Jack Goody. *Renaissances: The One or the Many?*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. x + 322 pp. + 8 color and 2 b/w pls. index. append. chron. bibl. $78 (cl), $27.99 (pbk). ISBN: 978–0–521–76801–6 (cl), 978–0–521–74516–1 (pbk).

As more scholars in the humanities and social sciences incorporate a global perspective into our research and teaching, many of us find ourselves revisiting basic issues of methodology. We worry about the transportability of local schemes of periodization, the perils of over-generalization in writing comparative studies, and the difficulty of moving beyond the classic humanistic framework of "the West and the Rest." *Renaissances: The One or the Many?* is Jack Goody's latest intervention in these issues, part of an ongoing attempt to remedy what he describes as a prevailing ethnocentrism and teleology in the writing of history.

Renaissances is essentially one long argument. While the Italian Renaissance was unique in European history, Goody maintains, it is just one example of a general sociological phenomenon that has occurred in many literate cultures. A written record provides a culture with a means of reading its own past, which can result in an efflorescence of scientific and artistic knowledge. This combination of "looking back" and cultural rebirth is what Goody calls a "renascence." After an introduction that lays out the basic elements of this thesis, Goody examines examples of cultural efflorescence paired with "looking back" (at one's own cultural history) or "looking around" (at knowledge from other cultures) in Islam, Judaism, India, and China. Additional chapters recount the non-European contributions to the flowering of European medical knowledge in early modern Montpellier, focusing on Islamic influences, and argue for the global importance of secularization in undermining the dominance of "hegemonic religion" and making renascence possible.

Strictly speaking, *Renaissances* is not a book about the Renaissance: it is instead a comparative study of the phenomenon of sociocultural rebirth throughout world history, both within and outside of Europe. It largely consists of local case studies (some written with Stephen Fennell) that serve as historical laboratories in which Goody tests his thesis, usually by making a high-speed road trip through the history of the literate culture of a particular area of the globe, while keeping an eye out for the major factors he identifies as critical to renascence. Literacy is the seed of cultural efflorescence, he argues, as it provides the means and materials for "looking back." Economic prosperity and trade nourish the soil by providing leisure time for study of the past, and by fostering commercial relationships that produce contacts with other cultures. These contacts, along with technologies like paper and printing, increase the circulation of both goods and knowledge. Cultures do not fully blossom, however, until they come out of the shadow of the religious hegemony of monotheistic creeds — which (according to Goody) tend to limit the creation of knowledge in the arts and sciences — and into the light of secularism. Not all of these factors occur in all of the cases that Goody explores, and but together they function as a basis for his comparisons.

Goody's prose is elegant, his erudition is astounding, and he rigorously argues his case with clarity and courage. He succeeds more often than not in his effort to replace a Eurocentric account of world history with a more balanced comparative perspective, and he convincingly demonstrates that the Renaissance in Europe was shaped by non-European cultures, which themselves experienced parallel and striking renascences. Despite this, not all readers will be persuaded by Goody's arguments. Some will worry that the narrative depends on and reifies conceptual binaries, rather than challenging them: arts/sciences, East/West, reason/faith. Some will feel that the ghost of Joseph Needham haunts these pages, as Goody occasionally gets

bogged down in proving the non-Western origins of ideas and technologies in his efforts to provide a corrective to Eurocentrism. Some readers may be skeptical of the use of Orhan Pamuk's fiction to discuss the history of figurative imagery in the Islamic world (118–20 and occasionally thereafter), or take issue with Goody's characterization of religious hegemony in literate cultures.

Read the book anyway. *Renaissances* makes a strong case for reexamining the way scholars in the humanities and social sciences think about the history of Europe in the world, and it will teach you something regardless of your academic specialty. It is rare to find a monograph that is so passionately argued, and motivated by such a clear authorial vision. Whether the reader agrees or disagrees with Goody's approach, the book will provide a basis for lively discussion of the issues at stake. It would make an excellent text in graduate or upper-level undergraduate seminars in comparative history, world history, or early modern studies.

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Federica Anichini. *Voices of the Body: Liminal Grammar in Guido Cavalcanti's* Rime. Interkulturelle Begegnungen 6. Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2009. 197 pp. append. bibl. €39.90. ISBN: 978–3–89975–131–4.

Fedrica Anichini's volume on Guido Cavalcanti's poetry, the *Rime*, is an excellent scholarly work. It summarizes and analyzes previous attempts to explain, clarify, and untangle its many difficulties and obscurities, while providing an exegesis of Cavalcanti's lyric poetry through the scientific texts that furnished the actual vocabulary of this poet and poetry. These are "the voices of the body," the terminology for which is provided by Avicenna's *Liber Canonis de*

medicinis cordialibus cantica, with the aid of the linguistic theories and speculative grammar of the Modists. The author pursues the notion that "sighs and tears are the most recurrent voices of the body echoing throughout the *Rime*" (80). She gives specific examples throughout Cavalcanti's poetry, while using as a point of reference the canzone "Donna me prega". Anichini gives medical explication and analysis for Cavalcanti's peculiar choice of terms, including *sbigottimento*, *tremore*, *paura*, *martiri*, as well as significant verbs such as *ridere*, *ancidere*, *morire*, *piangere*, and others, which are found in the major canzone, as well as in the so called "rime minori".

This work — erudite, extremely well documented, clearly and smoothly written — is an extraordinary tool for the profound comprehension of Cavalcanti`s body of poetry and is a valuable tool for teachers or students of all Italian lyric poetry, whether Sicilian, Stilnovistic, Cavalcantian, or Dantean, because the limpid scientific-medical analysis and explanation of the so-called obscure and philosophical poetry of Cavalcanti illuminates the whole period. The "Appendix" (147–84), taken from the 1584 Giunta edition of Avicenna's *Liber Canonis*, allows the reader to check and refer to the exact terminology, vital in the understanding and conceptualization of Cavalcanti's poetics, including *accidentia, anhelitus*, *animalis (virtus)*, *cerebrum*, *complexio*, *cor*, *imaginativa*, *intellectus*, *ira*, *lachrimae*, *melancholia*, and *spiritus*. Henceforth readers and scholars will have to consult Anichini's volume in deciphering Cavalcanti's poetry. The book contributes greatly to an understanding of Cavalcanti's poetry as grounded in a belief that perfection is a realm of earthly reality. Citing Verbeke, Anichini states that, "the perceiving subject becomes similar to the form of the perceived object, and in doing so achieves perfection" (62). Cavalcanti`s poetry can be seen as a living proof of this notion, as demonstrated in Anichini's work; Anichini's justified belief is that Dante, Boccaccio, and many others after them had created the aura of obscurity surrounding the name of this poet, perhaps

intending to be self promotional or self-serving.

Anichini points to the extremely important role of the Bolognese scientific and cultural milieu in Cavalcanti's formation, but also returns to the Sicilians, such as Jacopo da Lentini and Rinaldo d'Aquino, in order to reconnect the language of tears, sighs and trembling to the body language of Cavalcanti's poetry and even to Dante's, which leads the author to establish a demonstration of "love connecting logic and physics" (124). The last chapter, dealing with Dante and Guido, is exemplary in establishing this relationship, including what the author calls "the rupture" between the two. This is enhanced and demonstrated by the elements of tears in both poets. What this reader finds unconvincing and perhaps extreme is the notion that Filippo Argenti in *Inferno* 8 is "the figura of Guido Cavalcanti" (135). This is a bold and hyperbolic reading. The Florentine villain whom Dante labeled "spirito bizzarro" and "spirito maledetto," as a *figura* of Guido is pure conjecture. The one who weeps, "uno che piango" (and one must establish what this means because "piango" may have an ambiguous meaning, as one who pays for the sin or seeks pity through tears) is also described as "un pien di fango," "brutto," and "lordo tutto" ("covered in mud," "foul," and "wholly filthy") whom finally the pilgrim Dante dispatches saying "Via costà con li altri cani" ("Away there, with the other dogs" *Inferno* 8.31–42). Would Dante have so characterized his "primo amico" — even though intellectually separated by the "rupture" Anichini well establishes, and whom he later refers to as "Guido vostro" — and worse still as someone who is attacked by the other sinners, as a spiteful, wildly violent spirit and who turned on himself with his own teeth ("in se` medesmo si volvea co` denti")? The issue and theme of *iracundia* in the *Commedia* is well represented and reproduced in episodes such as the Capaneus and Vanni Fucci, besides Filippo Argenti.

This objection on my part does not take away or diminish the value of this excellent study

that unravels Cavalcanti's poetry based on Avicenna's most famous handbook, for it establishes this critic as the most innovative and original voice of Cavalcanti's exegesis (though the background basis had been established by other critics), and as the voice that most discerns and establishes with evidence the differences and gaps between the two greatest Florentine poets of the late Duecento.

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Ranieri Granchi. *De preliis Tuscie*.

Edizione Nationale dei Testi della Storiografia Umanistica 4. Ed. Michela Diana. Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008. xxxii + 391 pp. index. illus. bibl. €67. ISBN: 978–88–8450–290–2.

Ranieri Granchi's earlier fourteenth-century patriotic-historical epic poem on Pisa's wars in the period 1315–42 was first published by Muratori in 1727 in volume 11 of his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (*RIS*). Since then it has occupied a minor place in historical scholarship and has garnered a few mentions in surveys of Italy's medieval Latin literature. Written in eight short books of quantitative Latin hexameters (3,190 in all) preceded by a dedicatory epistle in prose and outfitted with arguments, also in prose, to each book, it appeals to classically trained readers through the nature of its versification but often stymies readers of whatever training through obscurity of expression. Muratori called the poem "caliginosum" (murky); later readers have seldom found reason to disagree. Like his younger contemporary Boccaccio, though an abler prosodist in the hexameter, Granchi shows how difficult it could be for an early humanist to

achieve semantic clarity within the constraints of this hallowed verse form.

That said, Granchi's work has sometimes been portrayed as more forbidding than it really is. External factors have impeded access to it. Muratori's text, founded on a correspondent's faulty transcription of the one surviving medieval witness (Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, MS 307; mid-fourteenth-century), will be found in relatively few libraries. Its successor, Celestino's Meliconi's re-edition of 1915–22 in the corresponding volume of Carducci and Fiorini's updated version of the RIS, is more widely held and has a running commentary but is incomplete (it breaks off early in book 5); it has a commentary but lacks both an introduction and an index. Though book 4, which deals with Pisa's loss of its Sardinian territories, was dealt with suggestively by Arsenio Frugoni in a congress communication published in 1957, it was not until 1976 that we had from Marco Tangheroni (in *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 44–45) a worthy introduction to the poem as a whole. In later years Tangheroni was at work on a new edition; at his death in 2004 it had not appeared.

The present edition by Michela Diana, a student of Tangheroni's, represents the fruition of his project. Like her mentor, she is an historian, not a philologist, but she has had philological assistance from the distinguished classicist Gian Biagio Conte. Her text is based on a fresh examination of the Ravenna manuscript (R; executed by a professional copyist and showing occasional interventions by other hands). It incorporates a few corrections from two of the three early modern copies she has also examined as well as numerous others first proposed by Muratori or Meliconi — many of the latter's emendations are now rightly rejected — or herself. That so many of these last are very probable says volumes about the previous state of the text. The orthography is laudably conservative, adhering with a few customary exceptions to that of R and tolerating its variations. The punctuation is thoughtful; in the prose segments (R points the verse

only to signal the end of an hexameter) it retains much of R's lightness of touch and most of its paragraph breaks. Beneath the text are a critical apparatus, an apparatus of verbal parallels, and a set of explanatory notes that are mostly historical in nature and that do not always render obsolete the grammatical nuggets in Meliconi's often prolix and argumentative annotations.

Preceding the edition proper are substantial introductions on Granchi himself, on his historiography, on his style, language, and prosody, on the poem's transmission in manuscript and print, and on criteria used for the edition. Eleven plates (ten in color) show R's illuminations, mise-en-page, and textual characteristics to good advantage. A set of indexes completes the volume. In a work of this size and complexity there will of course be lapses; two examples from Diana's treatment of the textual tradition will suffice. On page 133 R is said to have been written "ante 1347." But on page 136, in a more nuanced statement reflecting the input of the noted paleographer Armando Petrucci, we are told that it probably was written around the middle of the fourteenth century (and so could postdate 1346). On page 134 the observation that the poem's dedicatee has been thought until now (2008) to have been one Betto Griffi (whose name has been added in R in a later fifteenth-century hand) is unfair to Mauro Ronzani, whose entry on Granchi in volume 58 of the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, published in 2002 and used (with generous acknowledgment) elsewhere in this book, challenges on the same grounds the accuracy of that earlier supposition.

To borrow Dryden's phrasing in respect of Casaubon's Persius, there is much in the *De preliis Tuscie* that is not yet sufficiently explicated. But the present edition marks a notable advance. Students of Tuscan history and of humanistic literature in the Trecento should be grateful for it.

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Mariarosa Cortesi and Silvia Fiaschi. *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa: Secoli XV–XVI*.

2 vols. Il Ritorno dei Classici nell'Umanesimo, 3.5. Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008. lxxviii +1844 pp. index. illus. tbls. map. bibl. €240. ISBN: 978–88–8450–323–7.

In 1444 Pier Candido Decembrio completed his *Life of Homer*, compiled from various Greek and Latin sources. In its dedication to Antonio da Rho, he praised his lifelong friend for having "wisely added the Greek Muses to the Latin ones." Neither man would have taken this as suggesting that Rho could read Greek. He could not. Decembrio's statement recognized instead what Rho shared with growing numbers of his contemporaries. Like most of them, he read Greek literature only in Latin translations. Decembrio as translator and Rho as reader represent an ever-widening encounter with the Greek muses that has long remained difficult to gauge. Remigio Sabbadini, Paul O. Kristeller, Eugenio Garin, Gianvito Resta, and Vito Giustiniani have until now served as our primary guides in exploring this cultural development (xii). Many of us owe them a considerable debt. In light of the volumes being reviewed here, one might reasonably expect these earlier studies of individual translations and translators to be superseded. Instead, these earlier works take on greater value since the full extent of this encounter now comes within our grasp.

The skill and efforts of Mariarosa Cortesi and Silvia Fiaschi transform our comprehension of this phenomenon. Under the auspices of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Cortesi and Fiaschi have produced two extraordinary volumes, cataloging the Latin translations of Greek texts printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their careful collaboration builds on a census

of printed translations begun by Fiaschi and complements the project launched in 2004 to develop a database of the manuscripts of Greek texts in Latin translation. This database, *Edizione Nazionale delle Traduzione dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale* (ENTG), is currently available online (development ongoing). The decision to publish the *Repertorio* of printed editions prior to the completion of the manuscript database came about for two reasons. First, the task of cataloging the printed editions, however daunting, proved more manageable than the corresponding work on the manuscript corpus. And second, the *Repertorio* answered important questions about the translations confronted in the manuscript research (xii).

The introduction to the *Repertorio* includes several key tables. First is the bibliography of works cited (xl–xlvii). This essential bibliography also provides the URL for the relevant online databases. Second is the list of the Greek authors and their translators, broken out by the specific works translated (xlvii–lxiv). Third is the list of printers, alphabetized under the name of the city or town in which they worked (lxiv–lxxvi). This information is then mapped and analyzed in two graphs (lxxvii–lxxviii). Volume 1 includes eight pages of color reproductions from incunables. Volume 2 includes eight pages of black and white reproductions from sixteenth-century editions and concludes with crucial indexes.

The *Repertorio* is arranged alphabetically according to the name of the Greek author. Names of classical and patristic authors follow the Latin forms used in the *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* and *Clavis Patrum Graecorum.* Insofar as possible the titles of works translated were adopted from these same models. Names of translators are in most instances given in their language of origin. Next comes the person to whom the translation was dedicated, if such exists, followed by the *incipit* and *explicit* of the translated text. Notes about the translation follow, usually brief but occasionally more substantial. Then comes the list of publications (place, printer,

and date), other contents of the book, important bibliographic references, and finally the library and shelf-mark of the exemplar consulted. An extraordinary range of information is assembled in a visually attractive layout, the whole commendably user-friendly.

The texts considered in the *Repertorio* are those translated between 1300 and 1525, a chronological limit previously established for the ENTG. The printed editions considered are those issued between the mid-fifteenth and the end of the sixteenth century (xiii). According to Cortesi and Fiaschi, these comprise "127 Greek authors, more than 560 authentic and spurious works, 766 translations, and 178 translators, of which thirteen are anonymous" (xii; reviewer's translations). The authors further point out that this catalog discloses "an incontrovertible fact: these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions tend to establish, in a manner more or less recognizable, a canon of humanistic translations" (xvi). In it one sees not only early humanistic translations displacing those made in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, but also later humanistic translations displacing those produced by the early humanists (xiii–xiv). The authors' research further reveals that by the 1520s "the printing press had made available in Latin the principal texts of ancient Greek rhetorical, historical, and philosophical tradition" (xxx). It also exposes "the near-total absence of Greek lyric literature" from this vast body of printed material (xxx). This reflects the chronological limit of translations considered in the ENTG and the *Repertorio*, since "the renaissance of the ancient theatre would arrive shortly after 1525" (xxx).

The introductory pages deserve special note because they address critical issues that confront anyone who has ever worked with early printed books and their catalogs. To mention but one of these, Cortesi and Fiaschi challenge the longstanding convention of cataloging early printed books by reproducing, according to set rules, title pages and colophons. If this practice alone were not sufficient reason for scholars to despair, the title pages themselves are notoriously

inaccurate, not only including works, authors, or translators that the book in question does not contain, but also frequently omitting works, authors, or translators that the book does contain. Perhaps the reproduction of the title page is adequate for book collectors — I leave that to them — but it is woefully inadequate for anyone trying to locate the texts actually printed in early books. As Cortesi and Fiaschi note, one only needs to compare the range and value of the information found in a manuscript catalog to grasp the significance of this shortcoming in the cataloging of early printed editions (xxii). Early printers are known to have conceived their objectives much as scribes had before them and in many cases they followed substantially the layout of the manuscripts whose texts they were setting. Recognition of this fact has not, however, led to the development of corresponding cataloging conventions. Thanks to Cortesi and Fiaschi, we ought now to face a new day. Their introduction analyzes the issues, explains their new model, and the *Repertorio* fully demonstrates its effectiveness. This introduction, in my estimation, constitutes required reading for anyone who plans research dependent on the content of early printed books. While Cortesi and Fiaschi do not claim to be the first to confront these problems, they earn our respect for having analyzed and resolved them with admirable sophistication. Their *magnum opus et arduum* is a watershed for the study of the Renaissance encounter with the Greek muses.

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Francesco Filelfo. *Odes*.

The I Tatti Renaissance Library 41. Ed. and trans. Diana Robin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press, 2009. xxiii + 445 pp. index. append. bibl. $29.95. ISBN: 978–0–674–03563–8

A quarter century after her seminal articles on Filelfo's Greek and Latin odes and two decades after *Filelfo in Milan* — still the only comprehensive modern study on one of the greatest scholar-poets of the Quattrocento — Diana Robin tops a career-long interest in the still understudied Filelfo with the first modern edition of the *Odes*. The work consists of five books of ten odes each, and was completed in the mid-1450s and dedicated to Francesco Sforza (initially they were to celebrate the French king Charles VII, still very present in these pages). After the publication of the *De Psychagogia* by Cortassa-Maltese (1991) and the impressively annotated critical edition of *Satyrae* I–V by Fiaschi (2005), this is actually the first of Filelfo's major writings to be available in a complete modern edition that includes a fluid and very readable English translation. With Robin's text the I Tatti Renaissance Library, which by now needs no further introduction, adds another important *novum* to its impressive series.

The introduction aptly outlines Filelfo's life and major writings (the claim that the *Sphortias* "mocked" Filelfo's patron may raise some eyebrows, though) and summarizes the contents and themes of the *Odes*. With this collection, Filelfo was the first Renaissance poet to feature all the lyric meters of Horace's *Carmina* (conveniently listed in an appendix). Unlike their antique models, however, these odes are mostly a personal epic, a panoramic epistolary memoir in verse, addressed to a wide cast of characters but with the author at the center of the narrative, as Robin points out. The editor has fortunately added twenty pages of most helpful biographical notes, preventing the reader from going astray in the extensive network of patrons and friends to whom the poems are dedicated. Together with the accompanying "Notes to the translation" (but "Concise commentary to the text" would be a more accurate heading), they provide the neophyte with the necessary background for understanding Filelfo's work and its major themes, the most

important of which are praise of the princeps and his rule of law, condemnation of (civil) war, and sharp contempt for the (Ambrosian) republic, with its mob rule and phony liberty.

One should not criticize a book for what it is not pretending to be — in this case a full critical edition — but when confronted with a mere forty-five textual notes to 5,000 verses, the reader should be entitled to expect them both to be correct and to the point. Unfortunately, this is not always the case: apart from half a dozen trivial typos or orthographic variants in the 1497 editio princeps, we are offered no less than nine, mostly unnecessary, conjectures. Since Filelfo Latinized Visconti's name as *Philippus Marias*, there is no need to change that into *Maria*, as is proven by the *Marias* in numerous (often autograph) marginalia; *Arabos* is a Grecisizing genitive as Filelfo fancied them, and should not be emended into *Arabis* in 5.1 and 5.5 as if it were an erroneous accusative; and in 5.6 *qui* is unjustly emended into *quae*, while oddly enough the translation ("how") sticks to the correct original reading. Furthermore there are some surprising transcriptions: the *unius* that is preferred in the preface to *unus* is not only metrically untenable, but not even present in the Florentine manuscript Robin draws it from, and the *varia lectio* for *fac* in 3.9 is *cura* instead of *cum* — to limit myself to these few examples. Checking the readings of the other extant manuscripts at least in these few apparently unclear passages might have proven helpful. It would also have been preferable to inform the reader that some more striking differences between the two manuscripts (one at the Laurenziana, the other in Paris) on which this edition is based are the very passages that Robin sums up without identifying them (referring merely to the folia in the Paris manuscript) as containing corrections in Filelfo's hand, as there seems no reason, then, not to opt systematically for these deliberate and authorized alterations.

While a critical edition based on all extant witnesses remains a desideratum for a full philological grasp of the genesis of this important collection, Diana Robin deserves all credit for

offering a first modern edition and a very accessible prose rendition of these all-too-long-neglected poems.

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Giuseppe L. Coluccia. *Basilio Bessarione: Lo spirito greco e l'Occidente*.

Accademia delle arti del disegno monografie 15. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2009. vii + 443 pp. index. append. illus. bibl. €50. ISBN: 978–88–222–5925–7.

Cardinal Bessarion was one of the most important and interesting figures of the Quattrocento. A Greek who nearly became pope in at least two conclaves, a pivotal participant in Catholic-Orthodox theological discussions from the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438 to his death in 1472, a prominent patron of Greek and Latin intellectuals and a major player in his own right in contemporary debates and cultural developments, and the creator of one of the great libraries of the Renaissance, which he bequeathed to the Republic of Venice and which in time became the historic core of the modern Biblioteca Marciana, Bessarion is inescapable for anyone studying Quattrocento religion, politics, and intellectual life. The last full length monograph on him was Ludwig Mohler's *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* of 1923. So a new detailed study is long overdue, especially since a vast amount of first-rate scholarship has appeared in the subsequent eighty-six years. Unfortunately, Coluccia's book is an amateurish attempt that does not adequately fit the bill.

As Cesare Vasoli noted in a letter to Coluccia quoted by the latter in the preface (xi), this book is addressed to a popular audience and not just to specialists. And to an extent, Coluccia

provides a useful service to anyone who reads Italian. He not only goes through each stage of Bessarion's long and complex life and treats Bessarion's various writings, but also provides translations of some of Bessarion's writings. Even specialists can profit from a bibliographical reference here or a historical datum there provided by Coluccia that might have previously escaped their notice. And Coluccia can make some insightful points, such as remarking on the texts not found in Bessarion's library that you would have expected to be there (239). But the problems of the book detract from its good aspects.

To start with an obvious, but not the most serious problem, Coluccia's emphases are skewed. Even in a work of vulgarization it is not helpful to spend a great deal of time handing out kudos to friends such as the dedicatee Emanuela Kretzulesco Quaranta, to quote for nearly a page and a half a novel of Raffaele Gorgoni because with his "sangue greco" he expresses the classical spirit of southern Italy (89–90), to go on at length about Bessarion and the diocese of Mazara with the slightest amount of factual information (97–102), and to add continually paragraphs and pages of color and background that verge on filler. Missing, on the other hand, is due consideration of many important themes, such as Bessarion's involvement with the Franciscans and his decades-long dealings with Venice and its milieu.

More problematic are the numerous factual errors, such as frequently calling Ludwig Mohler "Möhler," treating Bessarion's lament at the fall of Negroponte as a lament at the fall of Constantinople (6, n7), placing John Argyropoulos at the Council of Florence (39), calling Mark Eugenicus a pupil of George Scholarius (58) when the reverse was true, attributing to George Gemistos Pletho a concern for commercial prosperity (72), accepting Iacopo Languschi's assertion that Ciriaco d'Ancona serviced Mehmed II (148–49), and so on and so forth; in addition there are silly assertions, such as the assurance that Bessarion weighed about three kilos at birth

(3) and the suggestion that Pope Nicholas V was a closet Neoplatonist (167). Finally, as a nonspecialist himself, Coluccia is too trusting of dubious opinions of authorities, such as that MS Marc. Lat. VI, 61 (2592) is autograph (plate 2) or that Piero della Francesco's *Flagellation* reflects Constantinople expiating the sins of the world (xxii).

Although Coluccia should be commended for diligently trying to master the enormous literature on Bessarion, there are some striking omissions, such as of Francesco Russo's *Regesto vaticano per la Calabria*, fourteen volumes to date (1974–), with its rich material on Bessarion and his circle, or of Gerald Etzkorn's 1997 edition of the *De Arcanis Dei* of Bessarion's client Giorgio Benigno Salviati, OFM, or of Margaret Meserve's bibliographical study of Bessarion's *Orations against the Turks* (*The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 97 [2003], 521–88). Several times Coluccia fails to cite the standard modern edition of a text he discusses or quotes. But his strangest citation is to be found in the appendix (425–30), where he combines his translation of Bessarion's *Oratio Dogmatica* with a reproduction of the Greek text in the *Patrologia Graeca*, all the while acknowledging that a modern edition of the Greek text was published by Emmanuel Candal in 1958 and that a sound Italian translation by Gianfranco Lusini has been available since 2001.

In short, although there is much in the book under review that is valuable and although it does provide a detailed narrative that generally exploits well the extensive literature on Bessarion, its failings make it a not always trustworthy authority for nonspecialists.

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Thomas Haye. *Francesco Rococciolos* Mutineis*: Interpretation und Kommentar*. Noctes Neolatinae: Neo-Latin Texts and Studies 12. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag AG, 2009. 307 pp. index. bibl. €68. ISBN: 978–3–487–14208–1.

The book under review here is actually a second volume designed to accompany an earlier book in the same series, Noctes Neolatinae: Neo-Latin Texts and Studies. The first volume was the editio princeps of the epic poem *Mutineis*, by the Modenese schoolteacher and poet Francesco Rococciolo (Thomas Haye, *Die Mutineis der Francesco Rococciolo. Ein lateinisches Epos der Renaissance*. [2006]). This second volume contains a long critical discussion of the poem and a line-by-line commentary, followed by a brief bibliography and an index of proper names.

Francesco Rococciolo was born in Modena in the late 1460s or early 1470s and died there in 1528. The *Mutineis*, probably written between 1517 and 1521, describes the turbulence that afflicted Modena between 1510 and 1517, when the city served as a political football to be tossed about by the Holy Roman Emperor, the pope, the French king, and the Italian nobles in the surrounding regions. What strikes the reader first is the absence of a single hero throughout: Filelfo's Sphortias praises Francesco Sforza (albeit inconsistently), but Rococciolo's poem, as the title suggests, is a panegyrical epic in praise of a city, not a person. Curious as well in a poem that embraces all the epic devices from invocations and public games to speech-making and divine councils is Rococciolo's attitude toward war, the traditional subject of epic: his battle scenes contain the requisite blood and gore, but the *summum bonum* in this poem's value scheme is peace, the absence of conflict in which civic unity flourishes and the state prospers. Indeed, the famous line from Rococciolo's Virgilian source, "labor omnia vicit" ("hard work prevailed over all things," *Georgics* 1.145) becomes "pax omnia vincit / munera" ("peace prevails over all gifts," *Mutineis* 12.470–71) in this poem.

Haye's introduction and commentary offer much to be commended. The line-by-line commentary identifies verbal echoes, both classical (Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus) and postclassical (Baptista Mantuanus, Tito Strozzi, Ugolino Verino). And the introduction avoids the temptation to overpraise a poem to which the author has obviously devoted several years of hard work. In the end, however, one must hesitate a bit in the face of these two volumes. It took almost five hundred years for the *Mutineis* to make its way into print: indeed, it escaped notice almost totally, as nearly as we can tell, until Tiraboschi referred to it briefly in 1783. Haye's introduction covers 140 pages, but even after all this analysis he does not make a clear case for bringing the poem into print. I suspect that on aesthetic grounds this Neo-Latin epic, like many others, probably does not demand a modern edition. The *Mutineis*, however, is part of a larger picture, in which the political events of the early sixteenth century in Emilia Romagna are processed through the filter of classical literature in accordance with the norms of contemporary humanist culture. In this context one thinks of the highly personal commentary to Bruni's Italian translation of Herodotus left by the Ferrarese Zoanne Pencaro, on which Dennis Looney is currently at work. And on these grounds, as it enters into dialogue with works like this, the *Mutineis* becomes interesting indeed.

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Sigismondo Boldoni. *Il lario*.

Ed. Franco Minonzio. Lecco: Iniziative Editoriali, 2009. 128 pp. index. €10.

Sigismondo Boldoni was born in 1597 in Bellano, on Lake Como, to the jurisconsult

Ottavio Boldoni. His uncle Niccolò was a physician and lecturer in medicine at the universities in Pisa and Pavia, and all of his six siblings — Giovanni Niccolò, Ottavio, Aurelio, Flavio, Aurelia, and Livia — became authors with various levels of success. Educated in Milan, Sigismondo fell afoul of his family and the authorities when, in 1615, he wounded brother Flavio in a dispute over inheritance. Effectively exiled from Lombardy, he moved to Padua where he earned university degrees in philosophy and medicine in 1618. The next few years found him in Venice, Pesaro, Urbino, and, finally, Rome. Here he entered the circle of Maffeo Barberini and the Accademia degli Umoristi. The Lombard authorities lifted their ban in 1622, and Boldoni returned to fill a chair in philosophy at the University of Pavia. Three years later he again toured Northern Italy, this time for a mere three months. This provided him material for his epic historical poem *La caduta dei Longobardi*, which in turn helped him gain Pavia's principal chair in philosophy in 1628. From this position he edited the *Historiae patriae libri duo* (1629) of Benedetto Giovio, brother of Paolo Giovio, and contributed to the *Historia rerum laudensium*. His life ended during the great plague epidemic of 1630.

Boldoni's short, Latin *Larius* (Italian *Il Lario*, Lake Como) is the work of a young and precocious writer. He penned it between 1613 and 1615, before his exile at age eighteen, and published it in 1617, after arriving in Padua. Subsequent editions appeared in Venice in 1637 (perhaps in honor of Duke Ercole's death), Florence in 1660, and among his collected works in 1776. Boldoni dedicated his work to the Duke of Montemarciano, Ercole Sfondrati (d. 1637), who, according to the dedication, once planted the seed for the work in the young man's head. Indeed, the site of that dinner party, the duke's villa of La Capuana, appears early in *Larius*. From the outset Boldoni recognizes that his topic had been handled by authors far greater than he, especially the humanist historian Paolo Giovio. In his day (1537) the duke's ancestor, Francesco

Sfondrati, had desired a verbal description of the territories with which Emperor Charles V had just invested him. Duke Francesco chose Giovio, like Boldoni a native son, to provide it. Giovio's *Descriptio Larii Lacus* was first published in 1559 and its 2007 edition and translation, also by Franco Minonzio, was reviewed in this journal by the present reviewer (62.2 [2009]). But the passage of time and the fresh perspective of the youthful witness warrant the current work, says Boldoni.

Young Boldoni had quite the task in producing a work that was not merely derivative of the great Giovio's. While both authors cover many of the same monuments and topographical points, Boldoni updates the description, if warranted, or draws attention to information Giovio chose to ignore. In some cases, as with which of the two spots known as Veterniano was the site of a Plinian villa, he corrects Giovio's conclusion. Duke Ercole needed no introduction to the region, but the reader did, and *Larius* is replete with "surging rivers," "falling waters," and "grand vistas" as well as the judgments and monuments belonging to the classical historians and modern nobles. Boldoni's Latin is rather sharper and less polished than that of his predecessor, which provides something of the immediacy and boldness of youth. Franco Minonzio provides a very useful introduction and notes and a translation that is clear and consciously reflective of young Boldoni's style.

JOSEPH P. BYRNE

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Martine Furno, ed. *Qui écrit? Figues de l'auteur et des co-élaborateurs du texte XV^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle*.

Métamorphoses du livre. Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2009. 262 pp. index. illus. tbls. bibl. €19. ISBN: 978–2–84788–178–3.

This volume of essays, the fruit of a 2006 colloquium held in Grenoble, offers a reflection on the concept of collective authorship in the Renaissance. Although its title suggests a broad collection surveying authorial practices through four centuries, all but two of the essays focus on the sixteenth century. Through an investigation of literary, pedagogical, and technical works, as well as editions and translations of classical texts, the contributors study texts as the products of complex networks of collaborators. Indeed, from copyists and translators to editors and typographers, a multitude of figures often lay behind the principal author of a work. In her introduction, Martine Furno asks how we might define the notion of early modern authorship in the context of collective writing. More provocatively, Furno seeks to nuance the idea of the sixteenth century author as a figure primarily defined by his or her individuality.

It is sometimes tempting to view the translation of classical texts in the Renaissance as the confrontation of two powerful minds, the original author and the modern translator who attempts to communicate the essence of an illustrious model while also exhibiting mastery over the language of translation. The first series of essays in this collection challenges this vision by examining attempts to coordinate the collective translation and publication of Greek texts. Isabelle Diu's study on Erasmus's patristic editions and Raphaëlle Mouren's essay on Piero Vettori's publication of Greek editions offer useful descriptions of how humanist editors and translators often relied on the collective *respublica literaria* to produce a printed text. Diu's illuminating discussion of Erasmus' professional relationships with Aldus Manutius and Johann Froben, and his eventual preference for Froben's mode of operation, will be of particular interest to scholars of the Dutch humanist.

Laurence Pradelle and Jean-Eudes Girot's studies on the attribution of authorship in the cases of Leonardo Bruni and Mellin de Saint-Gelais form an interesting diptych insofar as they exhibit a fragmentation of authorship. Pradelle shows how the reputation of an important figure such as Bruni could lead copyists and editors, not only to erroneously attribute works to him, but also to modify a text to make it conform to a literary ideal. For his part, Girot contends that Saint-Gelais's decision not to print his poems, or even to publish them as a unified collection, caused some of his works to remain unattributed and negatively impacted his literary fortunes.

The third cluster of essays examines works that, although extremely influential in the Renaissance, are not widely read today. Nathaël Istasse demonstrates that Ravisius Textor's work as *compilator* in his *Epitheta* and *Officina* was complemented by numerous hands, both in the original elaboration of the work and in its subsequent reediting and reprinting after Textor's death. Frédérique Lemerlé and Yves Pauwels describe the complex collaboration between philologists, illustrators, and commentators in the editing of architectural treatises. Lemerlé shows how editors combined the authority of previously existing texts with original images to promote aesthetic ideals. Testing the limits of authorship, Pauwel's essay on Jean Bullant's architectural treatise presents a case where the supposed author publishes a text made up almost entirely of text and images borrowed from other works.

The final series of essays in the volume brings together three studies on Charles and Robert Estienne. Together, they offer an illuminating reflection on the multiple gradations of authorship in the Renaissance. Through an elegant paratextual analysis of Charles Estienne's *œuvre*, Chantal Liaroutzos argues convincingly that Estienne's notion of authorship reaches beyond the mere concept of authority. Indeed, it is intimately tied to the transmission of knowledge by a writer who has practical and direct knowledge of the subject matter. According to

Liaroutzos, Estienne defined the humanist author less by his or her originality than by the ability to successfully shepherd classical works into the modern era. In her essay on Robert Estienne's edition of Guillaume Budé's *Forensia*, Furno locates authorship in the collaborative efforts of original author, editor, and translator. Hélène Cazes' cogent study on Robert Estienne's *Les censures des théologiens de Paris* closes the volume with an analysis of how the exiled printer exploits the persona of the mere editor to formulate an effective counterattack against his censors, thus paradoxically assuming a status of authorship by denying he is an author.

In sum, this volume will be of great interest to both scholars of the history of the book and those who wish to deepen their understanding of authorship in the Renaissance. By focusing on the collaborative production of texts, a topic often overlooked in favor of individuality, the contributors open intriguing new perspectives for investigation.

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JoAnn DellaNeva. *Unlikely Exemplars: Reading and Imitating beyond the Italian Canon in French Renaissance Poetry.*

Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009. 444 pp. index. bibl. $57.50. ISBN: 978–0–97413–055–3.

JoAnn DellaNeva's thoroughly researched study of Italian influence on French Renaissance poetry raises once again the important question of imitation, its status, and the extent to which it applied. Petrarch gave a fine answer to Boccaccio when he responded to the latter's pointed query, concerning plagiarism, that he had absorbed the great (mainly classical) poets in

the very marrow of his being, and that if in his own writings evidence of them could be found, then it would be sure to have been transformed into something new. In recent times, the question of imitation has rephrased itself, not least in Thomas M. Greene's highly influential study, *The Light in Troy*, which DellaNeva duly acknowledges. Her approach however marks an important change: instead of concentrating on strong authors, with all their accompanying problems of anxiety of influence, she draws attention to those lesser lights, denizens of the foothills of Petrarchan majesty, whom major poets, in particular Du Bellay and Ronsard, might have been expected to disdain, but whom they apparently did not.

A significant point of reference for this study then is the Giolito anthology of Italian lyrics, published first in 1545, just at the point when the Pléiade poets were in a position to draw on it. Volume 1 was reprinted in 1546 and a second volume followed in 1547. In the first part of her investigation DellaNeva pursues the question of imitation (specifically Franco-Italian) in perhaps greater complexity than it has received before, especially with regard to the role of anthologies. As Louise George and William G. Clubb have previously observed, the Giolito publication led to the production of anthologies on a grand scale, in contrast to their virtual non-existence in the first half of the century. In the second part of her book, DellaNeva documents the process of imitation via key French authors, and has individual chapters on Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Du Bellay, Ronsard, and lesser lights of the Pléiade.

The answer DellaNeva finds to her question is that the French poets almost certainly helped themselves to whatever they came across, be its author ever so little. After all, it is the *Petrarchisti*, available in abundance, from whom later poets tended to borrow, both in terms of subject-matter and style, rather than from Petrarch himself. The chief value of DellaNeva's book is that it shows in detail how this process went on.

Her approach engenders a teasing thought: would it have been beneath the dignity of the great luminaries of the Pléiade to have been caught lifting from relative small fry ("minor model imitation"), such as Girolamo Parabosco? Would the Pléiade's important concern with hierarchy have necessitated a certain concealment of the evidence, strong authors not deigning to acknowledge their debt to weak ones? One way of answering this (and it tends to be DellaNeva's way) is rather to bypass the charge and point to the extraordinary richness of the banquet that the Giolito and other anthologies provided, and celebrate their part in the realization of subsequent high poetic achievement. This confirms that a poet like Ronsard helped himself liberally but it changes the emphasis from questioning the pilfering to examining the fruits.

Tribute must be paid to the searching comprehensiveness of this study which will undoubtedly be of assistance to scholars undertaking their own investigation in the field of influence and imitation. I wonder if one important area, however, has received insufficient credit. DellaNeva makes several references to the role of Neo-Latin poetry, but does not follow these up. Despite their ambitions for the vernacular, Du Bellay and Ronsard had strong humanist credentials, and of course wrote in Latin themselves. Neo-Latin lyric poetry, developing alongside that of the vernacular, produced its own anthologies. If the French poets were so eclectic in their choice of models, might they not have consulted Neo-Latin poets along with poets of the Italian lyric (sometimes one and the same)? The examples of imitation which DellaNeva provides sometimes display a verbal voluptuousness (as in Ronsard's adaptation of Mozzarello) that is not evident in the Italian source, but which may derive instead from the highly erotic Neo-Latin poetic tradition.

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Antónia Szabari. *Less Rightly Said: Scandals and Readers in Sixteenth-Century France.* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010. vii + 293 pp. index. illus. bibl. $60. ISBN: 978–0–8047–6292–2.

Antónia Szabari's study of sixteenth-century polemical writings is a welcome addition to recent scholarship attesting to the renewed interest in militant literature. The notion of scandal, especially its very common religious implications at the time, functions as the unifying trait of the texts under consideration. This nicely-illustrated book proceeds in chronological fashion in order to retrace the development of this aggressive brand of writing from the beginning of the century through the turmoil of the religious wars, frequently endeavoring to blend historical, literary, and iconographical observations.

Chapter one looks at the role of scandalous books at the root of heresy and especially Pierre Gringore's *Blazon des heretiques* (1524) as an example of the Catholic camp's extensive use of the printing press and the vernacular to reach the uneducated masses in their fight against their Protestant adversaries. One assumes that Gringore's call for "moral reformation" and a "new consciousness of the Catholic self" (35) is the main reason for the Sorbonne's censorship of his books, but unfortunately Szabari remains vague about that. Moreover, it is curious to see data on literacy from seventeenth-century England applied to sixteenth-century France; to be reminded of Proust in order to explain the use of the classic "rythme ternaire" (36), quite common in humanist writing; or, even less convincing, to be told, without any further documentation, that "poetic forms become the currency of polemicists" after the Saint Bartholomew Day's massacre (42), which seems to be contradicted not only by texts missing from the study (e.g., the "Querelle

Sagon" in the mid-1530s) but also by later chapters discussing, e.g., the *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale* (1560).

More so than the second text under consideration in chapter two, the "urinal deluge" from *Gargantua*, the *Farce des Theologastres* provides a fine example of what Szabari's calls the "Erasmian mimesis of folly" (44). The comments on Rabelais are based on scarce textual evidence, neglecting pertinent facts such as the belated addition (to the second edition of *Gargantua*) of the introductory poem, essential to the critic's take on scandal. In order to show the increasingly polemical nature of the conflict, chapter three turns to the *Affaire des Placards*, the *Confessions de Béda*, the *Livre des marchans*, Calvin's *Traité des reliques* and other polemical treatises, as well as the French translation of Luther and Cranach's *Passional Christi und Antichristi*. The latter especially is enriching, as Szabari finally makes an effort to penetrate deep into the text, which makes her analysis quite powerful and convincing. Most notably missing from the discussion here are, however, Marot's *coq-à-l'âne* and Jean Céard's work on the monstrous. Chapter four focuses on Pierre Viret and the anonymous *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale*, a quite coherent text despite Szabari's little developed comparison to Marot's *coq-à-l'âne*, and makes the valid point of underscoring the technique of "decontextualized citation" (101) as an important characteristic of polemical writing. The brief comments on the figure of the satyr would have greatly benefitted from Françoise Lavocat's recent work on the topic, however. The judgment of the *Satyres chrestiennes*' author's love of Rabelais "in a perverse way" (119) seems to underestimate not only the potential of Rabelais's text but also the key concepts of *imitatio* and digestion. Chapter five turns to the ultraconservative Catholic Artus Desiré, who perfected the polemical conflation of religion and politics, and to Ronsard, whose initial "exercise in style quickly turned into a polemical exchange" (149).

