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Jane Aaron and Sarah Prescott, eds. *Welsh Writing in English, 1536–1914: The First Four Hundred Years*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. viii + 388. \$85.00. Review by HELEN WILCOX, BANGOR UNIVERSITY, WALES.

The Oxford Literary History of Wales, of which the book under review is the third volume, is a major scholarly enterprise, reinterpreting the literature of the bilingual Celtic land that shares the island of Great Britain with England and Scotland. The general editor, Damian Walford Davies, makes it clear from the outset that the object is not to provide a “survey” of the literary traditions of Wales, but rather to present a “conceptual engagement” with the subject (v). This approach is immediately both refreshing and promising. He also suggests that the four volumes—two on writing in Welsh, two on works written in English—will offer “an authoritative and dissenting perspective on the two literatures of Wales” (v). The “authority” that he claims here, of course, will derive from the authors themselves, who in the case of the third volume are leading critics working on early modern (Sarah Prescott) and nineteenth-century (Jane Aaron) texts in English from Wales. The element of “dissent” in their approach is firmly announced by Aaron and Prescott in the subtitle they have chosen for their volume: “The First Four Hundred Years.” This is a deliberate echo—and defiant repudiation—of a work written in 1957 by Gwyn Jones entitled *The First Forty Years: Some Notes on Anglo-Welsh Literature*, in which it was assumed that there was no inherently Welsh tradition of writing in English before Caradoc Evans’s collection of short stories, *My People*, published in 1915. Instead, Prescott and Aaron trace Welsh writing in English from almost four hundred years earlier, starting in 1536 when Henry VIII’s “Act of Union” annexed Wales to England and made English the official language of Wales. This is a daring yet logical date from which to begin their history, and their critical dissent pays off handsomely.

First, by choosing this starting-point, Aaron and Prescott not only expand the “official” canon of Welsh writing in English by including texts from four centuries before the twentieth—a massive shift of perspective—but also reconsider important matters such as why

earlier authors living in Wales would have written in English at all. This linguistic choice could have had a variety of motivations, and did not necessarily represent the colonial elitism that it has often been assumed to signify and consequently has led to its dismissal from the ranks of “Welsh” literature. As Aaron and Prescott rightly point out, many pre-twentieth-century Welsh authors were bilingual but opted to write in English because they had been educated in that language and were “not fully literate in their mother tongue” (3). Others chose English for its appropriateness to their subject-matter or intended readership, and sometimes deliberately adopted this medium to give expression to distinctive Welsh culture for a wider public. The authors of texts in English, it is argued, could be as firmly embedded in what Saunders Lewis referred to as the “organic community” of Wales (3) as those who wrote in Welsh.

What, then, constitutes a Welsh writer? A second important contribution of this book is its clear criteria on this score. Aaron and Prescott are willing to accept as Welsh, and therefore include in their discussions, any authors who meet at least two of five conditions: to have been born in Wales, to have Welsh parentage, to have lived for most of their lives in Wales, to have shown that they identified themselves as Welsh, or to have made a “significant contribution to literature on Wales and its people” (5). Readers of this history can thus be sure that these fundamental issues of both language and national identity have been taken seriously. The outcome is that the list of author biographies appended to the volume features twice as many anglophone writers from before 1915 as were identified in an equivalent exercise just fifty years ago.

A third advantage of the innovative approaches adopted by Aaron and Prescott is their application of a range of theoretical tools with which to analyse earlier Welsh writing in English. Both authors are particularly associated with feminist criticism and the recovery of female literary voices, and their volume is distinguished by the considerable attention given to Welsh women writers. Both are aware, too, of the vital importance of post-colonial theories in the study of Welsh writing, and make constructive use of these as tools in the discussion of a hybrid literature with all the political tensions inherent in a bilingual cultural landscape. The parallels between this situation

and that of many other post-colonial literatures in our contemporary world are wisely drawn. As the volume proceeds chronologically, it is also possible to plot something of the social history of a nation moving through the patterns of religious evangelization, the formation of national identity, the increasing sense of a distinctive natural and cultural landscape, the confidence of the industrial revolution, and the growing desire for independence. Aaron and Prescott handle the sweep of history with great skill while also giving detailed attention to texts and individual literary movements.

What does all this mean, then, for devotees of seventeenth-century literature? There are two chapters of special interest, both written by Sarah Prescott, who was responsible for covering the period up to 1800 in this volume. Her first chapter, “Cambro-Britons, Anglicans, and Royalists, 1536–1670,” begins by introducing writers such as Humphrey Llwyd and Lodowick Lloyd, for whom the sixteenth-century Union with England offered the chance to promote the Welsh as the true descendants of the ancient Britons and the more recent providers of the Tudor royal lineage. As Stewart Mottram has pointed out, early seventeenth-century writers such as John Davies of Hereford built on the Brutus myth and the Welsh nation’s “fabled descent from Troy” to “assert Welsh cultural independence from the English” even while remaining loyal to the crown (15). Even more important was the impact of the Protestant Reformation. Prescott makes the excellent case that Elizabeth Tudor’s imposition of the Book of Common Prayer and a vernacular Bible in Wales—leading to their official translation into Welsh in 1567 and 1588, decades before the publication of the Authorized Version in English—ironically led not to an anti-colonial rebelliousness but to a predominantly Royalist Protestant population in early seventeenth-century Wales. As Peter Roberts noted in 1998, “the church of England in Wales” may indeed have “produced the Anglo-Welsh literary tradition” (11).

This is certainly borne out by the first major writer to receive close attention in Prescott’s discussion: Henry Vaughan. Born in rural Brecknockshire in 1621, Vaughan identified himself from 1650 onwards as “the Silurist,” invoking an ancient tribe of Britons who resisted Roman dominance and whose name therefore implied both Welshness and defeated Royalism. Vaughan went on to become one of the greatest

devotional poets in the English language, and—as Wynn Thomas has argued—one who specifically identified early Christianity in Wales as a precursor of the Anglican church. Vaughan’s sense of being Welsh derived from an intensely local identification with the Usk valley, and Prescott highlights the contemporary praise of Vaughan as upholding the tradition of the “Reverend Bards of old” under whose sheltering pastoral, or “hereditary shade,” the seventeenth-century poet now sits (25, quoting the anonymous poet “N.W.” writing in 1678).

