw, Daniel, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Greene, anon. etc.—appear. This thematic net draws in a rich variety of writing for stage and study, travel and pulpit, liturgy, meditation, civic regulation and advice to monarchs, providing a wealth of the unexpected. Oddly, Jonson is discussed only very briefly, and in one essay. He would not have approved.

The opening essay by Brett Foster, on Tudor reactions to Papal Rome, traces oscillating and divided responses to the antiquities of Rome, and to ecclesiastical displays, including a conclave to elect a pope. Writers from Robert Langton in 1522 to Thomas Hoby, whose travel diary, concluded in 1564—described aptly as a *Bildungsroman* (49)—mirror English uncertainty about religious allegiances. At home, as Robert I. Lublin's essay reveals, stage representations of ecclesiastical apparel are also registers of religious turmoil. An impressive cast of dramatists is invoked in this revision of long-held beliefs that the stage was predominantly a secular site (57). Lublin shows how plays by Shakespeare, Marlowe, Middleton—*A Game at Chess* is central—Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, and lesser playwrights' works, adapted to the vestment controversy. Here Jonson makes his entrance: Zeal-of-the-land-Busy's probable costume is discussed. This essay is a valuable insight into the impact of confessional politics. One may doubt, however, that Queen Mary “converted the country back to Catholicism” (66). She could only wish.

The third essay is a trenchant examination of Marlowe's *Edward II*. Mathew Martin addresses a question that reverberates. How can secular history make any sense of human life and death, of appalling agony, compared to the sacred history of the Crucifixion? Martin, building on the work of Elaine Scarry and others, makes good use of medieval Corpus Christi cycles—especially the York Crucifixion. In probing possible significances of Edward's death agony, that issues only in “meaningless sounds” (104), Ovid's account of Actaeon is brought to bear, to very telling effect.

Robert Kilgore, in his discussion of the *Defence* and the paraphrases of the metrical Psalms, probes Sidney's doubts about the validity of poetry. The author is nicely sensitive to Sidney's ironical paradoxes, and he argues convincingly that the Psalms are “the perfect trial for the *Defence*” (115). It is the encounter with spiritual faith that ultimately allows Sidney to endorse profane poetry (127). This fine essay comes with discursive notes: miniature essays amusing, witty and pertinent, as do some other essays in the collection.

Sean McDowell's excellent essay on sacred and profane modes of transgressive desire points out the fuzziness of the sacred/profane dichotomy (132). Calling up Sidney and Crashaw in their treatments

of “the kiss,” he argues that whether to steal it, or be stolen by it, is the “most meaningful distinction between profane and sacred desire” (134). He also examines the work of Barnaby Barnes—once dismissed by an Oxford Professor of Poetry as “nonsense and nastiness”—and makes good use of contemporary psychology and physiology theory. Here again, good discursive notes.

Editor Mary Papazian’s assured treatment of Donne, in her essay on several Holy Sonnets and the “Nocturnal upon S. Lucies Day,” also calls on Sidney’s *Defence* and Aristotle’s theory of mimesis. In her strongly urged argument against the constrictions of predominantly biographical interpretations of these so intimate-seeming poems, she calls upon Sermons as collateral evidence. Donne, she concludes, provides a “vignette of human pain and misery” as well as a “proper response to suffering” (177). Hannibal Hamlin’s essay also questions long-standing critical positions. The “confessionally motivated tug of war” (183) between followers of Louis Martz and Barbara Lewalski inhibits critical appreciation, especially of the neglected “A Litanie.” Hamlin, in company with Christopher Hill, even doubts that the concepts “sacred” and “secular” are applicable (183). The poem is not a litany he concludes, neither secular nor sacred, but rather—collapsing another old dichotomy—a “representation of Dr. Jack Donne” (204).

Herbert’s church furnishing poems are the focus of David L. Orvis’s inquiry into Herbert’s doctrinal allegiance. A set of dichotomous factions “battling it out . . . struggling to attain hegemony over George Herbert” (G. E. Veith quoted 213) is investigated to reveal the resistance of Herbert’s church to these taxonomies (212). Herbert, the poet, as distinct from the parson, obstructs such definition to remain “virtually free of the constraints” (232) that factions would impose.

“Hard Hearts and Scandal” succinctly announces a searching examination of Petrarchan cruel mistresses and Pharoah’s hardened heart—that theologically vexing nub of the polemical Erasmus-Luther debate on free will. Gregory Kneidel’s crisply written, learned exposition of the matter of Pharoah’s heart leads to the recognition of scandal—also succinctly anatomized—as a “New Testament antitype of Old Testament hard-heartedness” (238). Robert Parsons SJ, a formidable Roman controversialist, saw the analogy between seduction and scandal, and Robert Southwell SJ wove that into the fabric of

Saint Peter's Complaint, which Kneidel brilliantly expounds, including a well-judged section on Shakespeare's *Lucrece*.

Another jewel in the collection is Raymond-Jean Frontain's "Silent Signs: Fuller, David, Writing" which he presents as essentially a work of recovery of Thomas Fuller's incomplete epic on David's sin, repentance and punishment. Fuller, the church historian, royalist Civil War chaplain and author of *Worthies*, as poet? Frontain's compelling analysis of Fuller's anticipating Milton's interiorized epic action and appropriation of biblical narrative (253) opens up the application of "silent signs" in a morally, and politically, ambiguous society. But the essay is even more than the work of recovery—it is a balanced and persuasive examination of the complex prelude to the Civil War.

The final three essays, each on *Paradise Lost*, remind us how multifarious the great epic is and how it continues to provide fresh readings. Kent B. Lehnhof's tour de force on Milton's exhaustive deployment of tropes on the digestive tract is likely to cause us to reconsider the relationship of the sublime to the obscene in the poem—and elsewhere, for Lehnhof supplies a literary genealogy from Aesop and Aristophanes via Shakespeare and Topsell. Milton's purpose is not flippant: rather it is to affirm his "materialist monism" (297).

Chuck Keim's erudite essay on Temple imagery and the Sacred Garden shows Milton, not surprisingly, deeply engaged with the biblical accounts of the temple, its construction, and priestly practice. This is frankly perplexing material which continues to exercise biblical scholarship. What Keim achieves is a fine explication of the way Milton's powerful imagination transforms his biblical knowledge into the amazing hybrid garden-temple of the poem and high priests' vestments into the figure of Raphael, who is, of course, as angels are, naked.

Andrew Barnaby's examination of Satan's motivation and ambivalent attitudes—"cringing before the Lord"—leads him to wonder if "Milton is himself fully aware of it" (327). Johnson is invoked on the theme of the uselessness of devotional verse (329), and Marvell's "The Coronet" as an example of a metaphysical devotional poem as a counterweight.

This is a fine collection, certainly of interest to specialists and possibly to general readers.

Christopher Baker. *Religion in the Age of Shakespeare*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007. xiv + 244 pp. \$75.00. Review by Byron Nelson, West Virginia University. Review by BYRON NELSON, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

Although few would dispute the pervasiveness of Christian ideas in Shakespeare's works, there is far less agreement about the exact nature of Shakespeare's Christian faith. Elizabeth's moderate Protestantism was reasonably well established by the time of Shakespeare's birth, and he was perhaps lucky not to have experienced firsthand the religious upheavals of Henry VIII and the radical shifts under Edward and Mary. Whether he contentedly conformed to the Church of England, labored to restore the Catholic faith or sailed indifferently by the religious controversies of his day may never be firmly established, but Shakespeare responded powerfully to the ethical lessons of the Gospels and understood the aesthetic appeal of Christianity.

In his book, Christopher Baker surveys a wide range of religious topics which extend well beyond Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Although it is commendably ambitious, the book is too diffuse. Its major parts are incompatible: beginning in the first part with a history of Christianity, it surveys the Reformation and (much more briefly) the Catholic Reformation in the second. The third chapter, on religion in Shakespeare's works, offers a survey of the religious ideas in each of the plays and poems. The fourth chapter (with a nod to William James) demonstrates "some varieties of religious experience in modern stage and film productions of four tragedies" (96). There is a fifth chapter on scholarship and criticism and a generous set of primary documents, from Wyclif and early English Bible translations to Donne's "Good Friday 1613."

Baker moves towards a thesis but increasingly blurs his point. At first he states that "Shakespeare's religious world was forged on the anvil of Reformation" (54), but this seems to imply that he leaned toward the evangelical side. He then suggests that "What we do find in his plays is a religious awareness, largely Christian but not uncritically so, and without any exclusive allegiance to a specific denomination or sect" (58). Shortly after, he offers a third possibility: "It is perhaps

more accurate to say that he had ‘no single theology’ but instead a range of theologies through which to portray a variety of human response to the divine” (60), but this seems to reject the possibility that Shakespeare had no “theologies” at all; one could simply say that Shakespeare allowed his characters to express a remarkable range of religious ideas.

One has to wonder, also, who the intended audience for this book was. The opening sentence states that “This book offers the student and the general reader an overview” of the religious contexts of the plays. But both the student and the general reader may wonder at the inclusion of so much data on the Christian church in the early period, late antiquity and the Middle Ages. How helpful are the careful distinctions among the Gnostics, Arians and Marcionites, if Shakespeare doesn’t dwell on the fine points of orthodoxy or heresy in his plays? The student is actually most likely to skip to the middle chapter, which offers commentary on the religious ideas in each of the plays; but even here the student would have to proceed with caution. Baker states drily that Hamlet is “perhaps not Shakespeare’s most emotionally powerful tragedy” (80), but such a judgment will puzzle a good number of that play’s enthusiasts. In his discussion of the romances. Baker underplays the dramatic power of Pericles’ vision when, having recognized the long-lost Marina, the emotionally conflicted Pericles claims to hear the music of the spheres and then enjoys a vision of Diana, a sequence which Baker reverses. Similarly, his plot summary for the final act of *Winter’s Tale* blandly flattens the careful ambiguity of one of Shakespeare’s most powerful moments: “In the final act, all gather to view Paulina’s statue of the dead Hermione, who suddenly revives” (86). Shakespeare may simply have kept Hermione hidden in Paulina’s closet for fourteen years, but surely he wants the audience to consider out the possibility that Hermione has been raised from the dead, like Lazarus or Jairus’ daughter.