Focusing on the complex *Histoire de la mappe-monde papistique* and the *Satyre Menippee*, chapter six again stresses, more adequately than before, the "increased politicization of satire" (160) in the final third of the century. Pierre de l'Estoile's *Journal* and the *Book of Hermaphrodites* form an appropriate endpoint of the study in chapter seven. One wonders, however, how Estoile's comments on Henri III indicate that he "sides with the authors of the *Satyre Menippee*" (190), a text that appears well after Estoile's observations were made, or in which way the modern editorial decision to mark the layers of Estoile's text by "A" and "B" is sufficient to postulate a similarity to Montaigne. Such comments could have used more documentation. These are two examples of quite numerous stylistic weaknesses and undeveloped claims that seem to indicate sloppy proofreading (Michel Simonin being referred to as "she") or an ambition that outgrew the scope of the book. Another major weakness is the rather loose and vague use of the term and concept of satire, which, especially in the sixteenth century, was a form in flux and very much at the center of critical discussions. An attempt at defining the form in the context of this study would have certainly helped, especially as virtually all of the important work on satire from the past few decades has been neglected (the most blatant omissions being studies by Angenot, Debailly, Duhl, Duval and Martinez, Knight, Könneker, Lauvergnat-Gagnière, and Weinbrot as well as several important collective volumes).

This being said, the study is to be commended for attempting to go beyond the canon and to advance the knowledge and discussion of an important literary, historical, and social phenomenon.

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Zahi Zalloua, ed. *Montaigne after Theory/Theory after Montaigne*.

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009. vii + 315 pp. index. bibl. $75 (cl), $30 (pbk). ISBN: 978–0–295–98890–0 (cl), 978–0–295–98891–7 (pbk).

Zalloua's introduction dismisses poststructuralism and postmodernism in favor of the ecumenical metaphor of theory as a site upon which various branches of the humanities and social sciences interact. While the historically-minded reader may recall that the overthrow of "essayistic" criticism was justified by the systematic claims of social-science inspired methods, "fetishized" theory now appears as Saturn, resisted by using the *Essays* to sustain the skeptical impulse and illuminate theory's blind spots. The task for theory's offspring is to "bear witness" to the *Essays*' "semiotic monstrosity" and offer protection against the recuperations of reductive readings (10).

Excepting Hoffmann's study of the circumstances of the *Essays*' publishing and Sedley's discussion of Hobbes's reception of Montaigne, these studies gravitate toward a few centers. Foucault's late work on the ancients' cultivation of selfhood and particularly on *parrhesia*, or truth-telling, is the focus of one constellation that explores parallels between Montaigne's claims of candor and *parrhesia*, between his critique of demonology (of "lame" disciplines) and Foucault's critique of the science of sexuality (of the social sciences). Examination of skepticism's impact construes Montaigne's *parrhesia* as an ongoing dialog with theoretical conceptions of truth. Although the *relation à soi* thus appears as a central concern of humanism from Socrates and Seneca to Montaigne, "the dichotomous genealogical framework enlightened by Foucault" (Leushuis, 103) relegates such practices to an irrecoverable origin, rehearsing the nostalgia it denounces: "we thus arrive . . . at a picture of Foucault as a late humanist"

(Krause, 149). Whereas the overlap between texts such as the *Essays* and those of the putative threshold of post-modernity tends to configure vulgar humanism as the blind spot of Foucaldian historiography, Vance's critical appropriation of Heideggerian and Foucaldian categories models a conciliatory critique that avoids reducing humanism to a rebirth of Hellenism. Admitting, though, that the ancients' importance for Montaigne is securely established without this detour, Foucault ultimately appears as a latter-day Basil Willey, foregrounding a schematic intellectual history against which to illustrate textual resistance.

Another constellation revolves around questions of gender in the *Essays*' discussions of clothing and the famous case of Marie Germain. Montaigne's suggestion that gender participates in the force of the imagination is "rare for the pre-modern individual" (Benkov, 214), but this confirms the monstrosity of the *Essays* rather than engendering any doubts about theory's historiography. Reeser agrees that certain "textual moments" give an impression of Montaigne as a Butlerian *avant la lettre* (219) but problematizes this reading with reference to other moments of "Montaigne's de-ontologizing of gender deferral" (220). While these studies' sharp focus highlights how fully both spectacular cases and quiet materials are integrated into the dynamics of the genre, the difficulty of contextualizing disparate moments and correctly assessing the drift of Montaignian irony from the fragmentary perspective of outlying places pleads for a theoretical approach that would consider the text globally, as do, with varying degrees of awareness, studies devoted to the *Essays*' use of theory, experience, and form. In this sense, O'Brien's situation of Montaigne's attacks on fashion in the context of his broader rejection of *nouvelletez* as encroachments upon established liberties can be read as both a successful example of innovation and a cautionary fable about the risks for theory of an excessive devotion to fashion.

In closing retrospectives, Conley evokes Derrida the writer to reflect on the seductions of

essayism; Regosin reminds us of the theoretician's axiom that writers' "desire for mastery and totalization" (271) escapes them. Theory's plurivocity notwithstanding, a divide emerges over whether literature subverts or comforts ideology. As Conley observes, the liberating effect of the *Essays* is no longer intuitive. Despite their acumen, many theorists are now "at pains to admit" the attraction of the *Essays*' writing (256).

Unfortunately, these studies' insights are somewhat compromised by their presentation. As analyses often depend on the French text, the relegation of the original quotations to endnotes obliges the reader to refer to them constantly and occasionally reduces him to conjectural reconstructions of the contributors' arguments. Nevertheless, this volume does provide a good illustration of the richness and paradoxes of theory's afterlife in Anglo-American academic approaches to Montaigne. While claims to mastery are effaced in the rehearsal of humanist critique, the theoretical outlook survives in the contingency of the relation to criticism, a dispensation which allows for considerations from other fields. As for the future of theory's self-narrative as resistance, such questions are left to the reader.

EDWARD TILSON

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Brian Brazeau. *Writing a New France, 1604–1632: Empire and Early Modern French Identity*. Transculturalisms 1400–1700. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. viii + 132 pp. index. illus. bibl. $89.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6112–2.

The two major questions this book seeks to address are, first, "what can narratives of contact with America tell us about [contemporaneous] conceptions of 'Frenchness'?" (1) and,

second, how did the encounter with America shape those conceptions? Due no doubt to the relative unevenness of the French colonial enterprise in the period Brian Brazeau studies, these topics have received considerably less scholarly attention than have their Spanish and English analogues.

Brazeau's book is divided into two parts: "Land and Language," according to the author's introduction, "deals with identity and the practical aspects of the encounter with the New World: geography and communication" (17); part 2, "Renewal and Religion . . . treats more abstract notions of the self through efforts to integrate and use the New World in reclaiming, regenerating, or reinforcing ideas of Frenchness" (ibid.). As the book unfolds, it becomes clear that the author's interests lie primarily in analyzing the rhetoric of French identity in hexagonal French texts about New France, and not in a more historiographical account of colonial geography or communication.

This enterprise meets with the most success in the chapter on Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, where engagement with recent secondary sources is complemented by a sustained analysis of the relationship between France and New France that Lescarbot put forward. In much of the book, however, Brazeau neglects to consider fundamental elements of the rhetoric of his objects of study (these are, in addition to Lescarbot's *Histoire*, Samuel de Champlain's *Voyages*, Gabriel Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* and French-Huron dictionary, and two Jesuit relations). He supplies no discussion, for example, of the complex editorial apparatus behind the Jesuit relations, a good account of which is given by Allan Greer in the introduction to his 2000 collection of excerpts; nor does he offer any consideration of the actual or implied readers of the rhetorical formulations he proposes to unpack. The overall effect is to leave "ideas of Frenchness" floating in the proverbial ether.

The untethered quality of the analysis is, unfortunately, intensified by attempts to contextualize the material that obscure more than they illuminate. Brazeau claims, for example, that the Jesuits "tended to relate their . . . notions of identity to the Roman model" (64). But "the Roman model" of identity is nowhere explained (unless it's reducible to learning Latin). Similarly, another vision of French identity is deemed to be "infused with early Catholic notions" (101); but it is not quite clear what those "notions" are, or just when "early" might have been, and what is particularly "Catholic" about any of it. With the exception of Lescarbot's *Histoire*, individual works get such scattershot treatment that one is left with only a vague sense of what they might contain: the examination of the "parallels between early seventeenth-century linguistic thought" (52) as exemplified by François de La Mothe Le Vayer, on the one hand, and the attitudes of Gabriel Sagard, on the other, includes just half a sentence from La Mothe Le Vayer. The lack of clarity in the arguments is exacerbated by confusing formulations, most striking in what look to be thesis sentences (e.g., "The initial encounter with climate created rhetorical problems, with attempted solutions through wine": 117). All of this makes it very difficult to decipher the author's postulates with much precision.

Brazeau shows a surprising lack of familiarity with existing scholarship on the questions he treats when he suggests that an investigation like his might be extended to New England and New Spain. It is a bit late in the game to call Peter Hulme's 1986 *Colonial Encounters* a sign of a "growing interest" in the impact of the American experience on European self-conceptions (119). As for the Spanish colonies, the abundance of material on these issues could have provided a number of useful points of comparison, as well as some good models for the analysis of Old World–New World cultural transfer (an erudite and elegant recent contribution is Sabine MacCormack's 2007 *On the Wings of Time*). For the period in question, this kind of territory is

still least charted in France: Brazeau's book should encourage more scholars to explore the terrain.

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Warren S. Smith and Clark A. Colahan, eds. *Spanish Humanism on the Verge of the Picaresque: Juan Maldonado's* Ludus Chartarum, Pastor Bonus, *and* Bacchanalia.

Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 24. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009. 291 pp. illus. bibl. $69.50. ISBN: 978–90–5867–708–2.

Juan Maldonado (ca. 1485–1554) was a noted Erasmian humanist and cleric at Burgos. Smith and Colahan present bilingual (Latin-English) editions of three of his works that, they persuasively assert, belong in any analysis of the development of the Spanish picaresque tradition. First, the dialogue *Ludus chartarum* (*The Card Game*) portrays a group of academics playing Spanish Trumps, and incorporates the rules of the game. The debt to Juan Luis Vives' similarly named Latin dialogue (*Opera omnia*, Valencia, 1982, 1.378–85) is acknowledged and obvious.

The third composition, *Bacchanalia*, reprinted from *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 48 (1999): 172–233, portrays a court judgment between Gluttony and Continence, fusing pagan Bacchanalian lore with the tradition of combat between Carnival and Lent, embracing scenes (such as one involving sausage and vomit) which reasonably put the editors in mind of the *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

But the piece that ought to invite the closest attention is the significantly dated 1529 *Pastor Bonus*. It is a fifty-seven-page open letter addressed to the Bishop of Burgos, Iñigo López

de Mendoza y Zúñiga, cataloguing the varieties of corruption, misfeasance, idiocy, and other lapses that can bedevil the management of a diocese. Smith and Colahan follow Anne Cruz's advocacy of an "illuminating connection between the canonical picaresque novels and works not usually seen as germane to the genre" (61). They analyze *Pastor Bonus* as an example of such works, pointing out that although Marcel Bataillon discussed *Pastor Bonus*, he hesitated to connect it to the *Lazarillo* (95). Maldonado's indictments put him in a class of reform-minded Spanish writers including Francisco Vitoria, Santo Tomás de Villanueva, and others. Themes linking the *Pastor Bonus* and *Lazarillo* include gluttony among spiritual shepherds versus food deprivation; priests turned businessmen ("like the cathedral chaplain for whom Lazarillo sells water," 90); the failure of people in authority to provide proper role models, leading to moral degradation in society; "the uncommon nature of real character reform" (93); and others. *Pastor Bonus* crawls with turpitude. Underpaid diocesan appointees are compelled to resort to theft. Negligent doctors and quack pharmacists prey on victims, unhindered by admonitions from their supposed spiritual leaders. Monks forsake the cloister, "run up and down the whole world stirring up lawsuits, selling, buying, looking for what is theirs, not God's," and descend to adultery, rape, and murder (135–37). Clerics become loan sharks (153).

Maldonado is an eyewitness, reporting actual cases such as a brawl between monks and diocesan clerics over the right to perform a burial (139), and another instance in which the author himself even admits to wrapping up a slow-moving court case speedily via strategically bestowed bribes (175). Having served as an *examinator*, the official responsible for screening clergy candidates, Maldonado saves special animus for the ways in which that office can be a harbor for devastating corruption (161).

There is more, much more; plenty to justify the editors' case that the material is proper

background to picaresque. *Pastor Bonus* amounts to a captivating, appalling, virtual how-to manual for anyone aiming to weasel into the priesthood and find a safe, lucrative, and predatory niche in the Church bureaucracy.

The editors' choice not to pursue their earlier proposal that Maldonado may have been the author of *Lazarillo* does nothing to compromise the exceptional significance of these pieces and their publication here. Maldonado's Latin is lucid. The translation is accurate and reliable, usually flowing fairly easily. At times, though, fidelity trumps felicity: for example, "et in dubium revocatur, cui sit hodie uis illata" becomes "And it is called into doubt against whom violence has been brought this day" (224–25). The book lacks an index. To be bibliography one should add Valentin Moreno Gallego, *La recepción hispana de Juan Luis Vives* (Valencia, 2006), especially chapter 9, with rich leads to pertinent background on Maldonado's humanism.

Spanish Humanism on the Verge of the Picaresque is a good example of how Neo-Latin scholars can render important sources accessible to colleagues with limited Latin. Though Spanish is left untranslated, Latin is studiously Englished everywhere, including the introductory material. *Pastor Bonus* in particular merits even broader circulation, assuming a refinement of the translation. Social and ecclesiastical historians, students of picaresque, and specialists in early sixteenth century humanism will find enlightenment nicely salted by macabre diversion in Smith and Colahan's valuable contribution.

EDWARD V. GEORGE

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Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. *Obras Completas: Epistolario*.

3 vols. Vols. 8, 9.1, 9.2. Ed. Ignacio J. García Pinilla and Julián Solana Pujalte. Pozoblanco: Ayuntamiento de Pozoblanco, 2007. cdxxiii + 824 pp. index. append. bibl. n.p. ISBN: 978–84–95714–13–8, 978–84–95714–14–5, 978–84–95714–24–4.

The publication of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's (1490–1573) *Epistolario* is an important addition to the critical edition of his complete works. Better known as author of the *De iustis belli causis apud indos*, Sepúlveda has become something of a *bête noire* in many circles for his defense of war to bring European rule and civilization to America on the basis of the former's cultural superiority. The famous debate in which he confronted Bartolomé de las Casas on this topic continues to be his chief source of notoriety. Sepúlveda's activities, however, were varied and provide a more complex perspective on the man: he was also an official royal historian who produced several chronicles (see reviews in *RQ* 50 [1995]: 914–15, and *RQ* 59 [2004]: 211–12), and a respected intellectual figure among his contemporaries. The 139 letters published here are an invaluable source for the better understanding of this figure as they provide a clearer indication of his standing among the humanists of his generation.

The first volume (vol. 8 in the complete work series) contains two introductions ("historical" and "philological"), largely overlapping and thus making for many superfluous pages. The historical introduction (169 pages) by Luis Gil, a distinguished historian of Spanish humanism, begins with Sepúlveda's biography, tracing his steps through the different places where he lived: Alcalá (1512–14) and Bologna (1515–23) as a student, followed by long stays in Rome and Naples (1523–35), then Castile as a member of the court, and finally Córdoba, where he had spent part of his youth, for his retirement. The focus here is on the personal relationships he established in each place, which are later represented in the epistolary. Included are professors from Salamanca and Alcalá, ambassadors, popes and cardinals, Sephardic Jews in exile, Spanish

and Italian humanists and noblemen, as well as some of Europe's most famous editors and printers, all of whom correspond with Sepúlveda on a wide variety of issues: Alberto and Rodolfo di Carpi, Ercole Gonzaga, Antonio Agustín, Eramus, Adrian VI, Clement VII, Pius III, Giovanni Matteo Giberti, Gasparo Contarini, members of the Mendoza and Álvarez de Toledo families, Juan Tavera, Alfonso de Valdés, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Fernando de Valdés, Martínez Silíceo, Pedro Mexía, Paolo Manuzio, Cristophe Plantin.

Other sections of the Introduction comment on Sepúlveda as polemicist — against Erasmus and Hernán Núñez on philology, against Melchor Cano and Las Casas on juridical matters — as well as the historical and personal data derived from this *Epistolary*. All sections make abundant references to the letters edited, and together they constitute a thorough introduction to Sepúlveda's life and thought.

The historical introduction is followed by a philological introduction, which first compares the selection of 104 letters published by Sepúlveda himself in 1557 with the larger corpus published here, including all preserved letters written after that date and some rejected by the author for reasons explored by the editors. The information contained in the first introduction is then reiterated in this section, albeit in a more systematic way: short biographies of all the correspondents, along with bibliographies by and on them. One long note to each letter contains a corresponding list of sources, brief summary, historical context and bibliography. There follows a study of the content of this *Epistolary* and again a section devoted to Sepúlveda's participation in various polemics. A comprehensive bibliography, a solid cumulative index of names, and an index of sources make this hefty volume easy to navigate.

Volumes 9.1 and 9.2 contain the letters themselves, the originals (mostly in Latin) with translations in the opposite pages. Letters written in Spanish are included with the original and

modern spelling, which seems superfluous considering the intended educated reader. Footnotes to the original versions contain textual variants from other editions and numerous references to classical sources, while the translations receive a second set of comprehensive annotations in terms of content, context, and discussion by previous scholars. In sum, this is a daunting, very thorough edition, and a useful addition to Renaissance scholarship that should be indispensable for a broader understanding of humanism within and beyond Spain's borders.

JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ TORREJÓN

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Abraham Madroñal. *Humanismo y filología en Siglo de Oro: En torno a la obra de Bartolomé Jiménez Patón.*

Biblioteca Áurea Hispánica 60. Ed. José Antonio Pascual. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2009. 360 pp. append. bibl. €36. ISBN: 978–84–8489–452–0.

"Let us not read dishonest and profitless authors, like those of works of chivalry, for dishonest speech corrupts good manners." These are the words of Bartolomé Jiménez Patón (1569–1640), Spanish author and educator perhaps best known for his *Elocuencia española en arte* (*Spanish Eloquence in Art*), the first work of rhetoric to draw its examples from Spanish vernacular authors. His scorn for knightly romances reflects the prevailing attitude in early modern Spain towards the role and function of literature, an attitude which Patón helped shape. In his this study, Abraham Madroñal has provided an excellent introduction to the work of this author, whom he describes as "minor," yet whose oeuvre is nevertheless both "interesting and original" (142).

A graduate of the University of Salamanca, Patón held important teaching chairs in the cities of Villanueva de los Infantes and Baeza during the first decades of the seventeenth century, and counted among his friends figures such as Lope de Vega and Francisco de Quevedo, (which makes the lack of an index of names an evident shortcoming in a study such as this). As both a critic and educator, Patón not only considered Spain to have reached the apex of achievement in the liberal arts, but, like many of his contemporaries, he held that the Spanish language was of equal antiquity and dignity as Latin, being one of the original seventy-two tongues resulting from the Tower of Babel. The decision to create a canon of contemporary Spanish authors to serve as paradigms of eloquence can thus be understood as both innovative and conservative, two terms that are equally applicable to Bartolomé Jiménez Patón.

Humanismo y filología is divided into six dense and assiduously researched sections: four chapters, a bibliography, and an appendix. The first chapter deals with Patón's life and ideological orientation (a fervent patriot, like his friend Quevedo he longed for the restoration of an idealized Spanish empire); the following two chapters delineate his views on the Spanish language and education, and on literature and rhetoric, respectively. The book's final chapter is an analysis of three of Jiménez Patón's works: *Instrumento necesario para adquirir todas ciencias y artes* (*The Necessary Instrument for Acquiring All Sciences and Arts*), *Perfecto predicador* (*The Perfect Preacher*) and *Satisfacción al licenciado don Fernando de Ballesteros y Saavedra* (*Satisfaction Given to Fernando de Ballesteros y Saavedra*). Madroñal chooses to consider the three works together, since they each represent fundamental elements of the system dear to Jiménez Patón, wherein the disciplines of rhetoric, dialectic and grammar were subsumed into the category of oratory. Following a bibliography of Patón's works as well as of secondary literature, Madroñal finishes by providing an appendix containing a complete edition of *Perfecto predicador*, as well

as *Satisfacción al licenciado Ballesteros*, together with fragments of *Instrumento necesario*. This last work had been lost until very recently, and Madroñal stresses the fact that it is actually a translation of two Latin works by Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, "el Brocense."

While this work will be useful to scholars of seventeenth century Spanish rhetoric and oratory, one of the sections that will prove most valuable to those with a more general interest the *Siglo de Oro* is its description of Patón's relationship with Miguel de Cervantes. According to Madroñal, there is ample evidence to suggest that Patón felt himself to be a target of Cervantes' acerbic prologue to the first volume of the *Quixote*. Furthermore, Cervantes' choice of La Mancha as the birthplace of his mad *hidalgo* was likely especially offensive to Patón, who was born and carried out much of his intellectual labors in that province. Patón, it seems, responded through a campaign of disparaging allusions to Cervantes and his works. The fact that he never overtly mentions Cervantes or his works indicates the contempt felt by Patón, known for his knowledge and appreciation of contemporary authors, including Luis de Góngora, whose *Soledades* are cited in *Elocuencia española en arte* — the same Góngora who was the likely target of the disparaging term *culteranismo*, coined by the very same Patón.

DAMIAN BACICH

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Pietro Bembo. *History of Venice*.

Vol. 2, books 5–8. The I Tatti Renaissance Library 32. Ed. and trans. Robert W. Ulery. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008. xii + 408 pp. index. map. $29.95. ISBN: 978–0–674–02284–3.

With the publication of the third and final volume, Robert W. Ulery, through Harvard's I Tatti Renaissance Library series, has provided us with the first full English translation of Pietro Bembo's *History of Venice*. This lively translation will be of great use to scholars of Venice, early modern Europe, and the interaction between East and West on the Mediterranean, as well as to scholars of the Latin language.

Bembo's biography put him in a unique position to act as Venice's librarian and historian. He was born in the Serenissima in 1470, a gifted son of a prominent old family, and like most young men of his class, received a solid early education designed to propel him into public life. Pietro differed from his contemporaries in a few key ways, though. As the son of the ambassador and bibliophile Bernardo, his education went beyond that required for public life in Venice. As well as formal study in Messina and Padua, he also studied the classics in Florence and Ferrara while in the company of his father. He was clearly well suited for, and terribly passionate about, his classical education. He became a familiar of Roman intellectual circles in 1501, even numbering among Lucrezia Borgia's conquests before taking an ecclesiastical post in Urbino in 1505. In 1512 he was back in Rome, working as a secretary to Pope Leo X until his patron's death in 1521. In this office in particular he spent a great deal more time acting as an international liaison, writing letters and taking ambassadorial voyages on behalf of the Vatican. He was a noted intellectual and author. He published his first work in 1493, beginning a writing career that would continue to his death in 1547. He wrote in Latin and in the vernacular, on a variety of subjects ranging from an ascent of Mount Etna to a learned treatise on Latin poetry.

The work encompasses the years 1494–1513 in twelve ponderous books. All of Bembo's international experience shows through in his narrative, in which he richly interweaves Venice's internal politics with a international history. He is largely concerned with Venice's role on the

international scene, devoting much of his time with the Italian wars and Venice's mercurial relationship with the Turks. It is a contemporary history, written about a short period of time in great length, and it contains an appropriate level of detail. Bembo's ideas of what constitutes history are clear: much of the narrative revolves around the important decisions undertaken by important people in relation to finances and diplomacy. It lacks the quotidian detail that makes Sanudo such an excellent resource for a cultural historian. However, Bembo's familiarity with the principal actors and issues under discussion adds depth.

Ulery's introduction provides a quick but thorough biography, situates the work in its linguistic context, and discusses the idiosyncrasies of Bembo's Latin. Of particular interest was Ulery's discussion of Bembo's use of Livy as a model and the Ciceronian traits evident in his linguistic choices. The translation is erudite and enjoyable, managing to convey a sense of Bembo's Latin while flowing in English. Ulery has provided us with an excellent scholarly resource and an enjoyable read.

JANA L. BYARS

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Karl R. Appuhn. *A Forest on the Sea: Environmental Expertise in Renaissance Venice*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. vii + 361 pp. index. append. illus. tbls. map. gloss. bibl. $90. ISBN: 978–0–8018–9261–5.

The history of Venice has always been shaped by the necessity to assure regular supplies of vital products, which could not be obtained within the limited area of the lagoon's islands. Among these, timber acquired critical importance. Indispensable for shipbuilding, it constituted

the very structure on which the city lay — buildings were literally constructed on wooden piles (*tolpi*) driven into the sandy ground — and provided the only fuel available to heat homes and run manufacturing activities. The demand for timber increased from the twelfth century onwards, when both the population and the economy experienced remarkable expansion. Thus the city became more susceptible to recurring tensions in the timber market, which, in turn, led many among the ruling class to forecast a severe supply shortage. This fear prompted direct intervention by the state: market legislation, the creation of public forests reserves, and the organization of a specific bureaucracy aimed at preserving the most important mainland woods for the needs of the republic and of its population.

The work of Karl Appuhn, based on extensive archival research and rich technical insights, offers a major study devoted to the social, economic, administrative, and political aspects of Venetian forest management. Characterized by a fluent, pleasing narrative, the book considers within a single and comprehensive framework the plurality of factors that explain how Venice was able to avoid a major timber crisis. Appuhn makes a significant contribution to understanding the Serenissima's administration of a limited strategic raw material and the peculiar Venetian approach to the relations between human material needs and the natural world. "By examining the history of Venetian forest management," writes Appuhn, "it becomes possible to see that there is nothing inherent in European scientific or economic culture during this period that dictated the kinds of destructive exploitation of natural resources that occurred in other parts of the continent and globe" (11).

After a brief introduction the first and second chapters focus on the conditions of forest resources in the immediate mainland at the time of the Venetian conquest pointing out that, despite the fears expressed repeatedly by the ruling class, the woods were largely sufficient to

meet the broad and diverse demand of the Serenissima. As Appuhn convincingly argues, the perception of such great potential dangers that deeply influenced Venetian policies, derived from the lack of reliable information, as well as from political tactics devised to justify the market regulations imposed in the mid-fourteenth century. Similarly to what happened with other strategic products such as hemp, the poor performance of rules like compulsory delivery quotas at fixed prices led the government to exert a more direct presence in the sector. Chapter three deals with the consequences of this approach and, particularly, with the creation of the "boschi banditi." In 1471 the "Bosco del Montello" was diverted from any private use and kept exclusively for the needs of the Arsenale, a decision extended to many other forests of the provinces of Padua, Treviso, and Belluno. At the same time rules were issued addressing key aspects of the exploitation of the mainland forests. Finally, in the mid-sixteenth century with the creation of the "Provveditori sopra boschi," this legislation was coupled with an extensive bureaucracy, which is thoroughly analyzed in chapters four and five. Consisting of specialized technicians, capable of acquiring, analyzing, and transmitting information through quantitative surveys and maps, this administration probably represented the most original and fruitful outcome of the Venetian approach to forest management.

The technical and cultural actions of the Provveditori are in fact to be understood against a larger backdrop that includes the islands' history of limited physical resources as well as the patricians' shared beliefs about the fragility of nature, the destructive forces of a humanity driven by personal gain and greed, and the need for state intervention to reach an equilibrium.

All these assumptions, as Appuhn highlights, are of the outmost importance not only for understanding the history of Renaissance Venice, but also to better evaluate the possibility of a more viable future for our capitalistic societies. "With the growing recognition that the globe

itself is a large and incomprehensibly complex island environment with no access to outside resources it seems to me that the history of the Venetian forestry regime is worth revisiting. . . . The existence of a recognizable and respectable public discourse about the need to preserve the natural world for the mutual benefits that can be derived from it for all of its inhabitants — rather than constantly altering it in an effort to extract as much wealth as possible from it" (302) represents then one of the most valuable legacies of the Venetian experience.

DAVID CELETTI

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David McGee, Alan M. Stahl, and Pamela O. Long, eds. *The Book of Michael of Rhodes: A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript.*

3 vols. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009. index. append. illus. tbls. bibl. $65, $75, $45. ISBN: 978–0–262–13503–0, 978–0–262–19590–4, 978–0–262–12308–2.

Over about two years ending in early 1436 a non-noble maritime officer completed a manuscript summarizing knowledge he had gained in a career on board Venetian war and merchant galleys that began, as a rower, in 1401. After its sale in 2000 the new owner made the 440-folio work available for scholarly examination for the first time. That led to a conference, a webpage, (http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/michaelofrhodes/index.html) and now three volumes that are as remarkable as the original book. David McGee took responsibility for the elegant reproduction in full color, Alan Stahl the more onerous task of translating the difficult text from Venetian, and Pamela Long the editing of eight studies that developed from the conference. Stahl recreates a chronicle of the mariner's service, detailing his successes and failures at winning

appointment to various ranks. He allows Michael's career to illustrate Venetian trading networks, political structures, and the power of patronage in the republic. Subsequent studies in volume 3 take up the sections of the manuscript on mathematics, shipbuilding, time reckoning, the images (probably drawn by the author), and the lists of sailing instructions. Each study places Michael's work in the context of his life and of the sources he imitated or copied. The longest section of the manuscript, almost half, deals with mathematics. It bears the stamp of teaching in abacus schools, institutions for training potential traders in the basics of that science. It also bears the stamp, as does the section on calculating dates of Easter and of phases of the moon, of an autodidact struggling to develop answers himself and correcting his own mistakes. The many errors in the sections on calculation and sailing instructions show that Michael was not always successful in absorbing knowledge. While McGee and Mauro Bandiolo disagree about whether or not Michael wrote a treatise on shipbuilding they are both impressed by what is the oldest surviving work on the topic. That is the most extensively illustrated part of the manuscript with the earliest known drawings about the trade. They serve more as mnemonic devices, as vehicles for saving abstract information, than as representations of how to build a vessel. Less evident than in the sections on reckoning time is the desire to meld mathematical calculation with graphic display, a talent Michael probably wanted to demonstrate. The shipbuilding discussion is in fact more about how to fit out a ship and make it ready for a voyage, something Michael had to do a number of times in his career as a junior officer.

Each author addresses the question of why Michael should have suddenly turned his hand to producing his reorganization of varied bits of contemporary knowledge. Agreement is by no means universal but administrative changes in the 1430s which opened rewards to certain experienced mariners may have led to an effort on his part to demonstrate his knowledge, skills

and the quality of his judgement. Michael's book was part of an emerging trend toward works written to educate elite office holders about technology. The lack of precision in many sections suggests that instead of practical compilations such works were taking on a literary form designed to show off the author's erudition, serving more of a symbolic than practical function. What certainly comes through in the text is Michael's real interest in learning, his genius, his uniqueness and his continuing curiosity even late in his career.

There is some repetition in the studies and a summary essay drawing together the findings of the various contributions is missing. The work on time reckoning and the intricacies of some mathematical calculations are difficult in the original and the commentaries do not always fully succeed in the task of making them transparent. In some cases Stahl has to give up on translating what are obscure technical terms and simply leaves them in Venetian, puzzles for others to solve just like the mathematical ones that Michael enjoyed including in his manuscript. The sumptuous, luxurious production of the three volumes along with efforts to bring to bear the best in scholarship on all aspects of the impressive manuscript serve to create an invaluable contribution to understanding a central part of life in fifteenth century Venice and give to Michael of Rhodes an importance that, probably to his regret, he never enjoyed in his lifetime.

RICHARD W. UNGER

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Vera Costantini. *Il sultano e l'isola contesa: Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano*. Turin: UTET, 2009. xi + 239 pp. index. illus. bibl. €23. ISBN: 978–8–802–08097–0.

Since the days of Michele Amari (1806–89) and his studies of Arab Sicily, Italian

scholarship has shown a great capacity for empathy with successive Muslim empires that made their mark on medieval and Renaissance Italian history. Costantini follows in this tradition, taking the Ottoman point of view. Her fine study shows how Cypriot economic and social history at an important juncture can be interpreted through both Venetian and Ottoman Turkish sources.

Where the book will most impress students of the Venetian Empire is in the seamless use of Ottoman-language and Venetian sources to paint a picture of Cypriot society on the eve of the Ottoman conquest in the late sixteenth century, and of Venetian-Ottoman relations overall. She includes amusing linguistic discussions, including one of the various negative epithets used to describe infidels in contemporary Ottoman chronicles (41), which are both instructive and revealing. Elsewhere, Costantini provides an analysis of the meanings of various Ottoman descriptive terms for some of the innumerable categories of Ottoman financial documents, such as the *tereke defterleri* (probate inventories) and *ruznamçes* (detailed account books), and for terseness and lucidity these pocket descriptions can vie with any handbook of Ottoman diplomatics. One could ask whether Costantini's employment of Venetian and Ottoman documents is too seamless and does not fully express the profound differences in their nature and purpose — whether, in other words, differences in the nature and purpose for which Venetian and Ottoman documents were written are so vast that Costantini is resorting to slight artifices to minimize those differences. As difficult as it may be to analyze the rather miscellaneous *mühimme defterleri* (registers of important affairs) for the benefit of a Western readership that is unlikely to be familiar with them, Costantini might have at least included some *prolegomena* discussing the nature of her sources, and possible pitfalls that arise in their interpretation.

In chapter 1 Costantini takes a certain number of strong positions on the development of Ottoman-Venetian relations. She argues that the conquest of Negroponte by the Ottomans in 1471

was a decisive break in Ottoman-Venetian relations, but also nothing less than a "redefinition of the role of Venice in her European-Continental environment, as well" (12). Whereas Venice, during the early years of her long war (1463–79) with the Ottomans, had boldly occupied various islands, such as Tenedos, in advance of her foremost outposts towards Constantinople, after the loss of Negroponte Venice could do no more than defend the status quo, and would come to rely on leagues with other European powers, in particular Spain and the papacy. Chapter 2 yet again boasts some nuggets on the terminology of Ottoman documents on Cyprus, from which even specialists in early modern Cypriot history may learn something new. Furthermore, on the basis of a register of captives or *Esir Defteri,* Costantini is able to tell us exactly how many prisoners the Ottomans estimated they had captured at the siege of Nicosia — 13,719 — and points out that this was more people than formed the besieging army (66). Costantini here follows, but from the Ottoman side, in the footsteps of Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg, who collected data on the Christian records of Cypriot captives redeemed in the decades following the Cyprus war.

Costantini's chapter 3 begins by noting that early Ottoman Cyprus underwent a crisis during the first ten years of its existence, especially a crisis of depopulation, exacerbated by frequent outbreaks of plague and famine, and unrest among the Janissaries on the island, particularly during the *sıvış* year of 1586 that saw uprisings in many parts of the Ottoman Empire. Some recent historians have questioned the vast number of revolts that Sir George Hill saw on Cyprus in this period. Costantini's book leads one to think the degree of unrest was if anything underestimated by Hill. Chapter 4 examines Ottoman decisions about spending the island's revenues. The defense of the island was an important budgetary priority. Costantini agrees with the earlier conclusion of both Hill and Tenenti that the Ottomans greatly feared naval attacks, both of corsairs and of an invading force from the West. She notes that they did what they could

to fortify and place guards near the coasts (117–18). Costantini then goes on to examine the postwar commercial system. She finds that in the immediate aftermath of the war maritime customs duties amounted to 47% of the entire income derived from the city of Famagusta, renamed Mağosa under the Ottomans (162). Yet, for security reasons, Christians, who were most of the maritime traders in the ports of prewar Cyprus, were excluded both from Mağosa and from Paphos, now renamed Baf; Costantini does not directly confront the question of why the Ottomans pursued such a policy, which would seem to have countered their economic, if not spiritual interests. The importance of cotton in the Cypriot postwar economy is also stressed (172).

In conclusion, Costantini's study informs and entertains. The account she provides is one of continuities that outlasted the change in regime; the events of the war did not do much to stop the long-term trends in trade. Although she does see a conscious attempt on the part of the Ottomans to smash Venetian trade with the Levant, she also notes that the Venetians were back trading in Cyprus already a few months after the peace treaty of March 1573 (167), and if France, England and the Dutch later replaced the Venetians in the Levant trade, it seems Costantini does not attribute this development ultimately to any organized action or change in sympathy on the part of the Turks. Her study will be of interest to Ottomanists, Mediterraneanists, and Venetianists alike.

MATTHEW LUBIN

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Jonathan M. Walker. *Pistols! Treason! Murder! The Rise and Fall of A Master Spy*.

Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. xii + 276 pp. index. illus. map. bibl. $35. ISBN: 978–0–8018–9370–4.

The sun was leaving Venice, the westward sky benign, with no evident foreboding of mid-evening's tempest, and scholars mingled, chatting and resting glasses of prosecco on the wall lining a canal. Across the way stood a *squero*, a gondola boatyard with several craft upended. Filippo de Vivo, historian of Venetian information culture, passed graciously among the crowd, filling glasses. He was the host, and his guests, except the children at their feet, had dutifully attended sessions of the conference's final day. Relaxing after mental labors, your informant then asked Filippo, "Was that indeed you in Walker's book, speaking as 'Phil,' his interlocutor in those many reported sessions over wine? Were those your actual words?" Filippo answered, and your informant dares not quote him *verbatim*, that he had taken part in conversations, but in no Venetian wine shop, and Walker had taped them, and then cut and spliced, and, when queried on some phrases, had produced them, convincingly precise, on tape. "But why all this?" your informant asked. "What were these semi-fictitious wine-soaked dialogues meant to do?" "Why don't we just ask him," replied Filippo. "I know he is around here somewhere! Aha, there he is!"

And there indeed was Walker, pacing the canal bank and barking into a cellphone in deep Liverpudlian. As he resurfaced, we accosted him with scant salutations and, of course, your informant's question. "The whole point," Walker replied, "was to evoke the world of espionage, with all its veils and doubts. In every scene, someone is recording, and yet, what comes out never runs straight." That is precisely how our conversation went, upon my honor. Perhaps. There is no tape.

Jonathan Walker's book, like this review, crosses boundaries. It plays havoc with the canons of scholarship. Ideally, we authors and reviewers are invisible, or at least write as if barely

present. Our standards extol objectivity: a scholar's doubts, frustrations, glad findings, and other feelings, are exiled to the margins, a few grace notes in dedication and foreword, and no word more. Walker, meanwhile, could hardly be more different. He is everywhere, in prose and in playful illustrations that transform and blend both Venice and his own inquiry as cartoons. Walker's subject is a freelance spy in Venice, from 1617 until 1623, when his career ended abruptly, at state hands, a noose around his neck. Gerolamo Vano, briefly, was a major local spy in the nervous years when the Thirty Years' War broke out. Serving Venice, he did the state less good than damage: his false reports precipitated the death of a patrician, Antonio Foscarini, and this error soon doomed Vano. His target of choice had been the embassy of Spain, a Venetian rival, whose servants he had suborned with state money.

Vano's name is, by chance, marvelously evocative. Walker's tale encircles an evasive man, both moral and literary vacuum, who trafficked in hints, feints, and dubious allegations, and who worked, if not utterly in vain, to little good. The volume, in its playfulness, evokes two struggles, first that of Vano and his fellow spies, partial allies or semi-enemies, to cash in on information amid innuendo, deceit, and treachery, and, second, that of the historian, to extract the narrative threads and a larger truth from the archival traces of the spies' reports. Walker is less keen to reconstruct the elusive precise words and actions of his spies and informants than he is to catch the moral and institutional atmosphere in which they operated. He looks for gambits, claims to honor and credit, and bids for trust and gratitude, always dubious in a zone where to serve one master well one must betray another. The Venetian state was a ruthless, faithless patron; one slip easily meant doom. Walker's diagnosis of the Venetian underworld is canny and his trespasses across the boundaries between author and subject lighthearted and fun. The book's one weakness is in the citations: its elusive notes are only loosely keyed to text and very often cryptic, so that

scholars who wish to know just who was speaking, when, where, to whom, to what end, and in what precise Italian terms, will often be disappointed.

THOMAS V. COHEN

York University

Christopher Carlsmith. *A Renaissance Education: Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic, 1500–1650*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010. xvii + 436 pp. index. append. illus. map. bibl. $75. ISBN: 978–0–8020–9254–0.

Visiting Bergamo in the early seventeenth century, the English traveler Thomas Coryat observed that its noblemen wore brass or pewter buttons instead of gold or silver ones. Not a wealthy city and something of a cultural backwater, Bergamo was nevertheless located between two great engines of the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, Venice and Milan, and its history of education, explored with admirable detail and clarity in Christopher Carlsmith's important new study, reflects a dialectic with these two centers. The ambition of this book is not to be a work of mere local history but rather a broader contribution to our understanding of pre-university education in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italy, in which Bergamo functions as a microcosm of larger trends: it is Bergamo's "very ordinariness" (6) that has much to tell us about the extent of the diffusion of educational developments beyond the major centers of cultural production, so often the focus of historians' attentions.

Thanks to exhaustive work in the city's archives, and much careful and thoughtful scholarship, the author is remarkably successful in this aim. Directing the microscope at Bergamo we discover a world unexpectedly teeming with life. Despite the relatively late arrival (ca. 1480)

of humanistically-driven approaches, and the longterm failure of many individual initiatives, especially those attempted by the communal authorities, on the whole the striking phenomenon between 1500 and 1650 is the steep rise in educational opportunities offered by a plethora of different kinds of institution. Bergamo was located within the Venetian dominion but, with the exception of matters Jesuit, Venice's laissez-faire attitude to education facilitated such pluralism, and opened the door to influences from nearby Milan, especially in the shape of the reformist program of Carlo Borromeo. Humanistic education, though established permanently, was transformed as a result of this and other such post-Tridentine impulses, so that by the second half of the sixteenth century a variety of religious institutions had effectively taken over the lead from a faltering comune to offer schooling with a strong moral and religious agenda and to an extent not previously attempted. Thanks to schools, an academy of clerics, and scholarship schemes run by the Misericordia Maggiore, Bergamo's major confraternity; church-based schools of Christian doctrine (attended by large numbers of girls as well as boys) and a seminary for the training of clerics; and orphanages and a school run by the Somaschan order, in 1650 many more Bergamesque children, both the offspring of the nobility (often educated separately) and students from lower down the social ladder, were acquiring skills in Latin and vernacular reading and writing, and knowledge of their faith, than in 1500. But Carlsmith does not tell us how many more: his reluctance to engage in statistical guesswork is understandable but a pity nonetheless, since guesses from such a meticulous scholar would be worth having and would help locate his work within the historiography of education and literacy.

On the question of Bergamo's representativeness, however, Carlsmith scores a major methodological point by devoting an entire chapter to comparative analyses of other centers in the Veneto (thus justifying the subtitle of his book), and this proves that what was happening in

Bergamo was indeed happening elsewhere: this period does seem to represent a major turning point in the history of education, rendering many of the achievements of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation in thought and belief permanent by delivering them to large segments of the population. Visiting England recently I read the following sign on the bedroom door of an eleven-year-old, the daughter of a friend: "The following are not allowed in this room: nerds, dweebs, neebs, religious people, and anyone who believes in God." This eloquent monograph tells us why we are unlikely to encounter such statements in Italy.

JONATHAN WOOLFSON

Sotheby's Institute of Art

Douglas Biow. *In Your Face: Professional Improprieties and the Art of Being Conspicuous in Sixteenth-Century Italy.*

Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010. xviii + 246 pp. index. illus. $24.95. ISBN: 978–0–8047–6216–8.