By contrast, Katherine Philips has less frequently been considered in her Welsh context, perhaps because her own sense of community was not grounded in a specific Welsh setting, as in Vaughan’s case, but was created by the epistolary coterie of her “Society of Friendship”—of which Vaughan and several other Welsh contemporaries, of course, were members. Though born in London, Philips moved to Wales when she was fourteen years old, married a Welshman, and wrote much of her verse while living in Welsh-speaking Cardigan. By focusing on Philips as the second key example of a seventeenth-century Welsh poet writing in English, Prescott usefully shifts the focus on Philips’s work and reads it in a new light, particularly by drawing both parallels and contrasts with the work of Vaughan. Prescott further puts forward the significant forward-looking claim that Philips’s “pastoral recuperation of the Welsh bardic past anticipates the Romantic recovery of Wales as a source of poetic inspiration and rural felicity in both poetry and fiction” (30).

The second chapter of this volume, “Evangelizing Wales: From Puritanism to Methodism, 1640–1800,” also contains material of interest to scholars of seventeenth-century literature. Having focused largely on Royalist writers in her first chapter, Prescott shifts her attention to the influence of Parliamentary dissenting Protestants on the development of early Welsh writing in English. The key figures here were the new “Welsh Saints,” as they were known, including Morgan Llwyd and Vavasor Powell; they and their fellow Puritans were associated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, which was established by the Rump Parliament in 1650, just a year after the execution of Charles I. Powell was a millenarian who preached in both Welsh and English but published only in English, contributing fifteen works to the great outburst of polemical print-

ing in the mid-century. However, he is perhaps best known among literary scholars for what Prescott describes as his “well-documented literary and political spat” with Katherine Philips, an exchange of verses which is remarkable, Prescott adds, as an example “from seventeenth-century Wales of a political clash dramatized through the medium of English poetry” (40–41). Fascinatingly, in their poems we can see “some of the major religious controversies of the day” being “played out in Wales through its localized anglophone Anglican and Puritan literatures” (41).

Prescott makes a strong case for Morgan Llwyd as the greatest writer among the “Welsh saints” and particularly emphasises his special position as one who wrote verse in both Welsh and English. As John Kerrigan has noted, Morgan’s written English “was richly idiomatic enough to absorb the influence of Welsh without sounding like Fluelen” (43). Notably, the poems can move between English and Welsh within the space of a stanza, and Morgan’s English contemporary and fellow-dissenter, Richard Baxter, described him as “the deepest truest Welshman” (43). Prescott’s extended discussion of Morgan’s hitherto critically neglected poetry is one of the most important achievements of the early modern section of this book.

In a history of this kind, there are bound to be omissions necessitated by lack of space or the choice of narrative focus. It is striking that George Herbert receives only the briefest of passing mentions when, as a writer born in Wales of Welsh parentage, he could have qualified for consideration under Aaron and Prescott’s own criteria for a Welsh writer. At the very least, more could have been made of his unusual choice of the specific title “The British Church”—rather than the “English”—for his poem on the Anglican church which was later echoed by Vaughan. The poet Rowland Watkyns, author of *Flamma Sine Fumo* (1662), might also have merited a little more attention; and it is strange that the Welsh Royalist prophet, Arise Evans, appears in the chapter on nonconformity rather than Royalism. But these are minor shortcomings in a study that is undoubtedly a major contribution to our understanding of seventeenth-century literature in English. Prescott has opened up new vistas on what we might have thought was a familiar literary landscape, and in particular has brought the strands of Welsh and English writing from Wales into close and

fruitful dialogue with one another. How fascinating it is that a 1631 poem by David Lloyd, the dean of St Asaph cathedral in North Wales, entitled “The Legend of Captain Jones,” seems to have been, as Andrew Hadfield suggests, “a pastiche or parody of a Welsh poem” written by Siôn Tudor, a Welsh bard living in the diocese (19). As Prescott writes in connection with her analysis linking the English poetry of Vaughan and Philips written in Wales, “an awareness of the Welsh dimensions” of their work “does not downgrade the tensions at play but opens up the complexity of cultural exchanges that go beyond one-way cultural colonization” (22–23). This comment may be applied to the volume as a whole, in its sensitivity and alertness to the issues involved—and, above all, its constructive and imaginative reconfiguring of the place of writing in English in the literary history of Wales.

Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. xxii + 822 pp. \$150.00. Review by BRENDAN PRAWDZIK, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY.

The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell, edited by Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton, must be read with two hands. With 844 pages consisting of forty-three chapters from forty of among the most influential writers on Marvell, the volume does what Oxford handbooks do: like a preternatural Cromwell, ascend above emergent scholarship of a growing field and thunder down rousing force. Yet rather than “ruin the great work of Time,” the *Handbook* honors an epoch of transformative scholarship that recovered the historical Marvell and the troubled world around him.

The *Handbook* is last of a succession of publications that rewrote the field of Marvell studies, groundwork that continues to nourish the emergent generation. These include *The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell* (Yale, 2003), edited by Dzelzainis and Annabel Patterson, which enabled scholarly treatment of the prose. *An Andrew Marvell Chronology* (Palgrave, 2005), compiled by Nicholas von Maltzahn, detailed Marvell’s life, writings, and reception by drawing upon a trove of new documentary evidence. In 2006, Nigel Smith published

The Poems of Andrew Marvell (Routledge, 2006), a densely learned compendium that includes, for the first time, scholarly editions of the Painter Poems—most importantly, “The Last Instructions to a Painter.” Then Smith brought forth an authoritative biography, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (2012), which has definitively shaped our sense of Marvell the human character.

The *Handbook* joins other scholarly anthologies from this decade: *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell* (2011), edited by Derek Hirst and Stephen Zwicker; and *Texts and Readers in the Age of Andrew Marvell* (Manchester, 2019), edited by Matthew C. Augustine and Christopher D’Addario. During this time, annual meetings of the Andrew Marvell Society at the South Central Renaissance Conference and panels at the Renaissance Society of America Conference continued to froth the ferment. In 2016, the Society introduced the independent scholarly journal, *Marvell Studies*.