The chapter on the film versions of four of the tragedies seems the most problematic. There is discussion of Orson Welles’ problematic *Macbeth*; the *King Lear*s of Kozintsev and Peter Brook; and Baz Luhrmann’s popular recent *Romeo + Juliet* (1995). The fourth tragedy, Hamlet, is represented not by any of the film versions but by John Caird’s stage version for the National Theatre in London (2000). The

Soviet-era Kozintsev and Welles in Hollywood are not notably sensitive to Christian elements, and Luhrmann's treatment of Catholic imagery is not exactly subtle. The final chapter engages such critics who are alert to religious ideas as G. Wilson Knight and Roland Frye, and Baker properly responds to the issues raised by Stephen J. Greenblatt in *Hamlet and Purgatory*. But elsewhere in the book Baker misstates some crucial facts (Savonarola was burnt, not hanged; Erasmus was associated with Cambridge, not Oxford), and he cites approvingly the work of A. G. Dickens, whose partisan treatment of Protestantism has now largely been derided as naive and simplistic. Worse, he fails to engage at length the most recent scholarship on the persistence of Catholic faith in Shakespeare's age, as in the work of Eamon Duffy and Richard Wilson. The collection of primary documents may well be helpful to students, but a number of the choices are readily available elsewhere. Surely the space devoted to reprinting the Bower of Bliss episode from Book II of *The Faerie Queene* could have been given to key texts that are harder to find in literary anthologies, such as Hugh Latimer's *Sermon of the Plough*. Also, a caveat about the cover illustration: the well-known painting of the interior of the Temple of Lyon is fine, but surely an English illustration would have been more to the point. This book is an interesting grab-bag, but one has to wonder how useful the student or the general reader will actually find it.

Rebecca Ard Boone. *War, Domination, and the Monarchy of France: Claude de Seyssel and the Language of Politics in the Renaissance*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007, xvi + 196 pp. \$99.00. Review by PAUL COHEN, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

The traditional view of Claude de Seyssel (c. 1450-1520) sees him as one among many Renaissance men of letters who pledged their learning and pen to the praise and service of the French crown. His translations into French of classical texts are held up as evidence of his humanist credentials, his *Histoire singulière du roy Louis XII* as an example of the learned literature of royal praise inspired by the increasingly powerful and assertive French monarchy, and his political treatise *La Grant Monarchie de France* as an important early contribution

to French constitutional thought.

In her fine book on Seyssel, Rebecca Ard Boone proposes a convincing new interpretation of the man and thinker which departs from older readings in important ways. She argues that Seyssel's writings only make sense when closely juxtaposed with his career. Boone's engagingly written and carefully historicized study paints the portrait not of a lover of classical learning, but rather of a deeply political animal, preoccupied by war and diplomacy, drawn to secrecy in the exercise of his official functions, and interested in classical learning only insofar as it could illuminate contemporary, strategic concerns.

The bastard son of one of the leading families in the independent duchy of Savoy's traditional, military aristocracy, Seyssel was educated in Italy and taught law at the University of Turin before entering the French king's service. In the course of his career, Seyssel translated ancient Greek and Roman histories into French, helped to manage French efforts to establish control over conquered Italian territories during the Italian wars, notably in the duchy of Milan and in the French suppression of the Genoese revolt of 1507, traveled secretly to Switzerland in order to hire Swiss infantry regiments for the French army, and represented the French crown in diplomatic negotiations with the Papacy. Alongside his tireless efforts on behalf of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François I, Seyssel also promoted the duchy of Savoy's interests throughout his career—an important reminder that the exclusive loyalties of modern nationalism had little purchase in early modern Europe. After years as absentee bishop of Marseille, Seyssel finally took up his episcopal responsibilities at the close of his life, first in Marseille and then as bishop of Turin.

Boone's book, based primarily on Seyssel's published works and his manuscripts housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, offers a sharply drawn contextualization of his writings emphasizing the importance of their social, cultural, and, above all, political environment. Chapter One examines Seyssel's multivariiegated career as jurist, diplomat, adviser to the duchy of Savoy and the French king, bishop, and humanist, interpreting it as a trajectory appropriate for the illegitimate scion of a powerful aristocratic family. Chapter Two situates Seyssel's writings in the context of his extensive diplomatic service. By comparing his

diplomatic harangues, like the oration he presented to Henry VII in 1506 as part of French efforts to improve relations with England, and the confidential reports he filed from his diplomatic missions, like the secret dispatches he sent to the French king from Rome, with his political treatises, Boone shows that Seyssel crafted his writings as well-informed briefs aimed at assisting his patrons in making crucial policy decisions. Chapter Three likewise analyzes Seyssel's translations of ancient histories not as humanist-inflected exercises in antiquarian erudition, but rather as a means to convey precious military and strategic information to his prince. In Chapter Four Boone presents a reinterpretation of the *Monarchie de France* in light of Seyssel's own work on behalf of the French war effort in Italy. She argues that Seyssel drew on classical history as a means to articulate concrete solutions to the challenges of France's military campaign in Italy. Chapter Five similarly reads the *Monarchie* against the background of Seyssel's work on behalf of the French occupation of Milan and Genoa. In the final chapter, Boone examines Seyssel's brief career as bishop of Marseille and Turin and his religious writings.

For Boone, Seyssel must be seen as a traditional military aristocrat in erudite clothing, a sword noble barred from the battlefield by his bastard birth and episcopal office, but no less committed to serving his French and Savoyard masters' military and political ambitions as best he could: a man more preoccupied by iron, blood, and power than by the contemplative life or classical culture. His interest in Antiquity was motivated by precisely the same imperatives—Seyssel saw in the record of the rise and fall of Greek city states and the Roman empire a toolbox of effective military techniques and political lessons, which could be applied to the battlefields of Europe and the councils of state in his own day.

Boone proposes to read Seyssel's theoretical writings on the nature of the French monarchy, notably the *Monarchie*, in a similar way. Where many scholars have seen in his description of the French king's authority bridled by religion, justice, and custom a blueprint for a limited constitutional monarchy, Boone reads Seyssel's political thought as a hard-minded vision intended to stabilize and reinforce royal authority in light of France's social and political realities. It was also profoundly shaped by Seyssel's educational and diplomatic experience in Italy.

Like many contemporaries, the Savoyard was deeply impressed by republics' military power and capacity for expansion, from ancient Rome and its mighty legions to the Swiss cantons and their fearsome pikemen. Switzerland and Venice's armed citizenry presented at the turn of the century a formidable challenge to more traditional political and social formations like France. For Seyssel, a bridled monarchy offered the possibility to mix monarchy with popular government, and thus to strengthen the crown's military capacities by joining its dynastic organization with the military strength of democratic infantry.

Boone's account thus pushes us to understand Seyssel not as an early chapter in the history of French political thought, but rather as a more complex and, in many ways, decidedly un-French figure. Though he served the French crown with considerable energy and skill, his loyalties, experiences, training and outlook were also firmly anchored in Savoy, Switzerland, and above all Italy. Seyssel was as committed to serving Savoy as France; he was profoundly shaped by Italian intellectual life, his experience as diplomat and French agent in Italy, by his deep familiarity with social structures of Italian city-states (Seyssel's famous tripartite categorization of French society among the nobility, the *peuple gras* and the *menu peuple* in the *Monarchie*, for example, rejected the traditional French estates model in favor of one borrowed from Italian modes of social categorization), and by republican political thought. Seyssel, in short, sits uneasily in the pantheon of public-minded French humanists, which counts men like Guillaume Budé; he is more profitably read, Boone maintains, alongside politically-inclined Italian men of letters like Machiavelli and Gucciardini.

Given the author's argument that Seyssel's writings can only be understood when read against his social trajectory and political career, the author could be reproached for limiting original research to Seyssel's own writings, and relying on secondary sources (notably Alberto Caviglia's 1928 biography) for sketching out his life. A reconstruction of Seyssel's career based on archival sources—a research agenda which admittedly would have produced a different and considerably larger project—might have shed new light on particular questions. The chapter devoted to Seyssel as bishop, for example, relies almost exclusively on his own writings; a detailed account of his tenure and

pastoral activities as bishop of Marseille and Turin informed by episcopal archives could have thrown his religious writings into the same sharp relief as the chapters on his political and diplomatic career do for his political texts.

These criticisms aside, Boone's book represents a stimulating contribution to our understanding of early modern politics and letters, and will be an indispensable text for future scholars interested in Seyssel. Her lively prose, easy and confident familiarity with the complex worlds of Renaissance diplomacy, politics and humanism, and clear analysis of Seyssel's writings make this a sure guide to the Savoyard's thought for students and specialists alike.

R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr, eds. *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. Xvi + 265pp. \$99.95. Review by DARIN HAYTON, HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

Robert Evans and Alexander Marr, the editors, consider curiosity and wonder particularly fruitful lenses through which to investigate linkages between objects, texts, individuals, voyages of discovery and medical practices. In his lucid introduction, Marr surveys the scholarship on curiosity and wonder over the past three decades. The early work of Hans Blumenberg approached curiosity as a coherent and static idea. According to Blumenberg, the renewed celebration of curiosity during the Scientific Revolution represented a key shift toward modernity. Blumenberg's approach has been complicated and refined by Krzysztof Pomian's detailed study of French cabinets of curiosity. Pomian brought curiosity back down to earth from the incorporeal heights of philosophical ideas and located it instead in the material objects collecting dust in cabinets across France. For all of its corrective force, Pomian's work still assumed a static and common "curiosity" that motivated French collectors and structured their cabinets. More recently, Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park have focused attention on the intersections between wonder, on the one hand, and trade, exploration, institutions, and the Scientific Revolution, on the other. Stephen Greenblatt too has highlighted the role of wonder and curiosity in exploring the New World. The essays in the volume

extend, complement and complicate these historiographic trends.

Along with Marr's introductory essay, two other contributions explicitly address historiographic questions. Neil Kenny elucidates the different meanings of "curiosity" in early modern France and Germany. Focusing on how language was used, he distinguishes between a discourse of curiosity—a "curiosity narrating tendency" that was rooted in subjectivity—and a discourse of curiosities—an object-oriented "curiosity collecting tendency." Kenny is most interested in the discourse of curiosities and how it shaped knowledge in early modern Europe. Adriana Turpin's essay on the Medicean collections cautions against making universalizing claims about the political, social, or metaphysical meaning of collecting and collections. As the Medicean collection of New World artifacts was repeatedly relocated to accommodate new acquisitions, it was inventoried, reorganized, and rearranged according to origins, materials, or form. Throughout the process, the Medicean collection resembled the Italian *studiolo* tradition rather than the German *Kunstkammern*.