In an age supposedly governed by grace, decorum, and *sprezzatura*, some of the most renowned figures of the Italian Renaissance were, in fact, anything but polite or well-mannered. Douglas Biow's *In Your Face* offers an analysis of the self-presentation of five Italian Renaissance artists and writers who loomed especially large in their time: Baldesar Castiglione, Pietro Aretino, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Benvenuto Cellini, and Anton Francesco Doni, all of whom relished in their lack of professional propriety. Biow aims to uncover not so much what these men may have actually done or said, but more importantly, how they specifically and intentionally represented themselves in a wide variety of indecorous ways: as intemperate

recluses, voracious consumers, or damning critics. By focusing on how these artists and writers represented their work and careers, Biow seeks to explore further the ever-important concept of the Renaissance self and self-presentation.

Though Biow makes it clear in his introduction that many Renaissance figures could serve as fodder for his study, he narrows his focus to these five cultural giants to look at both how they represented themselves and were represented as they flouted the typical norms of decorum in sixteenth-century Italy. Pietro Aretino represented his appetites as capacious, hungering for food in and of itself and as a symbol for attention and honor. At a certain point in his play *Lo ipocrito* (1542), for instance, the characters Malanotte and Perdelgiorno have a rather lengthy exchange about how to cook capons, a sign of their, and Aretino's, insatiable appetites. In his poetry and prose, Aretino belied Renaissance ideals of virtuous moderation in depicting himself and his characters with an irrepressible hunger for food, sex, and texts themselves. Michelangelo, by contrast, was famously abstemious, frequently commenting in his letters on the fact that he was too absorbed in his work to be able to eat at all. As his career progressed, Michelangelo's personality became increasingly antisocial, difficult, and tactless, especially compared to the courteous likes of his contemporaries Raphael and Leonardo. Rather than adhere to any ideas of *politesse*, the *poligrafo* Doni conspicuously and aggressively attacked his fellow authors, using professional impropriety as a means to acquire status and fame. Early modern propriety and civility, as by now famously described by the sociologist Norbert Elias, was clearly not of concern to these men in the examples of their behavior that Biow highlights.

Biow's conclusions at times seem to hinge more on his own personal interpretations rather than on any clearly corroborating evidence. As just one example, with only the loosest of support, Biow claims that Michelangelo's *Bacchus* "mirrors the state of absorption of Michelangelo in his

most intense moments of creative activity and devotion," inviting us "to experience . . . our own state of detached contemplation" (118). Speaking of appetites, consumption, and food as Biow does, however, one might easily read the opposite: that the *Bacchus* represents a moment of inebriation and physically gluttony. Euripides' *Bacchae* is meant to remind us of the importance of temporary indulgence and release from the bonds of civil society, so perhaps Michelangelo's *Bacchus* drinks and consumes with hedonistic verve like Aretino more than he ascetically denies himself life's pleasures like Michelangelo.

While we might not agree with his every twist and turn, the bigger point that Biow makes is an incredibly important one and one that has long been overlooked. In Renaissance Italy, treatises on manners and behavior were incredibly popular. Texts like Baldesar Castiglione's *The Courtier* and Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* advocated public and professional behavior that was a *via di mezzo*: comportment that demonstrated a classic Greek sense of moderation in all things. Supposedly, mannered behavior — eating some, but not too much; speaking clearly, but not too loudly; riding a horse or wielding a sword with ease, but not drawing attention to your skill — was crucial to social advancement. Biow demonstrates, however, that many people found worldly success by behaving in precisely the opposite manner: by being boorish, uncouth, voracious, and intemperate. His study calls into question just how important comportment manuals and Renaissance ideas about moderate behavior really were, or if people even took ideas about good manners seriously at all. Most likely they did, meaning that worldly and professional success could be achieved in a variety of ways and through the cultivation of a great variety of self-representations. For some, fame and fortune came together with polite and measured behavior, while for others, success came through being pointedly cantankerous or rude.

ELIZABETH HORODOWICH

New Mexico State University

Giunia Totaro. *L'autobiographie d'Athanasius Kircher: L'écriture d'un jésuite entre vérité et invention au seuil de l'oeuvre.*

Liminaires — Passages interculturels italo-ibériques 14. Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, 2009. xvi + 430 pp. index. bibl. $101.95. ISBN: 978–3–03911–793–2.

When early modern intellectuals have left us autobiographies, it is always interesting to compare their self-reckoning to posterity's. Rousseau, for example, stakes his reputation on his achievement as a composer as much as a writer and philosopher. Cardano is remembered for challenging scholasticism, but some of his proudest memories are of triumphing in public disputations by precisely quoting Aristotle. In the autobiography that Athanasius Kircher (1601/2–80) wrote near the end of his long career, the great self-promoter says little or nothing about most of his major scholarly works. The bestselling *China illustrata* and the controversial *Itinerarium exstaticum*, among others, are passed over in silence. He mentions *Mundus subterraneus*, his massive study of baroque earth science, only in passing to refer readers to its account of God snatching him from the flames of Vesuvius. Instead, the Jesuit scholar dwells on his discovery of the ruined shrine where Saint Eustace beheld the vision of a cross between the horns of a stag. Indeed, as Giunia Totaro observes in her new edition of Kircher's autobiography, the story of the shrine is the work's second longest section.

Published posthumously in Augsburg in 1684, Kircher's *Vita* is extremely rare and has never been reprinted, apart from a German translation in 1901. This new edition is thus most welcome. Totaro provides a critical edition of the Latin text, emending the Augsburg edition by

comparison to one of five known manuscripts. The discrepancies are all minor, but the result is a more accurate and readable text. (Totaro reports that the manuscript contains passages that were deliberately excised from the published edition, but unfortunately does not print them.) The Latin text is followed by generally accurate and readable French and Italian translations and an appendix containing six letters. Totaro has furnished the translations with annotations, which are especially helpful in illuminating the Jesuit context of Kircher's life.

Many episodes in the *Vita* are familiar from secondary literature, including young Kircher's numerous scrapes with death: nearly crushed by a water wheel, stampeded by horses, trapped on an ice floe in the frozen Rhine while fleeing a Protestant invasion. It is only by reading these episodes in their original context, however, that one perceives that they are not mere nostalgia for an adventuresome youth. Kircher privileges these episodes because he aims to show God's will at work in his life. Kircher believed God had chosen him to achieve great things. In the realm of scholarship, he discerned the divine plan most clearly in his hieroglyphic studies, the only aspect of his scholarship that receives extended treatment in the *Vita.* Together, the restoration of the "hieroglyphic doctrine" and the restoration of the shrine to Saint Eustace encapsulate Kircher's self-image: a paragon of the Jesuit scholar, harmoniously balancing piety and scholarship.

Totaro does not explore the relevance of Kircher's *Vita* for the history of the autobiography, a topic she promises to treat in a future work. In her introductory study, she confronts the *Vita* with evidence from other sources (relying significantly on other scholars' archival work) in order to show that Kircher's account is unreliable. Her central argument is that Kircher fabricated parts of his autobiography in order to make events appear the product of unforeseen providence, rather than personal initiative. In her quest to set the record straight,

however, Totaro tends to become immersed in minor details, losing sight of matters of larger significance. She never poses the fundamental question: who was the *Vita*'s intended audience? Did Kircher have publication in mind? Or did he compose it to circulate in manuscript, perhaps among younger Jesuits curious about their famous elder? Even if the question cannot be definitively answered, it demands consideration.

In her dogged pursuit of error Totaro misses no opportunity to point out the mistakes of previous scholars. Ironically, in this very act she herself makes some careless errors. For example, in seeking to establish that Kircher arrived in Rome before 22 October 1633, she misinterprets two documents, while claiming to correct errors in an earlier study. (Full disclosure: that earlier study is my doctoral dissertation.) As evidence of Kircher's presence in Rome, she perplexingly cites a French letter by Kircher's mentor Peiresc, who reports receiving letters from Rome that contain no news of Kircher. She supports this misreading by quoting a Latin letter in which Kircher describes his journey, but she elides the key phrase that specifies that he arrived in Rome's port, Civitavecchia, on the last day of October (63–64, 99).

Kircher was one of the most famous scholars of the seventeenth century, but only recently has he established himself in the narrative of early modern intellectual history and the history of science. Despite the flaws of its introduction, readers of French, Italian, and Latin, should welcome this publication, which is sure to become the standard edition of Kircher's *Vita*.

DANIEL STOLZENBERG

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Frank Tallett and David J. B. Trim, eds. *European Warfare, 1350–1750*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. xxxii + 394 pp. index. tbls. map. bibl. $95 (cl), $34.99 (pbk). ISBN: 978–0–521–88628–4 (cl), 978–0–521–71389–4 (pbk).

Few interpretations of early modern European history have generated as much scholarly debate as Michael Roberts's thesis, now over fifty years old, arguing that a military revolution took place in the early seventeenth century. While the key components of that theory have long since been rejected or redefined in ways that make it no longer recognizable even in works still using the term, the research inspired by it has done much to demonstrate that military changes did indeed take place over a broader stretch of time in ways that did much to affect not only European history, but that of the world. This volume, based on a set of conference papers from specialists in many different facets of the larger topic, synthesizes much of the current research, and does a particularly good job of illuminating some of the less familiar dimensions of it, as well as of juxtaposing contrasting perspectives and methodological approaches effectively.

As with most such collections, the individual articles vary in terms of format and quality, with some consisting mainly of synthesis of previously published material, and others focusing on more narrow topics and drawing more heavily on primary sources, but the overall quality of the individual pieces is high. The weakest components of the anthology are the ones designed largely to provide a framework for the more specialized ones. These chapters serve their purpose, but tend either to summarize the other chapters or to deal with very broad issues relating to themes like grand strategy in ways largely familiar to the audience. Even some of the more synthetic articles, however, offer useful insights. Steven Gunn's "War and the Emergence of the State: Western Europe, 1350–1600", for instance, runs through different scholars' interpretations of a relatively well researched topic, and systematically takes them apart, effectively demonstrating the complexity of the issue, and the limitations of any effort to apply social science models to

major historical questions. Conversely, D. J. B. Trim's piece on religion and ideology in European warfare, while treating some familiar themes and material, effectively advances a relatively simple thesis, that religion had a profound effect on several aspects of warfare in the period, especially regarding its violence and its role in motivating both rulers and combatants to engage and persist in warfare even when it made no sense in conventional terms. Trim's approach, unlike most of those engaged by Gunn, draws on a thorough knowledge of the available historical evidence, and thus holds up much better.

The most valuable parts of this anthology are those that investigate relatively obscure dimensions of the topic, especially those relating to Central Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Successive chapters by Laszló Veszprémy, Gábor Agoston, and Rhoads Murphey examine multiple dimensions of these fields from Habsburg, Hungarian, and Ottoman perspectives in ways that should be illuminating even to most specialists, while also raising a number of questions worthy of further research. These essays, like most of the others in the volume, repeatedly challenge conventional assumptions regarding military change, whether at the tactical, organizational or logistical level, and offer important comparisons and contrasts with better known examples from Northern and Western Europe.

One particular strength of this anthology is the degree of connectedness between many of the chapters. Gunn's essay on war and the state, for instance, sets up David Parrott's more focused examination of military entrepreneurs and efforts to create standing armies in the seventeenth century, and both relate directly to Jan Glete's economic analysis of warfare in the period. Similarly, Olaf van Nimwegen's study of army organization leads directly into Simon Pepper's examination of military operations and Clifford Rogers's analysis of tactics and soldiers' experiences. Each of these pieces challenges conventional stereotyped presentations of their

topics, and Pepper's in particular attempts to illuminate less well understood facets of warfare, especially raiding and irregular warfare. Trim's essay, in turn, builds on the preceding one by Matthew Bennett on views of the legality and legitimacy of different aspects of warfare.

The principal limitations of the anthology are mostly related to coverage. Even with contributions from sixteen specialists, many aspects of the topic will have to receive summary treatment. The more familiar military powers such as France, Spain, England, and to some extent the Netherlands, receive relatively short shrift and are often treated together in thematic pieces, as opposed to Austria, Hungary, or the Ottoman Empire, an approach that makes efficient use of space, but leaves open some issues that the reader might enjoy examining in greater depth. However, less familiar regions such as Portugal, Scandinavia, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia, while all treated to a limited degree, could certainly use more attention. Even with these limitations, the anthology is unusually coherent and comprehensive, and is a valuable addition to the literature on the topic.

JAMES R. SMITHER

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André Thevet. *Portraits from the French Renaissance and the Wars of Religion*.

Early Modern Studies 3. Ed. Roger Schlesinger. Trans. Edward Benson. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2010. xxxiv + 201 pp. index. illus. map. chron. bibl. $39.95. ISBN: 978–1–931112–98–7.

For scholars of sixteenth-century France there are few more profitable sources in understanding the personalities that drove the intellectual development of the kingdom and the

violence of the first decades of the Wars of Religion than André Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres.* Despite this, there has been no modern English translation of Thevet's work, even though his travel accounts have received much scholarly attention. Edward Benson's translation of thirteen selections from Thevet's work seeks to remedy this situation.

Benson has chosen some of the most important figures in the history of sixteenth-century France, which represent only a fraction of the over two hundred biographies in Thevet's original *Pourtraits*. Following Thevet's own categorization, this edition is organized into three generalized categories: kings (covering the Valois monarchs from François I to Charles IX), aristocrats and warriors (including François de Lorraine, duc de Guise, and Michel de l'Hôpital), and scholars (Guillaume Budé and Guillaume Postel). This organization allows the reader to peer into Thevet's mental world. Thevet's interest in the martial culture of the *noblesse d'épée* is evident. But as Roger Schlesinger notes in his introduction, Thevet was not an uncritical supporter of the violence of the sixteenth-century nobility: rather, he admired those who combined martial valor with an appreciation of intellectual and cultural interests. Thus is it not surprising that the longest biographies are reserved for both François I and Henri II, monarchs who not only embraced the military ethos expected of them, but who were directly responsible for the importation and advancement of Renaissance learning throughout the kingdom.

Both academics and students will benefit from this volume. Benson's lucid translation has captured the cadence of Thevet's original French. Schlesinger's introduction traces the historical context of Thevet's life and work. Beginning with Thevet's geographic literature, Schlesinger describes how Thevet established a reputation of accurate scholarship which would serve him well as he wrote the *Pourtraits*. Indeed, the reader is struck by the care and conscientiousness which with Thevet undertook his biographies. As a literary form the biography was not new and

Thevet worked within a well established tradition, indebted as he was to Suetonius and Plutarch for models of political biography and to Vasari for the inclusion of nonpolitical actors as worthwhile subjects of biographical examination. But the importance of his contribution should not be understated. Often including details left out of general studies, Thevet's studies are revealing without being gossipy. And as Schlesinger notes, we can learn as much about Thevet himself and sixteenth-century French society as we do his subjects. Writing during the height of the religious wars, Thevet reflected the concern for stability that dominated the French nobility's anxiety about social rank and status based on genealogical continuity as a means of preserving a sense of order and stability as the body politic was rent at the seams.

The religious wars were never far from Thevet's mind and Benson masterfully captures the complexity of Thevet's reaction to the causes of the violence. While anti-Protestant, Thevet was more unforgiving to those whom he considered disloyal to the crown. Protestants bore the brunt of his attacks since adherence to Protestantism alone was an act of *lèse-majesté*, but Thevet was also highly critical of Catholics who sought to undermine royal authority. Some, however, have seen Thevet as an unapologetic self-promoter, especially in light of his efforts to win backing for his various expeditions to the New World.

The additional apparatus in this translation are invaluable to students of early modern France. Each biography is preceded by a brief summary providing context to each person. The explanatory footnotes are also very informative and are comprehensively detailed. Students and scholars will find this text very helpful in understanding the political, intellectual and cultural history of Valois France.

JASON SAGER

Wilfrid Laurier University

Theodore K., Rabb, trans. *A Sixteenth-Century Book of Trades:* Das Ständebuch.

Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, Inc., 2009. li + 230 pp. index. $50. ISBN: 978–0–930664–28–2.

The 1568 *Ständebuch* is generally known to English speaking readers as *The Book of Trades*, but actually covers a much wider spectrum of society, as viewed from the south German city of Nuremberg. Indeed it claimed to cover "Aller Staende auf Erden," all ranks in the world. It begins with the pope and the church hierarchy, followed by the Holy Roman Emperor and the great territorial princes of Germany. Some of its striking illustrations by Jost Amman are well-known and much used by historians. This volume reproduces all 113 of them, together with Hans Sachs's 114 accompanying verses. This is the first fruit of Theodore Rabb's retirement. He has patently had great fun producing appropriately jingling translations to match the rhythm and rhyme pattern of Hans Sachs's lively eight-line verses which accompany each illustration. However in order to keep the feel of Sachs's verse in this way, Rabb's doggerel is more paraphrase than translation. Benjamin Rifkin, in his facsimile reprint of 1973, provided prose précis which by no means captured the flavour.

In his introduction, which I much prefer to Rifkin's, Rabb begins by giving potted biographies of Nuremberg-born Hans Sachs, an old and famous poet by 1568; the young illustrator, Jost Amman, who had only moved to Nuremberg a few years earlier; and their distinguished publisher Sigmund Feyerabend of Frankfurt. He then goes on to puzzle out the purpose of the book. It does not seem to have had a didactic purpose. Instead Rabb believes Feyerabend intended it to entertain. Rabb also produces a convincing argument to show that since

picture and text were printed on one side of the page only, each quarto leaf could be used as a broadsheet. He believes that Feyerabend deliberately sold single pages; owners of the complete volumes also dismembered them. The surviving copies of the volume have thus all been broken up at some stage and then reintegrated by collectors using loose pages.

There was an element of appealing to nostalgia in Feyerabend's publication. It looks back to the Nuremberg of Sachs's youth, when it had then been at the height of its prosperity, at the center of European overland trade and the principal metal-working city of the continent. There are repeated hints of the past: the verses on Pope, Cardinal, and Bishop do not fit with the Lutheran Nuremberg of 1568. It makes one wonder how much earlier Sachs composed his verses. As Rabb points out Sachs's "Uhrmacher" was a maker of hourglasses of an earlier generation; Amman's "Uhrmacher" was a maker of metal clocks of the 1560s. Nostalgia patently sold. It was a publishing success. A second edition followed in 1574, and a Latin version to reach non-German speakers, still using Amman's blocks, which were also available for re-use in other publications.

Nuremberg, like its principal trading partner Antwerp, had gone into decline in the 1550s. The heyday of the great international commercial companies of Nuremberg was long past. The Imperial and French governments' defaults of the 1550s had ruined south German finance, and south Germans had given place to Genoese in the Antwerp money market. This largest scale of business was no longer there for Jost Amman to illustrate. His "Merchant" is a relatively small scale importer, who is shown as a single individual trying to sell a few bales of goods to a customer, rather than a man surrounded by paperwork, dictating to a clerk at a desk, like the famous sketch of Jacob Fugger at work in 1516. Rabb points out how very urban the books' viewpoint is, and how particularly of Nuremberg, with its emphasis on the metal trades. At the end of the fifteenth century Nuremberg had succeeded Milan as the greatest provider of armor and

other military hardware for armies, including, despite Rabb's disclaimer in his introduction, swords (according to both Sachs's text and Amman's illustration of their "Cutler"). Rabb only counts twenty-three metal trades, but I would include Amman's makers of clocks, and lanterns as well, making up nearly a quarter of the whole sequence.

Just occasionally Rabb is let down in his translation. For example he does not pick up that "Sanct Jacob" should be Saint James in English. Amman's prosperous pilgrims wear the cockle shell of those who have been to Compostella. Rabb does not call Sachs's "Schuhmacher" a "cordwainer" but a "cobbler," a mender, not a maker, of shoes. Cobblers, menders, whether of shoes or clothes, are amongst the urban groups left out. Rabb himself notes the lack of innkeepers. Unskilled labourers and working women have no place in these *Stände*, but the unemployably dim is there to close the sequence, as contrast to Pope and Emperor at the beginning. Feyerabend no doubt hoped that Jost Amman would produce a savagely comic masterpiece to go with the final verse. If he did so, it does not survive and the block of the canny Peddler is oddly used again.

The readers of Sachs and Amman's work in the sixteenth century must have had enormous pleasure reading it, whether as single broadsheets or as a whole volume. Rabb has had great fun in turning it into the present volume, so that we too, in the twenty-first century, can share our sixteenth century predecessors' enjoyment. If we want to use it for scholarly purposes, however, we must take on board that it is a very idiosyncratic and personal selection of occupations, many of which relate to an earlier period than the Nuremberg of 1568.

MARGARET SPUFFORD

Roehampton University, Emerita

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. xiv + 342 pp. index. illus. tbls. map. bibl. $99. ISBN: 978–0–19–957402–5.

Well-known for his abundant work on the history of plague in the late medieval and Renaissance eras, Samuel Cohn turns his attention in this book to plague treatises published in Italy at the time of the 1575–78 plague. Cohn's central thesis proposes that the very numerous treatises of this period differed from earlier ones in that they were written by a wider array of authors, including, physicians, clergy, and civic leaders, and that they shared a focus not on learning about plague from ancient authorities such as Galen, but on empirical observation of the disease, and on promoting public health measures needed to control its outbreaks.

Though Cohn draws on hundreds of treatises, he does also rely heavily on a few examples he chooses. One is a 1576 text of physician Giovanni Filippo Ingrassia, first published in Palermo. Ingrassia's 566 pages described in unprecedented detail how hospitals functioned, how soldiers were used to guard those quarantined in locked houses, how the goods of the infected were disinfected, how gravediggers were stealing the clothing of plague victims, and how utterly rotten was the stench of the bay of Palermo. Ingrassia proceeded in narrative fashion, describing what he saw, but he also prescribed what he thought ought to be done. Addressing his recommendations to both local government as well as to King Philip II, he dealt with topics such as the cleaning of streets, the killing of cats, dogs, chickens, and other animals suspected of spreading the contagion, and the harsh punishments suitable for violators of quarantine. Another author to whom Cohn devotes a good deal of attention is Paolo Bisciola, a Jesuit priest who published in 1577 a treatise on the plague in Milan. Though Bisicola included a good deal of

laudatory material on the actions of cardinal-archbishop Charles Borromeo in time of plague, the Jesuit did not dwell on God as sending the plague as punishment for sin, or on other spiritual interpretations of the malady. Rather, like Ingrassia, Bisciola described at length, and in narrative fashion, what had happened in Milan during the recent plague, with special attention to government policies and actions. Thus public health is Bisciola's main concern; as Cohn puts it, "God hardly enters the frame" (106).

Historians have shown how in the post-Reformation era the poor came to be treated more and more harshly as lazy troublemakers, as a nuisance, and as a threat to public order. Cohn's chapter on plague and poverty is interesting in that he documents how the plague treatises of 1575–78, unlike earlier ones, saw a link between poverty and falling ill with plague. Famine, in particular, the treatises identify as opening the way to plague. But though the poor were exhorted to clean their houses, they were generally not treated as scapegoats for the plague. Government authorities were exhorted less to punish the poor than to help them.

As interesting as Cohn's discussion is, it also is rather limited in some ways. A shift from veneration of ancient authorities on plague to contemporary empirical observation in the midst of an outbreak of plague Cohn sees as a case of Italian exceptionalism: Italy broke new ground, and others eventually followed. But he relies on a few secondary works for the comparison with northern Europe; extensive primary research, like Cohn's own on Italy, is needed on other countries in order to accurately test his claim for Italy as exception or at least as precursor. Though some fourteen illustrations are included in this book, they actually play a fairly minimal role in Cohn's arguments. That is disappointing, for the question of painting and other images produced in connection with plagues is a topic that has been explored in some recent scholarship. It would be interesting to know if visual sources confirm or challenge the conclusions Cohn draws

from his printed sources about a growing focus on public health measures, and about a decline in theocentric discourse. Cohn's title conjures up images of laboratory cultures of plague bacilli, but that is hardly what the book is about. And some historians would contest identification of 1575–78 as being at the end of the Renaissance. Yet despite some shortcomings, the book offers a stimulus to more research on the theme of plague, a fascinating topic already a very lively one among a broad range of historians of medicine, politics, religion, art, and literature.

THOMAS WORCESTER

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Claudia Stein. *Negotiating the French Pox in Early Modern Germany*.

The History of Medicine in Context. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xii + 242 pp. index. illus. tbls. bibl. $114.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6008–8.

Claudia Stein's reading of vernacular pox literature in the light of her research into the practice of three Augsburg pox hospitals has provided a valuable social constructionist view of an important disease of the late Renaissance. Stein insists that the French Pox should not be equated with syphilis as we understand it, that is, as a discrete disease caused by the bacterium treponema pallidum. Neither is the meaning of the pox to be found solely in medical texts. Instead, the book is a study of semeiology, the branch of renaissance medicine that linked the inner, invisible, and therefore theoretical, conditions of the body to the outward, visible, and more practical signs that revealed them. The aim of the book is to unite "the world of medical reasoning on the meaning of physical signs and the daily practice of diagnosing and treating them" (15). The book draws upon ten vernacular German treatises on the pox published between 1496 and 1632, arguing that the

meaning of the pox was constantly negotiated within a "unitary medical world," (15) a phrase taken from Colin Jones and Laurence Brockliss's *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (1997). Three of these were published in Augsburg, including the best known of them, Ulrich Von Hutton's 1619 book on guaiacum. Though only one of the ten authors was an academic physician per se, the medical theory of this world was broadly Hippocratic, Galenic, and Aristotelian. The texts were frequently reprinted and their ideas clearly influenced the practice of the pox hospitals, though at times I wanted to know more about how the academic debates of humanist physicians might have entered the German context. Surprisingly, none of ten treaties was authored by a Paracelsian. Stein argues that Paracelsian ideas did not affect the deliberations of the Augsburg hospitals, though I suspect that they were important elsewhere in Germany.

The most important contribution of the book is its use of the hospital records to illuminate the practical application of medical theory. The archives of the three Augsburg pox hospitals span the period from 1495 to 1632, and the Blatterhaus, founded in 1495, was the first pox house in German-speaking lands. Subsequently, the Fugger family opened two charitable hospitals, the Holzhaus at the Fuggerei (1523/24) and the Holzhaus on the Goosehill (1571). Among the things negotiated were professional boundaries, and Stein shows that university-trained physicians came to dominate the Blatterhaus only during its third decade, gradually gaining the upper hand over the barber-surgeons and many other practitioners, including at least one female healer. Learned physicians achieved this victory by championing their semeiology, asserting the superiority of using signs to diagnose inner and hidden conditions over the barber-surgeons' concern with external conditions. The triumph of the physicians was also aided by their social ties to the urban elite. The section on how diagnostic decisions were made in the hospitals provides one of the best descriptions of a renaissance disease to date. To avoid fraud, the Blatterhaus required prospective

patients to obtain a diagnosis from the hospital staff, who evaluated a petition letter from each applicant and conducted a physical examination. The semeiology touted by the physicians was open-ended and multi-variable, leaving much room for interpretation, and the process of diagnosis was therefore "fluid, flexible, and always temporary" (176). Like other contemporary diseases, the pox was seen as a polymorphic condition that seemed to affect every patient differently. Yes, there were the commonly cited symptoms of pain and skin lesions, but no symptom alone clearly indicated the presence of the disease, and in actual cases, a multitude of signs and symptoms are interpreted according to the humoral particularities of the patient. Likewise, there were popular treatments of mercury and guaiacum, widely regarded to be effective, but these were accompanied by many others, with therapeutics being doled out in highly individualized ways, including regulation of the six non-naturals that controlled the patient's lifestyle. There were differences, as well, in the various Augsburg hospitals' reading of the signs. The understanding of the disease that emerges from this book is not a simple or monolithic one, and that is as it should be. *Negotiating the French Pox* is an extraordinary example of how practical, administrative, and narrative accounts of illness can be read along with works of medical theory to construct a rich and complex view of Renaissance illness and healing.

BRIAN NANCE

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Joel F. Harrington. *The Unwanted Child: The Fate of Foundlings, Orphans, and Juvenile Criminals in Early Modern Germany*.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009. xvii + 437 pp. index. illus. tbls. bibl. $45. ISBN:

978–0–226–31727–7.

The lives of early modern children have been studied extensively over the past five decades, with many works focusing on those who ended up in institutions because of the collapse or nonexistence of other support networks. Whether run by churches, guilds, or governments, these institutions were almost always civic, and recent studies have expanded our understanding of orphanages and foundling homes in Amsterdam, Augsburg, London, Paris, Florence, Bologna, Venice, and elsewhere. Yet institutions only ever gathered a small and usually select number of the children who needed shelter, raising questions of how those kept outside the gates managed to survive. We have only a vague sense of the makeshifts of fostering, employment, and apprenticeship, and it is this broader world that Joel Harrington here seeks to explore. Starting from the position that many children were raised outside of the nuclear family for a range of reasons, he explores what historical anthropologists have termed "the circulation of children" as a way of making children's lives, rather than institutional history, the starting point for a study of how early modern societies accommodated children whose family networks had grown weak or collapsed.

A particular city and particular institution still lie at the heart of the study. Nuremburg was among the largest and most progressive cities of the Holy Roman Empire, and its Findel foundling home gathered some of the children in circulation. Yet not all, and Harrington's distinctive biographical approach aims to set out the broader range of experiences. He chooses six individuals to represent the life situations of typical early moderns and to lay out the options that they would have encountered. They are, in turn, an unmarried woman who is soon to give birth, a mercenary who has fathered some children and who moves in and out of their lives, a magistrate charged with overseeing Nuremburg's charitable outreach to various groups of needy poor, an

orphaned teenager who becomes a skilled thief, and orphaned twins who enter into the state orphanage at age nine. These aren't hypothetical composites, but actual individuals drawn from the civic, administrative, and judicial records. Each gets a chapter, and each chapter considers that individual in the context of comparable life situations and the early modern horizon of expectations. Harrington effectively weaves his research into the context of recent German, English, and French scholarship, with some consideration as well of Italian. We thus get both a compelling personal narrative, but also sharply-tuned scholarly accounts that show how the individual's biography both demonstrates and departs from the experiences of others at the time.

Harrington commands a large range of archival materials. The hardest thing about this subject is getting into the lives of individual children, and Harrington has done so in masterful fashion by using court records in conjunction with administrative records of institutions for the poor, and by consulting both over a broad span of time (1550–1670). Given the state and the volume of the archival records, it is a Herculean achievement. He brings the archival records and modern scholarship together in a masterful and original synthesis, particularly in the two chapters on single mothers and on street children. It is a vivid, readable, and compelling work that is both highly informative for specialists and yet very approachable for students and also for those outside the field.

The work confirms some north-south divides worth exploring further. Harrington prefers the term *unwanted children* over *abandoned* and *orphaned* on the grounds that these other terms are misleading and emotive. Yet the latter terms were used almost universally in Italy precisely because they reflected the children's legal status within family networks under the patriarchal Roman law that formed the local *ius commune*. Might germanic common law have shaped the tendency of Northern cities to have single large communal institutions run by civic governments

that underscored the children's status as the common obligation of the entire civic community, and that emphasized setting all of them, male and female alike, on the path to an independent life by late adolescence? John Boswell observed that northern Europeans in their terminology emphasized these children's "found" status (*enfant trouvé*, foundling, *findelkkind*), while southerners in their language emphasized how they'd been "lost": exposed, abandoned, or thrown away (*esposto, abbandonato, gettatello*). Comparing statistics, we find that far more children were "lost" in Southern Europe than were ever "found" in the north, a fact that may explain the greater and earlier proliferation of institutional homes in the south, and something that certainly constitutes an agenda for future research.

NICHOLAS TERPSTRA

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Anna Bellavitis and Isabelle Chabot, eds. *Famiglie e poteri in Italia tra medioevo ed età moderna*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 422. Rome: École française de Rome, 2009. 472 pp. index. tbls. €43. ISBN: 978–2–7283–0845–3.

Famiglie e poteri in Italia tra medioevo ed età moderna reflects well the intention of its editors to present the advance that medieval and early modern family history has made during the last twenty years, especially in Italy. The book originated as a conference in Italy (Lucca, June 2005) bearing a homonymous title. It convened leading continental and European historians, who presented their work in several languages. The editors justly claim that family history has become by now a focal point for probing the plurality of political aspects in state, city and religious currents, a basis for comparative perspective confronting Catholic and reformed movements, and

an arena for exploring internal discipline and social order (1). It should therefore be approached with interdisciplinary methods, as presented by various sections of the book.

The first part is dedicated to current study of family history and historiography. Opening with an illuminating article by Silvana Seidel-Menchi ("Storia alta, storia sommessa: dicotomia della ricerca e storia della famiglia") who rejects past and present notions of family research as a secondary theme, in favor of seeing family as the basis of individualism, or of discussing in detail important case-studies; in other words, she advocates a shift from the general to the particular. Family is a privileged theme to overcome the dichotomy between these poles, as demonstrated in recent research on the crucial role of family in economic and political story, religious identity, and increasing community and religious control. The contribution of family history to history of emotions is also presented in recent works.

Stanley Chojnacki ("Families in Italian Cities: Institutions, Identities, Transitions") discusses the tension between an enlarged family (*casata*) supported by strong patrilineal policy and the restricted family (*casa*). Chojnacki shows that in contrast with the position stated by normative and literary sources, which underline masculine dominance, women played a major role in important family issues. Elena Brambila ("Il concilio di Trento e I mutamenti nella legittimità") discusses the impact of the Council of Trent on marriage rituals and family life. The delegitimation of pre-Tridentine marriage patterns integrated well with the surveillance and policing of private life by church authorities, who were aided by the secular authorities in Italian cities. Jürgen Schlombohm ("State, Church and Family in Early Modern German-Speaking Protestant Territories: A Comment") challenges the common historical claim regarding the radical difference between Catholic and Protestant family life. Even the option of divorce — presumably separating both religious traditions — is not as dramatic as considered previously.

The second part discusses family dynamics in political context. The articles of Guido Castelnuovo, Hadrien Penet, Pierre Savy, Marco Gentile, Claudio Povolo, and Renzo Sabbattini focus mainly on noble families in various Italian cities during late Middle Ages and early modern period: their weaving of various family and political networks, city versus feudal allegiances, the use and manipulation of family linage, and the might of family factions in local politics and conflicts.

The fundamental importance of legal tradition in the political ethos and history of Italian cities is resumed in the third part, dedicated to juridical discourse, legal family rights and obligations. Caroline M. Fisher ("Guardianship and the Rise of the Florentine State, 1368–93") discusses the involvement of Florentine state in family life through the institution of guardianship. She contends that it was not necessarily the growing political power of the Medici that caused the establishment of this institution, but the cooperation of families involved as well. E. Igor Mineo ("Famiglie e istituzioni in alcune comunità dell'Italia centrale nel basso Medioevo") offers a case-study of small Marche zone communities, and their control of inheritance of family property, especially in order to prevent falling of local land into strangers' hands. Matthieu Scherman ("Famille et protections socials dans une 'cité-sujette': Trévise au XV^{e} siècle") discusses the importance of households in fifteenth-century Treviso for protecting their members, focusing his discussion on widows. Thomas Kuehn ("Legislating and Evading: Florentine Laws and Practices regarding Repudiation of Inheritance") raises the problematic situation confronting Florentine legislators and jurists in cases of repudiating family inheritance, and their attempt to constrict this phenomenon. Of special interest is the article of Sandra Cavallo ("Le emancipazioni: una fonte per lo studio dei rapporti famigliari intra e inter-generazionali"), practically the only article to provide a detailed analysis of family life of lower classes. Probing the emancipation acts in

seventeenth-century Turin she reconstructs crucial aspects such as loyalty among parents and children in respect to fraternal commitment, or importance of family life-cycles. Her contribution persuasively underlines the need, not always heeded in this volume, to draw more attention to archival materials relating to non-elite family life.

The fourth and concluding part is dedicated to court documents that shed light on family life in conflicting moments. The major importance of this kind of testimony was demonstrated by the series of books edited by Silvana Seidel-Menchi and Diego Quaglioni, published by *Il Mulino*. Besides the articles of Maria Grazie Nico Ottaviani, Alexander Cowan, and Giovanna Benadusi, I would mention the article of Cesarina Casanova ("Modelli di famiglia e ruoli di genere nella Bologna del secondo Seicento"), regarding the processing of legal cases of denunciations in Bologna, of an immense quantitative richness. These cases are one illustration of the impressive wealth of Italian archives in general, that promoted a fascinating research on various aspects of family life, including the present book.

RONI WEINSTEIN

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Guido Alfani. *Fathers and Godfathers: Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy*. Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xi + 273 pp. index. append. tbls. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6737–7.

A fruitful area of research has been investigating how the decrees of the Council of Trent were communicated down to the level of the parish and how well they were followed. In this work, Guido Alfani looks at a particular Catholic practice, that of acquiring godparents at the

baptismal font, to see what the social consequences of reform were. Concerned about the non-theological aspects of godparenthood, reformers at the Council of Trent narrowed the number of possible godparents to two at most for each child and hoped to reemphasize the religious duties of the godparents. Instead, they truncated a very useful social tool for dispensing patronage, acquiring clients, reinforcing family ties, and forging new social alliances.

At baptism much more occurs than the washing away of original sin. Baptism is not only a powerful rite of passage it is also establishes a social network, called "godparenthood," which in pre-Tridentine Europe meant that both godchildren and their parents acquired spiritual kin. These spiritual kin performed all sorts of social functions. In the 1950s and 1960s anthropologists studied this phenomenon in modern Latin America; by the 1970s and 1980s historians had turned their attention to this in Medieval Europe. Most of this research has focused either on the origins and early development of godparenthood as a religious and social institution (see Joseph Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, 1986), or has looked quite narrowly at the cultural uses of a developed system of godparenthood in certain set European locales during the late middle ages (see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 1985, which focuses on Florence). Since the 1980s it is commonplace to find references to godparenthood in works dealing with family and kinship, patronage and clientage.

Alfani's study broaches new territory by looking at this practice at a significant point of transition, during the Reformation; in a sense he looks at the end of godparenthood as a social institution rather than its beginning. In addition, Alfani is able to place his data set of godparenthood practices in Northern Italy in the context of European wide patterns of godparenthood, especially in France and Florence. From this comparative information and his study of the parish registers from eight communities in five northern Italian regions from the

middle of the fifteenth century to the advent of the Council of Trent, Alfani notes six separate patterns of godparenthood beyond the canonical two same sex and one opposite sex for each child. A child could have a single godparent, or many, of varying numbers with some gender imbalance. For an extreme case, Maria Salti in 1502 had twenty-seven godparents, seventeen male and ten female, which meant her parents then had twenty-seven coparents from this one ritual as well.

These high numbers bothered the church, especially since it appeared to the reformers at Trent that people chose godparents more for their social utility or status than for their religious suitability as stand-ins for the child and later instructors of religion for the child. Having sketched the origins and development of medieval godparenthood practices and having noted the various patterns in godparenthood current in Europe (and especially in northern Italy) on the eve of the council, Alfani goes into a minute analysis of how the Tridentine reformers approached the abuses in baptismal practice and how and why they decided to reduce the number of godparents to just one (though they would allow at most two, one of each sex). As Alfani notes, this investigation is the core of his book, and he does a fine job here denoting the various positions of the reformers and the wrangling that went on in debate.

From his data Alfani concludes that the reduction of the numbers of godparents occurred quickly and widely by the 1580s. But another aspect of the reform took longer, implying some negotiation with the local priests, and probably never took full hold. This was the desire of the reformers that the parents' choice of godparent would be someone suitable to religiously educate the child, an issue certainly significant for the era of the Counter-Reformation. This effort failed as people still chose godparents for their social utility, but now it seemed that rather than spread their choices up and down the social ladder and out and about the family network, people tended

to choose godparents of a higher status than they were. Since godparenthood was limited, social climbing became the most important element in choosing godparents. With this and Joseph Lynch's work, all we need now is a detailed study of how godparenthood was transmitted across the seas after 1500 to get a complete picture of the significance of this premodern social and religious ritual.

LOUIS HAAS

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Sharon Strocchia. *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*.

Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. xvi + 261 pp. index. illus. tbls. bibl. $50. ISBN: 978–0–8018–9292–9.

With this book Sharon Strocchia performs a service both to convent studies and to historians of Renaissance Florence by bringing these two fields together. The author makes a compelling case for nunneries' central role in the growth of the state up to the fall of the republic in 1530. In the two centuries after the Black Death, she argues, convents "were transformed from small, semiautonomous communities into large civic institutions serving family, state and society" (x). The case made here for the integration of convents into the economic, fiscal and political objectives of the Florentine regime documents the same sort of civic-ecclesiastical connections established for other Italian cities, and will make the book required reading for historians of state and society in Florence.

In the century after the plague arrived, convents struggled to survive. Populations fell so quickly that some houses simply disappeared overnight through death; others withered away as

most women married. The period 1430–80 saw convents recover in size, begin to expand, and take on a more visible role in civic life; they became intertwined with Medicean state business, and began to be a means for elite families to patronize, make connections, and of course park unmarriageable daughters as dowries began to rise. Finally, after 1480 came a period of explosive growth, due largely to the changing marriage market, but also driven by religious movements and by the general sense of crisis during regime change and wars. Nearly a thousand women brought bedrolls and packed into the large convent of Le Murate for about a month in early 1530 (35). In the longer term, this period launched the most florid age of the convents as more and more patrician women took religious vows over the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But the real golden age of convents lies beyond the scope of the book.

While intermittently highlighting one or another convent, the book mainly gives an overview of Florence's thirty-odd convents within the walls, and some twenty houses beyond the walls. The author relies on a wide variety of documentation, drawn particularly from the convents' papers and the city's public offices, to weave the nunneries' history into the civic fabric. In the Medicean period of the fifteenth century, families abandoned neighborhood strategies to locate daughters in convents all across the city; Strocchia links this to a general weakening of neighborhood ties and the building of a city-wide elite under Medici influence. Through their increasing investments in the *monte*, or public debt, convents became subject to "a coherent fiscal policy that drew convents into a broad network of fiscally dependent civic institutions operating under the umbrella of Medici patronage" (102), such as the convent of Le Murate. Chapters 3 and 4, on convent economies and nuns' work, are the high points of the book. Strocchia establishes the wide range of wealth among convents, but finds that even the richest, such as San Pier Maggiore, were chronically under-endowed, relying heavily on entrance fees,

private allowances, unpredictable gifts, and their own labor. Their poverty relative to wealthier Venetian convents corresponded to the weaker position of Florentine women in the family and society more generally. Textile work, particularly in the silk industry, gave nuns a supplement to these meager provisions and in return nuns formed part of "an invisible labor force constituted by women and children" (113) essential to the industry's profitability. The houses of San Gaggio, Santa Brigida del Paradiso, and Santa Maria di Monticello provide excellent detailed case studies. Gold thread became a convent specialty; manuscript illumination and educating girls provided smaller income supplements.

Strocchia focuses on political, social, and economic life, leaving aside some important themes that have animated recent convent studies. Readers will find little discussion of individual nuns, and virtually nothing of their religious life. Nor will they find indications of the many intercity connections among religious women of this or that order, like the links among Dominican convents across Tuscany noted recently by Ann Roberts or the female Savonarolan networks reconstructed by Tamar Herzig. But this highly local, secular and civic focus does not detract from the book's value. Convents, long a hazy presence on the rich scholarly map of Renaissance Florence, now have their political and economic contours there clearly charted.

P. RENÉE BAERNSTEIN

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Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen, eds. *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters.*

Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xvi

+ 330 pp. index. illus. bibl. $124.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6738–4.