The *Handbook* is dense with forms of historicism that have wrought together Marvell’s life and world for future students. Von Maltzahn begins the *Handbook* with an almost impossibly condensed biography that brims with treasure culled from countless hours in the archives. He also contributes “Marvell and Patronage,” which focuses especially on Marvell’s employ under Lord Thomas Fairfax during the early 1650s and his political alliance with Lord Philip Wharton during the 1660s. Respectively, the chapter considers how “Upon Appleton House” and Marvell’s letters to Warton represent—poetically and rhetorically—a “performance of clientage” (55). Paul Seward’s “Marvell and Diplomacy” offers a sophisticated account of the Hull MP’s diplomatic career, with extensive focus on Charles Howard, First Earl of Carlisle’s embassy to Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark from July 1663 to January 1665. The textual record of Marvell’s diplomacy can reveal, suggests Seward, “the way that rhetorical and poetic thinking could shape emerging ideas and protocols in international relations” (98).

In “Marvell’s Afterlives,” Diane Purkiss offers one of the book’s several insightful chapters about manuscript, print, and the material text. In “Bodleian Library MS. Eng. Poet. D. 49,” Purkiss details the ways that this print copy of the 1681 *Poems*, overwritten as it is with several learned hands, exfoliates meaning while under analysis. The “multiple identities” (725) of the text give it a “chameleonic character”

that “reflects Marvell’s own” (745). Joanna Harris also explores the character of manuscript in her literary treatment of “Andrew Marvell’s Letters.” She discusses the poetic means by which Marvell, in the letters, achieves “iridescent” or chameleonic character: “dramatic techniques, particularly prose dialogues and verbal ripostes, oscillations in narrative voice from first to third person, and the judicious mixture of epistolary conventions and individualized flair” (501). These devices do not overwrite a singularity of purpose: “They inform, but playfully; they perform, but with sober intent” (516).

Several of the chapters locate Marvell’s verse and prose within mid-seventeenth century ecclesiological controversy. For instance, Philip Connell’s “Marvell and the Church” explores “the complexity and doubleness of Marvell’s attitude to the Church of England and its ministers” (129). Connell observes that this ambivalence owes to the fact that Marvell engaged with the Church during “a sustained period of crisis in the nation’s corporate religious life, in which the very identity of the Church appeared to be at stake” (129). Given that scholars have struggled to pin down Marvell’s religious and theological character, Connell’s explanatory clarity is most welcome: “He remained true to that earlier, pre-revolutionary conception of godly or Puritan sensibilities, not as harbingers of schism and dissent, but rather as a legitimate reforming tradition with the Church of England” (135). The chapter is complemented by Harris and N. H. Keeble’s “Marvell and Nonconformity,” which observes the author’s sharply critical stance toward “irrational zeal” (162), a trait shared by some nonconformists as well as by Bishop Samuel Parker, the target of *The Rehearsall Transpros’d* (1672) and its sequel (1673). Though an important controversialist, Marvell “dismisses the controversial enterprise as futile and perverse” (160).

Readers will appreciate the lucidity and explanatory ease of John Rogers’ “Ruin the Sacred Truths: Prophecy, Form, and Nonconformity in Marvell and Milton,” which describes “the literary and intellectual ties that bind Marvell to Milton” (670). Rogers shows Marvell to seek out those moments in Milton that “work to expose the ideological, even spiritual, distance between the mighty poet and himself” (683). Despite Marvell’s “fascination with . . . and even reverence for” Milton’s spiritually confident “assertions of power and purity” (685–86), his

“repeated engagements with Milton’s prophetic mode attest, certainly, to a distaste for bold and public postures of self-aggrandizing piety” (685).

Numerous essays in the *Handbook* illumine Marvell’s engagements with genres and traditions. In “Marvell and Elegy,” Gregory Chaplin considers the Villiers elegy (1648) to initiate “an extended meditation on heroic agency” (407) that culminates in Marvell’s elegy for Cromwell (1658–1659). “The limitations that doomed Villiers and [later] Hastings shape the agency—the mastery over circumstances and time—that Cromwell comes to embody in Marvell’s panegyrics” (418). In “Andrew Marvell and Cavalier Poetics,” James Loxley unsettles the category of cavalier poetry, which can neither be identified with a specific cohort nor be compassed with an “assemblage of thematic and stylistic tendencies” (601). Loxley suggests that the cavaliers might best cohere as a group of authors printed by Henry Moseley: “their publication by Moseley . . . promises their inclusion in a pantheon, a group of poets bound together into exactly the kind of collective identity that the category of cavalier poet has long been held to denote” (603). Loxley leaves us with this defining characteristic: “a heightened sense of a poetry animated by a sense of its own urgency, its own necessity—the obligation to speak up, and the requirement to find the proper or best way of speaking” (613). Yet John Milton—whose 1645 *Poems of Mr. John Milton* Moseley printed—would as surely own this description for himself.

Of the volume’s forty-three essays, I most enjoyed “Marvell’s Latin Poetry and the Art of Punning,” by Estelle Haan. Beginning with a provocative analogy between alphabetical letters and Lucretian atoms, Haan appreciates how “Marvell revels in the Latin word: its sonority, its individual syllables, its multiple meanings, and its associated punning potential” (464). She illumines the extraordinary ways that Marvell puns not only within Latin but also bi-directionally between Latin and English. The chapter climaxes in a reading of the Latin companion poem to “The Garden,” *Hortus*, which teems with diction that turns “kaleidoscopically between two languages” (467), revealing an accumulation of “ambiguities [that] require decoding, yet whose richness forever abounds” (480).

The book's final section includes four essays about the reception of Marvell from the late seventeenth century to the present. For instance, Steven Matthews' "Marvell in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries," details T. S. Eliot's engagement with Marvell while drafting *The Waste Land* (1921), as well as W. B. Yeats' while writing "Sailing to Byzantium." Whereas Eliot focused his admiration on Marvell's wit and decorum, William Empson tapped into energies that continue to be explored in the most recent work on the poet: he "dramatizes all that cannot be said—the psychic hinterland—through his fulsome adoption of classical tropes" (782). The most interesting adoption of Marvell is seen in Michael Donaghy's "Our Life Stories" (2000), which focuses on a child's snow globe: "this marvelous drop, like its own tear" (Donaghy, "Our Life stories," Matthews, 791). A depleted snow globe "reworks Marvellian relish in the self-enclosed and self-contained world towards openness and reciprocity through love and sex" (792).