Two chapters examine curiosity in the context of travel. Wes William identifies a "poetics of witness" that joins curiosity, travel, and danger in sixteenth-century French and English travel literature. He reveals how travel writers such as Pierre Belon or Henry Timberlake employed danger to authenticate the curious facts they reported. The more curious the facts, the more important it was for the writer to have experienced considerable danger to report them. Paola Bertucci follows Jean Antoine Nollet into Italy in 1749 in his efforts to challenge Italy's reputation as a land of wonders. At the same time, Nollet was a purveyor of marvelous, rational or scientific wonders. He used his natural philosophical demonstrations as advertisements for instruments and other products from his Parisian workshops.

George Rousseau's essay on John "Proteus" Hill traces curiosity into the later eighteenth century. Using Hill as a test case, Rousseau explores what it meant for a human to be a *lusus naturae* in an effort to chart the shifting nature of curiosity and subjectivity in the Enlightenment. Rousseau's epilogue extends his analysis, suggesting ways that in the nineteenth century human beings increasingly became the object of curiosity while, at the same time, science was excluding wondrous objects from its purview.

Five essays deal specifically with the seventeenth century. Claire Preston's chapter on Thomas Browne investigates his use of imaginary "bundles of curiosity" to ridicule contemporary efforts to collect and understand antiquities. In his later works, *Urne-Buriall* and *Musaeum Clausum*, Browne derided antiquarian efforts to forge a coherent picture of the past through the fragments and shards they collected and arranged. Peter Forshaw investigates the differences between wonder and curiosity in the writings of the German alchemist Heinrich Kunrath. Kunrath, who is often considered the paradigmatic alchemist, represented himself as a student of God's wonders. His task, aided by divine inspiration and revelation, was to reveal God's works as wondrous objects of active investigation rather than simply objects for passive reflection. Stephen Clucas's contribution explains why Meric Casaubon bothered to publish John Dee's conversations with angels despite being convinced that Dee had been fooled into confusing demons for angels. Clucas argues that for Casaubon, Dee's text provided evidence of spiritual activity in the world. At the same time, having mistaken demons for angels, Dee offered a warning against the enthusiasms prevalent at the time. Alexander Marr's essay highlights the ambiguous moral and intellectual status of automata in the seventeenth century. Automata, the products of thaumaturgy, were contested objects of wonder. Were they vulgar? Were they licit or natural or were they illicit and demonic? While some writers such as Salomon de Caus argued that automata licit and a proper part of natural philosophy, others attacked them as vain and useless. Deborah Harkness identifies a "culture of therapeutics" in early modern England. English patients were remarkably curious about the health and function of their own bodies. This curiosity and familiarity prompted them to question the advice of their physicians. Harkness highlights how this subjective form of medical curiosity differs from a more objective curiosity displayed in anatomy theaters and during the dissection of bodies.

Curiosity and Wonder complicates and extends our appreciation of what curiosity and wonder meant. By tracing these related terms through a broad range of sources—from texts to objects to paintings and prints—these essays illustrate the multifarious manifestations of curiosity and wonder in early modern Europe and underscore the im-

portance of these linked terms. To that end, it fulfills Marr's promise in the introduction "to provide new insights and pose new questions about topics [curiosity and wonder] that remain ... of vital importance to intellectual, social and cultural historians" (20).

Hilaire Kallendorf. *Conscience on Stage: The Comedia as Casuistry in Early Modern Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. x + 299 pp. \$65. Review by ELIZABETH R. WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA.

Spain's national theater blossomed, beginning in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, at the convergence of a bumper crop of talented playwrights, actors, and directors (*autores de comedias*); city dwellers hungry for a steady supply of new plays; plus charitable hospitals whose funding relied on playhouse box-office receipts. In the early seventeenth century, printers, sensing a business opportunity, began to sell printed anthologies. Taken together, these sectors engendered one of the modern era's first forms of mass entertainment. Its scale presents a major logistical and methodological challenge today. Though many play-texts have been lost, several thousand survive, including over 300 written by Lope de Vega, the most popular and prolific playwright of the first three decades of the century; Calderón, the dominant playwright of the next generation, left behind approximately 80 *comedias* and 180 *autos sacramentales*. These are but two of a large number of active professional playwrights. Yet a miniscule proportion of plays have attracted careful and sustained scholarly scrutiny or are performed regularly in repertories. This book reports on one scholar's project to widen the lens through which we view Spain's "Golden Age" theater.

Specifically, Hilaire Kallendorf demonstrates the still unrealized potential of using on-line databases for locating theater texts in which monologues or dialogues highlight the process of casuistry or "conscience in action." By so doing, she expands the longstanding analytical focus of interiority in *comedia* studies from a more narrow scrutiny of honor and the honor code, the dominant single issue in the mid- to late-twentieth century scholarship. In this regard, she notes at one point how monologues enact "passion, honour, friendship, love, pleasure, and interest all poised in a delicate game of counterbalanc-

ing that threatens to collapse at any moment as each one ‘cedes’ to the next” (84–85). Throughout, Kallendorf buttresses her analysis by applying the Derridean notion of the trace, proposing it to conceptualize the “footprint” casuistry left within *comedia*.

In her first chapter, “The Vocabulary of Casuistry,” she uses the term *caso* (case) as an Ariadne’s thread to locate plays that enact casuistical reasoning. Chapter 2, “‘Qué he de hacer?’” / ‘What should I do?’” analyzes numerous dramatic monologues that air this pivotal question, whether in moral or tactical terms. Chapter 3, “Asking for Advice: Class, Gender, and the Supernatural,” considers how gender differences influence representations of casuistry based on a sample of ninety-seven digitized *comedias* from which a research assistant did keyword searches designed to find variants of the question, “¿qué he de hacer?” Kallendorf found here that twice as many men as women in *comedias* engage in speeches with casuistical reasoning. Chapter 4, “Constructions of Conscience,” reports on the search for dramatic representations of motives, intentions, and thoughts, a crucial inquiry given the elusiveness of interiority in early modern texts. Chapter 5, “Casuistry and Theory,” offers closing reflections on the literary and social implications of the dramatic enactments of casuistry. Her summation of this section speaks as well to the overall study: “I argue that casuistry offered an escape valve for dramatists and spectators seeking greater autonomy within this admittedly hegemonic system. Although the social atmosphere in Catholic Spain at this time was in no way conducive to privacy or interiority, there was in fact a kind of subversive movement towards moral autonomy on the part of the Jesuit-educated playwrights. These dramatists were also often clerics themselves and thus sanctioned to have a voice” (185). Though Kallendorf’s conception of theater’s special power to give voice to thoughts that might otherwise be dangerous to express in this or any other *ancien régime* society is well taken, her notions of both “hegemony” and “voice” need to be unpacked and contextualized. The assertion, for instance, that male clerics who wrote plays were “sanctioned to have a voice” overlooks the obstacles that even the most popular playwrights encountered. Thus, the enormously successful Mercedarian friar and playwright Tirso de Molina was censured for writing profane plays in 1625 by a reform committee, which urged the king to banish him

to the most remote convent of his order. From another angle, the important work of James Amelang on autobiography by artisans and by women offers just one example of how scholars are unearthing other realms in which non-elite individuals claimed a voice in society.

There are also moments in this study where the study could have benefited from more contextualization in literary and cultural terms. For instance, the primary example of casuistry offered in Chapter 1 is the *El animal profesta y dichoso parricida San Julián*, a hagiographic drama about the life of St. Julian Hospitaller. Kallendorf follows the late nineteenth-century edition by Menéndez y Pelayo, attributing it to Lope de Vega, despite the fact that scholars have doubted he authored this work, at least since the publication of Morley and Bruerton's *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's 'Comedias': With a Discussion of Doubtful Attributions* (1940; Spanish translation and revision 1968). A manuscript from the 1630s lists Antonio Mira de Amescua as the author, an attribution followed in the 2005 edition by Aurelio Valldares for Granada's Equipo Mira de Amescua (Mira de Amescua Research Team). Beyond the authorship question, Kallendorf skillfully delves into the process of casuistry present in a courtroom debate about damnation versus salvation. But on the outcome, in which the patricide is redeemed and his slain parents liberated from purgatory, she objects that: "Lope would here seem to be offering carte blanche for murder, as long as the right circumstances can be summoned afterwards as an excuse through casuistry (50)." But here, the playwright was adapting a saint's life passed on through popular ballads, painted on church altarpieces, or etched in stained glass, most famously in the Rouen Cathedral windows that inspired Flaubert's *St. Julien* two centuries years later. Narrating the life of the patricide-saint revered along the byways of folk Catholicism, if much less so in the circles of Counter Reformation reformers, the playwright is not excusing murder through casuistry. Rather, he is tackling the artistic challenge inherent in the sub-genre of hagiographic plays: how to make a well known story suspenseful for a two hour performance before the famously exacting audiences of Spanish play houses.

On the subject of the specific sub-genres, readers might want to supplement Kallendorf's eloquent and sophisticated analysis of conscience in action in a diverse selection of plays with more specific

studies of specific plays or sub-genres. For instance, a single paragraph in Chapter 2 discusses Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's *Ganar amigos*, Agustín Moreto's *La fuerza de la ley* and *La misma conciencia acusa*, none of which is well known or widely studied. Studies that would match well with this different works discussed here include Margaret Greer's analysis of Calderón's mythological plays and Fausta Antonucci's work on his cloak-and-dagger plays; Juan María Marín's study of *comedias de comendadores* (plays about tyrannical authority figures); Ignacio Arellano and Stefano Arata on *comedias urbanas*; Teresa Ferrer Valls and Jonathan Thacker on *comedias palatinas*; plus studies by Marc Vitse, Jesús Menéndez Peláez, and Ignacio Arellano on the overall connections between theology and the theater. By so doing, Kallendorf's own footsteps could lead the reader to many different scholarly conversations.

There is one point, however, that I believe Kallendorf should reconsider entirely. In closing, she avers that the scenes of casuistry in action she explores with early-modern Spanish theater could help explain the "insecurity, the cynicism, even the morbid fatalism of the elusive but tantalizing 'Spanish soul.' (200). She goes on to mention a possible extrapolation to Latin American and the Hispanic United States. I would strongly recommend here Richard Kagan's classic essay on "Prescott's Paradigm" or Jorge Cañizares's recent *Puritan Conquistadors*, both of which expose conceptual problems with the longstanding tendency in Anglo-American studies to distill an essential "Spanish character" from studies of early modern texts.