This collection of essays turns on its head a commonly held view that learned women in early modern Europe worked in isolation: marvelous prodigies who were excluded from the male-dominated humanist and religious intellectual networks of their day because of their gender. On the contrary, the contributors to this volume argue that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many women participated in, and were a vital part of, a number of familial, religious and intellectual communities of letters of both men and women across continental Europe and Britain. This "radical break from preceding centuries" (xvii) that occurred in the sixteenth century was due to the recovery of Latin and Greek classics and the availability and dissemination of the printed book. Female literacy was higher than had been previously thought and aristocratic and even merchant families invested in the education of their daughters. The advent of print meant that by the mid-sixteenth-century books written by women, which in previous centuries would have circulated in limited numbers in manuscript, were now disseminated far more widely across Europe. The crossing or traveling of women's writing (including translations of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts) across class and national boundaries and the involvement of women and men in literary communities are key themes in this collection. The definition of communities used includes three different aspects: national identity; virtual communities based on shared literary, religious, and professional interests; and communities that share common social and ideological interests, such as convents, literary circles, and religious coteries.

The book contains an impressive array of studies beginning with a foreword by Diana Robin that sets the scene, and an afterword by Margaret Ezell that draws together and discusses the overarching themes of the collection. Both of these vignettes deserved expansion into chapters in their own right. The eleven chapter-length studies discuss French, Dutch, English, and Italian

female writers who wrote in their native languages, and sometimes in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German as well. The collection begins by looking at networks of correspondence between women and men in a section entitled "continental epistolary communities." Apart from Arcangela Tarabotti, discussed by Ray, who did publish her letters, the trans-Nassau correspondence examined by Broomhall and the correspondence of Pietro Carnessechi with Giulia Gonzaga, were never intended for publication and in Carnesecchi's case their discovery led to the Roman Inquisition executing him as a heretic. All of the essays in this section focus on the maintenance of an identity through epistolary networks that connect the correspondents with the letter recipients and their wider circle of contacts.

The next section on "textual communities and the uses of print," posits the idea that the writings of early women were part of a textual community that consisted of a text, an interpreter, and a public. A book could be considered a "gendered publication" (99) when gender is used as an analytical category to explain the volume's presentation and production. A series of essays then examine a variety of English texts and authors and their different types of texts such as prayers, spiritual writings, emblems, and calligraphy. These authors and their texts crossed national boundaries as well as well as religious and political ones through travel, engagement with a variety of communities and the circulation of the original works or their later translations or editions.

The last section discusses "constructions of transnational literary circles," where it is the male tutors of young prodigies who spread the word about their charges' abilities through their own travels. The De Roches's catalog of modern female intellectuals from across Europe creates a kind of female textual community through De Roches's identification and promotion in her writings of female intellectuals of her own era. Montaigne's mentoring of Marie de Gournay,

Anna Maria von Schurman by Andre Rivet and later by Marie de Gournay as well as Schurman's own mentoring of Marie du Moulin, exemplifies the concept of transnational and trans-generational intellectual families where a protégé seeks an adoptive familial relationship (*familles d'alliances*) with a revered and trusted intellectual mentor.

Overall, this is an impressive work that develops new understandings about the transmission of early modern European women's writings of all genres through their involvement with fellow intellectuals of both genders in transnational communities of letters.

NATALIE R. TOMAS

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Elizabeth Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson, eds. *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern.*

Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009. 288 pp. index. $74.50. ISBN: 978–1–846–82178–3.

This collection of essays typifies the strengths and weaknesses of the genre. It brings together provocative new work on queens who have received little scholarly attention, such as Louise Wilkinson's essay on Isabella of England, wife of Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, and Manuela Santos Silvas's on Philippa of Lancaster, wife of João I of Portugal. These meticulously researched and carefully analyzed essays add considerably to our understanding of women as agents of diplomacy through marriage and cultural exchange. Jessica L. Malay shows convincingly how Elizabethan practices of queenship affected Lady Anne Clifford and deftly extends Sarah Hanley's argument that political culture has a profound ripple effect that touches women of lower social ranks. In one of the strongest essays in the collection, Rayne Allinson

analyzes personal articulations of monarchy in a view from the throne in the letters of King James VI and Queen Elizabeth I. Allinson makes a strong case for including queens' letters into the field of early modern political theory as part of the canon alongside Machiavelli and Erasmus. Paula de Pando takes a fresh look at Anne Boleyn from a novel point of view, the Spanish diplomats at court. Metaphors of the queen's body, which often seem on the verge of exhaustion, are animated by Sabine Lucia Miller's study of the ageing body of Mary Tudor.

But the collection suffers from a common problem, that of coherence. Of the eighteen essays that examine nine different women, five were written by historians, thirteen by specialists in literature (one a Modernist), including two who specialize in drama. All of this is subsumed under the heading of ritual and rhetoric, a catch-all category. Just about everything a queen did could be termed ritual or have rhetorical significance. What binds these essays (save one) is family dynamics and political culture. Lumping Kristin Bundesen's study of Elizabeth I's reliance on an extensive family network under ritual does not convey the substance of an argument that is so much more than simply ritual. Bundesen's essay forms a key part of newer work on monarchy that envisions royal government as a family affair, and by bringing in more than just the nuclear family and by studying a plethora of female cousins around Elizabeth, she reminds us just how extensive this family business was. It makes perfect sense to study rhetoric and representations of the queen through art and literature and personal letters. Shehzana Mamujee, Kavita Mudan, Alison Findlay, Lisa Hopkins, Nadia Bishai, Sandra Bell, Leticia Álvarez-Recio, and Liz Oakely-Brown examine letters, treatises, and drama, linking verbal representation in with practice and ritual, blurring the distinctions in ways that give a fuller dimension of a lived life, rather than just a slice of it. But Elisabeth Bronfen's and Barbara Straumann's facile fashioning of Elizabeth I as star and diva and then comparing her to twentieth-century self-portraiture, Hollywood photos of

Marilyn Monroe and Gwyneth Paltrow, is out of place among essays grounded in historical evidence with judicious use of theory.

The title of the collection is misleading. Yes, the essays cover "medieval to early modern," but only a very narrow slice of that capacious time period. Four medieval queens are represented but only two, Isabella of England and Philippa of Lancaster, were born before 1400. The rest are early modern, they are all clustered in the sixteenth century and although the editors claim that the essays focus on the transition from medieval to early modern, that hope is never realized meaningfully. Although not all are queens of England, all, except for Mary Stuart, are English. Had the title been more accurate, the editors' claim that this book is the first book about queenship to cover both medieval and early modern queens would have been correct, as would their claim that no queen before Mary Tudor ruled in her own right. But as historians of medieval and early modern queens in Iberia know, the editors are wrong on both points. These issues notwithstanding, Oakley-Brown and Wilkinson have given scholars a considerable feast of new research, new sources, and theoretically rich analyses of late medieval and very early modern queens from and in the British Isles.

THERESA EARENFIGHT

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Olivia Sabuco de Nantes y Barrera. *Große Welt — kleine Welt — verkehrte Welt: Die philogyne Naturphilosophie der Renaissance-Denkerin Olivia Sabuco de Nantes y Barrera*.

Ed. Marlen Bidwell-Steiner. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag Ges.m.b.H., 2009. 217 pp. bibl. €32.90. ISBN: 978–3–7065–4713–0.

The past twenty-five years have seen an explosion of feminist writings on the history of women in philosophy and science. Critics have engaged in projects of rereading and revising the canon, but the problem of accessibility of the writings of early women philosophers still remains a problem. The 1587 treatise *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* by Oliva Sabuco de Nantes y Barrera is a good case in point. Although this early modern Spanish philosophical text has garnered some attention from Spanish scholars in the last few years, it has remained obscure and relatively unknown to historians of science, medicine, philosophy, and literature. The book under review not only sheds light on Sabuco de Nantes's treatise but also offers readers a glimpse into the naturalistic philosophy of the Renaissance period. It is written in German and constitutes the first German translation of a substantial part of Sabuco's treatise (the two sections *La vera medicina y vera filosofá en dos diálogos*). This study also constitutes the first in-depth analysis of Sabuco's philosophy that looks at her work from the angle of gender studies.

Fifty years before Descartes, Sabuco put forth a philosophy of human nature that held that humans were a microcosm of the universe. Positing a dualism that accounted for the interaction of body and mind, Sabuco argued that the brain controlled the body (and not the heart). This Renaissance Spanish thinker was one of the first philosophers to recognize the connections between emotions and physical health, offering a theory of the ability of reason and moral virtue to cause debilitation and disease through improper circulation of a nerve sap called *chilo*. Sabuco predicted the role of cerebrospinal fluid and the workings of the digestive system.

The first English translation of Sabuco's text, *New Philosophy of Human Nature*, by Mary Ellen Waithe, Maria Colomer Vintró, and C. Angel Zorita, only appeared in 2007, in the same year that Bidwell-Steiner's study was finished. While this critical edition does not offer a close reading of the text itself, Bidwell-Steiner provides a literary analysis of the rhetorical strategies

and metaphors of the text. Sabuco's book, in fact, consists of seven interconnected dialogues. In these dialogues, Antonio, a "shepherd-philosopher," converses with a doctor, but despite his lack of medical studies, his position as a close observer of nature renders him superior to the doctor. Following the cyclical movement of the primary text, Bidwell-Steiner organizes her analysis in three circles of interpretation. In a first interpretative move, she gives a detailed account of the crucial question of authorship, which has troubled the reception of Sabuco's treatise and has eclipsed detailed examinations of the text itself. Since the 1903 discovery of the will of Sabuco's father in which he claimed authorship to this book, critics have attributed authorship to the father. Bidwell-Steiner views this problem not as specific to this author but as part of a larger conceptual problem in the history of female writers in philosophy and science. While the second circle addresses gender relations in the text that, according to Bidwell-Steiner, make it a philogynist text, the third circle analyzes the metaphorical relations between femaleness and maleness which point to a materialistic concept of a world order that also constitutes gender order. In her analogy of microcosm and macrocosm and her frequent shifts between these two layers, Sabuco's text, the author holds, sketches a gynocentric cosmos that rests on three maternal metaphorical figures: *luna madre*, *pia madre*, and *natura madre*/*natura madrastra*. Addressing the various rhetorical maneuvers and the various chiastic figures of speech, Bidwell-Steiner's textual analysis of the dense metaphorical layering of Sabuco's text makes a powerful case for taking more seriously this hitherto obscure figure in early modern science and philosophy.

This study therefore accomplishes two important tasks: it introduces a German readership to Sabuco de Nantes by offering a translation of the Spanish text and it manages to translate Sabuco's philosophy to a modern audience by providing the reader with detailed information on the broader historical context of European medical and philosophical culture, in general, and in

sixteenth-century Spain, in particular. While German-speaking scholars in many fields will benefit from the accessibility of this translation and the close reading of Sabuco's work, readers not familiar with German will, however, have to wait for a translation of the insights provided by Bidwell-Steiner's analysis.

ASTRID FELLNER

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Sarra Copia Sulam. *Jewish Poet and Intellectual in Seventeenth-Century Venice*. The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe. Ed. Don Harrán. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. xxxi + 598 pp. index. append. illus. bibl. $35. ISBN: 978–0–226–77989–8.

Harrán's volume offers, in English translation, the first extensive compilation of works by and about the seventeenth-century Venetian Jewish writer and salonnière Sarra Copia Sulam (1591?–1641, also known as Sara Copio Sullam). Copia Sulam's extant works are frustratingly limited: a short treatise that includes four sonnets, ten other sonnets from scattered sources, and two letters. But as Harrán's thick volume attests, a wealth of other primary-source material — including several new documents that Harrán publishes here for the first time — illuminates the writer's life and provides echoes of her voice. Harrán weaves this material into an extensively researched and annotated volume that is an essential reference for scholars of Venetian culture, Italian Judaism, and women's writing.

Copia Sulam, born in the Venetian ghetto and by birth and marriage part of wealthy and influential families, is the most important female Jewish writer in early modern Italy. She became a public literary figure around 1618, when she began a correspondence with the aging Genoese

writer and monk Ansaldo Cebà. Over the next four years they regularly exchanged letters in which Cebà sought and Copia Sulam resisted conversion; Cebà's side of the exchange was published posthumously in 1623 along with a few poems of Copia Sulam's. During the years of the Cebà correspondence, Copia Sulam also forged close bonds with several Christian writers working in Venice whom she received at a salon at her home in the Ghetto Vecchio. She exchanged private letters on the immortality of the soul with one of these associates, the dramatist and priest Baldassare Bonifacio, who then published a work in 1621 that accused Copia Sullam of doubting the soul's immortality. Copia Sulam sprang to her own defense and put to press her only published work, which combines poetry and prose to affirm her own and her community's belief in the tenet. She did not respond to Bonifacio's published counterattack. Controversy later erupted with two other of Copia Sulam's literary associates, who conspired to defraud the writer and maligned her when she denounced them. With this last controversy, dating from the mid-1620s and described in a contemporary manuscript that features some of her poetry, Copia Sulam disappeared from a public literary life. She died some fifteen years later.

In his extensive introduction, Harrán examines the writer and her cultural milieu and provocatively questions several assertions or commonly accepted facts that regard her, including the year of her birth, which he moves up to around 1600. He then traces the motifs and contexts of the writing she produced or prompted, whose translation then follows in four parts. In part 1, Harrán offers a complete translation of Cebà's volume of letters to Copia Sulam and summaries of the letters Harrán surmises Copia Sulam sent to the Genoese writer. He also includes excerpts from Cebà's other published letters that refer to Copia Sulam and a private letter sent by Copia Sulam requesting that one of Cebà's letters to her not be published. In part 2, Harrán lays out the entire complex exchange involving Copia Sullam and Bonifacio around the question of the

immortality of the soul: he provides the original letters that Copia Sulam and Bonifacio exchanged privately on the issue, excerpts from Bonifacio's published treatise which insists on Copia Sulam's doubt of the doctrine, Copia Sulam's published retort to Bonifacio's treatise, Bonifacio's published response to this, and a previously unpublished letter from several months later in which Bonifacio reveals his continuing animosity against Copia Sulam.

Part 3 provides translation and discussion of a document penned by associates of Copia Sulam that purports to defend the writer in the late controversy in which her associates defrauded and defamed her; five sonnets by Copio Sullam are included. Harrán here also presents excerpts from other works that regard this episode. In part 4, Harrán offers additional material that involves Copia Sullam, including a sonnet exchange with Gabriele Zinano and writings that relate to her by the famed rabbi and polymath Leon Modena, a close associate of Copia Sulam's.

Study of Copia Sulam's writing will be facilitated by Harrán's inclusion in the volume of the writer's original Italian versions; her Italian poetry is provided alongside the English translation, while her Italian prose is included as an appendix. Harrán gives only the English translation for her associates' writing, except for poems to which Copia Sulam responded, which Harrán provides in Italian and in English so that their interconnection with Copia Sulam's writing may be fully examined.

This extensive volume, which provides a much more complete picture of the writer than has previously been available to an English-speaking audience, enriches our understanding Copia Sulam's biography, writing and literary circle and will provide an indispensable tool for situating her among women writers and within contemporary Venetian literary culture.

LYNN WESTWATER

The George Washington University

Brian Ogren. *Renaissance and Rebirth: Reincarnation in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah*. Studies in Jewish History and Culture 24. Leiden: Brill, 2009. x + 322 pp. index. bibl. $154. ISBN: 978–90–04–17764–2.

This is a study of six Jewish and two Christian thinkers who wrote about metempsychosis, palingenesis, reincarnation, and transmigration of souls (in Hebrew, *gilgul neshamot*) during the later fifteenth century. The book title suggests that these detailed studies of this somewhat obscure and disapproved line of thought are meant to contribute to a rethinking of Burckhardt's conception of the Renaissance period.

The minuscule Jewish population in Italy included a disproportionate number of scholarly loan-bankers and physicians who attended universities and associated with Christian scholars at the courts or informal salons of the wealthy. These Jews generally knew Italian vernaculars and possibly Latin, for the sake of studying scholastic philosophy and medicine. They also had access to numerous Hebrew texts, some mere variants of Latin learning, but many of which were unparalleled and unsuspected in Latin.

After a long introductory chapter that reviews the state of scholarship on metempsychosis from ancient literary sources, such as Deuteronomy, the book of Ruth, and Pythagoras, Ogren focuses on outstanding fifteenth-century thinkers. These include Ficino and Pico, but he begins with rabbis Michael Balbo and Moshe Ashkenazi, who disputed about transmigration in Crete in 1466. Two chapters consider Iberian Jews, the Zoharic kabbalist, Judah Hayyat, who wrote after arriving in Mantua in the middle 1490s, and Isaac Abravanel, known as a courtier to Ferdinand and Isabella, as a prolific Bible commentator, and as the father of Leone Ebreo. Two Italian Jews,

Elia Hayyim of Genazzano and Yohanan Alemanno, combined philosophic and kabbalistic thought on transmigration and other topics. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, who were in contact with Alemanno and Elia Hayyim, have not previously been discussed exclusively for their opinions about transmigration.

Throughout the book, Ogren demonstrates the scholarly pertinacity and intellectual and linguistic versatility that crosscultural intellectual history requires. He finds and digests the essential studies and obscure remarks, in modern scholarship as well as from the fifteenth century, that substantiate the argument, and he constantly strives to discern larger patterns. This research will reward scholars who follow his leads. He also does not hesitate to reexamine and criticize established findings of any scholar, from Burckhardt to Idel. The book stimulates, rather than cuts off, discussion. The author's success in amassing the diverse sources necessary for fulfilling the task challenges the capacity of readers to distinguish the forest from the many trees; structural pauses and occasional review of the overall argument would make the achievements of the book more evident.

Having appreciated Ogren's critical reading of modern scholars, I have reservations about the sometimes uncritical readings of the fifteenth-century scholars. Ogren opens the introduction by quoting Ficino's citation of "all the kabbalists" as believing in metempsychosis, and opens the seventh chapter by quoting Pico's *Oratio*: "All Indian, Persian, Egyptian, and Chaldean wise-men believed in the transmigration of souls." Neither statement expresses the authors' unreserved endorsement of metempsychosis and agreement with the exotic authors they quote. Just as the quotations are strikingly effective openings to chapters in Ogren's book, they were rhetorically effective openings to Ficino's and Pico's writings, not final conclusions. Pico and Ficino quoted the exotic authors to signal their reservations about the opinions they cited.

ARTHUR M. LESLEY

Independent Scholar

Haruko Nawata Ward. *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xvi + 406 pp. index. illus. gloss. bibl. $124.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6478–9.

This work is a valuable contribution to the history of Christian missionary activity in Asia and to women's studies. It joins a growing number of works that skillfully reexamine historical records written by men with no intention of speaking about women, to unearth details from which effective narratives of the lives, concerns and accomplishments of long-dead women can be reconstructed. Ward looks again at sources from Japan's "Christian century," the period between the arrival of the Jesuits in Japan in 1549 and the suppression of Christianity in Japan in 1650, and reconstructs fascinating biographies of women. Her subjects are mostly "Kirishitan" (the Japanized Portuguese word for Christian) women, who embraced their new religion with fervor, but she also highlights a few who opposed it effectively. Nonspecialists should be able to follow her narratives with ease, and her four-page glossary will help those without Portuguese or Japanese language skills to negotiate the use of terms that make useful distinctions in explaining the intricacies of Jesuit missionary history, Japanese social-class structure, and Buddhist and Shinto religious traditions and sects in Japan. There are eleven illustrations, which effectively complement the text, an ample bibliography for further study, and a thorough index.

Ward uses both Western and Japanese records, but she relies most heavily on reports by Jesuits, who carefully documented their mission work. As Ward notes, this dependence on Jesuit

sources for a history of women is somewhat ironic because the Jesuits eschewed an apostolate to women, generally refused to become women's confessors, and had no female branch for their order. Since the Jesuits were the first missionaries to enter Japan, however, and had a virtual monopoly on evangelization there for the first half-century, they perforce became advisors for the many women attracted to their teaching. Ward argues that so many women adopted Christianity with great fervor because it offered them more personal status and better hope of salvation in a future life than Buddhist or Shinto sects in vogue at that time.

In Part one, "Nuns," Ward focuses on several such women and their reasons for fervently embracing Christianity. Hibiya Monica, the daughter of a well-to-do merchant of Sakai, became a virginal recluse: imitating Western saints (whose lives were early translated into Japanese) and adapting Christian ideas of holy virginity and religious seclusion to Buddhist monastic tradition. Another, Naito Julia, found a vocation teaching Christianity in Japan, ultimately becoming mother superior of a society of Japanese women catechists that grew into a congregation of nuns that flourished until they were expelled from Japan in 1614. Part 2, "Witches," focuses on Otomo-Nata, Queen of Bungo, who resisted the Jesuits despite her husband's support for them in his kingdom. As leader in an esoteric Shinto-Buddhist sect, she opposed the Jesuits so effectively that they named her Jezebel. Although Japanese sources leave no record of her existence, Jesuits recorded enough about her to allow Ward to sketch an effective biography. In the third part, "Women Catechists," Ward reevaluates a well-known figure, Hosokawa Tama Garcia, peeling away layers of myth that have obscured her much romanticized life story. The last section, "Sisters," focuses on Kirishitan women who, with Jesuit encouragement, formed confraternities that took the lead in apostolic works of mercy. Here Ward finds corollaries between the Japanese experience, attending to the misery and needs of women in their society, and the experience of

European religious women in the same era.

The biographies Ward highlights are recounted against the backdrop of Japanese history in a turbulent period. When the Jesuits arrived Japan was divided into more than sixty feudal kingdoms, the warring states, and Japanese ports were open to commerce with China and other regions. About the same time, however, a series of military strongmen emerged as de facto rulers, and worked to reunify Japan. At first, trade with Portugal and the Jesuit mission enjoyed official favor, and converts to Christianity grew to almost a quarter-million by 1585. The atmosphere changed as imperial regents grew suspicious of Portuguese intentions, and an edict to expel the foreign fathers was promulgated in 1597, but not enforced until later. The Christian population continued to increase throughout this period, but after the Tokugawa shogunate was established in 1603 anti-Christian sentiment began to rise, and in 1613 systematic persecution of Christians began. In the 1614 "Great Expulsion" European missionaries and prominent Kirishitan leaders were forcibly deported, and the next year the nation was closed to all European contact. Travel in and out of Japan was banned the next year, as was Christianity itself, and in the late 1630s extreme measures were used to suppress the sect. Many men and women were martyred for their faith while others apostatized, leaving only a few secret Christians, all trace of whom vanished by 1650. The Jesuit failure to convert Japan notwithstanding, the stories Ward relates are riveting, and her book is an example of fine scholarship put to very good use.

JAMES D. RYAN

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Florence C. Hsia. *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late*

Imperial China.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 296 pp. index. illus. tbls. bibl. $45. ISBN: 978–0–226–35559–7.

In *Sojourners in a Strange Land*, Florence Hsia contends that the ideal early modern Jesuit was a "shape-shifter" (1), someone who could adjust his appearance, his language, and his message to suit a variety of audiences and contexts. Calling her study "biography in a collective mode" (7), Hsia uses the lives and experiences of Jesuits in China to explore the textual shape-shifting whereby these men constructed new and powerful representations both of themselves and of their mission. Though the proportion of Jesuits who journeyed to imperial China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with explicitly scientific goals was relatively small — five or six out of the forty or so in China during any given year — the impact of these individuals was sometimes much greater than these numbers would suggest. This is, indeed, the heart of Hsia's argument here: it was not merely in their activities on the ground, as it were, but also — perhaps even more so — in the textual presentation of their lives and works that these Jesuit mathematicians and natural philosophers became an integral part of the Society's presence in the Celestial Empire.

Hsia divides her study into three parts, each dealing with a different "scientific persona" as portrayed in their varied "textual expressions," which she describes as "the hagiographic mission history, the travelogue, and the academic collection" (11). Beginning with Matteo Ricci's *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu* of 1615, Hsia documents in excellent detail how these different textual genres shaped both the Jesuit missions themselves and the perceptions of contemporaries in Europe. In Ricci's case, for example, Hsia shows how mixed mathematics — ranging from astronomy and ballistics to optics and mechanics — became, in the

hagiographic literature describing Ricci's life and mission, "a manifestation of authentic evangelical action" (14). Mixed mathematics was not merely a means of impressing the Chinese with European ingenuity and knowledge: in this literature, it became a means of opening China to Christianity, an expression of what Hsia calls "apostolic action."

Likewise, when a small group of Jesuits traveled to Siam under the auspices of Louis XIV, they borrowed, in Hsia's terminology, the "corporate identity . . . of the Parisian Académie des sciences" (52), both in the kind of scientific work they conducted in Asia and how they reported this work to audiences in Europe. The text produced as a result, Guy Tachard's *Voyage de Siam* (1686), was many things to many audiences: an apologetic mission history that sought to justify Jesuit travels to Asia, a report of astronomical and natural philosophical observations presented in the style of the Académie, and a travelogue that sought to enthrall the wider public and gain a larger measure of their collective support. Hsia examines both how Tachard expertly wove together different strands of early modern culture to create a powerfully utilitarian text, and how different audiences responded to the *Voyage*. In doing so she shines much-needed light, not only on the Jesuit missions in China, but also, more crucially, on facets of early modern European culture about which we still know relatively little.

In spite of these efforts, however, the personas presented by the China Jesuits sometimes "failed to persuade" (148). As one example, the hagiographic histories of men like Matteo Ricci were met by a "counter-hagiography" written by rivals of the China Jesuits. This anti-hagiography examined the behavior of the China Jesuits with a decidedly critical eye, pointing to Jesuit excesses as they mingled with the Chinese literati — wearing silken robes, participating in "pagan" ceremonies, accepting lavish gifts — and claiming that these Jesuits had compromised both their mission and their souls in their eagerness to ingratiate themselves with foreign princes

and potentates.

Though a remarkably succinct discussion of these issues, *Sojourners in a Strange Land* contains such rich and vivid detail that it cannot fail to compel. Hsia's prose is at times convoluted and rather heavy, occasionally obscuring the finer details of her study, but this is a minor quibble. Historians of science will find Hsia's careful research rewarding, but there is also much of value here for scholars of European and Chinese history. Like an early modern travelogue itself, *Sojourners in a Strange Land* carries us to foreign shores on the very borders of modernity, opening new and beautiful vistas for our exploration.

MARK A. WADDELL

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Trevor Johnson. *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. vii + 354 pp. index. illus. bibl. $124.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6480–2.

Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles is a fitting testimony to the life and career of a gifted scholar who died prematurely and quite unexpectedly in 2007. Trevor Johnson, a student of Gerhard Benecke and Robert Scribner, was a historian of early modern Catholicism. Though he focused primarily on the German lands, he was also at home in the Mediterranean world. In *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles*, Johnson brings this wide view of Catholic Europe and a mastery of the Church's history and doctrine to a very small corner of Germany. A skeptical reader, however, should not be put off by the seemingly remote setting of his narrative. Lying between Franconia, Bohemia and Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate with its administrative center of

Amberg lay to the east of the better-known Lower Palatinate straddling the Rhine. The Upper Palatinate is significant, though, as it offers us one of the best views of the Counter-Reformation at work. Approximately one quarter of the population of the Holy Roman Empire converted back to Catholicism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Quite simply, Johnson's monograph is the best study I am aware of that considers how this process took place at the local level, and it should be required reading for anyone interested in the Catholic side of the Reformation.

Taking his cue from a three-act play performed at Amberg's Jesuit college, Johnson divides his study into three major sections. "The Palatinate Deformed" offers an overview of the region's economy, society, and history. He charts the progress of the Protestant Reformation from the 1550s onward. During this early period the territory's official confession oscillated between Calvinism and Lutheranism following the preference of the Palatine Elector in Heidelberg. In part two, "The Palatinate Informed," Johnson follows the course of the Catholic reconquest. The debacle of the Winter King in Bohemia heralded a significant political shift in Central Europe and the end of Protestantism in the Upper Palatinate. In 1628 Emperor Ferdinand II officially ceded this territory to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Johnson evaluates the legal and institutional changes that came with this new regime, the restoration of the diocese, the role of the local clergy, and the contribution of religious orders, most importantly the Jesuits. In the final, and to my mind the strongest section of the book, "The Palatinate Reformed," Johnson considers how a new Catholic identity was forged during the seventeenth century. Here he analyzes the impact of catechisms and confraternities, practices of pilgrimage, the celebration of the sacraments, the revival of saints' cults, and the power of religious images.

Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles brings together two historiographical traditions that

are often seen as mildly antagonistic. On the one hand, Johnson has a firm command of the theology and spirituality of the Counter-Reformation. At the time of his death he was working on an extended study examining the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. At the same time Johnson was profoundly interested in the actual practice of local religion and used methodological tools borrowed from anthropology. Johnson instinctively realized that if we are to understand the Counter-Reformation aright, these two approaches to early modern Catholicism should inform each other. In this respect his monograph is a resounding success. It should also be noted that Johnson's use of archival records is particularly effective as he is able to capture fine detail and recreate the texture of lived religious experience. Among the characters we meet is a priest who when lacking a monstrance for the feast of Corpus Christi made the dubious decision to use a beer stein as a covering for the Host, and the young man who found relief through pilgrimage for problems he was experiencing with his "virile member" (277). These humorous examples aside, Johnson demonstrates through the archival record that Catholic reform was not simply imposed from above. Unlike the earlier Calvinist experiment, Catholicism succeeded as it was able to accommodate a traditional religious culture that survived the Protestant interlude.

HOWARD LOUTHAN

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Anne Jacobson Schutte, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, and Heinz Schilling, eds. *Reformation Research in Europe and North America: A Historical Assessment.*

Archive of Reformation History 100. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009. 389 pp. €89. ISBN: 978–3–579–08115–1.

To celebrate the publication of the one-hundredth volume of the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, its editors commissioned a group of leading scholars in the field to survey the post-war historiography of what Thomas A. Brady, Jr., calls the "Long Reformation," the period from the late Middle Ages until the middle of the seventeenth century. The result is a collection of eighteen essays in three languages (ten in English, seven and the introduction in German, and one in French). Fifteen of those essays are organized on a national or regional format and three take a more thematic approach. The *Archiv*, like the field it covers, was originally the preserve of Protestant pastors, but it has grown into an interdisciplinary, interdenominational, and international forum for research into the history of the Reformation and its significance in world affairs.

The essays in this volume are largely what one would expect: leading scholars sum up developments in their fields of study in the second half of the twentieth century, in sometimes (at least for insiders) intriguing ways. Most chronicle the emancipation of those fields from sectarian and ideological fetters and their entrance into the mainstream of modern secular historiography. The breadth of the project is impressive. Ten essays investigate the historiography of the Reformation in Northern and Western Europe, where the event is usually thought to have had the greatest impact. Two essays each are devoted to Germany (Thomas Kaufmann and Thomas Brady), Switzerland (André Holenstein and Max Engammare), the Netherlands (Guido Marnef and Christine Kooi), and France (Mack P. Holt and Christophe Duhamelle). In what is in many ways one of the most intriguing essays of the collection, Duhamelle suggests the reasons, both historical and historiographical, why the confessionalization thesis so popular in historical writing of the Holy Roman Empire has made such little headway in the study of early modern French Catholics. Britain and Scandinavia each warrant one essay, by David Loades and Otfried Czaika,

respectively.

Other essays focus on topics and regions traditionally on the periphery of Reformation studies. While most of the regional studies highlight the growing literature on Catholic reform, this topic truly comes to the fore in the essays on Italian historiography by Silvana Seidel Menchi, on Spanish historiography by Lu Ann Homza, and in Wietse de Boer's general survey of the reintegration of the Catholic world into Reformation studies. In closing his essay, de Boer discusses recent trends that threaten to reconfessionalize Catholic historical writing on the Reformation. These trends are evident in other denominations as well, and this topic deserves greater attention in a number of the other essays. Three further essays focus on the historiography of the Reformation in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, in particular in Poland (Michael G. Müller), Romania and Hungary (Maria Crăciun), and the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Joachim Bahlcke). Political developments and linguistic challenges made this region an intellectual frontier for much of the twentieth century just as it was a political, cultural, and religious borderland in the sixteenth. Since the opening of many former Soviet-bloc archives to Western scholars in 1989, opportunities have arisen to apply theses and methodologies developed in the study of religious, political, and social change in Western Europe to new and distinctive areas, where themes like confessional interaction, confessionalization, and toleration take on new contours. The essays included here give us some sense of the beginnings of that process. Finally, essays by Merry Wiesner-Hanks on gender studies in Reformation historiography and Christoph Burger on developments in the history of Reformation theology round out the thematic essays and highlight the extent to which the field has been integrated into the mainstream of the discipline.

This is a valuable comprehensive overview of historical writing on the Reformation and a testament to the coming of age of Reformation studies. The focus of Mack Holt's essay on

contributions to the field by Natalie Zemon Davis and Robert Kingdon, and Silvana Seidel Menchi's discussion of the work of Carlo Ginzburg indicate as well the extent to which Reformation studies have given back to the discipline.

GEOFFREY DIPPLE

Augustana College

William J. Wright. *Martin Luther's Understanding of God's Two Kingdoms: A Response to the Challenge of Skepticism*.

Texts and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought.Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010. 208 pp. index. bibl. $29.99. ISBN: 978–0–8010–3884–6.

One of the important facets of Martin Luther's thought was his understanding of the relationship between the two kingdoms, an aspect of his thinking that is not always easily grasped, and which, as William Wright demonstrates in the first chapter of this book, has all too often been subject to distortion by interpreters of Luther beginning in the nineteenth century. The intention in this book is to set Luther's thinking on the two kingdoms in the broader context of his age, and in particular to suggest that the great reformer was responding in no small part to the growth of skepticism in what became the early modern world, and that his teaching informed much more than politics, but instead embraced the entire range of the life of the believer.

The book begins with a review in chapter 1 of nineteenth- and twentieth-century appropriations of Luther's teaching, indicating the extent to which the two kingdoms came to be understood in strictly political terms (and thus subject to distortion, especially by the Nazi regime). The chapter serves to set the stage for Wright's restoration of a proper context of the

doctrine, which embraces chapters 2 and 3. In the former chapter, the subject of Italian Renaissance humanism and the rise of skepticism that developed within it is central. Here the most important figure is Lorenzo Valla, who produced a rhetorical method that sought to avoid the pitfalls and challenges of skepticism, at least with respect to matters of religion. In the latter chapter attention is turned to Northern humanism, and the way in which earlier Renaissance thinking from Italy was received and transmitted, and transmitted to Luther in particular. Wright argues in this respect that there was a stronger influence of humanism on Luther than has been traditionally thought, and the influence of Valla and his rhetorical method was especially important in shaping the context for the reformer's thinking regarding the two kingdoms. It is in this chapter that Luther's early understanding of the two kingdoms is sketched, setting the stage for the final two chapters of the book, when Wright directly addresses the full content of the doctrine.

Chapter 4 is a thorough examination of the wide range of contexts in which Luther applied the concept, demonstrating the point Wright set forth at the outset: it is a distortion to read the two-kingdoms concept in strictly political terms. Rather, the two-kingdoms doctrine constituted a worldview (as the title of the chapter indicates), and to make this clear, a wide range of Luther's works are mined for the many contexts in which he applied the doctrine. The final chapter (chapter 5) turns the focus to Luther's teaching on the Christian life in the light of the two kingdoms, and once again draws upon a wide range of Luther's works to illustrate the manner in which Luther applied the doctrine, though commentaries on Ecclesiastes and Genesis figure prominently.

This volume is a helpful guide to a sometimes difficult topic in Luther's thought, a necessary corrective to previous distortions of it, and at the same time provides a useful digest and

survey of a great deal of secondary literature on the Renaissance (both in its Italian and Northern phases), as well as a synthesis of what Luther had to say about the two kingdoms.

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Valentin Weigel. *De vita beata; De luce et caligine divina; Vom seligen Leben*.

Valentin Weigel, Sämtliche Schriften, Neue Edition, vol. 2. Ed. Horst Pfefferl. Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2009. xlviii + 200 pp. index. illus. bibl. €386. ISBN: 978–3–7728–1841–7.

This is the most recent volume of the writings of Valentin Weigel (1533–88) to appear in the new edition of his works. Weigel was a pastor in Saxony who began writing theological works in about 1570. This volume brings together an interrelated set of works that the editors believe to date from around 1570.

Weigel's *De vita beata* was published in 1609 in one volume with the much shorter work *De luce et caligine divina*. A manuscript containing a German paraphrase of *De vita beata* under the title *Vom seligen Leben* was discovered in Prague in 1962. A further Latin version, under the title *De homino externo et interno*, has more recently been discovered in a manuscript in the British Library, in a set of manuscripts sent to England by Weigel's Cantor, Christoph Weickhart, in 1601. Although this latter text is not included in the edition, it is discussed in an *excursus* (xxxi–xxxii) and a table showing the use of chapters of *De vita beata* in the other two texts is provided (xxiv). Footnotes to individual chapters and sections explain this relationship in greater detail, whilst the inclusion of *De vita beata* and *Vom seligen Leben* in the same volume makes it possible to trace how the content and structure of the Latin text are adapted in a German

translation that appears to assume a very different readership.

De vita beata seeks to elucidate the relationship between humans and the world. The work opens with a presentation of the "concordances" between the threefold powers of the human soul — rendered in the Latin as *mentalis*, *rationalis*, and *sensualis*; in the German as spirit, soul and body — and the threefold nature of earth and heaven: the external, visible world; the angelic, spiritual, invisible world; and the creator of both. Weigel goes on to explore the ways in which *fortuna* — happiness or luck — shapes human lives, identifying the stars, and thus astrology, as an important factor in this relationship, and emphasising that the temporal or transient pleasures of the "lower" world cannot lead to a blessed life. Rather, the greatest good, the *summum bonum*, lies in the recognition of Christ "not outside ourselves, but in us, according to his power, effect, spirit, or characteristics" (191), although Weigel is clear that the greatest good cannot be identified with God himself (53). These ideas are not original, and the work has been described as "Weigel's Boethius interpretation" (Winfried Zeller, cited on xxiii). The editor notes, however, that Weigel draws his text, "almost completely, and in places word for word," not only from Boethius's *Philosophiae contemplatio* but also, and more frequently, from William Wheatley's fourteenth-century commentary on that work (xxvi). Other important sources are Nicolaus of Cusa, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Origen, Hermes Trismegistos, Johannes Tauler, the *Theologia deutsch*, and Thomas à Kempis. The comprehensive notes to the Latin text do a fine job of identifying these sources more specifically, indicating something of the range of authors known by and accessible to Weigel. It would be interesting to have the editor's opinion on whether Weigel knew these works directly, or whether he was drawing on some other compilation.

The second, brief, text, *De luce et caligine divina*, consists of a theological-philosophical

meditation on what it means to speak of God as light. Pfefferl follows the editor of the 1609 edition in arguing for Weigel as its author, citing close parallels to *De vita beata*, although these could in theory derive from a close reading of *De vita beata* by another author.

This volume shows Weigel's work at a relatively early stage, as he draws together insights from other authors that will shape his later, more original work. It is fascinating not least for the range of authors of interest to one who, like Weigel, was exploring the relationship between human beings and the world they live in, and the way that this relationship assists the believer in achieving an inner relationship to God. The texts edited here shed a fascinating light on a strand of late-sixteenth-century thinking that saw the interweaving of theology, natural philosophy, and astrology as the only possible way in which to make sense of the place of human beings in the world. One suspects that this was an approach which was far more widespread at the time than many modern commentators care to admit.

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David M. Whitford. *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era: The Bible and the Justifications for Slavery*.

St Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xiv + 211 pp. index. illus. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6625–7.

David Whitford's earnest book tries to remedy the "profound negative consequences for contemporary relations between the American Jewish and African-American communities" (19), arising from the erroneous belief that Jewish exegesis of Noah's curse making Ham's descendants

"a servant of servants" (Genesis 9.25–26) justified black African slavery. He thus aims to fill the gap between the discussion of ancient Near East and classical interpretations of this text in David Goldenberg's *The Curse of Ham* (2003), and Stephen Haynes's account of eighteenth and nineteenth century debates in *Noah's Curse* (2002). His conclusion, that some early modern writers deliberately distorted inherited motifs from Genesis for reasons of passing economic self-interest or personal advancement — distortions refashioned by later apologists for slavery "into a justification for a horrible end" (175) — does him moral credit. It is less convincing as a historical argument.

This is partly because his claim to have adapted Raymond Williams's model of cultural hegemony, in search of the "reception history" (173) of Genesis 9 as common interpretation, residual explanation, and emergent motifs is not confirmed by the book's structure and style. Its compressed but very learned survey of an immense variety of textual sources frequently loses sight of the emergent wood for the textual trees. The resulting imbalance between text and context weakens the connections between his plausible framing arguments and his less-convincing detailed exegesis. One important methodological reason for this may be his assumption, revealed only in a footnote (14n37) that early modern mythology propagated itself through print. Recent scholarship has rediscovered the importance of manuscript transmission of ideas among opinion-formers, bringing us a step closer to the lost oral world from which erupted the emergent interpretations of Genesis 9 that so trouble Whitford.

This problem rather undermines the many convincing arguments of the book. Chapter 1 closely examines the original scriptural texts to establish that they do not justify recent American slavery, since Noah actually cursed Ham's son Canaan for his father's obscure sin. While surely persuasive to scholars, one wonders about the space devoted to this defense of the Bible when the

book purports to examine its distorted textual reception. Whitford then demolishes some sloppy, even loopy, attempts to blame Jewish teachings for the idea that Ham's sin explained African blackness, by discussing how Medieval Christians used the text to justify contemporary serfdom without reference to race, blackness, or Africa. Here again though this detailed discussion of texts rather crowds out any discussion of the crucial medieval elision from Canaan to Ham as recipient of the curse. The chapter devoted to Annius of Viterbo's reinvention of Ham as the reviver of antediluvian sorcery, like the chapter describing how English travel narratives popularized the Curse of Ham, fails to sufficiently distinguish the contemporary context, increasingly aware of racial difference, from our current racial polemics. Reformation confessional politics turned Annius into a bestseller, since he supplied Protestants with useful evidence that the Curse of Ham explained Rome's corruptions. We do not learn from his over-detailed biographical background why George Best, who sailed with Frobisher, suddenly felt the need to explain differences of skin color. It does not reflect a self-interested emergent imperial vision, which Whitford assumes rather than proves, but addresses a deeper social anxiety not represented in printed texts. Similarly, the justification of slavery as civilizing and domesticating the bestial sexuality of Africans suddenly pops up in print in the late seventeenth century, as does the eighteenth-century fear of blood contamination, but Whitford's method and sources do not allow him to explain where these repulsive ideas came from.

Finally, it is astonishing that Whitford should have created a previously unknown textual critic, one "Joseph Scallinger" (150). Other signs of haste abound. Footnotes (O mote, O beam) complain of typos in other published work that occur every few pages here, sometimes, unforgivably, in quotations from primary sources. A simple but important arithmetical error (144n12) diminishes Whitford's argument for the egregious textual falsifier Thomas Newton's

jealousy of a rival eighteenth-century clerical careerist. Despite its brevity, the book required tighter editing, particularly of the frequent and unnecessary continuation of contextual sentences in the footnotes. This book contains much good learning, but more attention to the broader historical context would have made it more persuasive.

GLYN PARRY

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Jean-Louis Fournel and Jean-Claude Zancarini. *La Grammaire de la république: Langages de la politique chez Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540)*.

Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance 94. Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 2009. 566 pp. index. bibl. $82. ISBN: 978–2–600–01292–8.