In the *Handbook's* preface, Dzelzainis notes that "It was important too to reflect the interdisciplinary character of much recent Marvell scholarship, so the volume features chapters from researchers working across disciplinary boundaries in innovative ways" (v-vi). To an extent, poetics-oriented scholarship occupies an adjunct place in the *Handbook*; yet I found its most provocative content to be those essays that invest the gains of historicism into poetic analysis and theoretical implication.

In "Marvell's Unfortunate Lovers," Lynn Enterline seeks "to understand Marvell's interrogations of gender and desire within the discursive, historical parameters of his classicism" (164). Rejecting the "stand-off between historicist and psychoanalytic critique" (165), she assesses how the lyrics attend "to the cost of entering a paternally centred symbolic order" that she associates with Marvell's early rhetorical education (166). Smith's chapter on "To His Coy Mistress" also considers how Marvell's intertextual poetics unleash erotic forces. For Smith, the poem's "language of poetic allusion and echo" negotiates "a history of *carpe diem* poetry" (343). The lyric excavates this tradition with "a searching honesty" that "frees the perceptive reader to think outside and beyond the conventional boundaries of heterosexual gender difference and gender relations" (356).

With characteristic art and adventure, Gordon Teskey reads “The Garden” as an “adventure” that offers an “encounter with the aesthetic experience.... It is the adventure of art as pure speculative thinking, and as metaphysical event” (370). Victoria Silver’s elliptical chapter, “Mr. Bayes in Mr. Bayes,” suggests that Marvell’s facility with rhetorical personation associates him with Hobbes, whose theory of the state requires a sovereign who wields absolute power while personating the state. Indeed, Silver illustrates the intertwining of these forms of personation in Marvell’s representation of Samuel Parker as Mr. Bayes from Buckingham’s *The Rehearsall*: Parker is personated by Marvell as indecorously personating the sovereign who personates the state, hence “Mr. Bayes in Mr. Bayes.”

Readers will also learn much from the twenty-seven chapters that I did not mention in this review. For Oxford University Press, a “handbook” is an imposing tome that rests by the right hand of scholars hoping to contribute meaningfully to a growing field and of students laboring to arrive at scholarly readiness. As we mark the four-hundredth birthday of our author on March 31, 2021, *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell* comes at a perfect time to celebrate the authors and networks who have in recent decades brought Marvell to the forefront of early modern studies.

Alison A. Chapman. *Courts, Jurisdictions, and Law in John Milton and His Contemporaries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020. xvi + 214 pp. \$27.50 (paper) \$95.00 (Cloth). Review by LARA DODDS, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY.

Milton famously wrote *Paradise Lost* in order to “justify the ways of God to men,” placing questions of justice at the center of his great epic. Alison Chapman’s new book, *Courts, Jurisdictions, and Law in John Milton and His Contemporaries* explores how Milton’s thinking about justice developed over a long career in which he was preoccupied by the consideration of courts and their jurisdictions. *Courts, Jurisdictions and the Law* demonstrates that one of the defining features of Milton’s legal thinking is his attention to the varying norms and practices of different courts. The system of law in early modern Europe was actually

multiple systems of law—including common law, Civil law, canon law, equity, and others—with distinct but overlapping jurisdictions. Chapman argues that Milton strategically drew upon the differences between these systems—such as the difference between seditious libel and defamation or the external equity of canon law and the internal equity of Roman law—in service of his arguments for free speech, divorce, and other topics. For Milton, questions of jurisdiction were compelling because they opened up different approaches to the question of justice. Chapman's book effectively makes the case that scholars of Milton, and of law and literature more broadly, should pay more attention to jurisdiction as an element of legal thinking.

Courts, Jurisdictions, and Law in John Milton and his Contemporaries is primarily a book on Milton's prose, though it does include one chapter on *Paradise Lost*. Following the introduction, its six chapters examine Milton's awareness and use of jurisdictional differences throughout his career, beginning with the anti-prelatical tracts and continuing through his late proposals for legal reform. The subject matter of the book is quite technical, so Chapman begins with a substantial and useful preface that defines the key terms for understanding the multiple legal jurisdictions of Milton's age. In the Introduction and throughout the book, Chapman is careful to clarify ambiguous terminology and to highlight the disparities between seventeenth- and twenty-first century legal terms and concepts. This clarity makes the book a useful primer on early modern legal systems in addition to its contributions to scholarship on Milton and the law.

In Chapter 2, "Defending One's Good Name: Free Speech in the Early Prose," Chapman shows how the legal and jurisdictional differences between seditious libel and defamation shape Milton's exploration of the limits of free speech. Milton rejects the jurisprudence of seditious libel as defined by Star Chamber and instead focuses on the jurisprudence of defamation as applied by the common law courts because he sees "free speech primarily as a question of civility and Christian charity and only secondarily as a political right" (25). In this emphasis on the common law, Milton favors a legal rather than a political framework for free speech, which allows him to use truth as a defense. In the case of seditious libel, the truth of politically transgressive speech is not exculpatory, because true words can disrupt the

peace just as false ones can. In common law defamation, however, if a defendant can prove that allegations are true, the plaintiff will often lose the case. In *Animadversions* “Milton works his way toward an idea that repressing free speech hampers society as a whole and deters the spread of religious and political enfranchisement” (33). The common law construction of defamation allows for greater “liberty of speaking” while maintaining order and civility (37). In this way, Milton strives to establish truth-telling, when pursued in service of the commonwealth, as a defense against libel. Chapter 2 begins by quoting Sir Edward Dering’s observation that “this hath been a very accusative age” (23), which, though spoken before the House of Commons in 1641, could easily be describing the media environment of 2021. Even readers who are not scholars of Milton will be interested in this chapter and the next for their exploration of the challenges of truth, falsehood, free speech, and censorship in a media landscape that is all too familiar.