Notwithstanding this demurral, I believe that Kallendorf's methodology and her discussion of casuistry in diverse scenes have opened a window through which scholars can examine elusive issues of interiority. I am also enthusiastic about the many different kinds of scholarly conversations the book could start, particularly when considered in conjunction with focused studies of specific sub-genres. Moreover, the appendix that lists scenes that highlight casuistry in action could be a rich source for making new connections within the vast corpus of early-modern Spanish plays. The book's main analysis and appendix could also help us fine-tune the longstanding notion that early-modern Spanish theater elevated action over the interiority of specific characters, a point often made in (unflattering) comparisons with Shakespeare. In this sense, Kallendorf invites a reconceptualiza-

tion of the whole issue of subjectivity.



NEO-LATIN NEWS

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◆ A Lexicon to the Latin Text of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). Edited by John Chadwick and Jonathan S. Rose. London: The Swedenborg Society, 2008. xlviii + 583 pp. £50. John Chadwick is well known for his contribution to the decipherment and understanding of Linear B, the Minoan script of early Greek antiquity. Not so well known is the fact that he began his career as assistant to the editor of the Oxford Latin Dictionary, an appointment that followed logically from his specialization at Cambridge in classical linguistics. Even less well known is his association with The Swedenborg Society: his family was heavily involved in both the worship and publication activities of the General Conference of the New Church, the umbrella organization for those Christian congregations that follow the religious teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Chadwick translated eight of Swedenborg's works for the Society and prepared for it this lexicon as well. The lexicon began life in eight sections that entered circulation in mimeographed form between 1975 and 1990, with an invitation from Chadwick to send additions and corrections to the Society, for incorporation into a more definitive version. Chadwick was on his way to the Society's London headquarters to discuss this publication in 1998 when he passed away suddenly. His work was continued by Dr. Jonathan S.

Rose, an active member of the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies who brought the project to its successful conclusion in the volume under review here.

Everyone who works in Neo-Latin studies complains about how difficult and time-consuming it can be to get precise definitions for the words used in later Latin texts. Given how many such texts there are and their relative obscurity, it is unlikely that there will ever be a reference work for this field prepared according to modern lexicographical principles like the *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, or even a thorough, one-volume source like the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. There is always the *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* of Charles Du Fresne, sieur Du Cange (1610-1688), but this is now hundreds of years old and available only at large reference libraries or through institutions able to afford access via Brepols' 'Database of Latin Dictionaries'. A. Souter's *Glossary of Later Latin* is sometimes helpful, but its terminal date is AD 600, after which the Latin language continued to evolve for centuries. Jan Friedrich Niermeyer's *Mediae latinitatis lexikon minus* (1954-76) is helpful, as is René Hoven's *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*, but in my experience one still ends up moving from one of these works to another without necessarily finding what one is looking for.

As Jonathan Rose notes in his introduction, the primary purpose of this lexicon is to serve those who are studying and translating Swedenborg's theological works. These works, however, come to over four and a half million words, on topics that indeed include Biblical, ecclesiastical, and liturgical studies, but also extend to philosophy, mathematics, the sciences, literature, law, the arts, business, and travel. The wide range of topics treated leads in turn to a surprising lexical breadth, so that it is not unreasonable for Dr. Rose to note that the lexicon can also serve as a reference tool in the broader field of Neo-Latin studies. Given that Swedenborg was working after the great mass of material written in Latin during the Renaissance was produced, a lexicon to his writings will be particularly useful in capturing late usages. A special service has also been provided by Dr. Rose, who reversed course in the project and prepared as an appendix a list of proper nouns, whose identification and correct declension can really bedevil a modern reader.

In the end, anyone reading Neo-Latin literature will still have to pass from one dictionary to another for help with late usages and obscure terms. This Swedenborg lexicon, however, is one of the volumes I shall be using regularly for this purpose, and I recommend it as well to anyone with a serious interest in this field. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *De viris illustribus. Adam-Hercules.* By Francesco Petrarca. Edited by Caterina Malta. *Peculiares*, 1. Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, Università degli Studi di Messina, 2008. CCLX + 348 pp. As with many of his other works, Petrarch returned repeatedly to his biographies of illustrious men, not only revising what he had written but also changing the basic configuration of the project. What he produced in the end is part of a tradition, going back to Plutarch and Jerome and extending past Petrarch through Boccaccio and beyond, of providing exemplary biographies of famous people. Petrarch's efforts here fall into two groups, reflecting his belief that the values and ideals of antiquity were broadly compatible with Christianity: twenty-four biographies of Greek and Roman heroes, and twelve biographies of biblical and mythological figures, beginning with Adam and ending with Hercules. The volume under review here contains the second group.

This book has received the *imprimatur* of the Commissione per l'Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Francesco Petrarca, which has been fostering the publication of definitive texts of Petrarch's works since 1926, and it is easy to see why. The text itself covers ninety pages, which leaves over 500 pages of supporting text by the editor—although I should note that since every other page of text is actually Malta's translation, we really have 550 pages of work by a modern scholar supporting fifty pages of Petrarch's Latin. The long introduction discusses the complicated genesis and evolution of the project, the historical context in which the material is treated, and the relationship between the biographical works of Petrarch and Boccaccio. The actual commentary is four times the length of the text, and the work concludes with several indexes, detailed and precise in the way that is not always found in Italian books.

It is also worth noting that in the last twelve years, the Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici at the University of Messina has published fifty books in the field of humanistic studies, including works by Filelfo, Giraldi Cinzio, Fontius, Guarino da Verona, and Politian and secondary studies on Pontano, Barzizza, Tortelli, marginalia, and humanist epigraphy in Rome. In the next few issues, *NLN* will be printing reviews of several more of these books, which can be obtained directly from the Center through their website (<http://www.cisu.unime.it>). (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *La vita e il mondo di Leon Battista Alberti*, Atti dei convegni internazionali del Comitato Nazionale del VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti, Genova, 19-21 febbraio 2004. Centro Studi L. B. Alberti, Ingenium, 11. 2 vols. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2008. 68 euros. These two volumes present papers delivered at a conference in Genoa in 2004, thus commemorating both the place and the date (1404) of Alberti's birth. Among the participants are some of the usual suspects—noted literary and architectural historians—as well as a number of non-Italian scholars. The work is dedicated to the memory of Giovanni Ponte, a well-known Alberti expert who died in Genoa in 2003.

The first volume opens with three introductory lectures. Anthony Grafton's "Un passe-partout ai segreti di una vita: Alberti e la scrittura cifrata" offers an insightful contextualization of Alberti's treatise *De cifris*. Roberto Cardini's "Alberti umanista: autogiudizi e giudizi" retreads familiar ground, namely, the purportedly trailblazing work of the author. (Here *il maestro di color che sanno* abstains from footnotes, which presumably would force him to name other scholars whose research has advanced our knowledge of Alberti.) Francesco Paolo Fiore's "Alberti architetto" offers a rather bland summary of the humanist's architectural projects.

The next group of essays is titled "Biografia e autobiografia." John Woodhouse's "La vita di Leon Battista Alberti: interpretazioni inglesi" reviews interpretations of Alberti from Symonds to Whitfield and Grayson. In "Tra biografia e autobiografia. Le prospettive e i problemi della ricerca intorno alla vita di L. B. Alberti," Luca Boschetto, survey-

ing recent orientations in Alberti scholarship, calls for a new biography to supplant Mancini's 1911 classic. Michel Paoli's "L'influenza delle due *Vite* albertiane di Vasari" show how assertions made in the *Life of Alberti* resurface in the writings of various critics as late as the nineteenth century. Thomas Kuehn's "Leon Battista Alberti come illegittimo fiorentino" argues that passages on adoption in *Della famiglia* and *De iure* reflect the author's concern with his own illegitimacy. In "Tra due testamenti: riflessioni su alcuni aspetti problematici della biografia albertiana," Paola Benigni shows that, despite his father's purely monetary bequest, Battista eventually owned family property, including half of the ancestral palace in Florence.

In the next section, the focus narrows to "Alberti e Genova." Giovanna Petti Balbi's "Famiglia e potere: gli Alberti a Genova tra XIV e XV secolo" outlines what is known about the Alberti bankers in Genoa. Giuseppe Felloni's "Nicolò Lomellini: un banchiere genovese degli Alberti" gives a survey of a Genoese bank and its dealings with the Alberti company. Paola Massalin's "Dagli archivi privati Alberti Gaslini e Alberti La Marmora agli archivi pubblici: percorsi per una ricerca su Leon Battista e la sua famiglia" includes the humanist's autograph family tree preserved in an archive in Biella. Susannah F. Baxendale, in "Aspetti delle società e delle compagnie della famiglia Alberti tra tardo Trecento e primo Quattrocento," describes archival witnesses to the Alberti bank after the death of Benedetto (1388), with Battista's uncle Ricciardo playing the most prominent role.

Volume 2 of the work opens with seven studies grouped under the heading "I luoghi della vita." In "L'esperienza e l'opera di Leon Battista Alberti alla luce dei suoi rapporti con la città di Padova," Silvana Collodo suggests a number of Paduan cultural influences in Alberti's writings, including Marsilio of Padua. Roberto Norbedo's "Considerazioni intorno a Battista Alberti e Gasparino Barzizza a Padova" confirms Mancini's conclusion that Alberti studied in Barzizza's Ciceronian school. In "Leon Battista Alberti e lo Studio di Bologna negli anni Venti," David A. Lines discusses how little archival evidence survives of the humanist's legal studies. Lorenzo Böninger's "Da 'commentatore' ad arbitro della sua famiglia: nuovi episodi albertiani" relates incidents involving the humanist's cousin Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti and demonstrates the Florentine prestige that

Leon Battista enjoyed late in life. In “L. B. Alberti oficial del la cancelleria pontificia,” Marta Ramón Ramírez presents two *inedita* attesting to Alberti’s role as apostolic abbreviator. Riccardo Fubini’s “Leon Battista Alberti, Niccolò V e il tema della ‘infelicità del principe’” offers an intertextual analysis of papal power as viewed by Petrarch, Poggio, and Alberti. Arturo Calzona’s “Leon Battista Alberti e l’architettura: un rapporto complesso” examines what is known about Alberti’s architectural projects, with nuanced descriptions of his relations with Ferrara, Rimini, and Florence (Giovanni Rucellai). The second volume concludes with a “Catalogo dell’esposizione collaterale,” preceded by three relevant commentaries: an introduction by Alfonso Assini, Enrico Basso’s “I documenti dell’archivio Alberti Gaslini,” and Valentina Ruzzin’s “Gli Alberti di Firenze nella documentazione dell’Archivio di Stato di Genova.” The catalogue proper, offering documents about the Albertis in Florence and Genoa, comprises thirty-nine manuscripts and sixteen plates.