La grammaire de la république is an impressive analysis of Florentine political thought during an era of war, violence, and constitutional upheaval. Its principal protagonist, Francesco Guicciardini, has long been an understudied member of the Florentine political canon, and Fournel and Zancarini's book goes a long way to restoring Guicciardini to a position of intellectual prominence. Guicciardini has frequently been eclipsed by Machiavelli, his friend and more controversial intellectual counterpart, but in many ways Guicciardini provides a richer and more revealing perspective on the principal tensions and developments of early sixteenth-century Florentine history. Unlike Machiavelli, Guicciardini's periods of political isolation were relatively brief, the Medici trusted and relied upon him, and he had the aristocratic identity and connections necessary for high-level diplomatic and administrative posts. As a result he played a far more active and consistent role in the politics of his day than did Machiavelli.

The authors take a linguistic approach to Guicciardini, arguing that in his efforts to understand the rapidly deteriorating world around him he consciously forged a new language and new grammar of political analysis. As their point of departure, the authors take Guicciardini's lament in the *Ricordi* that the Florentines lacked the language or grammar necessary to understand the correct relationship between liberty, tyranny, and license. The essential failure of the Florentines during the Italian Wars, in Guicciardini's view, was first linguistic and second political and military. As he put it in the *Storia d'Italia*, when describing certain of his contemporaries' shortsighted veneration of Julius II's martial qualities, they had lost the "true words" for things and thereby also the ability to weigh matters judiciously. Fournel and Zancarini interpret Guicciardini's writings as a larger sustained attempt to create the kind of grammar and language that might enable his contemporaries to pierce the otherwise hidden meaning of events.

The book provides a massive, systematic contextualization of key words and concepts in Guicciardini's lexicon. Part 1 surveys the Florentine republican tradition as expressed by writers such as Leon Battista Alberti, Matteo Palmieri, and Savonarola. The authors examine the various definitions of liberty, the changing valence of terms such as *tyranny* and *the civic life*, and the nature of social and class conflict. Part 2 examines the language of statecraft and state theory in Guicciardini's writing, considering Guicciardini's preference for republicanism, natural government, and optimal rule. The third and particularly load-bearing part focuses on Guicciardini's writings on war and wartime politics and his service as lieutenant-general of the papal army. The fourth and final part addresses Guicciardini on ethics, religion, the political character of Christianity, and the Roman church, concluding with a survey of Guicciardini's European reception in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Throughout, Fournel and Zancarini engage in a sustained and stimulating dialogue with

key arguments by Quentin Skinner, J. G. A. Pocock, and the Cambridge School more generally. They share some common convictions and differ on some crucial points. Although the authors clearly approach their subject differently from Skinner, they nevertheless have provided a sterling example of the kind of contextual history of political thought long championed by him. The book provides a richly detailed history of key terms in Guicciardini's thought and the ways those terms were often differently deployed in the Florentine tradition. Like Pocock, Fournel and Zancarini attribute to Guicciardini and Machiavelli a particularly intense preoccupation with republican existential crisis. But they disagree sharply on the degree to which Guicciardini and Machiavelli conformed to a republican tradition, either in antiquity or during the Renaissance. Pocock saw Machiavelli and Guicciardini as participants in a largely consistent republican moment stretching from antiquity through the Enlightenment, and Skinner saw Machiavelli as a faithful articulator of neo-Roman republicanism. For Fournel and Zancarini, such attributions are meaningful only in terms of the questions raised by Guicciardini and Machiavelli, but not in terms of their answers and solutions. They view the Machiavellian and Guicciardinian corpus as informed first and foremost by the Italian wars. The conflicts and crises spanning the years 1494–1530, and particularly the failure of Florence and other Italian states to navigate them wisely, inspired a deep skepticism in Machiavelli and Guicciardini about the relevance of the political languages of the past.

The authors admirably convey the complexity and variety of Guicciardini's historical and political writings and their detailed contextualization of his language is superb. The book is essential reading for scholars of Renaissance political culture.

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Erica Benner. *Machiavelli's Ethics*.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. xv + 525 pp. index. bibl. $75 (cl), $35 (pbk). ISBN: 978–0–691–14176–3 (cl), 978–0–691–14177–0 (pbk).

Erica Benner's *Machiavelli's Ethics* is an elegantly written, beautifully produced, but excessively long, book inquiring into Machiavelli's philosophical approach to politics. The study is built around three main arguments. First, it makes a case for Machiavelli being regarded as a moral and political philosopher. Second, it contends that his political theory shows a strong commitment to the rule of law and legality in general. Third, it argues that his outlook owes more to ancient Greek philosophy than has generally been acknowledged. The first claim is hardly remarkable, since most Machiavelli scholars are likely to agree that the Florentine is a political philosopher of the first order. The two other arguments raise important questions concerning what kind of political philosophy Machiavelli espouses.

At the center of Brenner's investigation is Machiavelli's understanding of virtue and his view of Roman expansionism. According to Brenner, Machiavellian virtue, or *virtú*, is basically Aristotelian virtue. Its chief characterstics are self-restraint, moderation, and respect for due limits, and it can, understood as a mean, err both on the side of over-assertiveness and under-assertiveness. (154) A key term in Machiavelli's vocabulary is the enigmatic expression *una eccessiva virtú*, which Brenner views as an ironic contradiction in terms, and associates with a way of proceeding that fails to respect due constraints, exceeds "the limits of prudential action" (215), and falls back on "brute self-assertion." (220) We thus frequently get to hear about how Rome during its long and tumultous rise to world domination "overstepped virtuous limits" (216),

and about how Machiavelli expresses "implicit reproach" (472) and "dissimulates admiration" (475) for Roman expansionism. The fact that Machiavelli explicitly and unambiguously adduces the Roman example as a healthy contrast to the modern republics of Florence and Venice, which he accuses of having committed the sin of over-expansion (*Discorsi* 2.19), is passed over in silence. The reason Rome had been able to benefit from its conquests Machiavelli explains, was that it had prudently laid a strong foundation for its growing power.

The term *eccessiva* appears approximately ten times in the *Discourses*. Among those passages, there is only one in which Machiavelli uses it in a way that supports Brenner's claim (in *Discorsi* 1.40 he speaks of the senate's "*eccessiva voglia*" to eliminate the tribunes of the plebs). On two occasions (*Discorsi* 1.19; *Discorsi* 2.2; cfr. *The Prince*, chap. 2), Machiavelli employs the expression *eccessiva virtú* to denote simply a greater force, without suggesting over-assertiveness on the part of the force in question. His comment in *Discorsi* 2.4 on how Rome rose to "*tanta eccessiva potenza*" is admittedly open to interpretation, if one insists on viewing Machiavelli's consistent praise of Roman expansionism as a conventional literary trope. This leaves us with at least six instances, where Machiavelli uses the expression *eccessiva virtù* or *eccessiva potenza* in an empathically and unequivocally positive sense. In *Discorsi* 1.55, he calls for a kingly hand, who with *la potenza assoluta ed eccessiva* can put a rein on the *eccessiva* ambition and corrupt ways of the powerful. Later in book 3, which deals the role of the virtuous individual in Roman history, the military captains, Manlius Torquatus (*Discorsi* 3.19), Scipio Africanus and Hannibal (*Discorsi* 3.21–22), are lauded for having maintained discipline and achieved great things by means of *una eccessiva virtù*. Finally, Machiavelli in a memorable passage in *Discorsi* 3.1 argues that Rome for centuries managed to stave off corruption by at certain intervals returning to its beginnings, or first principles. One recommended way of restoring the republic's original

goodness (*bontà*) consisted in the execution of a law or an order. As examples of such restorative actions by legal means, Machiavelli adduces a series of spectacular killings, which, due to their "excessive and notable" character, had the effect of imprinting fear and terror in the memory of men, and to inducing them to leave their corrupt ways and to "return to the mark." To read this recommendation at other than face value would render this important chapter, and indeed, the whole *Discourses*, absurd.

In short, in Machiavelli's vocabulary *eccessiva* denotes something capable of overcoming and imposing itself on an opposing force or the matter at hand. It is a rare, but highly laudable, quality. The charge of over-assertiveness is Brenner's invention and misses Machiavelli's point completely. This illustrates one of the major shortcomings of this book: its disregard for detail and lack of interpretative precision. Machiavelli's works are from a textual point of view far more complex, rhetorically charged, and historically embedded than Brenner wants to acknowlewdge.

Since so much in this study hinges on the claim that Machiavelli sported a Greek, and ultimately Aristotelian, notion of virtue, based on an ideal of moderation and self-restraint, Brenner's misinterpretation of *eccessiva virtú* signals a major flaw in her overall line of reasoning. It unravels the whole argument about Machiavelli's alleged preference for Greek philosophy over Roman power politics, his supposedly critical view of Roman imperialism and expansionism in general, his position on the few and the many, the role he ascribes to the exceptional individual within his republic, etc. It provides an example of how this book skillfully manages to skirt the surface of Machiavelli's text without seriously engaging his argument, imposing on it a philosophical outlook that bears strong imprints of Kantian, Arendtian, and Habermasian concerns, but on the whole is foreign to Machiavelli. As a consequence, Brenner fails to take seriously the challenge that the Florentine author poses to conventional ethics,

common sense logic and modern pieties. The result is a nicely packaged, but disappointingly ordinary, and sadly truncated, Machiavelli.

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Alessandra Petrina. *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of* The Prince.

Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xx + 289 pp. index. append. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6697–4.

It is well-known that the first printed English translation of *The Prince* appeared in 1640. Less-well-known, perhaps, is that in the prior century that work enjoyed a robust circulation in Italian, French, Latin, and English versions, some printed, some in manuscript. Of the four distinct English translations in manuscript three are anonymous; the fourth, by William Fowler, is the first English translation in Scotland. It lies at the core of this volume, and it is accompanied by an anonymous version known as MS 251 now in the Queen's College Library, Oxford. Along with Petrina's extensive, philologically grounded, annotations and commentary, these two versions of *The Prince* offer a detailed reading of the Tudor Machiavel, as well as a much more precise look at how Machiavelli's works were diffused and received in sixteenth-century England and Scotland. Petrina has accomplished this by meticulously reconstructing the history of the circulation of *The Prince*, tracking all known editions and manuscripts as well as all references to lost manuscripts, partial drafts, and mysterious allusions. Leaving no stone unturned, she has examined editions, fragments, dedications, title pages, and marginalia, as well as wills,

inventories, letters, bills of sale, and catalogs, producing, as a result, an example of intellectual history and philological scholarship at its best.

As for William Fowler himself, Petrina explores how he might have learned Italian, how he might have encountered Machiavelli's infamous text, and why he should have wanted to translate it, given its status as a book under papal ban. There are parts of her narrative that read almost like a novel: Fowler was a onetime spy who consorted with heretics, the book he translated was a prohibited book surreptitiously printed, clandestinely circulated, possibly smuggled, sometimes disguised, often plagiarized, and yet it enjoyed a *succès de scandale*. It became, for example, a cult text for Oxford University students in the 1580s and '90s.

As part of her commentary, Petrina analyzes the four English translations extant in eight manuscript versions and proposes, on the basis of her examination of inks, scribal hands, corrections, deletions, and underlinings, a *stemma codicum* to update genealogies put forward by earlier scholars. Focusing specifically on Fowler's translation, completed probably in 1590, she notes the challenges to a translator posed by Machiavelli's syntax, neologisms, and original uses of such terms as *stato* and *virtù*. One learns that Fowler fused different readings together, that he added explanatory glosses and synonyms as a way of amplifying and embellishing the original, especially when having to explain a complex term. Curious about this practice, this reviewer examined the translations to see how *virtù* and *stato* were rendered, and found that in Fowler's hands *virtù* becomes *wisdom*, *valor*, *courage*, *excellence*, *glory*, *resolution*, *valiance*, *worthiness*, and *discipline*. In one place, for example, Fowler translates *virtù d'animo* as "virtuously and valiantlye and with great and magnanime courage" (176). In MS 251, by contrast, *virtù* overwhelmingly is rendered as "vertewe." *Stato*, in turn, Fowler renders as *government*, *estate*, *country*, *empire*, *province*, *conquest*, *principality*, *nation*, *lordship*, *monarchy*, *prelacy*,

sovereignty, *dominion*, *state*, and even *prince*. The expression *maiestá dello stato* becomes "maiestie of the prence" (172). In MS 251 *stato* usually becomes *kingdom*, *commonwealth*, *government*, *estate*, or *country*, a more limited range of synonyms.

I cite these examples to underscore a cardinal point that Petrina makes when she writes that Machiavelli's "limited vocabulary often means that words are used in diametrically opposite meanings, or adapted to the varying circumstances, sometimes within the same paragraph" (121). For his early English and Scottish translators this variable vocabulary presented both a challenge to find linguistic equivalents and an opportunity, as Petrina points out, to redefine the political vocabulary of the English language (119). But there is in this an important caveat for all readers and students of *The Prince* when confronting its ambiguities, paradoxes, and contradictions, namely, not to ascribe a fixity to Machiavelli's terms and usages that he himself did not employ.

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Henrik, Lagerlund ed. *Rethinking the History of Skepticism: The Missing Medieval Background*. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 103. Leiden: Brill, 2010. x + 234 pp. index. bibl. $138. ISBN: 978–90–04–17061–2.

This collection of essays aims to show that skepticism was a significant problem in the medieval period. The thesis is principally defended with chapters that either distinguish various senses of skepticism or consider thinkers who discuss skepticism as a possible epistemological objection in the absence of contemporary skeptics. One project of the book is to continue a critique of the received view that holds that Renaissance and early modern skepticism was

prompted by the late fifteenth-century popularization of the writings of Sextus Empiricus. In place of this received view, the book seeks to underscore that skepticism was discussed by major thirteenth- and fourteenth-century thinkers for whom "epistemology and as a consequence skeptical problems becomes the main focus of philosophy" (1). The book invites a rewriting of the history of skepticism to account for this lost medieval period.

The assembled evidence offered for the thesis of this book is strong, as the collection is comprised of case studies of mostly medieval thinkers who considered skeptical epistemological objections. The book concedes that "there where [*sic*] not many skeptics in the Middle Ages" (10) and that "No one in the Middle Ages was a skeptic in the sense that he claimed that nothing can be known" (140). The only medieval thinker identified as an outright skeptic is John of Salisbury, who receives a short mention in an introductory chapter on the history of ancient and medieval skepticism. Several contributions are particularly noteworthy. Taneli Kukkonen's "Al-Ghazālī's Skepticism Revisited" considers Ghazālī's two best-known works, the *Incoherence of the Philosophers* and the *Deliverance from Error*, and the chapter concludes that the Islamic thinker intended to "underline the extent to which we are reliant on God's grace for the veracity of our apprehending faculties" (55). Along the way, Kukkonen carefully examines the context of both works, cautioning against quick assumptions that consider Ghazālī as simply a precursor to skepticism of the Cartesian or Humean varieties. Dominik Perler's "Does God Deceive Us? Skeptical Hypotheses in Late Medieval Epistemology" is a model of clarity and precision. It considers Thomas Aquinas, Robert Holcot, Gregory of Rimini, and others on the ability of God and demons to deceive human knowers, while also noting Descartes's and Mersenne's discussions of this issue in the seventeenth century.

The last chapter, by Elizabeth Karger, may be of greatest interest to the readers of this

journal, as it considers a curious issue examined by the sixteenth-century Spanish thinker Antonio Coronel, who constructed an argument purporting to refute the claim that knowers cannot doubt what is naturally evident. Coronel examined the theological belief that at consecration the substance of bread changes into the body of Christ, and then he questioned why an individual who eats a sufficient number of consecrated hosts will feel nourished. As only the accidents of bread remain rather than the substance of bread, how does the sensation of nourishment happen? Coronel proposes that God must be miraculously nourishing one who subsists on consecrated hosts, and therefore, he infers, in other cases it must be possible to doubt what appears naturally evident.

This short review cannot detail the wide scope of the other contributions to this volume. Collectively they offer substantive treatment of many major thinkers, including Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, Bernard of Arezzo, Nicholas of Autrecourt, John Buridan, and Albert of Saxony. A few production issues detract slightly from the volume. I counted fifteen editing errors in the first chapter, and page 214 of my copy is blank, appearing to omit half of the bibliography for chapter 8. One chapter alternates between *skepticism* and *scepticism*, and occasionally the title of a work is translated in more than one way. These points obviously are quite minor. As the chapters comprising this study are all of high quality, and every contributor to the collection is an established scholar of medieval thought, this collection should interest not simply medievalists but all those concerned with the antecedents of Renaissance and early modern skepticism.

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Ricardo J. Quinones. *Erasmus and Voltaire: Why They Still Matter*.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010. xvii + 222 pp. index. bibl. $55. ISBN: 978–1–4426–4054–2.

In this comparative study, Quinones juxtaposes the lives and careers of two eminent public intellectuals, Erasmus and Voltaire, offering an interpretation of cultural history by "explor[ing] the various and even unexpected areas through which they travel together" (v). The genre of comparative biography has a long history, from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* to Desmond Seward's bestselling *Napoleon and Hitler*. Quinones' book demonstrates the significance of this approach for contemporary historiography. Comparative biography traditionally focuses on character and personality, inducing parallels that may strike some readers as ahistorical. Quinones does include elements of psychology, but he investigates the historical setting and does not level the differences in a facile manner. His comparisons are subtle and nuanced, and his methodology sound. He rigorously ties psychological readings to text-critical analyses and has an admirable grasp of the *mentalité* of the two movements, humanism and Enlightenment, represented by the protagonists. Thus his book transcends the psychological approach, lifting it into the literary and intellectual sphere, paralleling the "philosophical charge behind the arguments of philology" (84). The comparative approach is further justified in Quinones's case because he is principally interested in the typology of dualism, a phenomenon that requires an overarching study to reveal patterns.

The topics selected for discussion in the book are the social setting in which Erasmus and Voltaire grew to maturity, their sense of belonging and lack of attachment, the influence of travel and of exposure to other cultures on their intellectual development, the defense of the new

intellectual movements that characterized the protagonists' time, the choice of narrative as a vehicle for social criticism, the appeal of the perennial favorites. The chapters clearly proceed in ascending order of importance, with the last being reserved for the grand polemics in which the protagonists were involved. The conclusion draws the study into the twentieth century, showing that the battles fought by Erasmus and Voltaire on behalf of the humanities and, more broadly, on behalf of culture and civilization, were fought anew in the polemic between Cassirer and Heidegger.

In a sense, the present work is a sequel or complement to Quinones's earlier *Dualisms: The Agons of the Modern World* (also published by the University of Toronto Press, 2007). However, familiarity with *Dualisms* is not a prerequisite to understanding what the author has to say here about Erasmus and Voltaire. Indeed, where a cross reference allows for a deeper appreciation of the points made, Quinones himself provides the needed context.

The book has many commendable features. It showcases the author's erudition and his impressively broad reading. It offers original and insightful interpretations of the writings of Erasmus and Voltaire and argues them convincingly. I particularly enjoyed the comparison between the *Colloquies* and *Contes* and the Shakespearean link connecting them. It was an inspired decision to make these works a matrix for discussing the protagonists' intellectual development. As Quinones rightly says, they "bring out the [author's] neglected or invisible self" (140). I am less enthusiastic about the long endnotes in this book, some of them exceeding a printed page. In my opinion, if a subject warrants extended discussion, it should be incorporated in the text. Finally, Cassirer, who is the subject of the epilogue, does not match Erasmus's or Voltaire's stature and the scope of their writings.

Such criticism notwithstanding, Quinones's book is a superb piece of work that will

appeal not only to scholars but also to the learned general reader. Juxtaposing the lives and writings of Erasmus and Voltaire, Quinones makes good on his claim (xiv) that comparison brings an added dimension to entities by drawing them into a new web of relationships.

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Glenn Watkins. *The Gesualdo Hex: Music, Myth, and Memory*.

New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010. xvi + 384 pp. + 1 color pl. index. append. illus. bibl. $39.95. ISBN: 978–0–393–07102–3.

Glenn Watkins first made his scholarly impact with his work on the late Renaissance composer Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa (ca. 1561–1613), contributing to the pioneering scholarly edition of Gesualdo's complete works (1957–67) and then producing a monograph on *Gesualdo: The Man and His Music* (1973) that remains a standard text. His subsequent, no less influential books have concerned musical modernism and its postmodern consequences (*Pyramids at the Louvre* [1994]) and music in World War I (*Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* [2003]). Now he has returned to old haunts that — given his passionate advocacy of Gesualdo throughout his career — he has never really left. A performer (a fine organist) as well as a scholar, Watkins might be ranked by many as a master of the "old" (I do not intend the term pejoratively) musicology: combining careful research with a humane style of writing able to speak beyond the narrow world of specialists, and always aware of, but never cravenly submitting to, the latest musicological fads.

Gesualdo is best known for his extremely chromatic secular five-voice madrigals that

represent, depending on your music-historical point of view, the height of Mannerism or the end of the Renaissance: his is a highly disconcerting musical world that some (even at the time) would attribute merely to noble dilettantism. He also happened to kill his first wife (Maria d'Avalos) and her lover caught *in flagrante delicto*; he accused his own lover of witchcraft involving the unwitting digestion of various bodily fluids; and wild (or not) rumors circulated about his various sexual preferences and sadomasochistic perversions — nothing too unusual there, then, depending on how one views the typical behavior of early modern princes holed up in Campania. All this, however, left Gesualdo's second wife, Eleonora d'Este, in a bit of a bind: their marriage in Ferrara in 1596 was made in what was, for the prince, a musical heaven, but Eleonora avoided the south as much as she could once she had fulfilled her marital obligations.

So picaresque a life was ripe for prurient interest from the start, and Gesualdo's uxoricide tends even now to feature high on the agenda, not least because it permits a pathological explanation of his strange music. This music was admired and even occasionally imitated through the seventeenth century; Enlightenment music historians tended to treat it either as a curiosity or as the work of a lunatic; it was not wholly forgotten during the nineteenth century (although few actual madrigals by Gesualdo were known); and it underwent a remarkable revival during the twentieth, starting around the time of the luridly titled book *Carlo Gesualdo: Musician and Murderer* (1926) by Cecil Gray and Philip Heseltine, the latter the composer who published as Peter Warlock and himself had a rather interesting way with fetishes. It is this twentieth- (and twenty-first-) century revival that is Watkins's prime concern: his book is more a reception-history of Gesualdo than a new account of the composer himself, and the "Gesualdo hex" is the spell that this music has cast over generations of composers.

For the early twentieth-century musical modernists, Gesualdo was a fascinating case for

two main reasons. First, his chromatic extravaganzas seemed a remarkable foretelling of now current developments in musical style in terms of the decline of common-practice tonality and its replacement by . . . well, no one yet knew what. Second, his music had been relegated to one of history's *culs de sac*: composers such as Gesualdo's contemporary, Claudio Monteverdi, carried the music-historical torch into the Baroque period. But by the 1910s, tonality was seen as a dead end. What better than for modern music to pick up where Gesualdo had left off? The modernists could thereby claim a lineage and even historical inevitability, while being left free to do whatever they wanted. Musicologist Hugo Leichtentritt made the connection in 1915, citing Richard Strauss, Debussy, Scriabin, and Busoni, and calling Gesualdo a "great impressionist . . . akin to these modern masters, their brother" (131). Composers in the Schoenberg circle such as Egon Wellesz made a similar connection, while remaining uncertain of where the comparison might lead.

Forty years later, we find a very different modernist composer, Igor Stravinsky, engaging with Gesualdo, first by providing missing parts to works that survived incomplete, and then by a typically imaginative reinvention of his music in his *Monumentum pro Gesualdo di Venosa* (1960). By now Gesualdo was all the rage: the American Robert Craft, Stravinsky's personal assistant, produced a pioneering recording of the madrigals in 1956 (with a group including the soprano Marilyn Horne), and on the Continent, Pierre Boulez programmed the composer's music in his first Domaine Musical series of concerts in 1954, alongside Machaut, Dufay, Bach, and twentieth-century masterworks and more recent experimental pieces. Again, modern composers sought to learn from, and vindicate themselves by way of, more distant musical pasts in an old-plus-new programming strategy that goes back further than Watkins suggests, but remains a typical feature of the contemporary music scene.

He brings the story up to the present day, discussing more recent composers' engagements with our prince of Venosa — Louis Andriessen, Peter Maxwell Davis, Lukas Foss, György Ligeti, Alfred Schnittke, Frank Zappa, and a host of others — as well as Gesualdo's appearances in novels, plays, films, and other artworks. This leads to some gentle but powerful musings on the interactions of past and present as essential to the condition of art. But Watkins has an additional agenda here. In his last years, Gesualdo seemingly turned away from his secular madrigals with their chromatic twists and turns, producing a somewhat more normative, if no less powerful, set of sacred Responsories for Holy Week (published in a monumental edition in 1611). That religious shift plays into a biographical reading of artistic and spiritual redemption: Watkins accepts the trope even as he pretends to resist it. But he also uses it to initiate a wide-ranging discussion on the nature of late style. This plays right into his Stravinsky hand given that almost everything that Stravinsky (1882–1971) wrote from the mid 1950s on was construed as late. It also allows Watkins to present new information on a truly remarkable exchange of letters between the composer René Leibowitz and Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) in 1945–47 that has nothing to do with Gesualdo, but everything to do with the arch-Modernist presenting a more gentle musical face to the world, and even recanting somewhat his earlier musical radicalism.

Watkins adopts here his own version of a late style: wise, experienced, tolerant, and ruminative. Alas, he is also prone to factual error, and the publisher should be ashamed at the number of typographical mistakes and other inconsistencies that have slipped through the editorial net. But what he is too modest to tell us directly is that in so far as events from the 1950s onwards go, he himself is the unsung hero of this book, starting with his direct contact with Robert Craft and then Stravinsky. Watkins comes from a golden age when musicologists, performers, and composers actually spoke to one another, and even benefited from the exchange.

In a period where musicology is now questioning its very *raison d'être* in so far as the real musical world is concerned, this is a reassuring picture. It is also testament to a great musician and scholar.

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Elena L. Calogero. *Ideas and Images of Music in English and Continental Emblem Books: 1550–1700*. Saecvla Spiritalia 39. Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 2009. xiii + 271 pp. index. illus. bibl. €64. ISBN: 978–3–87320–439–3.

Elena Laura Calogero's book offers an exploration of allusions to music in an impressively wide range of early modern English and Continental emblem books. Indebted to John Hollander's *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (1961), this study focuses primarily on the relation between music and both the poetic and pictorial components of emblems. Rather than develop a new argument about the increasingly theorized relationship between poetry and music in early modern English literature or about emblematic hermeneutics, Calogero makes a truly significant contribution to the scholarship by tracing several poetic motifs associated with music through their pictorial Continental sources, allowing us to see these motifs with bolder, more fully articulated outlines. Calogero considers an expansive range of material, from the more familiar emblem books, such as Alciato's *Emblemata* (1550), Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635), and Quarles's *Emblemes* (1635), to perhaps less-well-known Continental emblems by artists such as Jacob Cats, Jean Baudoin, and Pieter de Jode. This study is most

compelling where it intertwines readings of emblems and their pictorial sources with analyses of other literary forms, such as Tudor Pageants, court masques, and the poetry of Shakespeare.

Calogero carves out three quite specific interpretive contexts for her examination of emblematic images: the book's first section is devoted to the political resonances of music, the second engages music as a figure for love, and the last addresses music and spirituality. The first section's concentration on politics recalls the identification of music with rhetorical eloquence in classical and humanist sources, tracing this specifically political motif in England to figurations of Orpheus. Horace's *Ars poetica* functions as the *locus classicus* for the interpretation of Orpheus's ability to tame the animals through his musical skill as metaphor for the rhetorical eloquence that could enable effective governance and the establishment of civic peace. In a pageant devised by Thomas Middleton and commissioned for the celebration of Mayor Sir William Cockayn in 1619, the character of Orpheus speaks of London's "rude multitude, the beasts o' the wood, / That know no laws, but onely will and blood" (28). Orpheus explains that the Mayor in this pageant, depicted as "pruning" the "wilderness" of the Commonwealth, provides "faire example, musicall grace," and adds, "May well be cal'd a powerfull Orpheus." Calogero identifies a double audience for such emblematic depictions of Orpheus as civilizer as well as in the parallel myths of Amphion, Arion, and even Apollo, all of whom are figured in various ways that link musical skill with poetic eloquence; Middleton, Heywood, and Jonson, this study claims, were explicating the myths for the public in the street while simultaneously articulating the public's expectations of the new governor.

Coexisting with this interpretation of the political dimension of musical eloquence was the more widespread sense of music as a figure for human love and passion, the broad thematic of section 2. Through a series of readings of Cupid in English and Continental emblem books,

Calogero finds a "double attitude towards the link between music and love" (89). The figure of music refers on the one hand to harmony in love, as we see in a specifically conjugal image of concord in Shakespeare's Sonnet 8 where "sier, and child, and happy mother, / Who all in one, one pleasing note do sing" (95). On the other hand, there is the more heavily Protestant or Puritan sense of music as taunting and tempting listeners with the sensual through attractive sounds and euphonious words that might "distract its hearers from virile activities and lead to perdition" (89). In a section on the myth of the Sirens and their alluring songs, this study mentions contemporary ideas about women musicians that supported this link between music and sensuality. Calogero also explores the significance of Sirens as, in Ovid's depiction, "deceitfull Sophistrie," though the link between rhetoric and eros remains surprisingly implicit here.

The book's final section, which treats music and spirituality, similarly addresses the double valence of this link. Calogero first develops a suggestive set of associations between music and various emblems of *vanitas*. She couples this analysis with a more extensive reading of music as a figure of prayer, praise of God, and divine song. Calogero finds in numerous figures of David the prototype of the poet-musician and attributes the centrality of the Psalms during the Reformation to their connection with music and performance. This study ends by considering the allusions to music and musical instruments made by a set of religious poets, Herbert, Crashaw, Donne, and Vaughan. These readings allow Calogero to articulate the ideology of the human heart as itself a musical instrument and site of divine concert, where the tuning of the self serves as an act of preparation for contact with God, as Hollander has also described. In the context of current critical debates about Protestant and Catholic perspectives in the early modern period, Calogero seems to suggest that while the divide between a Catholic and Protestant reading of music may not always be sharply distinguished given the relatedness of English emblems to their

Continental sources, in the poetry of the period, "the difference in the possible treatment of the musical image remains, confirming a more or less marked difference in the underlying poetics" (166).

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Olga Zorzi Pugliese and Matt Kavaler, eds. *Faith and Fantasy in the Renaissance: Texts, Images, and Religious Practices.*

Essays and Studies 21. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009. 360 pp. index. append. illus. bibl. $37. ISBN: 978–0–7727–2049–8.

Faith and *fantasy* are two apparently opposing terms that this book attempts to bring together so as to give an account of what a certain kind of historiography, one more aware of divergences than of continuities, has tended to neglect. As the introduction makes clear, the deep religious crisis of the early modern period is not synonymous with a steady retreat of religion, as one modern reading of the period has long given us to understand. Rather, there was a reconfiguration of faith as it continued to try to reconcile humanism and religion. One of the best observation points of the confrontation between the medieval tradition and emerging modernity is constituted by creative work in the literary and visual arts, as they are related to religious practices. This book offers many keys to understanding the issues involved in this confrontation through the entry of imagination. The role of this faculty in the understanding and practice of religion is studied in different confessions and cultures between 1300 and 1700, through both texts and images. The question that permeates the whole book might be posed as follows: what

proportion of creativity is invested in the conception and lived reality of religion and, conversely, how does this faith still inspire artistic creativity?

The first section of the book answers this question through the study of religious texts and practices. The visionary work of Dante is the subject of an article by Pina Palma that deals with the transformative images (blood and wine) through which the poet's imagination metamorphoses physical reality to reveal its deep spiritual meaning. Mélissa Lapointe's study of *Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse* by Marguerite de Navarre also deals with the rhetorical and poetical strategies employed to give an account of a personal spirituality seeking, through the pathways of the imagination, to lead reading to the imitation of an ideal of virtue. Sandra Hui-Chu compares the imaginary construction of the Christian commonwealth in the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus and in Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. She shows how that although they share the same critique of the corruption of the Catholic Church, their representations of secular authority and their notions of civil obedience clearly diverge. The role of the imagination in the exegesis of the Apocalypse by the Franciscan Amadeus da Silva is then examined by James W. Nelson Novoa. He concentrates on narrative fictions (in particular, the dialogue between the exegete and the Angel Gabriel) that also aim at persuasion. Paola Modesti analyses the imaginary construction of the cult of the Venetian saint Magnus, by highlighting the way in which the ruling class made use of popular devotion and imagination to forge the image of the Republic of Venice and, above all, of the sacred nature of the state. Also in the field of hagiography, Philip Wolanski studies the intercession of local saints in Poland in sermons that testify to rootedness in local traditions creating a strong religious identity. Rienzo Pellegrini's contribution examines the status of incantations in Inquisition trials of the Friuli region in the seventeenth century. He reveals the forms and the language through which the peasant world expressed its faith and its fears. It is also

the popular imagination that interests Tomasz Wislicz, in this instance through the question of diabolic possession and exorcism practices, which provide evidence of the instrumentalization of imaginary constructs of the devil in order to strengthen the power of the Church. A similar encounter between faith and imagination finds a highly interesting expression in the imagination of the cloistered nuns who are the subject of the article by Justine Semmens. She shows how, by means of models of feminine holiness, the apostolicism could be lived imaginatively within the stone walls of the cloister. Finally, this first section of the work is brought to a close with a study by Joseph Pivato, who, using the memoirs of the Italian Jesuit missionary to Canada, Father Bressani, attempts to understand the imaginary mechanisms of the construction of martyr identity.

The second part of the book is directed towards the visual arts. The first article, by Charles H. Carman, is devoted to the epistemology of vision shared by Alberti and Cusanus, two authors with apparently very different theoretical outlooks but whose ideas of space tend to reconcile naturalism and spirituality, the shared goal being to inscribe the invisible in the visible or, conversely, to reveal the infinite in the finite. Joëlle Guidini-Raybaud examines the reasons for the invention of an *unicum* in religious iconography, that of the Immaculate Conception of Saint Anne in a stained glass window of the Jesse Tree, located in the town of Apt in France. Far from being a simple fantasy of the artist, it testifies to the devotion of the town's population to their saint. Grazyna Jurkowlaniec revisits the famous Dürer self-portrait of 1500 to show that the two seemingly contradictory theories that have been advanced in interpretation of the work — created either as a mark of pride by an artist who claimed to be divine, or as the testimony of a pious imitator of Christ — must in fact be considered to be compatible: modern paintings continued to be thought of in relation to earlier Christian images. Mia M. Mochizuki's interest is another major Northern painter, Rembrandt. Starting from the religious pluralism of seventeenth century

Holland, she reinterprets *Moses with the Tablets of the Law* as resulting from the impregnation of different religious and iconographic traditions that nourish Rembrandt's imagination. Barbara Uppenkamp studies the motif of the column of predestination in the *Last Judgment* by Hans Vredeman de Vries. This reveals that art of Calvinist inspiration is essentially an art of adaptation and reconfiguration of traditional iconography. Starting from the originality of the *Portinari Altarpiece* by Hugo van der Goes, Ellen Konowitz examines in detail the gestures of the Virgin whose hands, located in the centre of the composition, take the shape of a heart, a gesture which testifies to the meditative dimension of this work that exists in perfect harmony with the ideas disseminated by the *devotio moderna*. Shelley Perlove's interest is in images of the Jerusalem Temple in Rembrandt. She shows the way in which the artist mined various biblical and iconographic sources to offer a totally personal visual interpretation in which imagination and faith support one another. David Karmon approaches this convergence in the context of the clash between Roman remains and new Christian buildings in sixteenth-century Rome. Taking the example of Santa Maria degli Angeli, he highlights "the invention and implementation of architectural preservation strategies" that owe much to miraculous phenomena.

While this collection might seem to be a little disparate, given the wide variety of themes and subjects dealt with, the reader quickly becomes aware of the interest of such an interdisciplinary and comparative approach that emphasizes the importance of the fertilization of faith by the imagination, as well as the deep penetration of imagination by faith. Beyond the breaks often created by the academic division of disciplines, the great merit of the editors is to have decided to approach the coherence of a universe in which religion, art and science never cease to communicate with one another.

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Stuart Clark. *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. xi + 415 pp. index. illus. bibl. $40. ISBN: 978–0–19–925013–4.

Stuart Clark's book constitutes an impressive and authoritative contribution to the cultural history of sight that will provide a substantial resource for scholars working in a number of fields. Spanning a broad range of sources that includes scientific optics, philosophy, theology, anatomy, art history, and literature, Clark attacks the view that the visual culture of post-Renaissance Europe was based upon a rationalized conception of visual perception. Clark posits a number of concurrent intellectual developments that undermined the idea that the eye offered direct and accurate access to external reality, and that suggest instead "the modern sounding notion that human subjects 'make' the objects they perceive, fashioning them out of the qualities that belong intrinsically to perception, not to the objects themselves" (4).

To substantiate this argument, Clark surveys the history of the understanding of the physical mechanisms of vision. In addition, however, he also gives substantial attention to changing conceptions of the role of the mind in the processing of perceived images, and by extension to the function of mental representations in cognition. He therefore considers how the range of visual anomalies and illusions that brought the veridical value of the eye into question during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not limited to external optical tricks like reflection and refraction, but also included those visual disruptions that took place within the brain. Such mental disturbances were widely believed to cause images that originated within the

mind to take on the appearance of external, objective reality, and Clark gives particular attention to the phenomena of optical delusions caused by melancholia — an association that he demonstrates to have been widespread amongst early modern thinkers. Alongside these psychological effects, however, unreliable visual perceptions might also derive from the interference of malign spirits, and drawing upon the interest in demonology pursued in his previous work *Thinking with Demons* (1999), Clark gives a vivid account of the ways in which spirits were believed to intervene in human sense perception.

Vanities of the Eye reappraises the ways in which early modern culture fashioned the experience of the visual world. What results however is something larger: a new insight into the early modern conception of the individual, into the texture of perceptual experience and the unstable possibility of objective truth. It is particularly valuable to find meticulously researched resources for examining the corporeal, intellectual, and spiritual condition of the early modern individual considered together — as they would have been for the subjects of this study, and as they are so rarely represented in contemporary scholarship — and the relationship between perception, imagination, cognition, and memory emerges significantly refreshed.

Clark's book represents a considerable step forward in the history of sight, offering a welcome addition to the work of cultural historians such as Martin Jay, who, in taking a long view, have tended to homogenize the conflicting impulses and opposing values that attended visual perception in the centuries during and after the renaissance. Clark goes further, however, in demonstrating the extent to which the project of visual history, conceived as it is here in its broadest terms, is of value to many other scholarly disciplines. The history of physical images can be linked to the history of cognition through this kind of careful and expansive work, and it is research that shows the emerging field of visual culture at its best — taking visual and verbal

sources together, and giving equal weight to images that exist within and beyond the mind. Clark's book is a powerful argument for the fact that any scholar who has an interest in images and image making, in their production and circulation, must give attention to the nature of vision itself, and to the many interlocking factors that determine its cultural construction.

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Frithjof Schwartz. *Il bel cimitero: Santa Maria Novella in Florenz 1279–1348: Grabmäler, Architektur und Gesellschaft*.

I Mandorli 8. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009. 524 pp. append. illus. map. chron. bibl. €68. ISBN: 978–3–422–06823–0.

While Italian Gothic tomb sculpture has been researched extensively in recent years, it has never been as intimately connected to its architectural context as in Schwartz's study on Santa Maria Novella. By linking the *avelli* tombs that line the *cimitero superiore* and the church façade to building history, the author constructs an integrated sculptural and architectural monograph. Moreover, he looks at the church in a fundamentally different light, not only as a setting for preaching, teaching, and the performance of ritual, but as a burial site and commemorative space provided by the Dominicans for Florentine citizens. The tomb patronage reveals the workings of the convent as a social institution in this quarter of the city. Schwartz's volume opens up a dynamic new approach to the study of Mendicant architecture.

The introduction (in English) by Julian Gardner highlights essential points. Instead of viewing the tombs as conditioned by setting and liturgy, Schwartz asks how they impacted the

architectural history of the building. It was not only contributions from the Florentine Commune and Papal indulgences, but also *avelli* patronage that produced significant economic support for the building campaign. While wall tombs had been discouraged by Dominicans at midcentury, by the 1280s the friars and laypersons adopted them wholeheartedly, creating a new phase in Italian Gothic architecture. The construction of exterior *avelli* finds precedents in Liguria and Venice. On the interior, the figural wall tombs of Dominican bishops established an influential new tomb type.

Chronological issues in the building history led to the recognition of the importance of the *avelli*. The original church of 1246, which faced Piazza Vecchia, was extended southward with a new nave and cemetery beginning 1279/80. The dating, as well as the political symbolism, of Cardinal Latino's support is carefully reexamined. As the style of nave piers shows, the east aisle and south façade lower walls, including their *avelli* niches, were constructed first. These were conceived as a commemorative space for the laity, but also in relation to the contemporary expansion of the city walls. The façade *avelli*, still emblazoned with crests of *magnati* families, some of whom also had tomb chapels inside the church, record the major private donors. The author's discussion of construction funding is particularly useful, and new testamentary evidence is incorporated into a chronological building history, which supersedes all previous attempts in clarity and precision.

The tombs tell the story, not only of construction history, but also of social status and the late medieval drive to commemorate family and individuals. Three of five chapters are focused on the *avelli* niches, the floor tombs, and the wall tombs of Dominican bishops. After considering the etymology and usage of the term *avello*, Schwartz examines interior and exterior examples. He argues that their uniformity discouraged individual families' aristocratic display. Although

standardized in a formal sense, this social corollary that they had a leveling, or democratizing, effect is not convincing to this reviewer. With their original frescoes, such as the *sinopia* depicting the church in the Girolami niche (which surely reflects Fra Remigio dei Girolami's importance as prior and patron), the *avelli* would have been far more ornate and differentiated than they appear today. The progressive development from the thirteenth-century exterior *avelli* to interior fourteenth-century examples could have been clarified further. The section on floor tombs depends partially on earlier scholars' work, but develops a broader vision of patronage, using a variety of *sepoltuari* manuscripts (which are illustrated). The analysis of tomb placement suggests important social and gender distinctions. The pivotal role played by Bishop Cavalcanti's wall tomb, which established an Episcopal tomb type, is convincingly argued. Excellent photographs and plans support all this research.

Besides a few minor issues, one serious flaw is the lack of an index. Although the text is topically outlined, this is not sufficient for such dense material. This omission impedes study of family patronage and social history, which, ironically, is a governing principle in Schwartz's approach. Nonetheless, his volume significantly deepens our understanding of Santa Maria Novella and its place in later thirteenth-century Florence.

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Mario Bulgarelli. *Leon Battista Alberti, 1404–1472: Architettura e storia*.

Milan: Electa, 2008. 234 pp. index. illus. €95. ISBN: 978–8–837–04064–2.

In the field of humanistic culture no modern architect can compete with Leon Battista

Alberti, and so he remains one of the great challenges in the history of architecture, especially since only a few of his drawings have survived and as he rarely visited his building sites. Massimo Bulgarelli turns from the traditional artist monograph and examines Alberti's architecture particularly through the analysis of ornamental details; thus although Alberti initiated a new era of history of architecture, and had intense intellectual relationships with the most famous patrons of his time, acting as consultant and architect for more than forty years, almost none of this is discussed.

What does ornament mean for Alberti? According to his theory the beauty of a building is linked to its proportions, whereas the ornament is an attribute which underlines, like a skin, its individual character — similar to clothes which give emphasis to the status of a ruler or a dignitary. Following the authors of antiquity Alberti's aim is the perfect harmony of beauty and ornament. The treatise *De re aedificatoria* and Alberti's buildings leave no doubt about the necessity of the latter, even as the humanist reminds us constantly about the contradiction of nature and artifice.