The thinking about libel and defamation developed in these early prose works provided the foundation for Milton’s treatment of free speech and the censorship of books in *Areopagitica*. In Chapter 3, “Monstrous Books: *Areopagitica* and the Problem of Libel,” Chapman addresses the apparent contradiction between *Areopagitica*’s advocacy of free speech and Milton’s allowance of the punishment of bad books. Chapman argues that this tension can be resolved by attending to Milton’s strategic use of the distinction between libel and defamation, or injurious words, as well as that between state and civil matters. Again activating truth as a defense, *Areopagitica* argues for “a broad toleration of books up to the point where they begin saying viciously untrue things about other people” (51). Milton advocates for this position through the analogy of readers as a jury of peers, which suggests that books are judged and if necessary censured, through the “due process of law and not by censorship” (62).

In Chapter 4, “Civil Law and Equity in the Divorce Tracts,” Chapman turns to the different definitions of equity under Roman and canon law as a jurisdictional context for Milton’s writing on divorce. This important chapter presents a reading of *The Doctrine and Discipline and Divorce* and *Tetrachordon* as instances of legal reasoning, or “comparative jurisprudence” (79), which is a useful approach because Milton indeed hopes to change the law of divorce for his

community. Chapman shows that Milton's analysis is unique in its separation of Roman and canon law on the basis of their approaches to equity. Internal equity is the idea that fairness is "implicit in the law"; if strict application of the law creates injustice, then its application should be softened or modified. By contrast, external equity suggests that equity exists outside the law and is expressed through "extralegal principles such as mercy, humanity, [and] commiseration" (88). Milton favors Roman law because it features a stance of internal equity that supports his argument for divorce, while the external equity of canon law threatens it. In one of the most delightful moments in the book, Chapman shows how Milton, like his Adam in Book 8 of *Paradise Lost*, uses equity to determine the intention of the law-giver concerning marriage. External equity makes "divorce a failing to be excused under particular circumstances" (90), but internal equity makes divorce not the exception to the Edenic law of marriage, but part of its fulfillment (92).

Chapter 5, on Milton's *Pro Se Defensio* returns to the topic of injurious words in order to defend *Pro Se Defensio* as a legal argument. Chapman shows how this work, which has sometimes been criticized by scholars for its display of self-interest, nevertheless can be understood in terms of early modern legal standards. Specifically, "Milton uses the assumptions and procedures of the Civil law to arraign his opponent for libel" (99). By showing More to be guilty of infamy, Milton hoped to contribute to the strength and health of the Protestant Church by excluding an unworthy—or infamous—man from public office.

Milton's rejection of canon law takes on another cast in Chapter 6, "The Tithes of War: Paying God Back in *Paradise Lost*," the one chapter of the book to engage with Milton's poetry. Here Chapman shows how Milton uses the difference between legal and moral debts to structure Satan's rebellion against God. Satan wants to translate moral into legal debt, which allows for material (rather than spiritual) repayment. Chapman connects the treatment of debt in Book 6 of *Paradise Lost* to mid-seventeenth-century debates about whether tithes are legal or moral debts. For Milton these debts are moral only, while under canon law they are both a legal and a moral obligation. For Milton the canon law of tithes creates "hostility and violence" (133),

the consequences of which he explores in both his 1659 pamphlet *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings* and in Book 6 of *Paradise Lost*. Satan's rejection of the moral dimension of his debt to God is, Chapman shows, a "poetic enactment" of "the debased logic of forced tithing" (143). Here Chapman comes to one of the broadest and most significant findings of *Courts, Jurisdictions, and the Law*: Milton's absolute rejection of canon law.

In Chapter 7, "Justice in Their Own Hands: Local Courts in the Late Prose," Chapman turns to what Milton's legal ideas might have looked like in the real world. As we know, his ideas about the law of divorce were not taken up by his contemporaries; nevertheless, Milton returned to the practicalities of the legal system in several works written in 1559–60 that included proposals for reforming the law and legal system. In *A Letter to a Friend, Proposals of Certain Expedients*, *A Letter to General Monck*, and *A Readie and Easie Way*, Milton synthesized his lifelong thinking about jurisdiction into proposals for a new court system, as a "decentralized model of legal authority, one in which local communities assume more of the work of making and applying laws" (152). In contrast to the metaphorical jury of readers imagined in *Areopagitica*, these proposals invest greater authority in judges. Chapman concludes this chapter with an examination of the trial of the writer and dissenting preacher John Bunyan, whose experience suggests the risks of Milton's theoretical, and anti-democratic, proposals for reform.

Rather than a conclusion, *Courts, Jurisdictions and Law* ends with a brief afterward about justice in the Columbia Manuscript. The Columbia Manuscript has long been important for Milton studies as it includes transcriptions of several of Milton's works and is the unique witness for *Letter to a Friend* and ten of Milton's state letters. The manuscript consists of two distinct sections. The first, written front-to-back, includes transcriptions of treatises on a range of subjects as well as the copies of *Letter to a Friend*, *Proposals of Certain Expedients*, and the state letters. The second, written back-to-front, is labeled "Index Legalis" and is a legal commonplace book that follows the practices of Roman or Civil law. Chapman's afterward looks at the Columbia Manuscript in light of the findings about Milton's jurisdictional thinking in the book's six chapters, providing additional

evidence for outstanding questions regarding the manuscript. While the Transcriber of the “Index Legalis” and Milton both show an interest in Roman Law, Chapman finds that the topics taken up are quite different, which provides an independent confirmation that the author of the “Index” is not Milton. In the front-to-back side of the manuscript, however, Chapman discovers a greater alignment of interest between the Transcriber and Milton. The principle underlying this collection of apparently diverse texts is an “interest in jurisdictional diversity” (170) that corresponds to Milton’s own interest in “minor jurisprudences,” or, the “smaller, independent enclaves of law” (171). Other details of the Columbia Manuscript suggest a disparity between the Transcriber’s political views and Milton’s even as they share an interest in jurisdictional variety. This observation underlies Chapman’s hopeful conclusion regarding the outcome of Milton’s jurisdictional thinking: “On subjects ranging from books to England’s diversity courts, Milton expresses a consistent fundamental belief: blanket prescriptions flatten out the rich variety of civil and religious life, and people should be left as free as possible to make choices for themselves” (181).