In sum, the specialized studies of this set of conference proceedings will primarily interest scholars with an interest in the archival evidence for the life and times of Leon Battista Alberti. But the essays by Grafton, Paoli, Fubini, and Calzona offer insights into his world and fortune that a wider readership may readily appreciate. (David Marsh, Rutgers University)

◆ *Delineation of the City of Rome (Descriptio urbis Romae)*. By Leon Battista Alberti. Edited by Mario Carpo and Francesco Furlan, critical edition by Jean-Yves Boriaud and Francesco Furlan, English translation by Peter Hicks. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 335. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007. ix + 123 pp. Sometime in the 1440s, Alberti surveyed the monuments of Rome from the Capitoline Hill and wrote a short tract with tables plotting his results using polar coordinates (angle and distance from the central vantage point); he apparently published his findings in 1450 in the short treatise he called the *Descriptio urbis Romae*. While his attempt represents a first in modern topography, the text describing his method and its results survives in only six manuscripts and was not published until the nineteenth century. Yet

despite its brevity, the text is of considerable interest, not only to cartographers, but also to Roman archaeologists who will find here a record of monuments extant in the middle of the fifteenth century. Alberti gives detailed measurements—in degrees and minutes—for tracing the contours of the Tiber and Rome's principal walls and gates, and for locating some thirty-five churches and monuments.

As part of an ongoing project sponsored by the Paris-based Société Internationale Leon Battista Alberti, Mario Carpo and Francesco Furlan here present a rigorous critical edition (by Jean-Yves Boriaud and Furlan) accompanied by the editors' introductory essays, an English translation by Peter Hicks, select bibliography, and various indexes. This volume clearly replaces the recent edition published as Leon Battista Alberti, *Descriptio urbis Romae*, édition critique, traduction et commentaire par Martine Furno et Mario Carpo (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2000). The critical apparatus is more accurate and detailed—including a stemma on p. 67—and the visual realizations of Alberti's survey are more extensively illustrated. (See Furlan's animadversion on the earlier edition, pp. 49-50. Cf. my review in "Leon Battista Alberti at the Millennium: Review Essay," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 1028-37, at 1035-36. One merit of the French volume is a useful compendium of references to classical monuments drawn from Petrarch, Flavio Biondo, Poggio Bracciolini, and Giovanni Tortelli.) Some of the matter is recycled: this is in fact the third incarnation of Boriaud and Furlan's critical edition—including the introductions, text, and apparatus—which initially appeared in *Albertiana* 6 (2003): 125-215, then again with corrections in a book published by Olschki in 2005.

Alberti's treatise consists of a brief description of his method in surveying, followed by 176 sets of coordinates that locate various sites by angle and distance as measured from the Capitoline Hill (whose coordinates are 0/0). The fact that the author presents his textual tabulation without a visual plotting of the data raises several questions. What is more, the author's use of the term *descriptio* as his title points to a central ambiguity in the nature of the text. In classical Latin, the noun signifies (1) the drawing of a diagram, (2) a transcript, or (3) a narrative description. Only the second of these terms applies strictly to the treatise, which transcribes Alberti's plottings but offers no drawing or narrative. His reasons for providing only a set of data are examined

in the fascinating (if clumsily titled) introductory essay, “The Reproducibility and Transmission of the Technico-Scientific Illustrations in the Work of Alberti and in His Sources” by Mario Carpo, professor of architectural history, and Francesco Furlan, director of the Société Internationale Leon Battista Alberti. This two-part study raises important questions about the status of a “figurative” text and its transmission, and an appendix by Furlan (29-39) reproduces and analyzes images found in manuscripts and printed editions of Alberti’s *Descriptio*, *De statua*, and *Ex ludis rerum mathematicarum*.

After centuries of relative neglect, no doubt due to the technical problems in “reading” the treatise, Alberti’s *Descriptio* has enjoyed a “recent critical revival,” as the volume’s back cover blurb terms it, and as the Select Bibliography demonstrates. Since 1968, the work has been translated into English, French, Italian, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish. (Where, one wonders, are the Germans?) Part of the fascination of the work lies in Alberti’s decisive break with the literary tradition of topography, which derived from ancient texts like Ptolemy (whose *Geographia* was translated into Latin around 1406 by Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia) and which continued in the writings of humanists from Petrarch to Poggio Bracciolini and Flavio Biondo. Still, the rupture is not absolute, for as Furlan points out, Alberti had to entrust his data to a written text, rather than create a fully realized diagram that might not have survived: “Alberti’s decision to put his money on numerical tables, which made it possible for every interested reader to redraw the map of Rome, rather than to entrust to copyists the map which he had created, seem to have been a complete success” (25). Alberti did not live long enough to experiment with print, although he refers to this “recent” invention in his 1467 treatise on cryptology, *De compendendis cifris*. It is tempting to speculate whether he would have presented his survey of Rome in a different fashion if he had participated in the transition from handwritten to print culture.

The exact nature of Alberti’s surveying instrument remains obscure. He calls its circular disk *horizon* and its rotating arm *radius*, but it is unclear how he determined distances, although he gives some examples of triangulation in the treatise *Ex ludis rerum mathematicarum*. All the same, the precision of his results is confirmed by modern plottings of his data, which prove startlingly accurate, as is shown

when they are superimposed on modern images of Rome (Figures 3 and 5, pp. 73 and 75). Exploiting the graphic capabilities of modern publishing, the editors reproduce various manuscript drawings and topographic realizations of Alberti's findings. In this way, they have gone beyond the strictly textual nature of the *Descriptio*, while treating the text itself with the most scrupulous philological rigor. Students of Renaissance humanism and cartography will remain in their debt for many years to come. (David Marsh, Rutgers University)

◆ *Mehmed II the Conqueror and the Fall of the Franco-Byzantine Levant to the Ottoman Turks: Some Western Views and Testimonies*. Edited, translated, and annotated by Marios Philippides. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 302. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007. xiv + 430 pp. \$55. At the time when Renaissance humanism was celebrating the renewed importance of the classics in western culture and the effective recovery of classical Greek, an increasingly grave threat appeared on Europe's eastern border: the Ottoman Turks, whose successes brought them to the gates of Vienna before they were definitively turned back. As the threat grew, Europeans became concerned to learn something about their adversary. Since the trappings of scholarship in this period were decisively Neo-Latin, the ethnographic studies of the Turks and the accounts of the military encounters with them were often elaborated using the tools of humanist historiography: indeed, for many scholars of the period, the *Turci* became the *Tencri*, casting the European-Ottoman encounter as a new chapter in the Trojan War. In this volume, Philippides provides a selection of these works, mostly in Latin and English with a commentary.

First is Nikolaos Sekoundinos's *De familia Otthomanorum epitome ad Aeneam Senarum episcopum*, a short work on the Ottoman sultans written for Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini two years before he became Pope Pius II in 1458. The decisive event in the encounter, of course, was the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and Philippides wisely presents several accounts of this traumatic event. Pope Pius II's *De captatione urbis Constantinopolis tractatulus* is not among his best-known works today, but it did exercise a considerable influence in its own time. The same cannot

be said for Henry of Soemmer's *Qualiter urbs Constantinopolis anno LIII^o a Turcis depredata fuit et subingata*, which is nevertheless of interest for its description of the aftermath of the siege and the difficulties faced by the refugees after the sack. Further details are provided in Giacomo Tedaldi's *Tractatus de expugnatione urbis Constantinopolis*. After the fall of Constantinople, the Turks turned their attentions to Euboea, or Negroponte, as its Venetian possessors called it, which fell after the Venetian commander failed to organize a substantive defence. Philippides gives two accounts of this event, Giacomo Rizzardo's *Caso ruinoso della cittade de Negroponte* and Brother Jacopo dalla Castellana's *Perdita di Negroponte*. The first account is not by an eyewitness, but the second is; between them, they give a good idea both of what happened and of the effects of this second military failure. Next, the Turks set their sights on Rhodes, which was controlled by the Knights of Saint John, who traded slaves and launched pirate attacks from the island. Pierre d'Aubisson, the Grand Master of the Order, was expecting an assault; he issued appeals for aid to the western powers but strengthened his defences without waiting for a reply, and when the attack came, the Knights prevailed. Philippides prints two letters of d'Aubisson, one an appeal for aid, the other an official report of his success, along with Guillaume Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, an account by one of the defenders that went through seven incunabular editions along with German, Italian, and English translations. This was the decisive event in this initial round of the encounter: Mehmed II died soon afterward and the Turkish expeditionary forces were forced to withdraw. Philippides ends his volume here, adding in appendices a French text of the Tedaldi document, a Greek and Italian version of the *aman-name* granted by Mehmed II to Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople, and a sort of official account of the fall of the two cities as presented by the Venetian Pietro Giustiniani in his *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita ad annum MDLXXXV*.

This is an unusually interesting volume, for several reasons. The events it depicts were among the most important of their day, and for the reasons explained above, the depictions often seemed most appropriately expressed in Latin. The Turkish threat remained real for several generations afterward and attracted attention from major humanists like Erasmus, yet the sources from which information was

gathered have since slipped into obscurity over the centuries and can only be accessed now with considerable difficulty. Some, like Caoursin's, are most accessible in rare fifteenth-century printings, while others have been published in out-of-the-way eighteenth- (Tetaldi) and nineteenth-century (the two accounts of the fall of Negroponte) sources that are accessible in only a handful of the world's best research libraries. Few have been translated into English. Philippides brings almost twenty-five years of work in this area to his task, and it shows, with the lengthy introduction and notes offering detailed information about the texts and a good number of corrections to what has been written by others about them. And as Philippides notes, the documents presented here offer the foundation for a reappraisal of how these events have been understood. The nineteenth-century grand narrative, for example, suggests that Constantinople fell because the degenerate Greeks refused to defend themselves and because the Turks took advantage of western technology like artillery to flatten the city walls, but these documents show that the Turkish artillery failed to have any decisive effect and that the city actually fell after the Venetian troops withdrew.