Alberti's wide range of sources and theoretical knowledge allow him to choose his models in a rational manner and to assimilate them to local conditions defined by specific political, cultural, and religious traditions and convictions. In this sense his treatise is not to be interpreted as a discussion and recommendation of particular paradigms, but rather as how such paradigms could be adopted by refined patrons. Bulgarelli points out that Alberti's buildings are in syntony with the political and cultural *milieux* of Florence and Mantua and that his vision of antiquity is filtered by their autochthonous traditions. Florence, the most developed artistic center of Italy, menaced by the pretentions of the Medici's power, was proud of its grandiose architecture of the past centuries, while Mantua, ruled by the Gonzaga, turned to artistic impulses from outside.

Bulgarelli is convinced that the decorative systems of the buildings were designed personally by Alberti in detail and that they reflect such interpretations. How have these ideas been translated into architecture? To satisfy the thirst for glory of Sigismondo Malatesta and his wife, whose tombs had been planned on both sides of the entrance portal, Alberti decorated the principal façade of the Tempio Malatestiano with forms coming from the nearby arch of Augustus, and to guarantee a horizontal relationship with the arcades of the lateral façades, he uses mouldings that are interrupted in an abrupt manner on the main front. Without any vertical support the entablature at the corner floats in the air and underlines the decorative character of the magnificent half-columns. At the portal of Santa Maria Novella Alberti instead employs perspectival illusions. The pilasters reduce gradually to produce the impression of more depth. Alberti's appreciation of intersections is illustrated by the façade of Sant'Andrea in Mantua, where the arcade penetrates the entablature in an illusionistic manner. This also explains the small arcade which interrupts the pediment in the facade of San Sebastiano, an interpretation of the arch in Orange. Nearly all his subtle illusions, which evoke methods of rhetoric and of the theory of arts, remind us of antique Roman models. On the façades of Palazzo Rucellai and of Santa Maria Novella in Florence he succeeds in linking local tradition and antique prototypes in a highly intelligent manner. The palace can be connected to the model of Michelozzo's Palazzo Medici, but the superimposition of pilasters on the three stories of the facade and the entablature inspired from the Colosseum evoke antiquity. The smooth surface and the regular contour of the rustication can compete with the precision of a Piet Mondrian, whereas the pilasters seem to correct antique models. In the façade of Santa Maria Novella Alberti weaves the elements of the pre-existent *Trecento* façade such as the tomb niches, the blind arcades and the rectangular panels into the Vitruvian composition. He prefers motifs deriving from medieval Florentine buildings,

such as San Miniato, from which he takes both the corner solution on the ground floor composed by a pilaster and a half column, and the pediment as monumental termination. At the same time for the portal of the church he exploits a variation of the "arco inquadrato" of the *Trinità* of Masaccio. And thanks to the white and green geometrical pattern of the stone facing Alberti manages to preserve a local inflection in spite of the classical style of the composition.

In the chapter on Sant'Andrea in Mantua, which Alberti had originally planned as *etruscum sacrum* evoking the Tuscan foundation and the town of Virgil, Bulgarelli deals with the problem of the "ombrellone," the monumental element, which crowns the façade in an inharmonious way. Following Howard Saalman he interprets this as the place where the relic was preserved, and thus tied to the layout of the former building and to the cult of the blood of Christ.

Massimo Bulgarelli is a brillant interpreter of ornamental details and thanks to his accurate analysis he succeeds in illustrating how Alberti's architecture accomplishes the transition from Middle Ages to early Renaissance by gradual transformations. However, by focusing on ornamental details, he does not do justice to the visual evocations of antique volumes and spaces, which at the time only Alberti was able to create. Bulgarelli also avoids the fundamental problem of how this highly cultivated architect conveyed his subtle and complicated inventions of ornaments to the stone masons. A critical evaluation of the existing sources and of the knowledge of building practice during the *Quattocento,* in particular the function of drawings and wooden models, would have contributed to clarify this point and to bind the œuvre of Alberti in more precise way in the context of the evolution of architecture of this period.

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Claudia Wedepohl. *In den glänzenden Reichen des ewigen Himmels: Cappella del Perdono und Tempietto delle Muse im Herzogpalast von Urbino*.

Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 88. Munich: scaneg Verlag, 2009. 424 pp. + 32 color pls. append. illus. bibl. €45. ISBN: 978–3–89235–088–0.

Claudia Wedepohl's book is an engaging and thoroughly-researched study devoted to Federico da Montefeltro's two rooms, the *Cappella del Perdono* and the *Tempietto delle Muse*, in the ducal palace at Urbino. Recent exhibitions including *Ornatissimo codice*. *La biblioteca di Federico di Montefeltro*, held in Urbino in 2008, have stimulated interest in the particular cultural environment of the court of Urbino. Wedepohl's study appears at a time when historians turn their attention again to Federico's ducal complex as well as his cultural, political, and spiritual aspirations.

Much of the wealth acquired by Federico from his activities as *condottiere* was spent on the acquisition of manuscripts for his library and the decoration of his palace. The inscriptions which are in and near the two rooms are given close scrutiny and meticulous study by the author. In the Urbino palace, we are constantly reminded of the duke's aesthetic and intellectual aspirations through the many inscriptions on friezes throughout the ducal residence, a place that Baldassare Castiglione famously described as "a city in the form of a palace."

Wedepohl's book is a revised version of her 2005 dissertation from the University of Hamburg. The author writes an original and thought-provoking study which builds on the earlier research of Pasquale Rotondi published in 1948. Surprisingly few scholars since Rotondi have offered an attempt to contextualize the two rooms in relation to the palace and Federico's cultural and spiritual concerns.

Wedepohl opens her book with a clear definition of her methodology and a short presentation of prior research. The author describes the rich cultural and humanist environment at the court and writes that her study focuses not only on the *Cappella della Perdono* and the *Tempietto delle Muse* but takes into consideration also the location of the double shrine within the palace. In the first part of her book, Wedepohl examines the parallel construction of the two rooms in relation to the *studiolo*, situated just above the two shrines. Central to the discussion on the *Cappella del Perdono*, with its inscription that records Ottaviano Ubaldini's role in obtaining indulgences granted by Pope Sixtus IV, is Wedepohl's careful analysis of the richly colored inlaid marble on the chapel walls. Although it is not known which relics were kept there, Wedepohl asserts that the chapel with its polychromed interior refers to the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem. Wedepohl argues that the red-purple color of porphyry, used in the apsidal area of the chapel, carries an iconographic association with the blood of Christ like the relic of the Stone of Unction brought from Ephesus to Constantinople in the twelfth century. References to the Stone of Unction soon appeared in paintings, particularly among artists from the Veneto region. For Wedepohl, the interior of the chapel, with its relics, should be viewed in an eschatological context with the assurance of salvation.

Next follows a discussion of the *Tempietto delle Muse*. Although Wedepohl does not claim that the prolific poet and hermetist, Lodovico Lazzarelli, had a direct connection with the court of Urbino, two copies of his *De gentilium deorum imaginibus* were in the ducal library and the manuscript appears to have been consulted for the images in the *Tempietto.* Through a thorough analysis of the miniatures in Lazzarelli's manuscript, Wedepohl examines the correspondence between his poem and the paintings of the muses which were, at one time, in the *Tempietto.*

The author also examines Cristoforo Landino's thoughts on the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*, as expressed in his *Disputationes camaldulenses*. Visual reminders of this way of life, which was of particular significance for Federico in forging his own image, are echoed throughout the palace. Wedepohl turns also to Landino's *De anima* and his commentary on Dante to write an insightful analysis of the significance of poetry in understanding the paintings of the muses in the *Tempietto*.

Wedepohl's book is an important contribution to the field. There are copious notes with a substantial bibliography and the book is well illustrated with black and white images and fine color plates. The book would have benefited from an index. Wedepohl's book takes the form of the classic German dissertation: some may feel that the amount of documentary material is overwhelming at times but the patient reader will be rewarded with a fascinating study.

INGRID ALEXANDER-SKIPNES

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Lilian Armstrong, Piero Scapecchi, and Federica Toniolo. *Gli Incunaboli della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova*: *Catalogo e Studi.*

Ed. Pierantonio Gios and Federica Toniolo. Fonti e Ricerche di Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana 33. Padua: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica, 2008. 256 pp. €60.

This book describes the major collection of incunables housed in the seminary founded in Padua by Gregorio Barberino, Bishop of Padua, in 1670. The library also contains important holdings of books printed after 1500 and a distinguished collection of manuscripts. The latter were catalogued in 1998 by a group of scholars including the leading specialist of Venetian manuscript illumination,

Giordana Mariani Canova. She also contributes an introduction to the present volume, which is written by a specialist bibliographer, Piero Scapecchi, and two art historians, Lilian Armstrong and Federica Toniolo. This unusual, perhaps even unique, collaborative effort reflects recent interdisciplinary trends in the study of the history of the book. The catalogue includes plentiful illustrations in both color and black-and-white.

Scapecchi writes 455 short descriptive entries for a total of 483 books. (The numerical discrepancy is because there are a number of duplicates.) For about sixty of the books Lilian Armstrong contributes a paragraph on the woodcuts. Scapecchi has also written a chapter on the history of the library. This chronicles the circumstances of the foundation of the Seminario and discusses the donations to it. The largest benefaction was the bequest of Count Alfonso Alvarotti (1687–1720). Further volumes reached the library as a result of the suppression of certain religious orders at the end of the sixteenth century and in the Napoleonic period. The bibliography and the footnotes will be invaluable for anyone interested in the libraries of the numerous religious institutions in Padua. The chapter is also an important contribution to the intellectual history of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Scapecchi shows how the contents of the library reflect contemporary political and religious developments in Italy. He also stresses how closely connected the Seminario's library was to the University of Padua. Professors and alumni of the University not only used it, they were frequently benefactors giving or bequeathing rare volumes.

Fresh light is shed by the chapters of the two art historians on another aspect of cultural history, the effects of the new technology of printing on the history of the book. Federica Toniolo discusses the incunables with illumination inserted by hand and provides sixty-three catalogue descriptions. She has published extensively on illumination in the Veneto and in the wider area and was a major contributor to two important exhibitions, La miniatura a Ferrara, 1998 and La miniatura a

Padova, 1999. They included many hand illuminated printed books as well as manuscripts. Among the major illuminators represented in the Seminario library is the "Maestro dei Putti" (cat. 348). His magnificent frontispiece and initials in a copy of Jenson's 1472 Pliny, *Natural History*, are in his signature style of vivid color wash drawings. Two books (cat. 448 and 451) have illumination of exceptional quality, whose attribution is disputed between the two most talented illuminators in Venice in the 1490's, Benedetto Bordon and the anonymous "Second Grifo Master." Another important and prolific artist is the "Maestro di Pico della Mirandola" (cat. 244, etc.). Artists from outside the Northeast are the "Master of the Abbey Birago Hours" (cat. 210) active in Parma and elsewhere, and Boccardino il vecchio (cat. 217), a leading Florentine illuminator, to whom illumination in a copy of the famous Greek Homer of 1487/88 is attributed. Recent research showing just how common fine quality hand illumination of incunables was in Italy is thus confirmed by the Seminario's collection.

There has also been new work on the transition from illumination by hand to woodcut decoration and illustration. Lilian Armstrong, as her collected studies published in 2003 show, has been a major contributor to the study of Venetian illuminators in both manuscripts and printed books. In particular she has extended the pioneer work of A. M. Hind and of Victor Masséna, Prince d'Essling on early woodcuts in Venetian incunables. Her chapter is a valuable up-to-date survey of the latest research by herself and other scholars such as Suzy Marcon of the Biblioteca Marciana and Helena Szépe of Florida State University. The process from the artist's design to the cutting of the wood blocks by specialists, who varied in their skill, complicates attribution. Armstrong has convincingly attributed designs for wood blocks with white-vine motifs and putti inserted as framing borders to the "Putti Master." Frequently hand-colored, they appear in books printed by various printers so were probably retained by the designer. Examples exist from the early 1470s. Armstrong

has also shown that from the 1490 onwards the "Pico Master" was the designer of complex woodcut architectural frontispieces (cats. 104, etc.). Direct comparison of the hand-painted and woodcut decoration and illustration by this artist is possible from examples in the library, therefore. Another illuminator at work in both media and who is well represented in the catalogue, has been named by Armstrong the "Master of the Rimini Ovid." A. M. Hind by grouping such woodcuts under the blanket term "popular designer" does not do justice to their inventiveness and skill in vigorous narrative. The library also includes examples of late fifteenth century woodcuts by the "classical designer," as named by A. M. Hind. Professor Armstrong attributes a number of these woodcuts to Benedetto Bordon. Significantly the Seminario library contains a copy of Jerome's *Commentary on the Psalter* (cat. 208), with a woodcut in this style, but not the most famous example of all, the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1499. Its text was evidently not thought suitable for the young seminarians.

JONATHAN ALEXANDER

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David J. Cast. *The Delight of Art: Giorgio Vasari and the Traditions of Humanist Discourse*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. xx + 230 pp. + 16 color pls. index. append. illus. bibl. $95. ISBN: 978–0–271–03442–3.

In a prior publication David Cast held out the tantalizing prospect of reading Vasari against himself by privileging a concept of delight. Delight occupies a mercurial position in Cast's understanding of both Renaissance humanism and his responses to Vasari's text. Delight is at once embedded in the humanist preoccupation with classical culture and is resistant to it, particularly the

centrality of ethical inquiry within it. Cast reads Vasari against the pressures of grand-ducal patronage in Florence to retrieve an interest in art as art, "as it is, apart from everything else . . . that it could also always signify" (31). Delight is a filtration system, a means of navigating a long and heterodox series of secular biographies sensitive to the tensions between the public values of art and a private pleasure that supplants moral or spiritual purposes.

Cast freely admits from the first pages that delight is impossible to know or to submit to scrutiny, and the opening chapter attempting to define terms teeters on the edge of incoherence. A community of key concepts, often organized by contradiction, does emerge: the relation between the public and private, the importance of an oral culture of art as opposed to textual traditions, the forms of attention given to art that lead to wonder and admiration for its particular features, the visual arts as conditioned by and contributing to the politics of the period and a way of describing artists sensitive to originality and the excitement generated by their work. The sweep and ambition of these concepts pursued in relation to a figure as intensely studied as Vasari is exceedingly rare. The concept of *disegno* alone in Vasari's *Lives* has occasioned dense book-length studies in recent years. Both in subject and in its diffuse framing, *The Delight of Art* seems more at home in eighteenth-century patterns of thought, before the philological scholarship on Vasari's text took decisive shape with the rise of art history as an academic discipline.

The opening chapter and the book as a whole continually frustrate the expectations conditioned by persuasive recent literature on Vasari, in which high standards of argument and evidence are brought to bear on narrowly configured topics. In the absence of a strong central thesis — and it would be difficult to conceive one marshalling all of Cast's ruminations and caveats — the chapters struggle for shape and momentum. Key concepts are more often repeated rather than secured, the impressive scholarly apparatus is at times loosely anchored to the claims of the text, and a generous assortment of

high-quality illustrations appear unpredictably reproducing objects of only passing interest. Yet after the arduous effort to define terms concludes, the air clears and the pace quickens.

Chapters on the origins of the *Lives* in personal conversation, Vasari's place in humanist discourses on history and the task of describing the artist remain freely organized but yield the benefits of Cast's independent approach. Deeply familiar passages, monuments and artistic careers appear in a new light because of the book's refreshing disinclination to follow the pre-occupations of much Anglophone scholarship on codes of decorum, artistic theory, and categories of knowledge and power. Raphael, for example, loses his accustomed starring role in the Vasari historiography because Cast is less interested in decorum and imitation than in wonder and originality. Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, featured as a colossal failure in literature on religious reform and the institutionalization of art, instead exerts a magnetic grip on Cast's Vasari, illuminating notions of attention, audience, and critical response.

Far from the ambition of reading Vasari against himself there is a disconcerting slippage in the voice of the chapters and extended passages of direct English translation from the *Lives* appear without quotations (but with complete citations in the original). The disappearing line between the analytic enterprise and the primary source is purposive, reenacting a world of "talking about art" where topic becomes method. As in the *Lives*, too, putatively opposed binary concepts gradually unravel. Cast begins by opposing the (private) delight of art to its (public) virtue but he ends by linking them through the figure of the artist. The graceful metaphor of the goldsmith's balance is Cast's considered tribute to Vasari's complex accomplishment in weighing the value of lives.

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Rhoda Eitel-Porter. *Der Zeichner und Maler Cesare Nebbia, 1536–1614*. Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana 18. Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2009. 343 pp. index. append. illus. €90. ISBN: 978–3–7774–9970–3.

To most nonspecialists of late-Renaissance Italian art, Cesare Nebbia, a protégé of the talented Brescian painter Girolamo Muziano, is a virtual unknown. If one were to judge the importance of an artist on the prominence of the locations of his works and the number of paintings that he executed or for which he provided designs, however, Nebbia would have to be considered a master of the highest rank. Indeed, he was responsible for painting and designing such vast quantities of imagery — adorning such exalted spaces as the Vatican and Lateran Palaces, the Lateran's Benediction Loggia, the Vatican Library, St. Peter's, the Scala Santa, S. Maria Maggiore, and numerous other churches and oratories in Rome and his native Orvieto — that they can only be measured in square acres. Although not as gifted as his teacher, Muziano, or such contemporaries as Federico Barocci and Federico Zuccari, Nebbia was, as his early biographer Giovanni Baglione characterized him, an "accomplished painter" who continued Muziano's reform style and played a pivotal role in the development of what has been called the "stile Sistino." He was also a prolific and inventive draftsman, and it is his drawings that are the primary focus of Rhoda Eitel-Porter's new volume.

A traditional monograph in its content and structure, Eitel-Porter's *Cesare Nebbia* begins with an overview of "Mannerism and the Counter Reformation," the literature on Nebbia (from the sixteenth century to the present), and the aim and organization of her study. Chapter 2 succinctly treats Nebbia's life and works and chapter 3 discusses, again briefly, the history of the collecting of Nebbia's drawings, Nebbia as a draftsman, the materials and style of his drawings,

and issues pertaining to distinguishing Nebbia's graphic works from those of Muziano. In chapters 4 though 10, which constitute the heart of the volume, Eitel-Porter presents Nebbia's *oeuvre*, in chronological fashion, starting with his early works in Orvieto, Perugia and Rome, and then his major works for Gregory XIII and the non-papal commissions of the early 1580s. She next turns to the projects carried out for Sixtus V, for whom he served, along with Giovanni Guerra, as official painter, and to his private and papal commissions of the later 1580s and 1590s, including, notably, the cartoons for two of the pendentive mosaics in St. Peter's and the fresco of *Constantine's Dream of Peter and Paul* in the transept of the Lateran basilica, both executed for Clement VIII. Finally, she turns to his late works in Pavia — his frescoes in the Collegio Borromeo carried out for Cardinal Federico Borromeo — and Orvieto, where he closed out his career as it had begun by painting altarpieces for the city's cathedral. The short concluding chapter addresses Nebbia's stylistic development and his workshop, influence, and legacy. The text is followed by a catalogue of Nebbia's drawings, with illustrations, an appendix of selected documents, and a bibliography.

Throughout her study, Eitel-Porter focuses clearly on Nebbia's drawings and their place in the preparatory process for his own and other artists' paintings. The corpus of drawings presented, many of them discovered or attributed to Nebbia by the author, is impressive both in its size and range. Nebbia was a versatile draftsman, as adept at making rapid pen and ink studies (*primi pensieri*) as carefully worked presentation drawings and cartoons. Although some might quibble with some of her attributions, the vast majority seem right, and the Nebbia that emerges from her study is an imaginative and facile draftsman, capable of producing — no matter how obscure the subject matter — clear and easily comprehensible compositions, in accord with post-Tridentine demands.

With the goal of establishing a definitive corpus of Nebbia's drawings, Eitel-Porter pays only passing attention to historical context, iconography, and art theory, but her notes are rich in citations to both primary sources and the secondary literature. Her catalogue includes nearly 300 drawings, including those she believes to be autograph, those attributed to Nebbia and his workshop, and copies after lost originals. Eight cited drawings are also listed, as are seventy-two rejected attributions. Regrettably all three sections of the catalogue are arranged by location (city): more helpful would have been an arrangement structured by chronology, projects, or subject. The 200 illustrations are of a high quality, although none are in color, and no comparative illustrations (for example, drawings by Giovanni Guerra) are provided. These minor criticisms aside, Eiter-Porter has done a service to the field, providing a cogent, learned, and comprehensive discussion of Cesare Nebbia as a draftsman, which is certain to become the key source on the artist for curators and other scholars of late Renaissance Italian art.

STEVEN F. OSTROW

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Christine Tauber. *Manierismus und Herrschaftspraxis: Die Kunst der Politick und die Kunstpolitik am Hof von François I^{er}*.

Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus 10. Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 2009. 420 pp. + 50 color pls. index. append. illus. bibl. €79.80. ISBN: 978–3–05–004565–8.

Christine Tauber's book, her *Habilitation* in art history at the University of Konstanz, is a bold reading of the politics of art and the art of politics at the court of François I of France that also has the potential to reinvigorate debates over European mannerism. In contrast to Shearman's "stylish style"

and Hartt's and Hauser's focus on crisis and alienation, and building on Arasse and Tönnesmann's *La renaissance maniériste/Der europäische Manierismus* (1997), Tauber suggests a "third way" to understand mannerism, one that sees in it a pan-European cultural phenomenon that aestheticized the practice of power (53). After three short preliminary chapters, Tauber enters into the meat of her material with major chapters on royal ceremony and competition among rulers; François's patronage of artists and works; the political functions of the Grande Galerie, now known as the Galerie François Premier; and the project of importing and, under the direction of Francesco Primaticcio, reproducing antique sculpture at Fontainebleau.

In the realms of the French Renaissance and of the theory of mannerism, Tauber's signal contribution is established in chapter 4 in her study of the meeting between Henry VIII and François I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the unfulfilled duel challenges between François and Emperor Charles V. There, Tauber interprets the practice of royal power as itself mannerist. Studying these encounters in detail, she presents us with a view not only of courtly manners but also of the practice of political power as a work of art. Using these insights, Tauber seeks in the rest of the book to demonstrate the congruence between practices of power and the figure of the modern, autonomous artist in the sixteenth century, with particular attention to Rosso Fiorentino and his work under François I. The episodes and artworks she studies in chapters 5, 6, and 7 are better known than those of chapter 4; here, the major contribution is in a new and provocative understanding of the relationship between patron and artist. The king, she argues, embodied a new form of risk-taking patronage: oriented toward the lasting legitimation of his rule, he consciously chose modern artists whose experimentation with new formal and iconographic models would enabled him to "dominate" the beholder (134–36). Rosso Fiorentino is the central case as an artist whose self-conscious defiance of precedent suited François and his court especially well (280).

There is a paradox in the "autonomous artist" as servant of power. For Tauber, artistic practices — free action, innovation, domination (over competitors, materials, and audience) — not only serve but parallel the operations of power. Autonomous art is thus established as a dependent component of political praxis. Yet Tauber argues for autonomy on the theory that relations of dependency are reciprocal and the "asymmetry between aristocracy of birth and that of intellect only suppositional" (134). Yet the king had the power of life and death over most members of his court, and showed that he was willing to use it.

There are some difficulties with the argument. The "congruence," Tauber argues, between the workings of royal power and those of Rosso's art prompted the king to give Rosso enormous latitude in the arrangement of the Grande Galerie (158). In fact, we really do not know how much latitude Rosso had. Tauber does not suggest that Rosso worked against the king's demands in any significant way — something that might be seen as a requirement of autonomy in the modern sense (and which Cellini did do). There are moments of over-reading: citing descriptions of Rosso as "painctre et ymager du Roy," Tauber reads "ymager" as "Imagegestalter" — we might say "image consultant" (141). But *ymager* is simply the ordinary word for sculptor or maker of objects: artists referred to as "ymager" — with various spellings — in the account books at Fontainebleau include the rather less influential figures of André Solon, Josse Fouquet, "Francisque Pellegrin," Simon Le Roy, Henry Ballos, Guillaume Carvelles, Juste de Just, Claude du Val, and Thomas Dambray.

We also must assume sophisticated motivations on François's part: that his interest in bringing Rosso, specifically, to court was in deploying specific styles to serve his power. François himself might instead have described his interest as in the curious, rare, ingenious, or prestigious; modern observers could be forgiven for thinking that in many cases he got the artists and works he could get. That Rosso could play the part of the complaisant courtier, as Vasari tells it, does not necessarily mean

his style paralleled the king's; Benvenuto Cellini's arrogant independence may well have been closer to François's own style — but his behavior sat less well with the court. In other words, parallelism in style between art and politics might not make for the most effective results.

Tauber's work takes obvious inspiration from Martin Warnke's argument that late medieval and Renaissance courts provided the necessary conditions for the development of the modern, autonomous artist, and further develops the notion of autonomy through the work of the sociologist Ulrich Oevermann. But the autonomy of art, much discussed in the twentieth and now twenty-first century, is by no means a sixteenth-century concept, and could use more articulation in the Renaissance context. What might be its relationship to Vasari's notion of "license within rule" in his introduction to the third part of the *Lives*? At the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the king (who makes a daring solo visit to Henry VIII's bedroom, thereby underscoring his own power) can be understood to be both partaking in and overturning the rules of courtly behavior. This raises questions of interpretation: where do we draw the line between an exquisite performance of the conventions of courtly behavior (or of art), and a possibly even more exquisite breaking of those rules? If Tauber very effectively politicizes Shearman's "stylish style" and provides convincing readings of the aesthetic practice of royal power, she doesn't in the end fully answer the questions posed by other readings of mannerism as crisis and alienation, submission or subversion rather than confident domination.

Particularly given the argument for strong and functional parallelism between art and politics, the logic that delimits the selection of case studies, their relations to one another, and hence the narrative structure of the book could have been more clearly stated. A minor point is that the use of translations is rather haphazard: a Latin text appears in French translation, a French one in English, Vasari indifferently in the original Italian and in an early nineteenth-century German translation, Serlio in seventeenth-century German. A more interventionist editor might have addressed both these

issues.

REBECCA ZORACH

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Walter S. Gibson. *Figures of Speech: Picturing Proverbs in Renaissance Netherlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. xvi + 236 pp. index. illus. bibl. $49.95. ISBN: 978–0–520–25954–6.

Figures of Speech takes up the complex question of why proverb imagery became so popular in the artistic production of the sixteenth-century Low Countries. In the first two chapters, Gibson defines the scope of his inquiry. The author underscores the humanist appreciation for proverbs' literary heritage, as utilized both in classical antiquity and the Bible, connecting the popularity of proverbs to contemporary rhetorical practice and an emerging linguistic nationalism. The fascinating link between the proverb, understood as an ancient or timeless utterance, and the championing of Dutch as a valid and historic vernacular could have been developed further by the author, particularly the implications of considering the proverb as a specifically historic type of speech. Gibson posits no single answer as to why the proverb picture was attractive either to Netherlandish artists or to potential consumers of these images, offering instead a number of possible contributing factors, ranging from: the "striking and sometimes hilarious dichotomy between form and meaning" (20) inherent in picturing proverbs, links with domestic decoration, and the close association between rederijkers and artists in sixteenth-century Antwerp.

The book's subsequent three chapters, each focusing on a case study of either a particular proverb or group of proverbial images (Hieronymus Bosch's *Haywain*, a Bruegelian printed series of

twelve proverbs, and the *Battle for Trousers*), provide cogently argued examples of the complex reception and reinterpretation of proverb images in the period. Chapter 3 begins with Bosch's *Haywain*, tracing a number of related pictorial hay allegories in tapestry, paint and print throughout the sixteenth century. Gibson attributes the longevity of the topos to collectors' interest in Boschian themes, as well as the socioeconomic timeliness of the proverbial critique of the pursuit of individual profit over communal welfare. Gibson even includes Adrian van de Venne's return to the haywain theme in the post-Revolt period, raising crucial issues about the desire for artistic and thematic continuity in the new Dutch republic. The fourth chapter, "Loquacious Pictures," focuses on a series of undated engravings by Jan Wierix, known as the *Twelve Proverbs*. The author discusses Wierix's prints primarily as emblem-like in their combination of text and image, carefully assembling contemporary written and pictorial sources for each image. While fascinating to the period scholar, this focus on an emblematic reading of each image could have been expanded to directly address the somewhat spectral and pervasive presence of Pieter Bruegel in this chapter and throughout the volume. While Gibson identifies a group of Bruegelian images within the Wierix series, the book would have benefited from a more developed and sustained discussion of Bruegel's association with proverb imagery in a dedicated chapter or section, instead of being dispersed throughout the text. In both the third and fourth chapters, the association of a particular artistic personality with the given proverbial imagery (Bosch and Bruegel, respectively) is only briefly touched upon; a more thorough discussion of interaction between the developing connoisseurial interests of the art market, linguistic nationalism and the popularity of proverb pictures would have furthered Gibson's conclusions. The author also has a tendency to compare images of a related proverb, across various media, without accounting for differences in scale, potential audience, etc.; for example, in discussing the differences between Bruegel's panel *Netherlandish Proverbs* and Frans Hogenberg's *Blau Huicke* engraving, Gibson

neglects to verbalize the most jarring distinction between the two images — Hogenberg's inclusion of text, both inside and outside the image field (149–53). Despite these issues, *Figures of Speech* is an important book for the student and scholar of the Northern Renaissance, the first extended study of the proverb picture in Netherlandish culture, drawing on the author's unparalleled knowledge of the period. Gibson's conclusion, that proverbial images in expressing both fun and folly "could escape the confines of their original contexts and lead new lives of their own, adapted to new times and circumstances" (117) could aptly be applied to *Figures of Speech*, which will surely inspire further studies on this rich and fascinating topic.

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Holm Bevers and Peter Schatborn, eds. *Drawings by Rembrandt and His Pupils: Telling the Difference*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010. xi + 275 pp. index. illus. $49.95. ISBN: 978–0–89236–979–9.

Slive, Seymour. *Rembrandt Drawings*.

Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009. xi + 252 pp. index. illus. chron. bibl. $49.95. ISBN: 978–0–89236–976–8.

The great graphic artist Saul Steinberg once remarked that drawing is thinking on paper. Rembrandt clearly thought as he drew. His thoughts are far from settled, but rather masterpieces of implication arising from a tumult of scribbles and breakneck brushstrokes, works in which we rarely lose sight of the marks themselves. He encouraged his many pupils to draw and think in the

same manner. Encountering the hundreds of surviving Rembrandt and Rembrandt-like drawings is both a visually beguiling and daunting experience. Vast tracts of far-flung scholarship make exploration difficult, and a definitive study seems ungraspable. Each generation has its own authoritative work; then methodologies and opinions change.

Using a refined, labor-intensive, and very un-Rembrandt-like process, a century's worth of scholars have tried to pin him down, and the result is at once humbling and provocative. Otto Benesch's six-volume collection of 1954 comprised more than 1,400 drawings. A half-century of scholarship in reviews, monographs, and catalogues has reduced to them to about 800. In 1994, Peter Schatborn, the Rijksmuseum's retired curator of prints and drawings, posited about seventy "core drawings" — autographed works, or obvious studies for paintings and etchings — as a basis for further attributions. (Gary Schwartz has most recently questioned this small number; see his meticulous, thoughtful essay at http://www.gsah.nl/schwartzlist/?id=148).

The two books under review are surveys, based on this current iteration of his shifting graphic oeuvre. On the one hand, Seymour Slive offers a choice of 200 drawings, with commentary. On the other hand, the team of Bevers, Hendrix, Robinson, and Schatborn amasses a selection of pairs: Rembrandt drawings, plus drawings by various students and followers. Both are remarkable achievements; both, intentionally or not, raise continuing questions about what makes a Rembrandt a Rembrandt, and how we know.

Slive groups the drawings by subject, echoing Rembrandt's own propensity when organizing his albums. The categories include self-portraits, portraits, landscapes, animals, models and study sheets, nudes, copies after other works of art, figure drawings, life of women and children (a way of neatly sidestepping whether or not the images are of his own family), and genre scenes (including some biblical scenes, such as the Prodigal Son, that are separated from

the categories of “historical” or “religious”). This organization reveals Rembrandt at his most varied: not only a multitude of subjects, but the great range of techniques, from broad red chalk to charcoal, inks, and washes. The sum attests to Rembrandt’s dazzling facility with his materials, and his omnivorous eye.

Slive has written on Rembrandt over a span of time exceeding the artist’s working life, and there are moments where he seems to shadow his subject uncannily. His creed of “connoisseurship over iconography,” as he puts it, is evident throughout; yet this phrase modestly distills his vast erudition and sympathetic eye. Here he is on *Man Sharpening a Quill by Candlelight*, which *“*captures the very moment a knife slices into the quill’s shank. . . . The drawing has a distinctively portrait-like character. Perhaps it was inspired by Rembrandt’s glimpse of a similar scene when one of his own students drawing at night? But I doubt the drawing was done from life. Is it conceivable that Rembrandt had a model freeze a pose for him with his shoulders hunched, his head thrust forward, his eyes lowered, one arm resting on a table and the other in midair until he finished his sketch? Probably not” (95). As for landscapes, Slive can seem like a Sherlock Holmes drawing a wealth of detail from the most minimally delicate of sketches; at moments, he seems to enter into the pictures themselves, like some fabled Chinese master.

The impetus for the exhibition *Rembrandt and his pupils* was a revelatory lecture given by Peter Schatborn during his stay at the J. Paul Getty Museum. This ambitious catalogue pits the work of Rembrandt against fifteen of his best-known pupils. The term pupil, as inferred by Schatborn and W. R. Robinson’s fascinating essay on attribution, is essentially a shorthand for the numerous artists and assistants, at various levels of skill and experience, who trained with Rembrandt over the years; hence the inclusion of Jan Lievens, who worked alongside Rembrandt

in the shared Leiden studio of their youth.

The choices of artists and works have been culled from a large assortment of scholarly work, notably Werner Sumowski's ten-part *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* (begun 1979), which was the first overview of the master's known pupils. Many of these drawings have rarely been exhibited or reproduced. The format is elaborate yet consistent. Each artist gets a chapter, which opens with an enlarged detail of his drawing and a brief biography, while a Rembrandt drawing appears on the opposite page. This is followed by another double spread of different works, without text, which are discussed further in the following pages; then another few comparative images follow. This strategy provides the opportunity for substantive comparisons by matching, as much as possible, subject matter, materials, and period. The reader is led to discern the greater virtuosity of Rembrandt's pen, his facility with many varieties of supple marks; his ability to lay washes so light as to brilliantly make use of the paper's white, or to apply them in a thunderous flood. The works of others often reveal more attention to detail, or a fussy or unfocused line. For example, a soulful study of a reclining young man by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout is finished and fluid, gracefully filling in the man's features and clothes. Rembrandt's image of a sleeping young woman, presumed to be Hendrickje, is looser and angular; thick dark marks slice across the paper to approximate her head and arms, pausing only for a more delicate rendering of her hairband.

Other pairings distinguish different approaches to a single narrative subject. It becomes clear that Rembrandt tends toward the most forceful confrontation between two figures. His brisk correction of an *Annunciation* by Constantijn Daniel van Renesse (fig. xii) enhances the contrast between the towering angel and the small figure of Mary, who crouches behind a lectern. *Esau selling his Birthright to Jacob* (Cat. 11.1, 11.2) is imagined by both Rembrandt and Ferdinand Bol

as two men shaking hands across a table: in Bol's version, both brothers are sitting; in Rembrandt's, Esau is standing, armed with his bow.

Telling the difference comes down to one conclusion: Rembrandt wins. The assumption that the angel is always at his shoulder — to quote Salvador Dalí — is often unarguable: Rembrandt's correction of van Renesse's work is clearly in another league from that of the tentative amateur artist. On the other hand, Govaert Flinck's *Departure of the Prodigal Son* appears as fluid and assured as the master's. (Cat. 5.1, 5.2). Arent de Gelder's drawing of a nude model is described as inferior to Rembrandt's drawing of the same model from a slightly different viewpoint, with a different angle of light. (Cat. 41.1, 41.2. These also appear on the front and back book covers.) Schatborn observes, "The shadows of the brushstrokes laid in by Rembrandt behind the nude in various tones and different directions create a strong sense of space around the figure, while the nude of De Gelder protrudes less from the background . . . being more heavily shadowed, especially on her back"(238). Yet this pair of nudes, and others, appear so similar that they call into question the criteria of separate authorship. As Schwartz's commentary makes clear, the debate will continue.

The reader has a choice: lay skepticism aside and simply look, guided by the remarkable descriptive abilities of these scholars, or allow them to draw her further into the ongoing discussion. Both books are typically impressive Getty productions, promising a satisfying visual experience. The reproductions, especially enlargements that bleed to the edges, are generally vivid and detailed, the paper is matte and dazzle-free; the accompanying text has generous margins and leading; the bindings are sturdy, essential for frequent page-flipping. Together they offer a broad window into his thought and practice, whether out in the street or countryside, or with his pupils in the lively, busy studio. As revealed with almost physical intensity, these young

artists were lucky to be there.

MARTHA HOLLANDER

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Michael Bush. *The Pilgrims' Complaint: A Study of Popular Thought in the Early Tudor North*. Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xiv + 307 pp. index. append. bibl. $124.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6785–8.

The English Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 is not new territory for Michael Bush as he has published two previous books on the subject: *Pilgrimage of Grace* (1996) and *Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace* (1999). He now aims to top those two off with this work, which ambitiously seeks to understand this elite-led "rising of the commons" on the commons' own terms.

The first chapter examines the multitude of evidence relating to the Pilgrimage. Although much of the written evidence was produced by the movement's elites, Bush argues that the necessity of popular support for the Pilgrimage meant that those elites had to be careful to present the peasants' concerns in terms the peasants could recognize and endorse as their own. Moreover, Bush seeks to balance this evidence with material that has clear popular origins as well as with actions taken by villagers in support of the Pilgrimage's positions. Bush's handling of all of this material is both scrupulous and imaginative; while acknowledging the limits of what he has, he does a great deal to persuasively argue his case.

In the next chapter on the religious views of the participants, Bush argues that papal supremacy and the cult of the saints, both under attack by the Henrician reformation in 1536, were not marginal but central to the commons' concerns for "defense of the faith," underpinning

their alarm about the monastic dissolutions and their concern for their own parish churches. In the following chapter, Bush places the Pilgrimage's complaints about taxation in multiple contexts, each of which illuminates a different aspect of the Pilgrims' concern. These include an awareness on the part of the Pilgrims of the innovative, apparently unconstitutional nature of some taxes, as well as the taxes' economic impact, the ongoing Tudor project of tax reform, and the success of commons tax revolts, not only in the past but, at least partially, the Pilgrimage of Grace itself.

The next two chapters are, to some degree, interrelated. Bush examines the Pilgrims' understanding of the polity that they saw themselves defending, arguing that their concept of rights and liberties was defined not simply by law but also custom, "the law of God . . . and the principles of the society of orders" (144). This discussion of how the Pilgrims viewed their relationship to the central government sets up the following chapter, in which Bush considers the Pilgrimage as a regional, northern rebellion and demonstrates that, while the Pilgrims certainly had a sense of themselves as "northerners," they were also aware of themselves as Englishmen and members of localities; moreover, Bush argues that these national and parochial concerns triumphed over regional ones.

The last chapter, on agrarian issues, is especially impressive. Here Bush brings to bear a career's worth of scholarship and expertise in order to painstakingly sort out the bewildering assortment of types of landholding, jurisdictions, and financial and other obligations in the North. In doing so, he makes the case that the peasants, for all their religious and social conservatism, were quite open to innovation in order to secure themselves the greatest economic benefit and were also seeking, in the case of tithes, to exert control over the clergy in the face of impending religious change. Bush also argues that the combination of such self-interest with the differing local situations, plus a perhaps inevitable lack of agreement between landlords and peasants on

these issues, prevented a real consensus and ultimately doomed the Pilgrimage itself.

Meticulously and exhaustively researched, this last book in what might be called Bush's "Pilgrimage trilogy" is a fitting capstone, eloquently and persuasively elucidating as much as we will no doubt ever be able to ascertain about how the commons themselves understood this "rising of the commons" that was the Pilgrimage of Grace.

SHARON ARNOULT

Midwestern State University

Thomas P. Anderson and Ryan A. Netzley, eds. *Acts of Reading: Interpretation, Reading Practices, and the Idea of the Book in John Foxe's* Actes and Monuments.

Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2009. 306 pp. index. illus. bibl. $65. ISBN: 978–0–87413–081–2.

This collection of essays reflects current scholarly interest in the history of the book and the ways in which early modern material print culture shaped reading practices. John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, an encyclopedic compilation of generic types — history, biography, letters, legal examinations, sermons, to name a few — serves as a model text for the contributors' investigation of the interaction of the book and the reader. One of three sections, the first group of essays explores the effects of digital reading, revealing how the CD-ROM version (2001) and the online variorum edition of *Actes and Monuments* (2006) disrupt and disclose the ways in which Foxe shapes his reader and the reader the text. Observing that scholars who undertook the John Foxe Project focused on the origins of the *Book of Martyrs*, Thomas P. Anderson calls attention instead to its futurity, designating Foxe's work as an archive which anticipates its transmission and

reincarnation in time. In a discussion of the reading practices inspired by these cyberspace editions, Richard Cunningham argues that the online edition invites "discontinuous reading" (51), a practice that may, in fact, enable many of our students to profitably read this formidable text. His essay includes two fascinating responses written by his students that describe their experiences as readers of the online edition of *Actes and Monuments*. Moving between narrative account and editorial commentary which directs the reader to thematically related segments of Foxe's book, these students, in effect, created their own versions of the text, replicating the discontinuous reading practices of early modern readers.

The second group of essays examines early modern rereading and rewriting of Foxe's text. Affirming what has now become a commonplace of Foxean studies, both John King and Susannah Brietz Monta attest to the malleability of the *Book of Martyrs*, the multiple editions of which elicited diverse interpretations and appropriations and engaged a wide variety of readers. John King's account of Foxe's readers cites a sociological table included in the 1631–32 edition in which its clerical author lists potential readers, identifying them by class, age, gender, and vocation. The table directs them by means of an index to reader-appropriate selections, enjoining a discontinuous reading practice. While an entire essay could be devoted to Foxe's female readers, King indicates that a copy of *Actes and Monuments* was often part of a widow's legacy from her husband, and suggests how several early modern women used the *Book of Martyrs* as a devotional text, a theological and confessional reference, and a source book of useful anti-Catholic polemic. Monta analyzes a section of *Actes and Monuments* that counters the generic expectation of the martyr's end, celebrating miraculous preservations. Selecting Foxe's narrative of the escape of the Protestant Duchess of Suffolk to the Continent during the reign of Mary Tudor as a test case, she shows how Foxe trains his readers to read providentially. Monta

discusses a number of appropriations of the duchess's story, arguing that they escape Foxe's coercive control, undermining his teleological account designed to enforce a seamless Protestant history. For example, *The Duchess of Suffolk*, Thomas Drue's stage version of the duchess' story, valorizes the lower social orders and supports a militant Protestantism, setting the city against the court. While many of these essays are very ambitious and necessarily incomplete — Sarah Covington proposes three strategies for reading Foxe's interrogation scenes — her excellent observation that the examiners are often fair-minded and patient in their treatment of heretics invites further study of the literary devices and editorial interventions by which Foxe fashions his interpretations of the consistory court interrogations and trials, convincing the reader of the satanic cruelty of the examiners as agents of Antichrist.