As Chapman acknowledges, her turn to the Columbia Manuscript in the book’s conclusion is an “oblique” approach to Milton’s works (170). Broader considerations about how the research in this book may open new avenues of research in Milton studies or in the broader field of law and literature are left to readers. There is much that scholars in these fields will be able to draw upon, and I will highlight just one possibility here. The central insight of this book is the recognition that to understand justice, scholars of law and literature must take seriously differences of jurisdiction. Given the focus of this book, Chapman does not consider how these differences intersect with other forms of difference. As she acknowledges in Chapter 3, an awareness of the jurisprudence of injurious words does not address the bigotry against Catholics expressed in *Areopagitica*. For the purposes of her argument, Chapman sets aside questions of religion, and this is understandable. One of the potential outcomes of the research in *Courts, Jurisdictions, and Law*, however, is to provide models that future scholars of law and literature can build upon. The attention to variations in context and application required by the jurisdictional approach modeled in this book seems well suited to an intersectional field of law and literature that places questions of race, gender and religion at its center.

Joseph L. Black. *The Martin Marprelate Press; A Documentary History*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2020. 170 pp. \$21.95. Review by JOHN MULRYAN, ST. BONAVENTURE UNIVERSITY.

“The authorities who conducted the investigations recorded in this collection sought detailed information about every stage of the book-making process and about every person involved” (9). But their motives were hardly benign. While the primary goal of the Marprelate project was to publicize the Presbyterian campaign for church reform (10), the supporters of the established church would tolerate no dissent and hunted down the attackers, especially the supporters of the playfully impertinent advocates of the (possibly) fictional Martin Marprelate.

But the attackers of the press were remarkably immune to its charm and seductive eloquence, or the understanding of why anyone would find it entertaining or engaging.

Two of the key figures in the controversy were Job Throkmorton, considered the voice of Martin Marprelate and John Penry, the manager of the Marprelate press. “The Marprelate project was a communal operation. Job Throkmorton (primarily) wrote the tracts and Penry managed the press, but many others contributed. Producing and circulating the books required several printers and two presses, a stitcher, suppliers of ink and paper, the sympathetic members of four large households, several wholesale distributors, and probably scores of local distributors” (28).

Some putative Marprelates were tortured, while others were convicted and sent to prison on the basis of hearsay evidence or sometimes no evidence at all. Unfortunately, most of the attacks on the Marprelate faction are filled with confusion, inconsistencies, and non sequiturs. For example, in attacking Penry the claim is made that “a Noble man deceased did encourage him to write bitterly against the Bishops” (90). Hearsay evidence abounds such as: “he thinketh,” “hath heard it reporteth,” “he thinketh to be Waldegrave,” “as they believe,” and “Mr. Wigston being examined saith, that he was moved by his wife, that Hodgekyns might do a piece of work in his house, which himself saw not, but heard afterward, that *Martin Junior* &

Senior were printed in a low parlor of his house” (95). There was a press in Fawsley (a parish in Northampton, England) where many of the Marprelate tracts were supposed to have been printed. “Edward Sharpe saith that ... this press was carried to Sir Richard Knighley’s house” at Fawsley where the *Epitome* was printed in his house by Walgrave (105). “Edward Sharpe the minister of Fawsley who going to visit Walgrave’s man ... found new printed papers of Martin Marprelate lying in the chamber and also a printing press there standing” (105). So, the inquisitors were partially successful in thwarting the efforts of the Marprelate faction and impeding the unlawful printing process, but the Marpletian spirit remained unbowed.

Aside from the Marprelate controversy, the established church resisted all attempts to foster change of any kind. “To push for innovation in church government was to call into question the legal foundations of monarchical sovereignty” (38). It was even considered treasonous to *read* a copy if they attacked the crown, no matter how playful or brilliantly comical they might have been. In short, the inquisitors were not amused.

Women also played a prominent part in the controversy. Elizabeth Crane, who was supposed to be active in the reform movement, was accused of harboring the press in her home, but she replied with spirit that she would not be “her own hangman” by admitting the charge. When questioned by the Attorney General John Popham, she refused to answer any questions about herself (80).

Sometimes incriminating documents were “found” by the way-side. When Hoskins (perhaps Bishop John Hodgkins) asked Penry to tell him the location of a “Martin” book, he said “it would come to Hoskin’s hands.” And as they walked, Hoskins found two or three sheets of paper rolled up together which he took up and put in his bag (115).

The remarkable effectiveness of the Marprelate faction frightened the authorities who had no defense against playful mockery and biting wit. To my mind, the playful sallies of the Marprelate faction so infuriated the inquisitors that they took drastic and unmerited action against them. This is not the view presented in this account but I feel that I must follow the evidence where it leads.

Claire M. L. Bourne. *Typographies of Performance in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. xxiii + 328 pp. 70 illustrations. \$90.00. Review by LAURA ESTILL, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY.

Typographies of Performance in Early Modern England is a model of excellent scholarship: predicated on impressive research, it outlines important arguments in clear and graceful writing. Bourne's first footnote invites readers to consider their act of reading and how it is mediated by the typography of the book they are reading. This introductory footnote exemplifies how Bourne's compelling writing encourages readers to approach texts and documents with fresh eyes. As she lays out in the introduction, with *Typographies of Performance*, Bourne "argue[s] that typography, broadly conceived, was mobilized creatively by printers, publishers, playwrights, and other agents of the book trade to make the extra-lexical effects of performance . . . intelligible on the page" (2). Bourne focuses not just on type and font, but considers how multiple elements such as layout, printed symbols, and illustration come together on the pages of early modern English playbooks. The scope of this book (printed playbooks from the fifteenth to the early eighteenth century) allows Bourne to show how typographical practices relating to drama emerged and evolved over time. Bourne's clear analysis is underpinned by extensive (and not easily undertaken) archival research.

Bourne carefully outlines the ambit of her interventions: she is not pointing to typography as evidence of how early modern playbooks were "actually read" but rather, as evidence of how they were "designed to be read" (31). Likewise, she doesn't assume that playbook typography can be read as a "score for performance" or as a representation of "dynamics of actual performance" (87). It is this thoughtful treatment of source material and how we can theorize it that makes *Typographies of Performance* such an important and nuanced contribution to scholarship on early modern drama and book history.

