

asserting principles said to be based on natural law. They also offered ample narrative exhibitions of *consensus ad idem*. But, of course, there was no firm ground in these arguments for any colonists unallied with the English court. "While the English crown had cited Native alliances in order to support its own rights in conflicts with Spain, it was not willing to recognize Native alliances as a source of rights for traders within its own waters." In the short term, at least, these traders tended to find greater legal stability locally within Native systems of exchange.

Asserting Native competency was one thing; proof of a voluntary and peaceful meeting of minds was still another. The latter required documentation beyond a published treaty. In fact, well before signed treaties emerged as a customary documentary form, early seventeenth-century New World settlers fashioned various other types of records that served as informal evidence of treaty-like *consensus ad idem*. These records included histories, sermons, land deeds, receipts, and ceremonial accounts that detailed positive individual or collective emotions (facial expressions, shouting, feasting) indicative of passionate indigenous assent.

Glover's five hefty chapters range from the settlement of Virginia in 1604 to the imposition of empire in Narragansett Bay in 1664. Each of these rewardingly detailed and well-researched chapters spotlights a particular treaty or cluster of treaties that reveal far more complexity in interpersonal colonial interactions than we have previously appreciated.

Andrew Casper. *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. xiii + 221 pp. + 84 illus. \$79.95. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Andrew Casper's *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy* breaks new ground in art historical literature by engaging recent research both in typological reassessment and in the plural temporality of works of art as well as the historical relations underpinning their meaning, form, and function. This represents a much-anticipated tack in El Greco studies, which have been dominated by questions of

iconography, connoisseurship, and patronage. The book deals with the ten years encompassing El Greco's Italian sojourn, from his departure from native Crete in 1567-68 and subsequent settling in Venice, to his Roman period from 1570-76, before his final relocation to Toledo, his adoptive Spanish town where the artist died in 1614. The book concludes with a thoughtful analysis of the Santo Domingo retablo in Toledo's Church of Santo Domingo El Antiguo as the culmination of El Greco's formal integration of his Italian Renaissance experience into his then-emerging pictorial discourse in Spanish devotional paintings.

The author's choice to examine El Greco's Italian activity leads to a discussion of the Cretan painter as if he were an Italian Renaissance artist *ab initio* or a painter associated with the *Bamboccianti*, the *Fiamminghi* or other sort of émigrés who trained at the high levels of Italian art instruction available to local Roman artists. This application of an Italian Renaissance-focused methodology to an Eastern painter enables the meaningful observations that El Greco is "far more conventional than what is normally said about him" (3) and that he used his Italian career "as a vantage point for reevaluating the religious image in sixteenth-century Italy" (7). Casper argues that El Greco's Byzantine retentions resurfaced in new and improved contours in Italy to openly respond to the creative conditions of devotional image-making after the concluding session of the Council of Trent (1563). El Greco inspiringly mastered the latent connections between the legendary role of Evangelist Luke as a painter of Marian icons and the Western perception that painting is a divine activity—one governed by "angelic artists" who depict a spiritual endeavor rather than the slavish imitation of natural forms (21-32). Notwithstanding these East-West rapprochements, the crowning achievement of El Greco's Italian career was not a mere translation from an Eastern into a Western idiom, but rather the ambitious enterprise of applying his artistic virtuosity to his efforts to create what Casper names "the artful icon" (75). Although the icon was not a novel category of image production in either Italy or in the Northern Renaissance, El Greco invested it with a heightened sensitivity and skill by displaying the most advanced Italian styles and techniques, as well as engaging with contemporary critical and philosophical issues when making his devotional images.

One of the overriding topics in the literature about devotional images has been the vexed question of whether aesthetic quality and devotional engagement together can flourish despite the restrictions upon religious image production in the sixteenth century. The artist's talent negotiated the ecclesiastical rules of decency and propriety. Addressing this issue, the book contributes to some remarkable efforts to elucidate the nuanced balance between artistry and devotion, including Alexander Nagel's *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (2011), Stuart Lingo's *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (2008), Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach's *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotion, and the Early Modern World* (2009), and Megan Holmes's latest research on miraculous images in Renaissance Florence. On the other hand, Casper disregards Marcia Hall's trust in style and her contention, in *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (2011), that El Greco reprised the visual representations he derived from his study of the Italian masters to amplify the affective tenor of his devotional images. Instead, Casper locates El Greco's stylistic emancipation from Byzantium in his blending of "the performative" and "the substitutive" modes of image making that Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood proposed in their collaborative opus, *Anachronic Renaissance* (2011). But while Nagel and Wood posit that the substitutive virtues inherent in medieval devotional practices and their demonstrated ability to link ancient prototypes to the early modern images of Renaissance painters eschew a linear chronology, Casper contends instead that El Greco's creative performance supersedes all medieval substitutive inclinations (37, 140). This reevaluation of El Greco's performativity at the expense of his grounding in a Renaissance tradition of replicas and painted copies of miraculous images from a medieval past seems problematic at best. This is especially so because El Greco's devotional virtuosity was put to the service of both art and devotion and thus cannot be isolated from notions of interchangeability with older originals, nor from the equilibrium between meaning and function in his medieval predecessors' artifact production. Casper carefully takes note that El Greco's "fictive materiality" (34) nevertheless maintains the boundaries between image and prototype that ensure devotional effectiveness and avoids the trappings of idolatrous images made by painters whose

art is an act of devotion to their own creativity (40). El Greco never substitutes his creative intervention to the divine referent, but only amplifies its aesthetic and devotional potential.