The two essays in part three of this collection move beyond language. Liz Koblyk argues that ineffable meanings must be supplied by the elect reader; Ryan Netzley uncovers the meaninglessness of Foxe's apocalyptic calculations. I highly recommend each of the essays in this collection as essential reading for both Foxean scholars and students of early modern print culture.

MARSHA S. ROBINSON

Kean University

Daniel Andersson. *Lord Henry Howard, 1540–1614: An Elizabethan Life*.

Studies in Renaissance Literature 27. Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2009. xiv + 221 pp. index. append. bibl. $105. ISBN: 978–1–8438–4209–5.

It may perhaps seem a little curious to write the biography of a prominent statesman under

James VI/I that focuses entirely on his pre-Jacobean career, but Daniel Andersson's Elizabethan life of Lord Henry Howard is very much concerned with the latter's intellectual formation and the various texts which he composed before he finally achieved overt political success after 1603. This makes the book a complement to, rather than a replacement for, Linda Levy Peck's *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (1982), which concentrates mainly on Howard's career under James and on questions of political patronage and corruption. As the brother and grandson of a duke and the son and uncle of an earl (his father was the famous poet, the Earl of Surrey), Howard might have seemed naturally destined for a life of political significance. The eight or so years that he spent learning and teaching at Cambridge — a commitment to academic life that was probably unparalleled by any other English nobleman of the early modern period — might also perhaps be seen as marking him out for future advancement. Howard's experiences during the reign of Elizabeth I, however, were largely those of frustration, exclusion from influence and repeated bouts of detention for his support of Mary Queen of Scots. Instead of taking a prominent place at the royal court, Howard was forced to employ his considerable intellectual talents in parrying suspicions of political unreliability and currying favour with politicians whom he privately despised. This struggle, together with the richness of surviving evidence, makes Howard's career before 1603 an important case study in the relationship between humanist scholarship and politics in Renaissance England.

In the opening chapters, Andersson meticulously reconstructs Howard's experiences at Cambridge in the 1560s, hypothesizing with care when explicit evidence is lacking. Subsequent chapters turn to Howard's life away from the university and focus upon the various tracts which he penned to serve his interests. Although two of his tracts — the anti-Presbyterian *A defence of the ecclesiastical regiment in England* (1574) and the critique of astrology published as *A*

defensative against the poyson of supposed prophecies (1583) — were published in print, most of Howard's writings remained resolutely in manuscript form. Andersson has traced many of these copies and lists them in an annotated handlist at the end of the book. Although one occasionally wishes for a longer treatment of these writings, they are consistently discussed with sensitivity and laudable erudition. Like the excellent discussion of mid-Tudor Cambridge, these sections of the book emphasise Andersson's real ability as a scholar of Renaissance intellectual practices. The analysis of Howard's *Defensative*, for example, offers a useful corrective to Mordechai Feingold's influential arguments about the study of occult pursuits in Elizabethan England, emphasizing the apparently limited interest in this subject within the English universities (unlike in some aristocratic households) before the 1570s or '80s.

The book is perhaps a little less convincing on the politics of this period, although Andersson's discussion of Howard's own actions is consistently sound and sensible. The least satisfactory part of the book is its treatment of the 1590s, when Howard's longstanding dependence upon Lord Burghley was complicated by his political wooing of both Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil, and the flamboyant Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, whose rise threatened to imperil the Cecilian dominance over Elizabeth's counsels. The friendship between Howard and Essex — expressed in copious notes of private political advice directed at the earl — was very close, but Howard was unable to steer Essex away from political disaster in 1601. Unlike Francis Bacon, whose very public distancing of himself from Essex angered many and ultimately forced him to defend himself in print, Howard navigated the earl's fall so successfully that it finally set the scene for him to achieve the political success that had previously eluded him. By discreetly championing Cecil's relationship with James over the last eighteen months of Elizabeth's reign, Howard forged a bond with both men that would propel him to high office and the title of Earl of

Northampton in the new reign. Unfortunately, this critical transition is rather abruptly described here and consequently seems somewhat opaque.

This book is clearly not the last word on Howard, but it is genuinely learned and judicious. The impressive range of languages and concepts explored in this book mean that it is very much aimed at advanced students of intellectual culture in Renaissance England. Such readers will find much of benefit in this insightful and detailed study of Lord Henry Howard.

PAUL E. J. HAMMER

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Peter C. Herman. *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010. ix + 229 pp. index. illus. $45. ISBN: 978–0–8014–4835–5.

This book addresses a fascinating topic: how and why did early modern monarchs explore, construct, and enact their authority through poetry? Devoting a chapter each to Henry VIII, Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I, and a brief but suggestive coda to Charles I, Herman demonstrates that poetic composition was an important and enduring component of Tudor and Stuart monarchical self-construction. Each of the main chapters offers detailed and contextualized readings of a selection of poems, demonstrating the diversity of personal, political, and diplomatic uses to which royal poetry could be put. The book thus has the potential to be of interest to both literary critics and historians.

Some readers, however, may be disappointed by the extent to which this book reproduces the author's earlier work. Earlier versions of the chapters on Henry VIII and Mary, Queen of

Scots appeared, cowritten with Ray G. Siemens in the case of the former, in Herman (ed.), *Reading Monarchs Writing*: *The Poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I* (2002). An earlier version of the chapter on James VI/I appeared in both *Renaissance Quarterly* (2001) and Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (2002). Some additions to this material have been made, but the overall arguments are largely unchanged and substantial sections are identical to sections in the earlier publications. Even the Introduction is not entirely new, but makes some of the same comments on the critical field as the introduction to *Reading Monarchs Writing* (also cowritten with Siemens). Indeed, both introductions are given the same framing: an opening claim that the book examines "a body of verse that has received surprisingly little attention," and a concluding assertion that this verse "illustrates the limitations of Michel Foucault's famous rhetorical question 'What matter who's speaking?'" While some of the new studies in the field that have appeared in the last eight years are listed in the Introduction's footnotes, such repetition in the discussion creates the false impression that the field has not changed, and suggests that Herman's earlier work has been extended rather than developed.

The introduction is rather too brief to draw together and to contextualize the chapters that follow. Herman certainly succeeds in raising the question of why four monarchs, reigning over a period of more than a hundred years, all turned to poetry; but his answer, as articulated in a single paragraph in the introduction, is not entirely satisfactory. The answer lies, he suggests, "in both the shift in poetry's cultural capital within humanist culture and the importation of Burgundian cultural forms to the court of Henry VII" (4). He does not here consider cultural changes across the long period the book covers, nor differences between England and Scotland, where two of the monarchs under consideration — Mary and James — wrote much of their poetry. Indeed, the fact

that Scotland had its own traditions of poetry and of monarchical writing is paid little attention, a bias evident even in the title of the book, which puts the emphasis squarely on "early modern England." At various points in the book, a fuller engagement with questions of circulation and reception would have helped to strengthen and nuance some of the claims made. For example, the chapter on James asserts, paraphrasing the earlier versions of this account, that what we see in James's early poetic publications is that "the king does not enhance authorship's authority; rather, authorship enhances the king's authority" (183). Yet, authorship and authority were never so straightforwardly complementary for the king, as considering some of the ways in which contemporaries responded to his works highlights.

Although Herman might thus have done more to develop his earlier work and to contextualize the discussion, *Royal Poetrie* covers a considerable amount of ground and includes some illuminating and thought-provoking individual readings. Herman has highlighted the interest and significance of the genre of monarchical poetry, and one hopes that this book will help to generate new work in the area.

JANE RICKARD

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Sarah Covington. *Wounds, Flesh, and Metaphor in Seventeenth-Century England*.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. x + 252 pp. index. bibl. $80. ISBN: 978–0–230–61601–1.

During this year's general election campaign in the UK, politicians promised to fix broken Britain, a body politic wounded by parliamentary scandal, financial crises, and two apparently endless wars. As Sarah Covington's book reveals, this metaphor of the wounded body politic was

very familiar to seventeenth-century readers of political propaganda. But it also appeared in legal argument, epic, love poetry, and conversion narratives in this period.

Although her book makes reference briefly to Spenser, Donne, and Stuart poetry, and her conclusion takes an extremely long view (through to twentieth-century avant-garde art), Covington's main concern is with midcentury Britain. This period was characterized by "linguistic fragmentation, as writers attempted and failed to reach for meaning wherever they could find it" (41). The civil wars "shattered" (42) shared rhetoric and linguistic consensus, she claims, with the result that woundedness became central to the expression of all forms of uncertainty. The wounds of love, for example, reflect how the self in love is subject to "alienation, breakage, sudden incursion, and irreparable damage" (119). Wounds open up the interiority of the body, breaking through the skin and rupturing the boundaries of the individual. In love or in intense devotion, the self is likewise broken open by forces that seem to come from without. Covington's book invites us to consider how modern discourses ranging from psychoanalysis to postmodernism, which postulate a damaged or fragmented subject, partake of this long tradition of wounded selves.

At the same time, because of the ancient tradition of venerating the wounds of Christ, wounds were seen as restorative. Wounds can allow grace to penetrate the carapace of the sinner; they can be badges of valor, or used in martyrological display. Even the absence of wounds can be instructive. Covington re-examines the iconography of Charles I in this light, moving backwards from his woundedness in the *Eikon Basilike* to assert that "the king's self-projections through paintings and masques during the first decade of his reign also presented to the world a highly opaque, polished, and impenetrable — woundless — façade of royal distance" (37).

At times Covington's book strains to accommodate all these kinds of wounds, as well as

other metaphors (walls and labyrinths in legal discourses, for example) and forms of mental and physical illness. Her introduction compresses a long history of woundedness, from its associations in classical antiquity through the Reformers' injunctions to meditate on one's own spiritual deformities rather than Christ's wounds. This synoptic treatment leads to some dubious but interesting claims, such as: "for Protestants, metaphor, if it was not rejected altogether, was therefore to be avoided in its metaphysical sense as implying any kind of transubstantiating process" (4). The chapter on love is particularly hectic. In its first nine pages, we read among other things about Carew's market-driven notion of the individual lover; insanity caused by love; love in Plato, Ovid, and Augustine; Neoplatonic love in the Caroline court; Jonson's masques; Neo-Stoicism; Hobbes's critique of the passions; Puritan iconoclasm and attacks on Henrietta Maria's chapel. This list shows how meticulously researched the book is, with every possible context for wounds, flesh, and physical distress under investigation, but at times it is also overloaded: a single sentence on page 74 includes five footnotes.

The fifth chapter on religious invocations of woundedness unfolds more slowly and persuasively. Covington argues there that the "Catholic dwelled in a liquid world" (168), relating Crashaw's famously liquefactive imagination to a general confessional tendency. The interplay between ancient devotional practices and the experience of war (the theme of her third chapter) also yields interesting insights. Covington discusses the cost of treating battlefield wounds and the effects of specific weaponry, reminding us that many seventeenth-century bodies bore the scars of battle. It is worth reflecting on these broken and maimed men when we consider the poetry of love and beauty in this period.

Covington carefully combines contemporary linguistic theory and philosophy of the abject with extensive archival research to demonstrate that metaphor, in Paul Ricoeur's words,

"shatter[s] and increase[s] our sense of reality by shattering and increasing our language." Likewise, this book increases our sense of the reality of early modern woundedness.

ANDREA BRADY

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Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller. *The Rose and the Globe — Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations 1988–91*.

MOLA Monograph 48. London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2009. xvi + 276 pp. index. append. illus. tbls. map. bibl. £26. ISBN: 978–1–901992–85–4.

Bones of bear, dog, and horse, coins, cucurbit seeds, dice, dress pins, a fork, fragments of clay tobacco pipe, glass beads, a gold ring, hazelnut rinds, shards of ceramic money boxes, snail and oyster shells, and a turtle's carapace: these items represent a fraction of the curious remains unearthed during twentieth-century excavations conducted at the sites of two storied early modern playhouses, the Rose and the Globe. Mundane and extraordinary, these objects capture the reader's imagination in Bowsher and Miller's account of the "artefacts and ecofacts" pertaining to Philip Henslowe's Rose and Shakespeare's Globe (8), and in their archeological "report" Bowsher and Miller richly contextualize and handsomely illustrate, often with color images, this "wealth of data on life in the late 16th century" (xiv). Some explanations of the data — for instance, that early moderns deemed bear paw a delicacy, and that dogs kenneled nearby likely consumed the flesh of bears, horses, and other dogs (132, 151–52) — prove so intellectually tantalizing that, for some readers, they might strive for attention with the significant contributions that the volume makes to our knowledge about the construction, the renovation, and the

demolition of these playhouses during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a section that synthesizes the evidence they have adduced, Bowsher and Miller dub each of these contributions, which, among others, includes the determination that the Rose was a fourteen-sided polygonal structure, a "surprise" (130). For scholars of early modern environmental, material, and theatre history, there is no shortage of surprises, big and small, from the playhouse's dimensions to the ursine remains, in *The Rose and the Globe*. And, as Bowsher and Miller suggest in their concluding remarks, wonders will persist when — and if — further archeological work can be carried out on these sites.

For the nonspecialist, by which I mean the non-archeologist, *The Rose and the Globe*, which is part of the Museum of London Archeology series, is an accessible book. It is dense reading, and comprehending its system of referencing took some practice. But its prose is also consistently user-friendly; there were only a handful of unglossed technical terms that I had to look up. (For the specialist, the volume contains a number of appendices that explain methodologies and findings; experts in various subfields — timber and invertebrate remains, for example — composed them.) Despite the clarity of its prose, I nonetheless found the experience of perusing the volume, particularly its two core chapters on the excavations, disorienting. These chapters relate history chronologically, from left to right, on a horizontal axis: first, we learn about the site before the playhouse was erected; second, we read about archeological evidence that dates from the playhouse's heyday; and, third, we hear about the afterlife of the theatrical site, where data are available, through the twentieth century. The structure of these narratives thus makes a vertical science horizontal, for the archeologist explores, from the top down, layers of sediment and other materials. It is as if Bowsher and Miller present the archeological findings in reverse order: the most recent archeological evidence, which was necessarily examined first,

comes at the end of an historical narrative whose beginning the archeologists would have examined, in real time, last. This is no critique of the volume. Surely the reading experience I'm describing is an effect of conventions employed in writing archeological history. Perhaps just as surely, my sense of disorientation is productive insofar as it prompts scholars and students of early modern ecocriticism to imagine and reconfigure the environmental history of London in both horizontal and vertical terms. *The Rose and the Globe*, then, is a treasure trove of archeological and documentary information about the ecological and material history of these two Bankside theatres that will shape scholarship and pedagogy, including my own, for a generation. But for me what emerges in this volume as a genuine surprise about these playhouses is the palimpsest-like quality of their eco-material histories.

VIN NARDIZZI

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Matthew Dimmock and Andrew D. Hadfield, eds. *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xiii + 219 pp. index. illus. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6580–9.

No one knows how to differentiate between elite (high) and popular (low) culture. The terms are recognizable and frequently used, but the overlap between the two blurs their distinction, making it difficult to describe how one affects the other or even which is which. Surely, *Renaissance Quarterly* is not popular culture, nor is *Sport Illustrated* elite, but the readers of one might surely read the other, so we are left with an identity crisis as to which culture we belong to. It is a humorous distinction.

Not surprisingly, every writer in this fascinating collection nods to this very question. The collection's source is the international conference "Popular Culture and the Early Modern World," held at the Centre for Early Modern Studies, Sussex, 2007. All the writers have been influenced by Peter Burke, author of *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), who also offers a constructive "Afterword" to the present volume. The collection is in two sections: the first, "Defining Early Modern English Popular Culture," focuses on early modern and contemporary debates on high and low culture; the second, "Varieties of Popular Culture," explores specific "types and forms," all of which demonstrate why the simple binary between high and low culture is insufficient to understanding early modern culture.

Each essay in the first section discusses how different texts blend together different sources and modalities to create new texts with differing rhetorical purposes. They also question the critical apparatus available to us today to describe the cultural dynamics that existed in the early modern period. A key question is posed by Sue Wiseman, who after describing Lucy Hutchinson's "Final Meditation," surveys the available theoretical approaches to study popular culture, but notes that each of these approaches — because they are trying to define the popular — tend to valorize our contemporary perspective at the cost of reading individual texts as existing within a cultural sphere which itself is highly stratified, i.e., between high and low culture. Though her thesis is ultimately rhetorical, its force cannot be missed. "What these writers [Davis, Gramsci, and de Certeau] envisage is far from the location of popular culture as a sphere of the popular. They do not imagine a 'place' in a culture where the scholar can go to find out about the people" (23). Thus it is the people we want to know about, not so much the texts as texts per se, regardless of how they blended or represented the popular, but the people, the objects, the things as symbolic artifacts which are significant and themselves create that which will become popular.

Overall, it is a materialistic approach, one that negotiates delicate nuances of meaning to help us appreciate the popular in a larger context.

A second essay, Neil Rhodes's "Orality, Print and Popular Culture: Thomas Nashe and Marshall McLuhan," bears special mention in this discussion. Unbeknownst to this reader is that McLuhan wrote his PhD thesis on Thomas Nashe, and that his key ideas about orality and hot media found their earliest manifestations in his early modern studies. For McLuhan, Nashe was a conservative, one who saw the advent of print technologies and their attendant influence on high and low cultures as threatening to the trivium, the study of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. McLuhan, however, was directly influenced by Walter Ong, who, at the time he knew McLuhan had yet to write his famous study on Ramus and his diagrams. Ironically, the visualization leads to silent, linear reading, whereas Nashe's experimental use of typography recreates oral reading, a unified give-and-take between the reader and the text which Nashe (through McLuhan) identifies with the trivium and its classical foundation in Cicero. It is a fascinating essay, one suggestive of an entire range of early modern studies.

The second part of the book, "Varieties of Popular Culture," is far too multifaceted to describe in such a short review. However, in brief, most pertinent for this reader are Femke Molekamp's discussion of the Geneva Bible with special reference to its marginalia (thus connecting it to manuscript culture) and Ian Moulton's study of Renaissance pornography, which like its counterpart today, seems to be the object of curiosity for just about everybody. For Shakespeareans, Thomas Healy's discussion of Elizabeth's speech at Tilbury connects us to popular ballads about the speech and how they themselves influenced *Henry V*; and equally provocative is Mary Ellen Lamb's genderized study of *Macbeth* as an old-wives tale. I also enjoyed Abigail Shinn's discussion of the popularity of early modern almanacs, and their

surprising yet obvious manifestation in Spenser's *Shepeardes Calender.*

The collection is nicely edited by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield, who have made a fine selection from the original conference and presented us with a worthy addition to any library on early modern studies. It is enjoyable and most helpful.

MICHAEL DENBO

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Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, and Will Stockton, eds. *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backward Gaze.*

Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. vii+247 pp. index. illus. $114.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–7608–0.

Queer Renaissance Historiography aims to find ways to extend queer investigations into early modern English literature, ones not restricted by what the book's editors label the "tyranny of historicism" (especially its supposed fetishizing of historical accuracy) or limited by their present strategic uses for queer people (1). Nardizzi, Guy-Bray, and Stockton describe the collection's "engagements with Renaissance texts" as "sexual," studies that apprehend Renaissance texts "as both alluring and strange, rather than as objects to be placed in an easily comprehensible narrative of sexual teleology" (4). Indeed, in the series editors' "Preface," Noreen Giffney and Micheal O'Rourke suggest that reading the book is a "sextual" experience that leads to a "momentary" "liberation from discourse" (ix). Be that as it may, the satisfaction I achieved reading the work derived from its essayists' important contributions to understanding how to read Renaissance sex queerly, with (for the most part) eyes focused on historical specifics.

Among issues taken up by the book is the need to forge new historical methodologies for imaging sex or sexual practices, including but not limited to James M. Bromley's call for seeing non-penetrative intimacies as bearing traces of sexual practice in Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*; Stephen Guy-Bray's elaboration of sameness and difference as a way to think sex outside anatomical difference in poems by Andrew Marvell; and Goran Stanivuković's demonstration of "non-sexual intimacies shaped philologically and through the interplay of [Shakespeare's and Marlowe's] literary texts" (46). Other essays, those by Vin Nardizzi (on Shakespeare's second tetralogy), Laurie Shannon (on George Cavendish's *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*), and Will Stockton (on *Paradise Lost*), provide varied models for decentering heterosexuality in Renaissance social and literary texts.

Still others employ historical contextualizations to produce intriguing readings of queer locations in or through early texts: Julie Crawford claims the recognized erotics of secretarial service in sixteenth and seventeenth century England for women's relationships; Jennifer Drouin recovers early uses of the word *lesbian* to reveal public female erotic spaces around the mythological figure of Diana (although her easy assertions about the overlap between modern and early modern lesbians only dubiously delineate similarities between historical periods); and Graham Hammill places the same-sex erotics of Katherine Philips's poetry into the political discourse of the mid-seventeenth century. Last but not least, in what is indeed the lead essay in the book, Will Fisher shows how the Renaissance was, from its conceptual inception in the nineteenth century, linked to emerging understandings of homosexuality.

Far from providing sextual release from historical discourse, these essays clarify the contours of the queer Renaissance. Each author's signal achievement is to think more self-consciously about the role of queer reading in the apperception of historiography than perhaps

some earlier critics. Thus, the essays help reveal the effects queer-identified readings have upon Renaissance texts and vice versa, effects achieved outside overly-narrow concepts of historical difference.

Somewhat predictably, however, the metacritical apparatus of the anthology inscribes the presentist place of queer reading in absolute difference from history-of-sexuality studies in ways not always supported by the essays themselves (or a larger critical discourse). Although Madhavi Menon argues usefully in the "Afterword" that obsession with chronology, dates, and simple historical difference may transform queer scholars into positivist historians, she and the authors of the introduction construct a simplistic binary relationship between queer theorizing and its supposedly identitarian others.

The introduction to *Queer Renaissance Historiography* fashions a rather solipsistic history that begins with Jonathan Goldberg's *Queering the Renaissance* (1994) and then discusses three fine books by some of its own contributors, Guy-Bray, Hammill, and Menon — books that, despite their importance in other contexts, are never cited by contributors to this collection other than their own authors. Yet the introduction excludes detailed consideration of early work in Renaissance historiography by Alan Bray, Gregory W. Bredbeck, Bruce Smith, and Valerie Traub. Possibly more identitarian than queer theory demands, these groundbreaking scholars nevertheless helped unsettle then-current identities and histories of difference in ways that surely still qualify as queer. Indeed, that some of their works return (like the repressed) to the footnotes of individual essays in *Queer Renaissance Historiography* suggests that the absolute distinction between identitarian and non-identitarian configurations of queer Renaissance scholarship may itself be a type of heteronormalizing difference — especially when the figures excluded are predominantly gay-identified men and lesbians. At least one sextual liberation the collection

imagines comes, then, at great cost, perhaps too great for the gay- and lesbian-identified queers who, silenced, slip from view.

NICHOLAS F. RADEL

Furman University

Amy Greenstadt. *Rape and the Rise of the Author: Gendering Intention in Early Modern England*.

Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xv + 187 pp. index. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6274–9.

In *Rape and the Rise of the Author*, Amy Greenstadt constructs an analogy between authorial intention and chaste feminine will. Drawing on changes in English rape law, she argues that increased emphasis on feminine volition resonates with concerns about the control of textual meaning. Greenstadt uses Augustine's theory of inviolate will to examine the idea of a privileged and substantially autonomous authorial intent. "The notion that the writer's idea preexists and is independent of the physical text in which it is expressed closely parallels Augustine's account of the separation between the chaste woman's spiritual 'will' and her physical body" (xi). Greenstadt expands on this insight through the convergence of autonomy and vulnerability: feminine bodies, like physical texts, circulate under the fragile protection of an intention that cannot be fully manifest in the matter it animates. While incarnate will is in danger of corruption, that danger is countered by an ideal of immanent virtue. Through a series of fluid readings, Greenstadt locates virtue and violation in an often precarious balance.

Greenstadt considers Sidney's *Arcadia*, Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*, Milton's

Comus, and Cavendish's *Assaulted and Pursued Chastity*. She describes mobile relations between texts and their authors, readers, and feminine subjects: texts may function as "feminine clothing" (58) or as the bodying-forth of feminine will; they may incorporate ravishment toward both positive and negative ends; they may manifest authorial virtue or galvanize virtuous response. Greenstadt thus productively unsettles the gendering of author and text, complicates distinctions between agents and objects, and refigures the dynamics of circulation and exchange.

The *Arcadia* chapter uses the cross-dressed Pyrocles to argue that femininity and poetic ravishment appear as potentially positive moral forces. Ideals of gender equality, feminine authorship, ethical desire, and flexible identification reflect the "chimerical model of authorship" (53) that Sidney proposes in his *Apology for Poetry*. Greenstadt illuminates an experimental poetics, but concludes that the experiment cannot fully succeed: the *Arcadia* ultimately evokes the coercion implicit in ravishment. Still, she argues, the attempt sets the stage for future texts.

In the *Lucrece* chapter, Greenstadt explores links among chastity, will, rhetoric, and theatricality. She contends that Lucrece rewrites her body to perform her intentions; the poem detaches authorship from masculine sexual violence and binds it to chaste feminine will, associating Lucrece's speaking body with the medium of poetry and the material text. This is not a utopian argument; the porous boundary between agency and subjection emerges clearly, as Greenstadt describes the coincidence of autonomous will and social compliance.

The chapter on *Comus* focuses on masculine chastity, identifying Milton closely with the Lady of the masque. Greenstadt argues that Milton "dissolved the distance between the male writer and his 'chaste' text" (83), and dispensed with feminized mediation. But private virtue and egalitarian homosocial bonds become entangled with coercive, sodomitical subjection; Greenstadt pursues this tension between ideal and threat.

In her reading of Cavendish, Greenstadt links ambiguous ravishment to cultural alienation. Cavendish's protagonist, Travellia, inhabits positions between genders and cultures, and becomes both subject and object of colonizing imperatives. Travellia figures the doubleness that binds self-sufficiency to exclusion and subjection, for the character and for the female author. This further develops one of the book's central contentions: "subjective autonomy may itself appear as a reflection of its opposite, the restricted position of the socially marginalized and subordinated other" (161).

Two contexts, somewhat sparsely represented, might usefully have supplemented Greenstadt's approach. The first encompasses specifically early modern concepts of will. Augustine's prominence in an analysis of rape law makes sense, but will, as an often feminized faculty, takes provocative forms in early modern theoretical treatises, which could have inflected the readings in interesting ways. Feminist work on chaste autonomy could also have played a more central role. A number of scholars have compellingly reconceived feminine social and sexual agency; this scholarship appears mainly in Greenstadt's notes, with limited presence in her text. More substantial engagement might well have enriched her account of chaste feminine will.

Nonetheless, Greenstadt offers a fresh, persuasive model of intention, which resists the opposition of autonomy and erasure. Having killed off the author, we can recall that figure on more nuanced terms, and Greenstadt's book makes a powerful case for the value of that project.

KATHRYN SCHWARZ

Vanderbilt University

Rebecca Laroche. *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*.

Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. xii + 196 pp. index. append. illus. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6678–3.

This book studies women owning, reading, and writing early modern printed herbal texts in genres ranging from herbal encyclopedias, signed and annotated by owners, to autobiography and satirical verse. Given the widespread involvement of women across all ranks in preserving and prescribing medicinal plants, Laroche's pioneering examination of their production and use of herbal texts should engage many literary and cultural historians of the book (especially of reading), medicine, science, and gender. Laroche blends print and manuscript studies, not least by treating printed herbals — overtly authored by men — among the eponymous Englishwomen's herbal texts when individual copies were inscribed, transcribed, epitomized, and otherwise appropriated by women. An appendix inventories twenty-four examples of women's herbal ownership that furnish the evidentiary basis of the book.

Laroche begins by re-reading the history not only of herbals but of early modern medicine, rejecting the traditional tripartite model (of physician, surgeon, and apothecary) as masculinist, elitist, and outdated by recent understandings of a fluid medical market for both practitioners and books like herbals, their printed epitomes, and handwritten transcriptions from them — the last, often by women. The feminism undergirding Laroche's project revises accounts of early modern women as simply subjugated in such fields; while acknowledging much useful recent work on female medical practitioners, readers, and writers, Laroche distinguishes her aims and methods from those that generalize about gender or uncritically treat texts as evidence of past reality rather than its rhetorical representation.

The first chapter shows how canonical male authors gained authority by characterizing some women herbalists as untrustworthy, illiterate "old wives" and witches, alongside references

to a more acceptable, charitable herbal medicine figured in Christian gentlewomen, queens, and mothers — who posed, significantly, no economic threat. Laroche reasonably reads such references to women not as factual records of their medical practices but as rhetorical displacements of authorial anxieties (though these anxieties are not also deemed rhetorical). Subsections of the chapter inform related topics like witchcraft and domesticity. In chapter 2, the book's declared timeframe shifts to incorporate some later records of ownership; signatures in four herbals show women owning, in varying degrees, both books and their medical authority. These autographs bear a considerable burden of proof as indicators of the signers' social networks, the location of the signed books, and the uses they sustained. Even fragmentary discoveries of female book use demand attention, but the author notes that most conclusions drawn here remain speculative. Chapter 3 mines the well-studied life-writings of Margaret Hoby and Grace Mildmay, plus the less-familiar Elizabeth Isham, for traces of their authors reading herbal texts. Laroche makes intensive use of evidence that is, quantitatively, sparse: Hoby and Mildmay offer three references apiece to herbals, with the only extensive instance (a cure chart) not explicitly based in herbal reading, though Laroche locates its source in William Turner's work. Isham's fascinating case evokes a rich interpenetration of herbals, needlework, medicine, religion, and this woman's writing life, even if it includes no direct citations of her reading herbal texts (Laroche posits those of John Parkinson). The last chapter persuasively ties the herbalist tropes, especially the deceptively simple term "simple", that frame Isabella Whitney's *Sweet Nosgay* less to their author's sex than to their economic implications: the otherwise unemployed author, metaphorically selling medicinal herbs — actually, printed poems — flouts possible charges ranging from unlicensed medical practice to witchcraft. *Nosgay* is illuminated through a thorough discussion of related cheap, vernacular, printed medical texts that controversially

reached a broad, simple readership of do-it-yourself healers. Laroche concludes by foregrounding such texts' recurring concerns with access to early modern health care: often expensive, when licit, and censured, when not.

So ambitious a project is fruitfully — indeed, intentionally — provisional in its redefinition of herbal texts and its detection of how they were read. Laroche acknowledges the frustrations of fragmentary or anonymous texts and brief or tacit references that force a choice between silence and speculation, and she eloquently justifies any shortage of general conclusions here as an epistemologically responsible result of privileging, instead, individual circumstances as multiple lenses on historical phenomena and their representations. Her accomplished aim is to consider individual women's works without reducing them or hers to generic women's work.

LEAH KNIGHT

Brock University

Jeffrey S. Theis. *Writing the Forest in Early Modern England: A Sylvan Pastoral Nation*. Medieval and Renaissance Literary Studies. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2010. xv + 368 pp. index. illus. bibl. $60. ISBN: 978–0–8207–0423–4.

Does the literary representation of the woodlands and forests of Renaissance, a representation usually considered merely a part of traditional pastoral, constitute a separate genre? Jeffrey Theis thinks so, even though he acknowledges that writers did not consciously adopt such a form; he argues, however, that if we ignore the development of a "sylvan pastoral" in the Renaissance, we overlook important changes to the relationship of humans to nature, and fail to grasp an emergent aspect of pastoral that resists the familiar interpretations offered by critics like

James Turner, Raymond Williams, or Paul Alpers. “Trees are not props,” Theis insists, and the sylvan pastoral is neither transhistorical nor mainly social; we must recuperate the complex function of forests as material resources, but also as ideologically charged imaginative domains in order to understand the multivalent ways forests could signify, whether on the stage, in manuals, or in other literature. Theis assembles a variety of primary texts, and applies an eclectic methodology that encompasses theories of space and place, history, aesthetic criticism, and ecocriticism to make his case.

An introduction and first chapter establish a history of timber shortages, the legal conditions of forestation, and the social and economic exploitation of English forests. This background then informs Theis’s analysis of three plays by Shakespeare — *As You Like It*, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* — in which the forest remains stubbornly hybrid and protean, not clearly serving any one set of interests over another. Often the use of sylvan pastoral has subversive potential: Duke Senior plays at being Robin Hood to question “social doxa” (72), Rosalind’s use of the forest “dismantles sexist pastoral” (84), and the literal and metaphoric poaching in *Merry Wives*’ Windsor park “decentralize[s] control over land and society” (133). At other junctures, the forest itself defies unitary definition, as when *Midsummer*’s woods refuse to become “habitation,” that is, a static place that can be ruled or controlled.

The book’s concluding three chapters deal with sylvan pastoral and the Civil War through readings of works by Andrew Marvell, John Winstanley, James Howell, John Evelyn, and John Milton. Throughout this section, the focus is on the genre’s service to new nationalisms, advanced by partisans on both side of the political divide. The very real destruction of wooded lands before and during the war had consequences not just for those humans and animals directly affected, but

for those who wanted to mobilize the idea of forest use or forest conservation to define true and legitimate English leadership. Nevertheless, sylvan pastoral again resists simplification and univocality: “Pastoral trees became a veritable catchall for the nation’s worries” (174) and were repeatedly depicted both to celebrate and to condemn Charles I’s rule. Winstanley, for instance, referencing the Norman Yoke to condemn royal control and abuse of woodlands, sees forests as the property of commoners, to be used and conserved simultaneously. Winstanley’s blend of georgic and pastoral continues in Evelyn’s *Sylva*, which is “riddled with paradoxes” because of its attempts to “appropriate radical voices to a royalist agenda” (223), and because it is in search of a genre that does not yet exist to express its environmental ethic. Marvell’s “Upon Appleton House” is likewise a “cacophonous mix of multiple discourses” that defeat political binaries (193). The royalist Howell’s wonderfully odd *Dendrologia* tries to use its sylvan elements as a principle of cohesion, a project that fails, indicating the essential unintelligibility of the aftermath of war (and perhaps of forests themselves). While all these figures are mobilizing forests to construct national identity, Milton arrives at a “postnation view on the forest,” in which reading the signs of the forest, or establishing the right relationship to nature, speaks to the individual’s right relationship to God.

Theis is superb at weaving together social and natural history with literary tradition and nuanced close readings. He does not allow the material reality of forest life — human, animal, vegetable — to become wallpaper to a discussion of literary themes and tropes, and he provides many corrective readings that contradict or qualify standard approaches to the texts under analysis. The book’s weakness is perhaps a byproduct of its reluctance to reduce the forest to any one thing: at some point, the idea that every text proves to be so protean, multivalent, multivocal, in flux, and so on, seems merely confusing, and possibly deconstructive of the whole project,

reminding us just when we are most convinced that sylvan pastoral indeed exists, that it is an *ex post facto* imposition on the literature of the period. The book could also have been safely condensed — seven chapters and a short introduction end up feeling repetitive. However, as a contribution to studies of the environment and Renaissance literature, Theis's work is welcome and significant.

KAREN RABER

University of Mississippi

Ryan Curtis Friesen. *Supernatural Fiction in Early Modern Drama and Culture*.

Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010. x + 249 pp. index. bibl. $74.95. ISBN: 978–1–84519–329–4.

Supernatural Fiction ostensibly begins with a desire to cut the Gordian knot of a very vexing historical question by asserting, "Acts of magical efficacy . . . were as impossible in the early modern period as they are in the twenty-first century. As a result, every report of such phenomena in English history . . . are works of fiction, and thus methods of literary analysis and critical reading can be applied to them" (1). While the guiding critical principle here is therefore, commendably, "rational skepticism" (8), the reader may nevertheless wonder at the outset how such an approach will cope with, or avoid distorting, the psychological experiences of early modern individuals.

The first two chapters treat the magical philosophies of Agrippa and Bruno, in a somewhat dense, difficult, and elliptical fashion. The main theme in the chapter on Agrippa appears to be that scholars have exaggerated the ideological differences between the *Occult Philosophy* and the

Vanity of Arts and Sciences. While it is extremely challenging to "resolve the paradox[es]" (18) of Agrippa's philosophical claims, it is nevertheless evident, especially through earlier treatments by Charles Nauert, John Mebane, and Michael Keefer, that Agrippa ultimately "rejected the expertise of the mind in favor of immediate experience and revelation by God, if not via the pagan occult then through faith in Scripture or in the Holy Spirit" (28). In terms of a brief and coherent summary, Bruno represents an even greater challenge than Agrippa, although the distinction that Bruno is "interested in using the established language of magic to describe the binding — not of demons — but of natural elements, the manipulation not of spells and incantations, but of reason" (33–34) on the whole is legitimate. Bruno's emphasis on individual moral and intellectual effort is contrasted, in the following chapter, with the collective anxieties, as well as (less emphatically) the skeptical responses, raised by witchcraft belief in early modern England. The potentially "fictive" status of magical inquiry is further explored in chapter 4, which interestingly treats the angelic communications carried out by John Dee, and the intriguing question of whether Dee was, or was not, simply the gullible victim of his scryer Kelley.

Such magic precedents set the stage for Friesen's investigation of early modern dramatic texts with magical themes. By now armed with the expectation of the fictiveness of magic, the reader may be surprised at the quite orthodox treatment of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, "too-often read as an explosively heterodox text" (118). In spite of Friesen's recognition that "the play provides several indications that Marlowe intended his representatives of hell and heaven to act toward Faustus not as diametrically opposed forces struggling to attain the scholar's soul, but as comrades in the institution of orthodox Christianity" (102), such conflation does not after all subversively emphasize a Renaissance hero victimized by a tyrannical or arbitrary God, or a desperately insecure masculinity tormented by spiritual dependencies. In fact, the conflation

ultimately upholds that very orthodoxy: "Faustus' mistake is exposed as the commonest of transgressions that might imperil any Christian: the failure to renounce mortal sin" (118). Similar in its emphasis on orthodoxy, the treatment of *Macbeth* underlines "the universal nature of sin and the hunger for power" (122); the hero, through unethical ambition, foolishly seeks explanations "of causation and material nature, not of . . . spiritual implication" (130). Nevertheless the brief suggestion that "Macbeth's healthy human reason is confronted and overwhelmed by the seduction of unreal, superhuman agency" (123) gestures towards an alternate reading underlining the dangerously enervating effects of spiritual beliefs, again (as in Faustus) obliquely supporting the sanctity of the natural over the supernatural — an interpretation that does not occur to Friesen in spite of his commitment to "rational skepticism."

Such skepticism seems more critically at home in the later treatments of Middleton's morally ambiguous *The Witch* and Jonson's *The Alchemist*, the former recycling witches as a "brand of entertainment industry" (147) and introducing human "witches" characterized by various lusts and perversions, and the latter a major debunking of alchemical endeavor as a fraud or pure fiction. Friesen also treats *Mercury Vindicated* and the *Masque of Queens* as examples of Jonsonian metaphorical magic decrying the violation of the natural and political orders. The final chapter on *The Tempest* interestingly emphasizes the authoritarian Prospero as a "figure of dubious moral character" (190), displaying a conflict between a wrathful controlling magician and a beneficent father to the island's inhabitants. The darker elements in fact predominate, with the distinction between Prospero's and Sycorax's magic ultimately rendered groundless, thus necessitating the final renunciation of magic (as political control).

Without a conclusion — although the introduction admittedly offers a rigorous summation — the book suffers perhaps from a rather tenuous connection between the philosophical chapters

and the treatments of literary texts. More frequent references in the literary chapters to the earlier discussions might strengthen the study, although helpful comparisons and contrasts are periodically made (for example, 102, 109, 153, 178, 204, 208). With my own methodological bias, I also feel that a greater attention to the sexual, theological, and psychological dynamics implicit in the literary texts might render Friesen's readings — which are always solid but not always profoundly original — more compelling, or more demonstrative of the ideological insinuations of magical fictions.

IAN MCADAM

University of Lethbridge

Elizabeth Williamson. *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama*. Studies in Peformance and Early Modern Drama. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. ix + 232 pp. index. illus. bibl. $99.99. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6827–5.

The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama proceeds from the claim that religious objects had religious meanings. These meanings, Elizabeth Williamson convincingly shows, were retained, exploited, and modified in a variety of post-Reformation cultural contexts, including the early modern drama. Straightforward as this premise may seem, it runs against many recent studies of both the post-Reformation public theater and material culture; specifically, Williamson distinguishes her approach from Stephen Greenblatt's argument that the early modern stage functioned as a way of "emptying out" (13) the religious significance of Catholic rituals and devotional objects. Instead, she argues, playing companies actually exploited a "complex range of emotions" (16) that surrounded pre-Reformation forms of worship. This insight underwrites her

subtle and engaging readings of many early modern play scripts. Williamson's research establishes a fruitful conversation among scholarly fields that are not always perceived as overlapping one another: Reformation studies, material culture, and theatrical history. As a result, one of the book's most attractive features is the impressive range of sources — including both early modern documents and modern critical works — on which it draws.

The book is divided into four chapters, each centering on a different stage property as it appears in several different dramatic works: tombs, altars, crosses, and books. Chapter 1 treats a range of plays, focusing most extensively on scenes in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*. Williamson positions these plays lineally in the tradition of guild-sponsored biblical dramas, demonstrating that both forms of drama attack similar problems of staging resurrection through the absence of a body.

Chapter 2 turns to the representation of altars on the early modern stage, exploring a variety of ways in which the presentation and perception of altar tables in the theater might well have been informed by "reformers' attempts to distinguish between the 'popish' altar and the 'godly' table", constituting a "dialectical interchange between theatrical and religious practices" (81). Particularly well developed are discussions of Middleton's *Game at Chess* and Jonson's *Sejanus*. Williamson shows how Middleton's play uses its altar scene to revel in the seductive power of theatrical performance, while Jonson's asks the audience to reflect on the losses brought about by Protestant iconoclasm.

In chapter 3, Williamson tracks the migration of more portable religious objects — crosses and crucifixes — between sacred spaces and domestic settings as they were rescued and preserved by private households and recusant families, arguing that this movement produced a flexible interplay of meaning in which objects retained religious associations, even as they came to signify

within secular formulations of inheritance and family identity. For instance, Williamson's reading of Webster's *White Devil* evinces parallels between the play's presentation of the crucifix and the recusant tradition of the "family crucifix" (136), which might be cherished and passed on as a symbol of a family's continuity and faith.

Chapter 4 focuses on the use of devotional books and Bibles as stage properties. Far from suggesting that these properties are used simply to confirm Protestantism's "preference for books over idols" (149), Williamson argues that the theater's necessary reliance on religious books as physical properties "made it uniquely suited to draw out and comment upon" the "inescapable materiality" (151) of Protestant worship. Of special interest is Williamson's consideration of gender in this chapter, as she discusses the role of devotional reading in early modern conceptions of the godly Englishwoman.

The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama will prove valuable to scholars of Reformation history, theatrical history, and material culture alike. At times the structure of the chapters, which cluster multiple texts around their shared stage properties, makes discussions of the individual plays feel a bit sparse or truncated, as though the explication of their own language — presumably the best evidence for some of Williamson's hypotheses — is somewhat compressed or outweighed by the elaborate historical frameworks that precede it. Nevertheless, this structure allows Williamson to perceive trends that would not become apparent in another organizational scheme, and she marshals her information into the service of claims both surprising and sound.

ANNE M. MYERS

University of Missouri

David J. Baker. *On Demand: Writing for the Market in Early Modern England*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010. xviii + 199 pp. index. bibl. $55. ISBN: 978–0–8047–3856–9.