Bourne's chapters each focus on one typographical element in early playbooks (pilcrow, dashes, numbered scenes, illustrations, and place indicators) to explore "five attributes of early modern plays that were keyed to generic innovation and made meaning in performance

(dialogue, the actor's body, the scene as a unit of action, plot, and moveable scenery)" (27). Each chapter tackles source materials from a different perspective: some survey early printed plays broadly; others focus mainly on a single author; and the extended examples within each chapter are taken from plays from across her period of study.

In her first chapter, Bourne looks to the history of writing dialogue in fifteenth-century English manuscripts and shows how printers adapted scribal conventions in order to make their play-texts understandable to the reader. She examines early English vernacular playbooks including *Fulgens and Lucrece*, *Hick Scorner*, *Everyman*, and *Gorboduc*. Her well-researched and clearly explained argument traces the rise and fall of the use of pilcrow in English printed plays and plays translated into English. In this instance, when she turns to translations, she focuses on Senecan tragedies. Bourne's explanations had me nodding along and left me wanting to learn more about continental typographical practices for publishing plays as well as English practices for publishing classical plays in Latin. Bourne's focus on England, however, allows her to dive deep into her source material and examples in order to prove how typography "[taught] readers how to read books as plays" (76).

The second chapter, which draws extensively on Ben Jonson's comedies, demonstrates how dashes were used to indicate bodily functions. Bourne's explication of the dashes to signal Crispinus's retching in *Poetaster* is particularly effective: she shows how Jonson was able to typographically mark non-verbal action for his reader. One of the strengths of this monograph is how its discussion of typography accounts for stage practices and performed theatre without being beholden to it; Bourne does not assume that the goal of playbooks is to recreate the experience of being in the audience at a live performance, but she shows how playbook typographies create its own readerly audience experience. Bourne offers a paragraph brimming with examples of how playbooks use dashes to indicate action and interruption (113), yet by listing the plays solely by their *Short Title Catalogue* or *Wing* numbers, some of her important observations are buried: a table with play titles (as well as bibliographic numbers and dates of publication) would make the information even more usable. Readers have to turn to separate bibliographic resources to glean

that dashes indicate hiccupping in *Eastward Ho* (1605); spitting in *The Banditti* (1686); and toasting in *The Two Maids of More-Clack* (1609). Chapter two also includes a consideration of how printers deployed other glyphs such as daggers (†), square crosses (also called a cross pattée, ☩), and asterisks (*) in order to make meaning in plays, with a particularly compelling example of the use of typographical crosses and daggers in different editions of *The Jew of Malta*.

Chapter 3 analyzes how scene breaks were represented in early modern English printed playbooks by also considering how people moved into, out of, and around early modern playing spaces. Bourne patiently dispels the myth that the bare stage necessarily indicates a scene division. This chapter includes engaging examples from *Tamburlaine*, Shakespeare's plays, particularly the histories, and mid-century drolls, such as those published by Henry Marsh and Francis Kirkland in *The Wits*.

Chapter 4's discussion of playbook illustrations is, perhaps, the book's outlier. It is also a chapter that could be expanded into its own fascinating monograph by extending its scope beyond its current focus on Beaumont and Fletcher and perhaps quantifying illustration in early English playbooks. Chapter 4's title, "Plot Illustrated," showcases the two ideas yoked together in how they anticipate and guide expectations: plot (the arrangement of scenes) and illustration (from earlier title page woodcuts to eighteenth-century engravings). Bourne considers the practicalities of collaborative early modern playwrighting and printing. This chapter offers an interesting anecdote from a Restoration jestbook about Beaumont and Fletcher walking through a field and discussing how to kill the king, when they are arrested on suspicion of treason (196). The playwrights are freed when they reveal that their plot was not, indeed, seditious, but rather, theatrical. This anecdote justifies, in part, Bourne's decision to focus on Beaumont and Fletcher in this chapter, but additional extended examples of illustrations from play not by master plotters—or, indeed, further examination of illustrations in early plays with mediocre plotting—would be a welcome addition to this discussion. This chapter's main contribution is exploring audience expectations from performed plays and demonstrating how printers mediated readerly expectations and encounters with playbooks using illustration.

In chapter 5, Bourne turns to statements of place in early modern playbooks—those notices that are ubiquitous in modern editions (“Scene: the castle ramparts”) yet were not uniformly deployed in early playbooks. Chapter five builds on discussions from chapter three about the nature of “scenes” and play divisions and on chapter four’s introduction of playbook design and illustration as it relates to place. At stake in this chapter is not simply how we edit or understand location in early modern drama, but also how early modern readers and audiences understood the unity of place (as one of the neoclassical unities: time, place, and action). Discussions of John Dryden’s *Amboyna* and Elkanah Settle’s *The Princess of Morocco* showcase this volume’s contribution to Restoration theatre and book history.

The many images in this book are a welcome source of primary evidence. The value of the figures is particularly evident where Bourne juxtaposes two similar images, such as an engraving depicting Julius Caesar being stabbed from Jacob Tonson’s 1709 *Works of Mr. William Shakespeare*. In this instance, Bourne presents one image with no manuscript additions (Fig. 2.27a), and another where a reader has “heeded the call to look, to see, and especially to mark Caesar’s wounds” (136) and added dash-like wounds onto Caesar’s body (Fig. 2.27b). Although some of the captions include details to help guide a reader’s eye, many don’t, and the small addition of explanations in captions such as “Note the mid-speech asterisks” would make the book even easier to navigate. I appreciate the challenge of printing the many images that appear in this book (gathering permissions, cost of printing, and so forth), yet would still have welcomed even more, such as an image of Bourne’s initial example, the 1599 quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, facing the first page of the introduction. Indeed, *Typographies of Performance* opens up an area of study (early play typography) that could be well-served by photo essays, exhibits (both in person and online), and table books chock full of colour illustrations.

Throughout the book, and particularly in her concluding “Prolusion” on Edward Capell, Bourne navigates the reader through not just early modern source material, but also how that material has been interpreted (and sometimes misinterpreted) and repackaged by later scholars and editors. She encourages her reader to revisit the ideas we take for granted (what is a scene?) and consider how and when they

became scholarly commonplaces.