Philippides describes his book as resting on an "unabashedly old-fashioned approach" for which he "make[s] no apologies" (ix). If solid scholarship, careful textual criticism, and judicious annotation are "old-fashioned," then so be it. Yet I should also note that even if Philippides did not choose to pursue this angle, the material he presents can make a real contribution to some very trendy discussions in American higher education today. The history department at my university, for example, is focusing its graduate program on cross-cultural encounters and on the borders, both physical and intellectual, that these encounters challenge. As Philippides shows, Neo-Latin has a good deal to contribute to investigations like this. Many of the documents through which the 'old' world made sense of the 'new' were written in Latin, and as we see here, Europe's eastern border is every bit as interesting in the early modern period. Books like Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton's *Renaissance Art between East and West* and the collection of essays edited by Gerald McLean, *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchange with the East*, also reflect this interest. From here, it is but one more short step to postcolonialism, Foucauldian power, and

new historicism, at which point the place of the Neo-Latinist on the university's diversity committee becomes secure. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Planetomachia*. By Robert Greene. Edited by Nandini Das. Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity. Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007. lv + 168 pp. Robert Greene produced about three titles a year between 1583 and his death in 1592: romances, collections of tales, topical pamphlets, and plays. His “impudent pamphletting, phantasticall interluding, and desperate libelling” annoyed Gabriel Harvey, and his romance *Pandosto* provided Shakespeare with the plot for *A Winter's Tale*. His *Planetomachia* of 1585, a collection of three short tragic tales with a framing dialogue in which the gods of the planets discuss their effects on human affairs, is, like most of his output, in English, but it includes a Latin dialogue lifted from the *Aegidius* of Pontanus, which Greene knew through Antoine Mizauld's *Planetologia* of 1551, and other material from Mizauld, some reprinted in Latin and some translated into English. Here, Nandini Das argues, “humanist scholarship enters into an intriguing, albeit very uneasy interchange with the world of Renaissance popular print.”

This edition presents an old-spelling text of *Planetomachia*, with an introduction, notes (generally brief glosses rather than attempts to trace or elucidate Greene's references), a translation of the Latin dialogue, and texts and translations of the sections of Mizauld's *Planetologia* on which Greene drew. It is very handy to have all this material together. Greene's work was printed in two different shops, both of which produced sections registered A–F, paginated in one case and unpaginated in the other. This naturally confused early binders, and only one of the six surviving copies has the whole text bound in the correct order. The only previous attempt at a scholarly edition of *Planetomachia*, Grosart's of 1881–86, was founded on a defective copy of the book, and the copy available in microfilm and through *Early English Books Online* is complete but misbound. Now at last it is easy to read the whole of Greene's work in the correct order. The extracts from Mizauld's work are also welcome, since his *Planetologia* has never been edited, although it is available to readers in the Adam

Mathew microfilm series of the books of John Dee, and in K. G. Saur's of the Bibliotheca Palatina.

Das's introduction is clear and straightforward, although there are a few slips and omissions: Keith Thomas is cited as R. V. Thomas (elsewhere, Giovanni Francesco Pico is confused with his uncle), the *Short-Title Catalogue* is cited from the first edition, and it is odd to see no reference to A. F. Allison's bibliography of Greene or to A. H. Newcomb's very useful *Oxford DNB* entry. However, the edition has two more serious problems.

First, the English text has been inexpertly edited. In some cases, this is a matter of procedure: it is not necessary to emend every occurrence of comparative *then* to *than* in an old-spelling text, let alone to present these "emendations" in a twenty-page appendix (another twenty-one pages record words hyphenated at the ends of the short lines of the copy-text). In others, errors are missed: *Pasmneticus* for *Psamneticus*, and *litle* for *like* in "great gifts sufficient to content, and litle gods able to command, even *Vesta* her self to leave her virginity." Worse, error has sometimes been introduced: *starse* for *scarse* in "coulede starse keepe"; *hadde* for *badde* in "no weede so hadde which serveth not to some use"; *bydest* for *hydest* in "when thou cariest in the backe of thy hand a Lambe: thou bydest in the palme a Tiger"; *end* for *and* in "end in short time." In all four of these cases, Das's text agrees with the keyboarded text available through Early English Books Online, which is an unfortunate coincidence.

The treatment of Latin is worse than the treatment of English. The signature "P. H. *Armiger*" under a liminary poem leads Das to write of "Armiger's commendatory verse." Mizauld writes that those under the sign of Mars have "narium muccum paucum, eumque subflauum," but Das reads the last word as *subflanum* and translates "scant mucus of the nostrils, and that breezy." Venus is called "genitale astrum, & prolificum, ob humidi temperaturam"; this becomes "the birth star, and prolific, because of the temperature of its humidity." Likewise, "cum artifice conuenire" becomes "the skilful combination of the two." Other examples could be given.

Greene's *Planetomachia* is unlikely to be edited again in the near future, and it is good to have an edition at all. However, this one would have been better if its editor had taken advice from an experienced

textual editor and from a competent Latinist before publishing her work. (John Considine, University of Alberta)

◆ *Thomas Gray, Elegy in a Country Churchyard, Latin Translations, 1762-2001*. Edited by Donald Gibson, Peter Wilkinson, and Stephen Freeth. Orpington: The Holden Press, 2008. 282 pages. £19.95. At first glance, even to readers whose taste runs to the subjects covered by *Neo-Latin News*, a book like this must look like an exercise in perverseness. There are plenty of perfectly good reasons to translate from Latin into English, but why would anyone translate one of the best-known poems in the English language into Latin? Partly, it would seem, because the language, rhythm, and resonances of Gray's poem seem so classical, with its pastoral setting, its Stoic philosophy, and (notwithstanding the epitaph) its non-Christian flavor. And partly because English public schools continued the tradition of Latin verse translation throughout the nineteenth century, as noted in Kipling's *Stalky and Co.*: "I have seen M'Turk being hounded up the stairs to elegeise the Elegy in a Churchyard." For those who matured in this tradition, the temptation to compose in Latin undoubtedly returned in adult life as well. In any event, it seems that no other English poem of this length and complexity has been recast into Latin so frequently, as the forty-five translations in this volume attest.

Who are these forty-five writers? The earliest translators were mostly established literary figures like Gilbert Wakefield, a well-known scholar of his day, but from the beginning the *Elegy* attracted amateurs as well, especially schoolboys. In the late eighteenth century many of the translators, rather surprisingly, were Italian, where especially in Padua and Verona a series of poets competed with another to translate the *Elegy* into both Italian and Latin. Their pre-romantic musings extended to Ugo Foscolo, then to Alessandro Torri's polyglot volume, whose second edition in 1843 contained thirty-one versions in six languages. From the 1820s on in Britain, the style shifts to a more private, self-indulgent tone, with the majority of translators being clergymen and/or schoolmasters. Eleven of the forty-five poems date from the last three decades of the nineteenth century, mostly in private publications aimed at a limited readership. Among

their authors are Henry Sewell, the first premier of New Zealand; Sir Alexander Cockburn, later Lord Chief Justice of England; and the Reverend Henry John Dodwell, whose translation was published in 1884 from the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum (the reviewer will resist the temptation to comment on this fact).

A number of these renderings had some impact, beginning with Anstey/Roberts, which went through nine printings and received comments from Gray; then going to Lloyd, Wakefield, and Wright; and ending with Hildyard, Macaulay, and Munro. Several of the poems show significant literary accomplishment, although at least three (including a schoolboy exercise of Shelley) show striking signs of plagiarism. Most, as one might expect, are in elegiacs, but a half dozen translators selected the rather more demanding hexameter. Echoes of Virgil and Horace especially, but also of Lucretius and Juvenal, abound.

This project was born in the fertile, but eccentric, mind of Donald Gibson, a sometime archivist in Kent who himself penned the final translation in this volume. A memorial in the *Guardian Weekly* notes that he had the “talent for conspicuous oddity” (274) that would be required for a project like this, along with the evident wish that he had lived in the eighteenth century rather than the twentieth. The obituary in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists* notes the gamebird he had purchased for dinner as often as not remained in his rucksack until its increasingly pungent odor reminded him (and those around him) of what he had intended to do some days earlier (278). In any event, what began as a retirement hobby for Gibson took on a life of its own after his death, when a group of friends devoted themselves to seeing through what had been left only half finished at his untimely death. Under the direction of Peter Wilkinson and Stephen Freeth, the number of translations doubled, with each one receiving a biographical and bibliographical note that makes this book a work of scholarship that serves as a worthy tribute to its originator.

It is often said that finding a publisher for Neo-Latin poetry is not easy at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This is my first contact with The Holden Press, but I should note that they have published two other collections that mix historical essays with verse in both Latin and English: *Ramillies* (a commemoration of the three

hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Ramillies, 1706) and *1708: Oudenarde and Lille*. The press solicits pre-publication subscribers, in much the same way that works like this were financed in eighteenth-century England, and one can only hope that other publishers will follow a similar model at least now and again. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *The Recovery of Ancient Philosophy in the Renaissance: A Brief Guide*. By James Hankins and Ada Palmer. Quaderni di «Rinascimento» 44. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2008. VIII + 94 pages. The first author of this volume, James Hankins, is well known to readers of *NLN* as the general editor of the I Tatti Renaissance Library, for his monumental study of Plato in the Renaissance, and for his work on Leonardo Bruni. For this book he has taken on a co-author, Ada Palmer, who is finishing a doctoral dissertation with Hankins at Harvard on Lucretius in the Renaissance and will be joining the history faculty at Texas A&M University in the fall. Together they have produced a nifty little guide whose value is seriously belied by its modest size.

As Hankins and Palmer readily concede, the story that the Renaissance humanists told about themselves obscures at least in part what their medieval predecessors knew about ancient philosophy: scholastic philosophers had access to basic information about Plato in authors like Cicero, Seneca, and Augustine and to skepticism through Cicero and Augustine, while the doctrines of the Stoics and the pre-Socratics were known in part through indirect sources as well. But in many ways, the boasting of the humanists was justified, in that almost all the ancient philosophical texts known today, excepting Aristotle, were rediscovered, translated, studied, and printed in the Renaissance. The results of this revival are again partially distorted by the humanists, who were not always willing to acknowledge the key role that Aristotle continued to play in universities through the seventeenth century. It is nevertheless true, however, that in one field after another, Aristotle's authority was successfully challenged, first in moral philosophy by Petrarch and the humanists, then in logic by the Ramists, and finally in physics and natural philosophy, in part by the empirical revolution. As the field of study widened, philosophers

became less inclined to see Aristotle as the ideal teacher of timeless truths and more inclined to see him as representative of one moment in the evolution of philosophy, one who, ironically, succeeded in displacing other ancient philosophers that were actually more compatible with Christianity than he was.