Readers of early modern culture interested in the relationship between literature and economics, those interested in what is now known as new economic criticism, will find this an engaging and thought-provoking study. In addition to chapters on Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* and Jonson's *Volpone*, familiar plays much-discussed in their relationship to the early modern market economy, Baker has chapters on Thomas Nashe's notoriously troublesome *Pierce Penilesse*; the Jonsonian masque, little-known and left out of the 1616 folio, *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*; and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Baker's argument is that the significant population growth of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England created a "demand-led economy" (72) in which luxury goods, once attached to the aristocracy as markers of elite status, made their way down the social ladder to a broader group of household consumers who sought personal enjoyment in goods and entertainments such as theater. What this meant for publication and theatrical production lay not only in the greater demand for cultural products; published literature, while strongly critical of consumption practices, was itself a commodity. Baker emphasizes the "paradox that consumption . . . was promoted by means of the critiques against it" (27). He describes the unequal development of an early modern consumer or "consuming" culture (11) whose purchasing habits raced well ahead of social reflection and lacked the ideology of contemporary consumer society. Here literature becomes an eloquent cultural document that illustrates the complications and paradoxes of a society in transition.

The book is strongly indebted to Jan de Vries's theory of an "industrious revolution" in

the Netherlands of the mid-seventeenth-century (*The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*), and Baker is careful to note ways in which the de Vries model must be altered before applying it to earlier English conditions. In addition to his careful and often nicely nuanced description of an emerging English market economy and the questions of habits and economic behaviors that accompany it, Baker is a detailed and insightful reader of the literature. Perhaps the strongest part of the book is Baker's reading of Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* as a fable of consumption in which he transforms "the tropes of anti-consumption thought . . . into marketable prose" corresponding to "his readers' own complicated desires and hostilities" (39) and in which moral revulsion toward indulgence uneasily embraces the pleasures of consuming.

The final chapter half-playfully names Burton the "economist of the 'New Luxury'" (140) and the consumer habits described throughout *On Demand*. Beyond reading *The Anatomy of Melancholy* as "a *tour de force* of opinionated learning in which . . . certain economic observations are made" (129), Baker finds in Burton's sprawling text an unofficial spokesperson for foreign markets and for market practices and an ideology of consumption. He sees Burton as a respectable, well read and coherent social-economic thinker who encourages borrowing foreign habits for the sake of English interests.

Much is to be gained in Baker's reading of these authors, but we might also ask what is lost in foregrounding what Baker consider widespread practices of consumption and their relationship to publication and performance. He paints a distinctly un-Marxist social portrait of "demand-led economic change" (72) accomplished by hard-working English households and sees population as the ultimate driver of economic change: "More English people meant more English demand for food, clothes, housing, furnishings, utensils — and literary entertainments" (3). Baker

sees widespread rural displacement create market demand for food, not beggars or vagabonds; London becomes "a place to better one's fortunes" (4), a site of industriousness rather than urban poverty. The market economy of England is "integrated and expanding" (9), apparently open to all comers. Rural enclosure, dearth, masterless men, rack-renters, usurers, difficult access to credit and currency recede to the background or disappear altogether.

Early modern economic criticism is alive and well, and David Baker's contribution is likely to keep the debates that have characterized it going. *On Demand* will not substantively revise or displace the work on economic and social distress in this period, but it offers new ideas and questions on consumer practices; more importantly, it is likely to provoke new questions about social and economic conditions in early modern England and their representation in some important literary texts. In creating a less than balanced social-economic picture, Baker presses us to think more about consumption practices that remind us of the present and urge us to rethink the past.

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Paul Kottman. *Tragic Conditions in Shakespeare: Disinheriting the Globe*. Rethinking Theory. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. ix + 196 pp. index. $60. ISBN: 978–0–8018–9371–1.

The dustjacket blurb of Paul A. Kottman's *Tragic Conditions in Shakespeare* describes the book as "the first sustained interpretation of Shakepearean tragedy since Stanley Cavell's work on skepticism and A. C. Bradley's century-old *Shakespearean Tragedy*," a claim rendered

particularly audacious because only two of the four plays discussed — *Hamlet* and *King Lear* — are tragedies. Although Kottman asserts, reasonably enough, that in Shakespeare's plays "the tragic" is not necessarily limited to tragedy, his choice of *As You Like It* and *The Tempest* is never explained.

Kottman argues that social bonds are based on an inheritable world, but that Shakespeare, by dramatizing betrayal and disinheritance, demonstrates the fragility of such bonds, including those of family, politics, and economics. Kottman combines this issue with the question of why we might be engaged by tragic protagonists' suffering, as in a passage which follows a discussion of our recognition of the immense losses depicted in *Lear*: "Even more perniciously (and here we get closer to an answer to why *we* might care about Lear and Cordelia and why the opening scene might disturb us), rights and entitlements *themselves* — that is, a shared sense that acts of social, filial, political, or friendly recognition can and ought to be prescribed, determined in advance — begin to appear as that which muddy or obscure the fact that acts of recognition are themselves the precondition of entitlements and rights. The very thing that loving recognition *enables* — namely, a sense of entitlement — is now seen as hampering or impeding such recognition, *blinding* us to love" (112).

While Kottman makes a case for the importance of the destruction of social bonds, he does so in part by ignoring the maintenance and creation of such bonds in these four plays, including those between lovers and those between employers and servants, and by reinterpreting parent-child bonds. *As You Like It*, with its loyal servants and the lords who voluntarily follow the Duke into exile — none of which characters, understandably, are given much attention by Kottman — seems a particularly questionable play to support this argument. The chapter on *The Tempest* devotes more attention to concepts of the body and torture, not particular focal points of

earlier chapters, than to inheritance, betrayal, or social bonds.

Some of Kottman's interpretations are interesting. In his chapter "On *Hamlet*," Kottman argues that, although the purpose of a family is to care for its dead, the play depicts property rights superseding burial rites. In his chapter on *Lear*, Kottman suggests that the principal conflict is that whereas Lear wants to loved for himself alone, and not for the royal inheritance he is leaving his daughters, Cordelia insists that their bond is simply the natural one of father and daughter, and that Lear's response to this frustration is to fail intentionally, destroying his kingdom like spoiled child smashing a toy.

Kottman makes generous use of quotations from the plays he discusses, but his quotations and his readings are frequently inaccurate, even when the lines are as famous as Falstaff's musings on honor or Hamlet's "Man delights not me." It is hard to see how one can read Ariel's "Thou did promise / To bate me a full year" as a pledge that Prospero will release Ariel after a year; still worse is when Kottman omits the "not" from Prospero's description of Caliban as "not honored with / A human shape," and then bases his interpretation of Prospero's perception of Caliban on that misquotation. In addition, like a number of recent critics, Kottman often replaces assertion or argument with rhetorical questions.

Although Kottman raises a number of interesting issues in the plays, it is difficult to agree that the patterns he identifies are inherently tragic, when half the plays in which he discusses them are not tragedies, and he does not identify these patterns in four-fifths of Shakespeare's tragedies. Furthermore, just as the tragic has its place in comedies and romances, the social bonds of love and loyalty (among others) endure even in the grimmest tragedies. Alas, the book lacks a conclusion, which might have helped the reader make the connections between the plays Kottman examines and Shakespeare's other plays.

LINDA ANDERSON

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David H. Wood. *Time, Narrative, and Emotion in Early Modern England*.

Farmham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. ix + 199 pp. index. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6675–2.

This book ambitiously aims to connect two important critical schools in early modern studies. One, the more institutionally established half of the pairing, explores how identity is embodied in the humoral world, that place where subjectivity is defined by bodily forces which are themselves shaped by porous boundaries with the environment. The other is a newer conversation, reconsidering time and temporality; responding to the emphasis in the past thirty years in Renaissance literary studies on ideas of space, scholars recently have turned toward the diachronic for ways of reimagining literature, privileging terms such as *polychronic* and *anachronistic*. Wood links those two strands of cultural history in a challenging and ambitious book, and while at times it falls short of its aspirations, it often provides learned and provocative readings as well as productive overviews of critical and theoretical debates.

Chapter 1, "Timing the Self in Early Modern England," is an introduction that links the two subjects of temperature and time, or, to emphasize their etymological connections, temperature and temporality. Woods provides the first of several thorough criticism reviews, and a reader can find here a strong description of "critical temporal studies" (7). Wood introduces one of his most useful terms in this chapter, "suddenness," a humoral moment and narrative strategy in which an experience defined temporally is also a bodily event. Including "narrative" opens up

another of the book's ambitious topics, psychoanalytic theory via Jacques Lacan.

Wood then turns from those multiple theoretical strands in the introduction to the strong readings that make up the rest of the book. Chapter 2 provides a remarkable consideration of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* in terms of the sudden effects of poison. Much given to sweeping surveys, Wood digresses to recount cultural histories of both poison and melancholia (male and female), and then reads Gynecia and her use of poison as a way into understanding Sidney's narrative strategy of employing suddenness to warn about the wide-ranging effects of passion. Chapter 3 examines *Othello* and the explosive passions of the title character. Wood employs Lacan's concept of the "intersubjective" to explore how time works in the play; in contrast to theorists who privilege the ego, Wood works by "finessing the limits of the new historical methodology and of ego psychology through the medium of time" (101). Most effective is his tracking of Iago's manipulation of Othello's sense of time. Provocatively, Wood sees parallels between that pattern and Lacan's practice of altering the length of his therapeutic sessions, employing the "variable-length session" to push a patient out of one state into another, much as Iago and Shakespeare "rouse" Othello and the audience.

Chapters 4 and 5 consider *The Winter's Tale* and *Samson Agonistes*, connecting the emotional volatility of Leontes and Samson to their respective approaches to a humorally-shaped sense of time. Leontes proves a case study in narcissism, as his desire for "instantaneity" coupled with the play's radical experiments with time — the sixteen-year gap being just one — bring Shakespeare's concerns with mortality, as expressed in the sonnets, into the context of tragic self-involvement. Wood challenges readings of the play that see Leontes' jealousy as groundless; he finds the grounds, in a particular moment of suddenness that creates humoral havoc. Leontes, like Othello, is prone to swift passion; he is also defined by nostalgia, a different but equally temporal

process of self-definition. In approaching Milton's Samson, Wood promises that a humoral reading will help clarify the ending of the text: he employs "the essential dynamism of the humoral theory" (141) to medicalize Samson, and to offer a different interpretation of the "rouzing motions" and "fierie vertue rouz'd" (154).

Those innovative readings shed light, but they do so fitfully, undermined by the author's less than "rouzing" style. One can find an emblem of Wood's narrative persona in his penchant for the word *utilization*. He turns to the word repeatedly, never to its shorter sibling *use*; this preference stands in for a range of structural preferences, all of which serve to expand, defer, delay, dilate, defang, deblood, and all too often benumb. Wood rarely writes bluntly. This reader often longed for another of Wood's many well-chosen block quotations, not only because they add to his impressive argument but also because they usually provide stylistic relief, an injection of vitality in an otherwise static prose style.

And yet, the slog gets you somewhere. Wood is an astute reader, both of primary texts and critical theory, and this book makes original forays in both directions.

WILLIAM KERWIN

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David Armitage, Conal Condren, and Andrew Fitzmaurice, eds. *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xii + 289 pp. index. bibl. $95. ISBN: 978–0–521–76808–5.

This interdisciplinary collection sets out to examine Shakespeare's engagement with the

political thought of his time. Following the editorial overview of literary and historical scholarship, there are thirteen essays, and an afterword. Ranged under three headings — Contexts, the Court, and the Commonwealth — the essays variously explore Shakespeare's conceptions of property (David Armitage), treatment of public and contemplative life (Cathy Curtis), ethics of authority (Stephen Greenblatt), superstition (Susan James), counsel (Cathy Shrank, David Colclough), princely education (Aysha Pollnitz), corruption (Andrew Fitzmaurice), civic politics (Phil Withington), rhetoric and citizenship (Markku Peltonen), forms of government (Eric Nelson), history and the politics of co-authorship (Jennifer Richards), and proprieties of rule (Conal Condren). Among the works that receive the most attention are *Hamlet*, *1–2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Macbeth*, *Henry VIII*, *Measure for Measure*, and the sonnets. Quentin Skinner's coda sketches the influence of humanist culture on Shakespeare's handling of political argument and draws out some common themes.

In many ways, this volume bears out and develops the findings of Blair Worden's seminal essay on "Shakespeare and Politics" (*Shakespeare Survey* 44 [1992], 1–15). Shakespeare, Worden argued, "provides maps of political conduct, not tests of political theory" (7); and this is amply confirmed by Nelson's lucid account of Shakespeare's scepticism about the efficacy of particular constitutional forms, Condren's rather more opaque discussion of the doctrinal slipperiness of *Measure of Measure*, Colclough's analysis of the limits of counsel in *Julius Caesar*, and Fitzmaurice's description of court corruption in *Hamlet*. If Worden's signally cautious approach serves as a model, Andrew Hadfield's unabashed insistence, in his *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (2005), on Shakespeare's republican sensibilities is not endorsed by the contributors. Perhaps surprisingly given that virtually all of them cite Hadfield's monograph,

none challenges his argument *tout court* though some register their reservations in passing (see e.g. 169n59, 227–28n27, 257–58). In its preoccupation with the impact of humanism and rhetoric on early modern political culture, the book builds on older studies by T. W. Baldwin (1944) and Joel B. Altman (1978). Methodologically, it is an exercise in Cambridge School's contextual reading pioneered by J. G. A. Pocock and Skinner.

Students and scholars of Shakespeare will find much of interest in *Shakespeare and Political Thought*. One of the book's many virtues is that individual essays provide state-of-the-art introductions to key topics in intellectual and social history such as citizenship, counsel, education, and urban culture, to name but a few. For historians no less than literary critics, the application of these perspectives to the study of Shakespeare should prove useful and refreshing. It should also provide stimulus towards extending the enquiry to other works by Shakespeare as also to those by his contemporaries. Indeed, it is a pity that so few of the essays venture to compare Shakespeare with other early modern imaginative writers. The effect of this omission is to give a sense that his involvement with politics was unique and idiosyncratic. That impression may be correct but it remains largely unexamined.

How persuasive are the readings advanced here? As one might expect in the case of an author whose life is so notoriously difficult to document, Armitage's meditation on Shakespeare's public identities and career and their literary reverberations, while ingenuous and intriguing, is also tantalizingly elusive. And Shrank's suggestion that *fin de siècle* readers of the 'procreation' sonnets (1–17) might have discerned in them provocative allusions to the Elizabethan succession seems implausible. If search for topicality can be distracting, so can the temptation to judge the past, as when Stephen Greenblatt deplores the "political defects of [Shakespeare's] age," in particular "the absence of any conception of democratic institutions" (71). Contributors are on

safer ground when they relate texts to contexts and elucidate the broad correspondences between the political ideas and rhetorical resources of the plays and poems and those found in early modern political culture and public life. It is here that the volume makes its most original and most valuable mark. Such are the exemplary contributions by Nelson, Colclough, and Richards.

The Shakespeare who ultimately emerges from the book is a skeptic, a man profoundly uncertain if not downright disillusioned about the scope for virtue in politics. In this, he seems very much our contemporary.

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Michael J. Redmond. *Shakespeare, Politics, and Italy: Intertextuality on the Jacobean Stage*. Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. x + 242 pp. index. bibl. $99.95. ISBN: 978–0–7546–6251–8.

In this new study of Anglo-Italian textual relations, Michael Redmond argues that English audiences in the popular playhouses had a high level of consciousness about Italian texts, culture and political ideologies. In a robust introduction, Redmond poses a still-pertinent challenge to conventions of source study. As the author points out, source studies concerned with Shakespeare and Italy have largely focused on identifying those Italian authors and texts that Shakespeare may (or may not) have read. This book tries to break new ground by evaluating Shakespeare's contribution to contemporary discourses about Italy, and the role of his drama in generating political meanings. In spite of his prominence in the book's title, however, Shakespeare makes a relatively late appearance in the book. Although plays such as *The Merchant of Venice* receive

some attention along the way, it is not until the final two chapters that Redmond develops a sustained reading of (among other plays) *Measure for Measure* and *Cymbeline*.

But if Shakespeare represents a point of culmination in this study, the preliminary chapters earn their space. Chapter 2 offers a stimulating discussion of the print circulation of Italian texts in England. In exploring representations of the Italianate Englishman, Redmond suggests that the Italophobia of the period is a marker for the instability of English identity. Here he persuasively shows how textual encounters act both as a stimulus for travel and as a substitute for it.

Redmond's discussion of Machiavellianism in chapter 3 usefully distances itself from what the author identifies as a rather sweeping tendency to "label any nasty piece of work in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama as a Machiavel" (83). Redmond is interested not in the typology of the stage villain but in the particular representation of Machiavel as author which we find in *The Jew of Malta*. Noting that *The Prince* was not published in English until 1640, Redmond draws new attention to the surreptitious publishing of Machiavelli in Italian in London by John Wolfe between 1584 and 1588. Redmond suggests there may have been significant demand for Machiavelli's writing among English courtiers. This serves as a much-needed reminder that we should not place too much emphasis on translation into English as evidence of interest in a continental author.

The book is a valuable addition to the field of Anglo-Italian literary studies. Its range is more broadly early modern than the book's titular reference to Jacobean drama properly allows. There is a good deal of excellent material on the Elizabethan reception of Italian texts in Ascham and Florio which usefully complements recent work on Italian language-learning by Jason Lawrence and others. Given that Redmond has much to say about the earlier period, it would be interesting to see a more explicit account, from the point of view of Anglo-Italian textual

relations, of the chronology and in particular, the transition between the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

In its analysis of Italian political philosophy and its circulation, the book stands as a complement to recent scholarly work on Shakespeare's history plays and ideologies of power. Here again, the author could afford to be more explicit about his methodological concerns. Redmond's discussion of rulership in chapter 4 raises questions which could usefully be extended beyond *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest* to the English history plays. It would be interesting to see how far the influence of Italian ideological models discussed in this chapter might be present in plays which have neither an Italian source nor an Italian setting.

Indeed, it is one of the strengths of this book that it establishes a new agenda for this kind of debate. The book's real substance is not in allusion-spotting but in probing cultural attitudes and the politics of nationhood. As such, it will be regarded as a significant contribution to the fast-growing area of Anglo-Italian Renaissance literary studies.

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James D. Mardock. *Our Scene is London Ben Jonson's City and the Space of the Author*. Studies in Major Literary Authors. New York: Routledge, 2008. x + 164 pp. index. bibl. $39.95. ISBN: 978–0–415–87554–7.

In this book, James D. Mardock argues that Jonson's authorial innovation resides not only in his "representational engagements" with the city of London that "potently shaped the early-modern urban experience," but also in his conscious theatrical authoring of the city in a way that

"aided the emergence a new authorial subjectivity, a new idea of the author" (1). Through his detailed examination of Jonson's career from the accession of King James to the publication of the Folio in 1616, Mardock notes that the establishment of permanent urban playhouses and the accompanying burgeoning of dramatic production in the early seventeenth century helped formulate the new English urban experience, enabling Jonson to assert his authorial identity by "foregrounding drama's power to represent space" and to monumentalize himself through the publication of the Folio (4). In doing so, Mardock asserts, Jonson is consciously aware of the potential for using the theatrical medium to control urban space in order to assert authorial agency.

The first chapter claims that Jonson's "performative relationship with London" as well as his corollary vision of London and its spaces as fundamentally theatrical gives him "the scope and the method for his self-construction as author" (7). Using the publication of Jonson's *Workes* in 1616 as an example, Mardock contends that the 1616 Folio not only strategically distances Jonson from the immediacy of the theater, but also affords him a space to assert his authorial agency. In using his dramatic space as an alternative strategy for asserting his authorial identity, Jonson manages to compete with the authority of printers and publishers more successfully than he could do as a player and dramatist.

In chapter 2, Mardock argues that King James's peaceful succession escalated the interpersonal competition between the royal pageant designers, Jonson and Dekker and "encouraged them to turn their contributions into claims of authorial agency" (24). The two playwrights not only satirized each other in *Poetaster* (Jonson, 1601) and *Satiromastix* (Dekker, 1601), but they also established themselves as rivals in the printed texts of the pageants. As these dramatic texts illustrate, the playwrights were more interested in appropriating the institutional

struggle as a means to control urban space and in asserting their authorial agency than in associating themselves with the competition between the city and the crown. Dekker's exertion of control over London's urban space and his subversion of the king's institutional power led Jonson to broaden his own range of authorial strategies in his later drama.

In the later chapters, Mardock explores how Jonson used his city comedies to demonstrate his authorial power in terms of shaping "communal urban consciousness" (45). Chapter 3 focuses on Jonson's conscious adaptation of his authorial medium within the dramatic space. Whereas *Every Man In His Humor* depicts the author's power to purge the symptoms of London's spatial pathology, *Eastward Ho* "illustrates Jonson's awareness of theater's potential to shape place, and the dramatic author's ability to transcend the interpretive limitations of class" (59). Chapter 4 outlines Jonson's "consistent, intricate play of references to specific London topography" in *Epicoene* and *The Alchemist* (66). For Mardock, both plays mark an important transition in Jonson's career with regard to "the playwright's representation of London and to his exploration of the potential of theatrical space" (66). However, after 1608, Jonson began to "investigate the mastery of his private, theatrical house in order to delineate the authorial role with regard to space" (68). This investigation is most clearly revealed in *Bartholomew Fair*, the fullest culmination of Jonson's career-long concern with space and place and a play whose omission in the Folio continues to puzzle scholars. Chapter 5 illustrates the ways in which *Bartholomew Fair* allows Jonson to articulate his ideal of authorship through the production of theatrical space. Mardock concludes, in his epilogue, that publication of the 1616 Folio monumentalized Jonson as an author who projected himself as interpreter and creator of London's places through the medium of his theatrical space.

A thorough and extensive study of Jonson's dramatic career, Mardock's meticulous

scholarship on Jonson's royal pageants and plays offers a solid resource to those who are interested in Jonson's theatrical production.

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John Gouws, ed. *Nicholas Oldisworth's Manuscript (Bodleian MS. Don.c.24).*

Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 380. Renaissance English Text Society Seventh Series 34. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009. xlv + 256 pp. index. $54. ISBN: 978–0–86698–428–7.

The pervasiveness and concomitant significance of the university poetic miscellany genre in early modern English letters have been elucidated over the last two decades by a range of studies, featuring outstanding accounts by Mary Hobbs, Harold Love, and Arthur Marotti. One of the many welcome, and sometimes unintended, consequences of this scholarship has been a deeper understanding of the authorial contingency and fluidity of such literature. This has been stimulated chiefly by a greater awareness of its complex patterns of circulation, manifested in an effervescent and complicit textual instability born of myriad borrowings and counter-borrowings. Another, related corollary has been greater insight into the powerful sense of community and conviviality these manuscripts seek to convey, and by which, along with incipient poetic ambition, they are catalyzed. The early seventeenth century, in particular, witnessed a welter of manuscript verse collections seeking to capture the intimacy and companionability of college life.

Into this already receptive critical milieu enters John Gouw's captivating edition — including a succinct commentary placed unobtrusively at the volume's end — of the poems of

Nicholas Oldisworth (1611–45), Church of England cleric, moderate royalist, and minor poet. To the betterment of the book, claims of undiscovered poetic adroitness, much less potential canonicity, in Oldisworth's versifying are resisted; rather, the apercus that this eclectic assortment of 120 poems affords into early seventeenth-century social literary practices are the threads with which the edition's vindicatory tapestry is woven. This is by no means to suggest that Oldisworth's poems are devoid of aesthetic merit; they frequently exhibit an affecting sensitivity to the subtle cadences of close-knit local communities. In particular, like his early seventeenth-century poetic contemporaries at Christ Church, Oxford, such as William Strode, Richard Corbett, and Jasper Mayne, Oldisworth found the manuscript miscellany form a congenial vehicle for literary expressions of intimate friendship

On this theme a series of poems to his close companion, Richard Bacon, is of intrinsic interest. Cohering around the notion of the aching void caused by absence, pieces such as "To his Friend beyond sea" (12–13) portray Oldisworth's fellow Westminster School alumnus in the quintessential Petrarchan guise of lost lover: "Friend: thinke not Time, or Winde, or Place, / Or Sea can hinder our Embrace." As Gouws observes, such refreshing candor is "challenging to a generation of readers unused to the strategies and hyperbolic language of eroticism in poems of friendship" (xxxix). Of more import, though, is the way in which such verse complicates modern assumptions about the poetic preoccupations of male friendship in the Renaissance, not least through the poet's extending the notion of companionship to his wife. Thus the singular dedicatory epistle "To his deare Wife, Marie Oldisworth" (5–6) describes her as her husband's "true Friend," flouting, as the editor notes, the established conventions of *amicitia* derived from antiquity.

Though they also, and serviceably enough, treat of public events, for example "On the

birth of James duke of Yorke" (99–100), it is the charming though refreshingly unsentimental sense of domesticity suffusing Oldisworth's poems which leaves the deepest impression. Garnering an arresting array of ostensibly anodyne subject matter, exemplified by such titles as "On a painted Houre-glass" (40), "On a Race" (115), and "To a Lady, looking out of a window" (125), Oldisworth conjures an intensely localized world in which nothing seems undeserving of the closest scrutiny.

That such personal preoccupations are unashamedly asserted in his oeuvre is interesting in itself, but the wider ramifications of this poetry reside, as Gouws rightly points out, not merely in its content but rather its explication of how "the very process of writing, reading and circulation also helps to constitute and reaffirm the commitment to private life" (xl). What is more, in the realm of early modern private verse manuscript dissemination is actively privileged over the inherently more static properties of print culture for reasons also of efficacy: paradoxically, the more intimate the subject matter the greater the desire to expose it to the transformational, dynamic capacities of the former. In maintaining the momentum of fruitful research into this influential mode of writing, and in the process rehabilitating an understated and understudied poet, Gouws has performed an estimable service for the Renaissance academic community.

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Annabel Patterson. *Milton's Words*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. viii + 212 pp. index. bibl. $34.95. ISBN: 978–0–19–957346–2.

One might expect that whatever Annabel Patterson has to say about the poet would be worth reading, although this personal and personable essay is the first book she has devoted to Milton. Her avowed model is Raymond Williams's *Keywords*, another little book which traces the history and analyzes the semantic vicissitudes of our culture's totemic vocabulary — words like *bourgeois*, *expert*, *personality*, and, of course, *sex*. *Keywords* is a deeply personal book, since it records Williams's own travails with this vocabulary as he strives to get to the obscure heart of its sense. Patterson's approach reminds me more of another little book, C. S. Lewis's delightful *Some Studies in Words*, which unearths the philological history of such seminal expressions as *nature*, *sense*, *world*, and *life*. Like Lewis's prose, Patterson's is possessed of conversation's easy charm. And like his book, *Milton's Words* feels as if it were intended for students or a general audience.

Patterson opens with a short narrative entitled "A Writer's Life," which by virtue of its length inevitably tends to emphasize some aspects and occasions of Milton's biography over others, the better to anticipate the words and works on which she will focus and whose chronology she loosely follows: the divorce tracts, *Areopagitica*, *The Readie and Easie Way* (with *Samson Agonistes*), *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained.* Then there are three final chapters on certain problematic usages: "Rude Words," "Negativity," and "Perhaps." It is here that Patterson most clearly reveals her book's commitments since these usages, while sometimes perplexing to students, get their real significance from work in the field. Indeed, *Milton's Words* shares an endearing if deceptive brevity with Lewis's *Preface to Paradise Lost* — deceptive because Patterson, no less than Lewis in that still remarkable little book, has joined the voluminous controversy over how best to read John Milton.

But, where Lewis's *Preface* tackles this critical issue head on, naming names and coming

to grips with particular positions, Patterson's engagement with Milton studies remains tacit, without citation, and intellectually imperious, in the manner of critical essays written some generations ago, or the practice of the once-new New Historicism. And that is because she is at bottom a formalist; for here the historical consists largely of past events, persons, texts, which strike Patterson as illuminating of particular Miltonic contexts. And she achieves some compelling results on occasion (while flirting with Wimsatt's intentionalist fallacy). But Patterson does not pursue the historical conceived as a whole complex and intriguing culture of usage, both discursive and otherwise, that invites our inquiry and demands the exercise of our imagination, even our sympathy. For that sense of the historical, this little book has only disdain: I am thinking here of a passing remark Patterson makes about Milton's arguments in the divorce tracts, which she calls "exercises in how to make Scripture mean what you want it to mean" (116). The glibness of this remark masks a determination not to admit the question of his practice's legitimacy in other terms than her own peremptory judgment; and since this remark appears in a chapter discussing the sense of the word *scripture* in *Paradise Regained*, one can only admire her audacity in tackling a subject she refuses to know better.

And this is where Patterson's little book on usage parts way with those by Williams and Lewis. While the latter draw upon their different areas of expertise in determining what words they will address, all the ones they choose are pretty much ubiquitous and familiar to an educated reader. By contrast, Patterson's keywords are culled from the individual vocabulary of John Milton, and are therefore peculiar to her subject on certain occasions. Insofar as ubiquity plays any role here, Patterson sometimes justifies her Miltonic keywords by the principle of statistical frequency, but mostly by the role they play in making a particular point about Milton (and Milton criticism). Thus her keywords — *by-ends*, *He who*, and *pistrinum* ("grinding" or "pounding mill")

— cannot be said to have any intrinsic interest or immediate significance, except that John Milton used them in his writings on divorce. What they come to signify as a consequence of her argument is a different matter. As a result, Patterson's choice of keywords lacks the objective force and justification of current or common usage which the lexicons studied by Williams and Lewis enjoy. That is, if her choices can be called keywords, they are less keys to Milton's writings than to her own. And these seem strangely incurious about her subject's greater discursive world, which naturally leaves Patterson free to exercise her interpretive will, even as she accuses Milton of doing just that. Williams and Lewis, on the other hand, are all inquiry. Finally, this is not a book for the inexpert, who might take Patterson's words for gospel. It is, and I think Patterson intends it to be, for the initiated, who already know the keywords in Milton studies.

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Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. xi + 715 pp. index. illus. chron. $150. ISBN: 978–0–19–021088–6.

From out of the great Milton publishing industry at Oxford comes a giant handbook. With some thirty-eight essays in eight sections, divided equally between poetry and prose, this is perhaps more a deskbook than a handbook, though one belonging on the desk of every student of Milton. The volume is jointly edited by two scholars involved in Oxford's multi-volume *Complete Works of John Milton* (2008–), and many of its contributors are involved, as well;

indeed, roughly half of the essays are by scholars in the process of creating new editions of Milton's work for Oxford. Many of the remaining contributors, such as Stephen Dobranski, Stephen Fallon, John Leonard, and Gordon Teskey, have also edited Milton in other contexts; others, such as John Creaser, have been influential in theorizing problems related to the editing of Milton. While not all of those involved in editing have written essays inflected by their work — or by the discoveries made in the process of sifting through large quantities of primary material — editorial efforts have nonetheless left their mark on this volume in vital ways. The result, in addition to a broad collection of useful essays, is a body of scholarship that brings textual criticism and the history of the book to Milton studies in vital and interesting ways. As the editing continues, it is hoped that those involved will continue to publish their findings and reflections.

The *Handbook* begins with two rather different biographical accounts. The first, by Edward Jones, attends valuably to the unanswered questions of Milton's early biography (1608–40). The second biographical essay by Nicholas von Maltzahn focuses on Milton's compositional history from 1641–74. This essay introduces the volume's emphasis on the importance of the prose, not only in securing Milton's contemporary reputation (especially the *Defensio* [1651], which made him internationally famous), but also as an integral part of his rhetorical development.

Milton's writings are then discussed in essays clustering around six different categories: "Shorter Poems," "Civil War Prose, 1641–1645," "Regicide, Republican, and Restoration Prose, 1649–1673," "Writings on Education, History, Theology," "*Paradise Lost*," "1671 Poems: *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*," each containing four to seven essays. Since Milton was "a prolific author of Latin verse during his Cambridge years" (53), the first of the essays on the poetry, by Estelle Haan, investigates the bilingual in Milton's early compositional habits, and

articulates "seven types of linguistic ambiguity attending Milton's usages of Latin and the vernacular" (53). Gordon Teskey's lucid essay on Milton's early English poetry centers on the Nativity Ode and the companion poems "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." In an important reconsideration of Milton's foray into the genre of the masque, Ann Baynes Coiro challenges the established view of Milton's *Comus* as the work of a puritan reformer, and argues instead that "Milton means not so much to correct as to *outdo* contemporary masques by pushing the genre's inherent tendencies to new dramatic and social limits" (90). In an essay entitled "'Lycidas' and the Influence of Anxiety," Nicholas McDowell traces previously unnoticed allusions and influences to argue that Milton casts both Marlowe and Ovid on a poetic career path opposite to his own moralistic, Virgilian trajectory. John Leonard's insightful account of "The Endings of Milton's English Sonnets" ends the opening suite of essays on Milton's early poetry.

The volume then turns with Milton's own career to the prose of the civil war. Nigel Smith begins with a convincing exploration of the ways in which Milton's political rhetoric in the antiprelatical tracts seems monarchical while it in fact supports a republican position. Sharon Achinstein takes a holistic approach to cultural institutions in her contextualization of Milton's divorce tracts, which she places "in relation to the practical political work of the day" (176), such as efforts of the Westminster Assembly to reform the institution of marriage. These reveal Milton to be contributing to a national discussion much more than has been previously understood. An illuminating essay on the rhetoric of Milton's divorce tracts, by Diane Purkiss, follows. There are then two well-balanced essays on *Areopagitica*, the first a contextualist reading of the tract in relation to parliamentarian debate, by Ann Hughes, and the second a rhetorical analysis of Milton's versions of liberty by Blair Hoxby.

There is a mysterious gap in Milton's publishing career between 1645, when the last

divorce tract and the *Poems* are dated, and the regicide tracts, which begin to appear shortly after the execution of the king in early 1649. Stephen Fallon's essay attends to the paradoxical rhetoric of the first regicide tract, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. McDowell's essay on Milton's negative treatment of Shakespeare in the English regicide tracts is a fit companion to his earlier essay on Marlowe and "Lycidas." Joad Raymond writes superbly on epideictic rhetoric of the underappreciated Latin defenses, and Estelle Haan studies the intertextual function of Latin poetry in *Defensio Prima*. A few years after the defenses, Milton turned back to the vernacular in a burst of polemic activity prior to the Restoration that is treated worthily here in essays by N. H. Keeble and Elizabeth Sauer. Paul Stevens ends this section with a broader discussion of "Milton and National Identity."

The next section is on "Writings on Education, History, Theology." William Poole introduces readers to the genres, complexities, and functions of Milton's Commonplace Book, a reading notebook that Milton kept for many years. Timothy Raylor, editor of the short tract *Of Education*, provides valuable context for Milton's educational theories, especially in Milton's relationship to the Hartlib circle. Martin Dzelzainis contextualizes Milton's *History of Britain* (his largest printed work), which Milton took up during the gaps in his polemical career. In an essay entitled "*De Doctrina Christiana*: An England that Might Have Been," Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns speculate that Milton also turned to the research represented in his theological treatise (his largest work) during the hiatus in his publishing after 1645, and that he had continued working on it through the late 1650s, when he was completely blind. This essay relates the authors' discovery that the manuscript was originally bound in small fascicules that contained only one chapter, allowing the large treatise to be revised more easily by the blind writer and his team of scribal assistants.

The *Handbook* offers eight essays on *Paradise Lost*: on its generic, composition, and reception history (Charles Martindale); on its rhythm and verse (John Creaser); on editing, with a strong case against modernization (Stephen Dobranski); on its imagined worlds and settings (Karen Edwards); "*Paradise Lost* and Heresy" (Nigel Smith); "God" (Stuart Curran); "Eve, Paradise Lost, and Female Interpretation" (Susan Wiseman); and "The Politics of Paradise Lost" (Martin Dzelzainis), which is a higher resolution picture (if darker) than that of the classic essay by Mary Ann Radzinowicz with the same title.

The final set of essays on the 1671 poems are particularly fine. Laura Lunger Knoppers discovered an interesting copy of the poems with indexes added for each *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Regained* in a seventeenth-century hand, providing a valuable "lens into how Milton's contemporaries were reading the 1671 poems" (572). John Rogers' essay on "*Paradise Regained* and the Memory of *Paradise Lost*" shows how "both poems stage a march through a series of provisional theological positions" toward "Miltonic Arianism" (597). Responding to the recent attention given to *Samson Agonistes*, the *Handbook* provides three essays devoted solely to this poem: R. W. Serjeantson asks whether the slaughter of the Philistines — as well as self-slaughter — is legitimate (614); Regina Schwartz writes on justice, violence, and idolatry; and, in an essay that studies the relationship between Samson's interior state and the political state, Elizabeth Harvey argues that the poem is "less an incitement to violence . . . than it is a homeopathic remedy" (666). The volume then ends with two essays on Milton's afterlife: one on reading *Paradise Lost* from 1667–1837 by Anne-Julia Zwierlein, and another on Miltonic Romanticism by Joseph Wittreich.

I regret that considerations of space prevent the full discussion that these valuable essays deserve. This is a significant and extremely useful handbook, and it is hoped that it will soon

appear in paperback.

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William Walker. Paradise Lost *and Republican Tradition from Aristotle to Machiavelli*. Cursor Mundi 6. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009. xiv + 332 pp. index. bibl. €70. ISBN: 978–2–503–52877–9.

William Walker's new book seriously challenges most recent assumptions about the political subtext of *Paradise Lost*: that the poem is a continuation of Milton's republican politics by other means, that its religious ideology is largely compatible with his republicanism, and that his epic by no means announces a retreat from his life-long commitment to defending human liberty. This view has prevailed from Mary Ann Radzinowicz's ground-breaking article through the work of the historian Quentin Skinner and his many followers, who agree that Milton's major poems reaffirm the proto-democratic positions defended in his prose works. Walker questions this consensus not just by reinterpreting these treatises (though he agrees that they belong to the classical republican tradition), but also by contrasting their political premises and ideals with those of *Paradise Lost.* With the notable exception of supporting the separation of church and state, he finds the poet largely renouncing his earlier political values in favor of the higher calling of Christian heroism. Walker concedes that many moral lessons received by the newly fallen Adam remain loosely consistent with classical republican values, but concludes that they are over-written by a pietistic form of Protestantism ultimately incompatible with them. This conclusion is likely to incur the wrath of many critics, but he insists — at times convincingly —

that such critics superimpose their own enthusiasm for civil liberties and reforms upon Milton's religious priorities.

Others aspects of Walker's book are equally controversial, but it clearly warrants a careful and unbiased reading by those working in this aspect of Milton studies, and indeed, by Miltonists as a whole. His meticulous, if at times redundant review of every major aspect of the republican tradition identifies many important details left out of more general formulations of its tenets. Unfortunately, natural law is omitted from this review, as this is where Milton is most thoroughly republican, but Walker does consider the theory under other rubrics. The result is a significant challenge to Skinner's insistence that anti-monarchism is a central plank in the mainline tradition, since, as Walker shows, republicans never regarded monarchy itself but only its abuses as an impure form of government; they made numerous exceptions to any "natural" evolution toward mixed government; and they retained a largely aristocratic or meritocratic value system. Surprisingly, this reevaluation allows Walker to show that Milton's epic is not wholly inconsistent with the principles of his prose treatises, since both could imagine a just monarchy coexisting with a strong meritocracy. This point provides Walker's most original and important contribution to current discussions of why the principles of Milton's prose differ so decidedly from his epic politics. Walker's "antiformalist" conclusions about both may seem to suggest only part of the answer, but they provide a solid start.

Besides this discussion in his chapter on "Forms of Government," the book contains an introduction, conclusion, and four other chapters on human nature, virtue, civil liberty, and history. The first two chapters might have been combined, but even so, they would remain the most remain problematic due to their failure to explore any generic basis for Milton's divergence from his earlier, mainline republican views on human nature and virtue. In other words, to what

extent can a successful prelapsarian and providential biblical epic "preach" political ideologies appropriate only in a postlapsarian context? As most critics have observed, such ideologies do appear once Adam and Eve fall into a state of disobedience, and Milton's concern with the Fall's moral and theological consequences does not seem to undermine their appearance as thoroughly as Walker's chapter on "History" claims. Like the earlier chapters, this one overlooks Stoic influences on Milton traced by many other scholars, in this case, by focusing on Milton's providentialism almost to the point of exaggeration. Perhaps most disturbingly of all, it insists on his God's unbending desire to make human beings suffer, repent, and die for a disobedience to which no living human consented. That they suffer because they are Adam's seed is of course standard Pauline doctrine, but for Milton the naturalistic consequences flowing from his disobedience seem far more prominent than Walker or "his" God would allow. That is not to say, however, that his contrarian case fails to offer a solid corrective to a thorough politicization of Milton's solidly biblical as well as classical poem, or that this case should go unread, unregarded, or unchallenged.

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Vitaliy Eyber. *Andrew Marvell's* Upon Appleton House: *An Analytic Commentary*. Cranbury: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010. 250 pp. bibl. $57.50. ISBN: 978–0–8386–4256–6.

Eyber's book names as its task an impossibility, "to lay out for my readers all of the poem's wit." The task is impossible because the poem is "Upon Appleton House" and the wit

beyond measure. Even as Eyber's commentary will no doubt suggest many possibilities that have not occurred even to the expert, those same experts may wonder why his or her ironies, double meanings, and so on are not reflected in the annotations — however carefully detailed and admirably thoroughgoing those annotations are (the book consists of an introduction, followed by the text of the poem and 180 pages of glosses).

Eyber sets for himself a task that no one is up to and so is not to be faulted for not being up to it himself. He is, though, to be gently rebuked for the implicit hubris of this claim to exhaustiveness and for some remarks he makes about how needed his intervention is. Eyber asserts that criticism of "Upon Appleton House" "has done little to advance the main end of responsible criticism — helping readers see what it is about a likable work of art that makes them like it, helping them see what makes it beautiful" (10). Whether or not one agrees with Eyber's unfashionable assessment of the "main end of responsible criticism," Eyber underrates work that has done much to help us see what makes Marvell's poem beautiful. The list here is long, beginning at least as early as Rosalie Colie's grand, brilliant account of the poem's "madly multiple" nature; more recently, one can scarcely have read Jonathan Crewe's eloquent work on the poetics of enclosure in "Upon Appleton House" or Dorothy Stephens' consideration of the home that readers can find in the poem's ridiculousness — without feeling that Eyber, here, is far too dismissive. He claims that when critics attend to Marvell's wit, it tends "to boil down to a nod toward the cleverness or silliness of having particularly unlikely opposites conjoined" or to worse (16). I am not so sure.

Even so, Eyber may well have spent more time performing close reading of Marvell's poem than any previous reader, including Colie herself, and the results are impressive. One gets the sense that Eyber has lived and breathed inside the poem for years on end, and that his vitriol

about critical accounts of the poem stems from this. “Upon Appleton House” is his crystal goblet and he is weary of the fingerprints left by less discerning, less devoted critics. Practically speaking, the book usefully supplements existing annotated editions of the poem, such as can be found in David Ormerod and Christopher Wortham’s *Andrew Marvell: Pastoral and Lyrical Poems* and Nigel Smith’s *Poems of Andrew Marvell*. Compared to these editions, which are quite valuable in their own right, Eyber’s book offers much more help with the poem at its microlevel: with the “multilayered structure of the poetic text, with its wealth of phonic and notional echoes, ambiguities, loci of syntactical complexity and wordplay” (12–13). Eyber pays careful, painstaking attention to the poem’s complexity, and does his best to present interpretive possibilities and potentially relevant contexts rather than legislate between them. He has given “Upon Appleton House” the loving, exacting attention it deserves, and the book should be of interest to scholars of Marvell, graduate students, and even undergraduates. Indeed, it might serve to model close reading in an era that — as Eyber points out and no matter how much we claim otherwise — tends to downplay close attention to the text as an essential interpretive skill.

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