The book focuses on a typological reassessment of El Greco's paintings as the fruits of artistic agency and textual exchange. In the realm of devotional narratives, El Greco pushed the boundaries of Christocentric images to reassert their formal and iconic possibilities within new historical narratives that he created after some New Testament paradigms. Casper uniquely contributes to a hitherto-unexplored examination of El Greco's Venetian and Roman versions of *Christ Healing the Blind* and *Cleansing of the Temple* as a new category of images that El Greco conceived while working in Italy. These paintings constitute El Greco's most ambitious and innovative responses to the post-conciliar dictates of many ecclesiastical patrons and theorists to extend the image's devotional potential into spiritually enlightened narratives. Casper's examination of these two sets of narrative paintings sheds light on El Greco's ability to translate into visual language Angelico Buonriccio's *Le pie, et christiane paraphrasi sopra l'Evangelio di San Matteo, et di San Giovanni* (1568; 2nd edition 1569), a tract of particular relevance to Venice's singular interest in New Testament narratives about Christ as a miraculous healer and wonder worker. The composition of the *Cleansing of the Temple* adapts drawings by Michelangelo and Parmigianino (75, 99) and simultaneously, like *Christ Healing the Blind*, marks a new entry of architectural treatises into El Greco's background scenes with three-dimensional urban monuments. Casper's book thus acknowledges El Greco as a humanist-painter and owner of Sebastiano Serlio's *Il secondo libro di prospettiva* (1545) and other similar treatises intended to challenge Italian Renaissance artists to further through architectural representations the narrative potential exhorted in Alberti's *istoria*. If Casper's book emphasizes "a far more conventional El Greco than we thought" (3), the reader would expect to see the author dealing with the immediate implications of El Greco's annotations in his 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*. El Greco's criticisms of Vasari were shared by Annibale Carracci and especially by Federico Zuccari, whom El Greco met in the early 1570s in Rome, and are illustrative of more than just an emerging movement of anti-Vasarianism in early modern art. El Greco penned

in the margins of Vasari's biographies his personal remarks on the critical reception of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian's legacy; his reevaluations of Parmigianino and Pontormo; and, most importantly, his revised attitude toward classical antiquity that maintained Correggio as a viable alternative to Raphael's classicism, an alternative that escapes the confines of Roman papal quarters. In his analysis of these marginalia, Casper recognizes El Greco "as self-conscious about his place in the tradition of Italian art as these other artists were" (83) without stressing how he explored in more practical terms the form and function of his Renaissance coevals or predecessors. How could we grasp, for instance, the full significance of El Greco's 1568-70 *Burial of Christ* without referring it back to the Lamentation altarpieces by Raphael, Titian, and Rosso Fiorentino, or by comparing it with Annibale Carracci's contemporary reappraisal of this scene to suit the Eucharist directions in early modern altar painting? El Greco studies currently lack a formal analysis that would complement the existing theoretical analysis of El Greco's Vasarian *postille*. Casper's reiterations are efforts to systematize Fernando Marías and Augustin Bustamante's *Las Ideas Artísticas de El Greco, Comentarios a un Texto Inedito* (2008) and to share with remarks of his own Clare Robertson's further points of comparison between the comments of El Greco, Annibale Carracci, and Federico Zuccari in *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (2008).

The book sets a benchmark for future writings about foreign artists like El Greco whose contact with Renaissance humanism influenced both their own development and that of the artistic Italian spheres with which they came into contact. As maintained repeatedly in each chapter, El Greco left an enduring mark on the Italian Renaissance by implementing his new Gospel-derived narratives, developing modes of intentional archaism in concert with local forms of sacred imagery, and reconfiguring the Eucharistic tenor of altar painting as a whole. These advancements in early modern painting are an eloquent expression of artistic agency, exchange, and typological engagement on the part of an Eastern artist who confronted art in the Italian peninsula as an adult only, regardless of Crete's historical ties with Venice dating back to the early thirteenth century. It took a non-Western talent originally trained as an icon painter in Crete to elevate the Italian Renaissance style to a persuasive devotional power. His reformulations of the religious

image were in close liaison with his stylistic formulas, beckoning the Western viewers to accept and admire his art and also to contemplate his altarpieces, to which they directed their prayers, as “icons of the most typological sort” (171) and “specifically institutionalized forms of the icon” (172) in the West.

John Mulryan, trans. *Vincenzo Cartari's Images of the Gods of the Ancients: The First Italian Mythography*. Tempe, AZ. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012. xxxvi + 457 pp. + 21 illus. \$90.00. Review by CATHERINE GIMELLI MARTIN, THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS.

John Mulryan has performed an extremely useful service for all Renaissance and Medieval scholars by translating, annotating, and providing an extremely thorough introduction to an important text previously available only in the original Italian, Vincenzo Cartari's *Images of the Gods of the Ancients*. Nearly as influential as Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*, Cartari's sixteenth-century text was widely used and translated for nearly two centuries, appearing in various Latin, French, English, and German versions where its iconography could be consulted and imitated by poets, painters, sculptors, and students of ancient religion. A complete list of its early publication history and its two modern Italian editions is conveniently printed in an appendix. As Mulryan explains, Cartari of Reggio himself remains a relatively obscure if, in his lifetime, highly regarded moralist, mythographer, occultist, numismatist, translator, and compiler patronized by the famous d'Este family of Ferrara. He was best known for this text, the *Imagini* or *Images of the Gods* (1556, rev. 1571), a standard guide to the allegorical and emblematic symbolism of classical mythology, now available in Mulryan's new edition. Cartari had prepared for his masterwork by translating Ovid's *Fasti* in 1551, which was also dedicated to the d'Este family. His *Imagini* followed five years later, a work of true mythography rather than an emblem book: instead of merely recording, it interprets classical mythology according to a tradition anciently established by Hesiod and continued (among many others) by Plato, the sixth-century scholar Fulgentius, and the