While this ‘big picture’ is well established, it is often surprisingly difficult to figure out, for any given ancient philosopher or school, exactly what was known and when. The *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* will eventually provide definitive answers to many of these questions, but for most ancient philosophers there are as yet no *CTC* articles, and no other place in which reliable data about the reception of an ancient philosophical author can be found. This *Guide* aims to show when the major texts of ancient philosophy became available in Renaissance Europe, and which translators and commentators shaped their initial reception. Information is provided whenever possible on the manuscript transmission, the most important commentaries, and the earliest vernacular translations.

Hankins and Palmer’s *Guide* was originally conceived as an appendix to the *Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, edited by James Hankins (2007), and it should be used along with the essays published there. Clearly reflecting an enormous amount of work, it is easy to see why the decision was made to publish it separately. As such it will serve as a valuable reference work, both to specialists in the field, who can use it to refresh their memories on the latest work, and to non-specialists, who can turn to it for reliable, succinct information when their questions drift over into this area. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Das lateinische Drama der Frühen Neuzeit: Exemplarische Einsichten in Praxis und Theorie*. Edited by Reinhold F. Glei and Robert Seidel. Frühe Neuzeit, 129. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2008. VIII + 318 pp. The essays contained in this volume derive for the most part from the third meeting of the Deutschen Neulateinischen Gesellschaft, which was hosted by the Seminar für Klassische Philologie at Ruhr-Universität Bochum in February of 2007. The subject was the Neo-Latin drama of the early modern period.

In “‘Histrionum exercitus et scommata’—Schauspieler, die Spüche klopfen: Johannes Reuchlins *Sergius* und die Anfänge der neulateinischen Komödie,” Matthias Dall’Asta focuses on Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), a man who stands in many ways at the beginning of Neo-Latin comedy in Germany, with a special focus on his *Sergius*, a play that had an unusually broad reception. Johannes Klaus Kipf’s “Der Beitrag einiger ‘Poetae minores’ zur Entstehung der neulateinischen Komödie im deutschen Humanismus 1480-1520,” in contrast, shows the value of studying little-known writers in addition to famous ones like Reuchlin. In “Dramatische Dialoge als Sprachlehrbuch—Die *Dialogi sacri* des Sebastian Castellio,” Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann focuses on Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563) to show how the dramatized dialogue can carry didactic content. Benedikt Jeßing takes the inquiry in a slightly different direction in “Zur Rezeption des *morall play* vom ‘Everyman’ in der neulateinischen und frühneuhochdeutschen Komödie—Georg Macropedius, Hans Sachs,” showing that the didactic thrust of Neo-Latin drama becomes increasingly confessional in the early modern period, but suggesting rather surprisingly that plays of the Catholic Macropedius and the Protestant Sachs do not evidence significant theological differences. Jan Bloemendal focuses on a little-known educator in “Cornelius Laurimanus als Dramatiker—Theater und Theologie gegen Ketzereien,” noting that his efforts to combat the Lutheran heresy through school drama did not succeed in his home city of Utrecht. In “Didos Hofnarr—Zum Personal von Knausts *Dido*-Tragödie (1566),” Reinhold F. Gleis turns his attention to a play by Heinrich Knaust (*ca.* 1521-after 1577), a Virgilian tragedy that is distinctive for its large cast of characters, one of whom, the court fool, is worth special attention. Jürgen Leonhardt studies a dramatic representation of the triumph of humanist Latin in “Frischlins *Priscianus vapulans* und die zeitgenössische Lateinkultur,” while in “Polyglossie, Polysemie: zur konfessionspolitischen Standort von Nicodemus Frischlins *Phasma*,” Nicola Kaminski offers an analysis of how Latin and German can be used in unexpectedly subtle ways to produce comic humor in a confessionally charged context. In “Die Entwicklung des Jesuitendramas vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert—Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel Innsbruck,” Stefan Tilg uses material from Innsbruck to trace the development of various forms of Jesuit drama in that city.

“Der blinde Belisar—zwei Ausformungen einer exemplarischen Gestalt bei Jacob Bidermann SJ: Ein Baustein zur funktionalen Abgrenzung von Drama und heroischem Brief” is a demonstration by Jost Eickmeyer of how the same material is treated in two genres, drama and heroic epistle, by Jacob Bidermann (1578-1639). Fidel Rädle begins with Georg Bernardt, who is not a major figure in German Neo-Latin drama, but shows in “Zum dramatischen Oeuvre Georg Bernardts SJ (1595-1660)” how Bernardt is important as the representative of a second phase of Jesuit theater in Bavaria. Wilfried Stroh returns to Innsbruck with “Vom Kasperletheater zum Märtyrerdrama: Jacobus Baldes Innsbrucker Schulkömodie *Iocus serius* (1629),” showing how the play of Jacob Balde (1604-1668) helps to articulate the principles of tragicomedy in Neo-Latin drama. The collection of essays concludes with Robert Seidel’s “Lateinische Theaterapologetik am Vorabend des Sturm und Drang—Die *Vindiciae scenicae* von Philipp Ernst Rauffseyen (1767),” which focuses on the role of disputation in the Neo-Latin theater of the Enlightenment.

As Glei and Seidel note in their introduction, the study of German Neo-Latin drama is not yet at the place where broad, overarching generalizations can be easily reached. They suggest that the so-called ‘performative turn’ in recent criticism offers real possibilities, and they note as well that certain themes—the mixing of genres, the importance of the school environment for the didactic content of these plays, the central role of confessional issues in Neo-Latin drama—recur in a number of the essays. Much more work remains to be done on this material, but the collection of essays presented here moves our understanding and appreciation of it significantly forward. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *History of the Florentine People*, vol. 3: Books IX-XII, with *Memoirs*. By Leonardo Bruni. Edited and translated by James Hankins, with D. J. W. Bradley. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 27. xxvi + 477 pp. *History of Venice*, vol. 1: Books I-IV. By Pietro Bembo. Edited and translated by Robert W. Ulery, Jr. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 28. xxvi + 357 pp. *Commentaries*, vol. 2: Books III-IV. By Pope Pius II. Edited by Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta. The I Tatti

Renaissance Library, 29. viii + 407 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007. The three volumes here represent the best of the work for The I Tatti Renaissance Library, an ever-growing repository of Neo-Latin texts, always competently prepared, with its fair share of unexpected pleasures. The final volume of Bruni's *History of the Florentine People*, for example, certainly gives us what we expect: a well-edited, carefully translated conclusion to a major work of early modern history, supplemented by a simultaneously composed personal retrospective of a life of scholarship and public service. Up through Book IX, Bruni was able to rely on the vernacular chronicles of Giovanni Villani and Marchionne di Copo Stefani, but as his sources ran out, he began to avail himself of the material in the Florentine state archives to which his public offices gave him access. The first modern edition (Emilio Santini's, published in 1914 in the *Rerum italicarum scriptores* series) dutifully recorded Bruni's debts to Villani and Stefani as far as they went, then suspended annotation entirely, leaving the impression that Bruni's *History* is simply a boring rehash of the vernacular chronicles. It is to Hankins's great credit that he figured out what Bruni must have done to complete his work, leading to the provocative conclusion that "Bruni became the first historian in the Western tradition to compose a history based extensively on sources in government archives" (xviii). Hankins modestly notes that a full discussion of sources would require something that far exceeds the goals of this series, but the notes to the relevant sections provide references to the archival material "which Bruni could have used . . . that he probably used, and . . . [that] he unquestionably did use" (xix-xx). Here, as with Shane Butler's edition of Poliziano's *Letters* (reviewed in the spring, 2007 issue of *NLN*), a series designed to provide reliable basic texts to general readers opens up into scholarship that changes the way a work is understood in important ways.

ITRL 28 is the first volume of an officially sanctioned history of Venice, taken up largely with the first phase of the Italian Wars (1494-1513), that was commissioned to complete the work of Sabellico. For modern readers, Bembo's Latin poetry and his importance in shaping the vernacular canon have overshadowed his historical work, but as Ulery shows, at least some of the criticism directed toward the *History of Venice* is misleading. Eric Cochrane, for example, suggested that

Bembo's work does not meet the standards of modern scientific history. It is true that Bembo set out to create a history that both reflects the image that Venice's ruling elite had of itself and to shape how the city would be viewed in the rest of Europe, but as contemporary theoreticians have noted, all history is written with a purpose. Bembo was a humanist, and as such, he modelled his work on Caesar and Livy, who sought to shape available accounts in a convincing literary form. Justus Lipsius in turn criticized Bembo's style, but as Ulery, a sensitive critic of Latin style, notes, Lipsius does not always represent Bembo's usage accurately. In sum, the *History of Venice* fully merits the attention it is being given here.

ITRL 29 offers the second installment of Pius II's *Commentaries*, the only autobiography ever written by a pope. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was born in a small town near Siena and became a famous poet and diplomat. In his early years he was an opponent of the papacy whose lifestyle was less than exemplary by Christian standards, but over time he became a priest, then a cardinal, then pope, dedicating himself to a crusade against the Ottoman Turks that never took place. The *Commentaries* make interesting reading, giving insight into the life and thought of an important church official and humanist. The text is a new one, based on the later of two surviving manuscripts, and the translation updates and corrects the 1937 version of Florence Alden Gragg. This is a fine volume which admirably fulfills the aims of the series. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*. By Jane Stevenson. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. xiv + 659 pp. \$175 (hardback) \$50 (paperback, published February 2008). Jane Stevenson's book has been long awaited by everyone with an interest in women and Latinity: it does not disappoint. The chronological and cultural reach of this—now indispensable—survey of women who wrote Latin poetry from the late Roman Republic to the twentieth century, from Cornificia, known to St. Jerome, to the author of *Just William*, Richmal Crompton, will not be superseded in the foreseeable future, although Stevenson leaves ample opportunity, and indeed generously provides the substructure,

for much further work on women Latin poets. The survey unfolds chronologically, beginning with mentions of classical women poets in the Late Republic and working forward through regionally based surveys. This method allows diachronic patterns to emerge while also pointing up the distinctive features in the lives, circumstances, and poetry of the many women treated in this book.

Women have always been positioned at the sidelines of Latinate culture. Stevenson's survey, although it does not in the end challenge the exceptionality of women writing Latin poetry, does nonetheless complicate the received story in two important ways. First, Stevenson provides a convincing accumulation of evidence to show that many more women must have been Latin-literate than have been acknowledged by the standard scholarly surveys. Secondly, if these women have been slow to come to the attention of recent women's literary history, this does not preclude more visibility, and even some influence, in the past. The *Cento* of the late antique poet Proba, which reworked lines of Virgil for Christian use, remained popular until the Renaissance. Exceptional women in authority—abbesses, queens, and princesses—were regularly trained to use the language of authority, and many of their Latin productions are discussed by Stevenson. But Stevenson also points out that women Latinists at the sidelines could artfully use their 'naïveté' to political advantage, as did Angela Nogarola when she sent verses to the new political masters of her city of Verona: being from a woman, Stevenson suggests they could have diplomatically tested the waters for her family better than any by a man.

Stevenson takes the ability to write Latin verse as the most reliable index of Latin literacy, reasoning that those historical women who could successfully undertake the highly technical exercise of composing verse had indeed reached a level of education comparable with elite men. Such women certainly pushed the boundaries of what was allowable and expected of women in the past, but Stevenson points out that they tended to be accommodated within existing structures and authority: they were not outlaws.

In addition to fleshing out the more famous Latin poets, like Proba, Hildegard, and the first woman to receive a doctorate, Elena Piscopia (described as "neither nun nor wife; her status was one of triumphant liminality"), Stevenson has also rescued lesser-known names. Cilla

Gad, born in 1675, was one of the few Norwegian women Latinists, ultimately dying early after a sad life: convicted of infanticide, she wrote Latin verses from prison to thank Otto Sperling for including her in his catalogue of learned women. Stevenson's policy is deliberately inclusive. When faced with the possibility of a doubtful attribution, she gives the benefit of the doubt to the female poet. (Royal women, for instance, seem regularly to have presented family members with Latin occasional verses, and one wonders whether they might have used Latin secretaries much as they might have used music masters, to compose the pieces they then presented as their 'own'.) A policy of inclusivity also leads to the frequent mention of women who do not necessarily compose Latin verse in the interest of providing a more general picture of women's learning: women who showed signs of knowing any Latin at all, or of simply knowing other languages than their mother tongue. At times, one feels the press of multiplying examples crowding an exceptionally information-dense book.

Yet this inclusive approach also helps Stevenson reconstruct the often-elusive context out of which women Latin poets emerged. Although praised by men as inimitable singularities, Stevenson shows that they often developed simultaneously with or even supported by circles of learned women. Women Latinists also cultivated connections with each other. The famous Anna Maria Schurman, for instance, promoted the work of women both older and younger than herself: Marie de Gournay and a young Danish translator of Seneca, Birgitta Thott, both of whom receive separate notice in Stevenson's book. Such connections between Latin women poets could stretch across the globe. A Latin congratulatory verse for the seventeenth-century Swedish poet Sophia Brenner appeared under the name of Sor Juana Inès de la Cruz, a learned prolific Mexican nun (although Stevenson acknowledges that Brenner's friends may simply have recycled a poem written by Sor Juana for another woman).

A clear pattern to emerge from Stevenson's book, however, is the importance of fathers. Above all the other influences that made possible a woman's entry into Latinate culture, having a pushy or a pedagogical father seems more often than not to have made the difference. Sometimes the paternal motivations were merely practical. The physician father of the seven-year-old Anne Denton hoped, in

mid-seventeenth-century England, to teach her enough Latin “to understand a Drs bill and to write one, and then I could ... leave her a portion without money.” The fathers of Olimpia Morata and Luisa Sigea educated their prodigiously learned daughters for show. (Some women’s Latin verses were circulated with a clear view to advertising suitability for a position, perhaps as a governess in a royal court, a strategy a woman could also employ on her own behalf, once she had gained the capital of learning.) In such cases, private tuition prepared for the public sphere, even to the extent that some learned women become showpieces of civic or national pride; in the early modern period, it seemed necessary for the pride of both Holland and Venice each to have its own “Sappho.” Still, a woman’s domestic situation remained key: for any subsequent freedom and support, she had actually to exercise her learning. There seem to have been no simplistic rules, however. Just as for nuns a life in religion could either mean the beginning or the end of composing in Latin (depending on the particular time, place, and convent), so married life, and especially children, meant the end for some female prodigies while, on the other hand, Sophia Brenner managed to keep writing with fifteen children. Here Stevenson’s interest in building up context as well as a wealth of specific examples is immensely helpful in complicating received stories of the *docta puella*.

The scholarly energy and breadth of learning represented by this book is humbling. Stevenson has visited all the major European archives (along with some American ones) and appends a 166-page bibliographic checklist of women Latin poets that is sure to spawn many individual studies. As she points out, many of the poems referenced in her checklist have never been edited: the editing of the corpus of women Latin poets, let alone the critical assessment of their work, has only just begun. To support such future work, Stevenson’s checklist includes whatever information is available on an author’s dates and locations, existing manuscripts, early and modern editions, and translations (even down to archival shelfmarks for rare early works). She also includes entries for lost women Latin poets in the hope that their poetry may yet turn up. The checklist is extensive, but by no means covers all that can be gleaned from this work, especially from its concise, generally bibliographic footnotes. Scholars of Latin

women poets, and also more generally of the learned cultures of the past, will have many reasons to be grateful for Jane Stevenson's intellectual labors, and for the generosity and optimism which so clearly sustained the making of this book. (Sylvia Brown, University of Alberta, Canada)

Proceedings of the Milton Society of America
Sir Francis Drake Hotel, 450 Powell Street, San Francisco
Secretary: A. C. Labriola, Duquesne University
Pittsburgh, PA 15282 (E mail: Labriola@duq.edu)
December 28, 2008

The officers and Executive Committee met in a preliminary session at 4:00 PM at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Present were Kristin A. Pruitt (President), Tom Luxon (Vice President), Labriola (Secretary), Jameela Lares (Treasurer) and the following member of the Executive Committee: Ken Hiltner.

This dinner and meeting celebrated the 60th anniversary of the Milton Society of America and the 400th anniversary of Milton's birth.

1. **OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.** The following members of the society were nominated for offices: Tom Luxon for President; Mary (Mimi) Fenton for Vice President, and, for three-year membership (2009-2011) on the Executive Committee, David Ainsworth and Rachel Trubowitz, succeeding Mary Fenton and Gregory Machacek.

2. **TREASURER'S REPORT.** Lares indicated that the assets and net worth of the society as of July 1, 2008, were \$14,133.75. Labriola stressed the importance of donations and space advertisements as sources of revenue in order to stabilize the cost of the annual dinner at \$55.00. This year, there were eleven full-page advertisements. Lares called attention to the tradition of complimentary membership for Miltonists outside North America. The cost of mailings and of the annual booklet is a factor to be considered if this tradition is to be continued or modified in some way, perhaps by charging regular or discounted dues. This discussion was tabled for further consideration.

3. **COMMITTEE ON SCHOLARLY AWARDS.** The chair of the Committee on Scholarly Awards is David Loewenstein, and other members are Barbara K. Lewalski and John Rogers.

4. **SECRETARY'S REPORT.** Labriola indicated that his announcements are printed on pages 5-8 of the annual booklet. He announced the names of recently deceased members of the society: Albert Fields and Hugh MacCallum.

5. **OPEN MEETINGS AT MLA 2009 in Philadelphia.** The following open meetings, each 75 minutes long, were approved:

- A. "John Milton: A General Session" with Tom Luxon presiding;
- B. "Reading Milton" with Ken Hiltner presiding.

**NOTE THE FOLLOWING ABOUT THESE
MLA MEETINGS:**

The chairs should receive papers, not longer than 8 double-spaced pages, by e-mail not later than 15 March. Usually three papers are chosen, and the chair may appoint a respondent; or two longer papers may be selected, with or without a respondent; or a panel discussion might be organized. It is essential, however, to provide time for questions and comments by attendees.

The chairs must submit the names of participants, academic affiliations, and titles of presentations (electronically) to Labriola not later than April 1st (Labriola@duq.edu).

Labriola will place an announcement concerning the open meetings in the upcoming MLA Newsletter; Jameela Lares, treasurer, will also include notice in her upcoming letter to all members; and the chairs of the open meetings are urged to publicize in other ways.

All presenters must be members of MLA. If not, they must join by April 1st unless their specialty is something other than language and literature, in which case they must seek, through Labriola, special permission from the MLA Executive Director for their participation.

Chairs are encouraged to be in contact with each other in order to coordinate the makeup of their programs.

Approximately 70 members and guests attended the dinner and meeting at which Pruitt presided.

1. The nominees for office (see item 1 above) were elected by acclamation.

2. Labriola announced the two open meetings at MLA 2009 (see item 5 above).

3. The James Holly Hanford Award for a distinguished book recognized the excellence of Gordon Campbell, Thomas N. Corns, John K. Hale, and Fiona J. Tweedie, *Milton and the Manuscript of De Doctrina Christiana* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

4. The Irene Samuel Memorial Award for a distinguished multi-author collection recognized the excellence of **Milton and Toleration**, ed. Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

5. The James Holly Hanford Essay Awards recognize the excellence of John Creaser, "Service is Perfect Freedom": Paradox and Prosodic Style in *Paradise Lost*," *Review of English Studies*, vol. 58, no. 235 (2007), 268-315; and Victoria Kahn, "Aesthetics as critique: Tragedy and *Trauerspiel* in *Samson Agonistes*," in *Reading Renaissance Ethics*, ed. Marshall Grossman (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 104-27.

6. The John T. Shawcross Award recognized the excellence of the following edition, "*Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books*": *An Authoritative Text of the 1667 First Edition*, transcribed and edited with commentary by John T. Shawcross and Michael Lieb (Pittsburgh:

Duquesne UP, 2007).

7. Instead of a featured speaker and newly inducted honored scholar, the members heard reminiscences from five previous honored scholars concerning activities of the society: Stella Revard, Diane K. McColley, Barbara K. Lewalski, Albert C. Labriola, and John T. Shawcross (absent), whose comments were read by Charles W. Durham.

At the executive session after the general business meeting, the following were present: Tom Luxon (President), Labriola (Secretary), Lares (Treasurer), and the following members of the Executive Committee: Ken Hiltner, Rachel Trubowitz, Nigel Smith, David Ainsworth.

1. Labriola was reappointed Secretary for 2008, which will be his last year.

2. Lares was empowered to select a site for the 2009 meeting in Philadelphia.

3. The nominee for Honored Scholar 2009 is David Norbrook, who will also give the featured presentation at the next dinner and meeting in Philadelphia.