Typographies of Performance is an important contribution to the study of early modern English drama. This book will be required reading for anyone editing an early modern English play or working at the intersections of English drama and book history. Most impressively, however, *Typographies of Performance* will benefit anyone who turns to printed plays, from scholars to theatre practitioners. In a monograph about how early playbooks were designed to be read, Bourne shapes how we read plays today.

Roze Hentschell. *St Paul's Cathedral Precinct in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Spatial Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. xiv + 270 pp. + 9 illus. \$80.00. Review by P.G. STANWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

This fascinating study explores that function of geography which defines the spatial relationship of people in places. In writing of the many people who lived in early modern London and experienced St. Paul's Cathedral and precinct, Roze Hentschell sets out to show that "space is more than a neutral and fixed setting for human lives; rather it is through an understanding of the embodied *practices* that space becomes animated and more fully understood" (13). The challenge in writing of Old St. Paul's lies in the fact that it no longer has a physical existence, but lives in a multitude of printed and manuscript documents. William Dugdale's familiar *History of St Paul's Cathedral in London*, with Wenceslaus Hollar's drawings (1658), is an indispensable work, but it describes an idealized church, and of course, without people. Hentschell supplements these sources with many literary texts that are concerned with Paul's precinct, especially satirical poetry, popular prose, and dramatic comedies. The five chapters that follow draw upon such sources while also describing "spaces and uses."

These succeeding chapters reflect seriatim, on "Paul's Nave," "Paul's Cross," "Paul's Churchyard," "Paul's Boys," and "Paul's Works," each chapter a full discussion, complete in itself so that the book offers five unique scenes, yet connected by the overarching presence of the Cathedral and its precinct. The nave offered a place for "walkers," well

attested by Thomas Dekker in *The Gull's Hornbook* and by Ben Jonson in *Everyman Out of His Humour*. One pictures a crowd of various sorts and conditions moving in an endless circuit past the numerous tombs and monuments—the living in a landscape of death's reminder. Hentschell recalls that both individuals and groups, “interacted with tombs, monuments, and other commemorative markers, inscribing them with new meaning” (65), and notes especially Duke Humphrey's great tomb that became the site for festival activities.

The following chapter reviews the significance of Paul's Cross, the outdoor pulpit in the northeast quadrant of the churchyard, and the popular site of many sermons, sometimes impressively preached by such distinguished figures as John Donne. The discussion now focuses especially on the texts of these sermons and their particular concern with the frequenters of Paul's nave and churchyard. Hentschell means to show that, “sermons are hybrid texts, incorporating rhetoric normally associated with popular satire and witty invective into the expression of religious didacticism” (69). The author gives a number of literary texts in support of this contention, pointing to the popularity and influence of Philip Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583) and the continuing concern with excessive apparel, or “sartorial vanity” (68). She quotes from George Gascoigne, *The Steel Glass* (1576), John Marston, *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), Thomas Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593), and others to illustrate the ethical and moral environment that homiletic discourse should confront and attack. While preachers of the early modern period—especially at Paul's Cross—share similar idioms and verbal gestures, Hentschell wants us to believe that there is a particular style especially suited for sermons at Paul's Cross: “The preachers *relied* on the profane people of St Paul's; they were both the subject of and the audience for the sermons that derided an excessive concern for fashion” (103). But this judgment is only sometimes true, I think, for Paul's sermons admitted much rhetorical variety, as one recent collection demonstrates: *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521–1642* (Oxford, 2017).

In sight of Paul's Cross is the churchyard, the ceremonial heart of London, and the precinct that included numerous structures and countless activities. There were in about 1600, among the various buildings, the Bishop's Palace, the Vicarage House, the residence of

the vicars choral or laymen of the choir, which had been divided into thirteen smaller tenements, Stationers' Hall . . . , and more. Hentschell writes that, "structures around the church were so numerous that there were only specific areas that would truly have been used as an open yard or thoroughfare" (107). In so crowded a precinct, there was bound to be disruption, sometimes violence, and always a ready-made crowd for witnessing executions, such as the hanging of several participants in the Gunpowder Plot. Within this rich confusion, some twenty-eight bookshops offered and promoted their stock. Browsing might also turn into loitering, as Jonson depicts in *Everyman Out of His Humour* or Dekker in *The Gull's Hornbook*. But we are able through them to witness early modern "shopping"—spatial practices reveal the sense of place. This long, central chapter of the book concludes with an account of the College of Minor Canons, a residential space near most of the bookshops. The canons, numbering twelve men in Orders, were entrusted with preparation for holy service, singing at the liturgy, and catechizing (and supervising) the boy choristers. The canons lived with their families, all in close proximity with one another, and sometimes, as the Bishop's Visitation records of 1598 show, in animosity and distress.

The choristers of St. Paul's, known often as The Children of Paul's, numbered ten boys. Their principal occupation was singing as members of the Cathedral choir, and only secondarily did they perform in stage plays. Hentschell urges this point, and reminds us of the thematic concern of her book: "The boys' bailiwick—the singing school, the residence hall, their 'theatre', the cathedral choir, the churchyard, and the grammar school—was a complex and overlapping set of spaces" (145). And these spaces are defined by the activities that took place in them. The boys were (naturally) mischievous and lively, and they saw a way to improve themselves by exacting "spur money" from would-be London gallants jingling in the church. In *The Gull's Hornbook*, Dekker describes choristers leaving the choir stalls, descending and surrounding the offensive malefactor, in order to collect the fee. While the first concern of "Paul's Boys" was to sing, they were of course famously actors in roles requiring, or written for them, such plays as John Marston's *What You Will*, or *Antonio and Mellida*.

We reach “Paul’s Work,” the final chapter of the book, now no longer about “spatial practices,” but now “the materiality of the church itself and the debates surrounding its repairs” (183). Especially since 1561, when the church lost its spire in a terrible storm, the whole structure was decaying and in dire need of extensive renovation. Of particular interest in the ceaseless and largely unsuccessful effort toward repair, there appeared the popular and remarkable *Complaint of Pauls to All Christian Souls: An Humble Supplication, to Our Good King and Nation, For Her New Reparation* (1616) by the scrivener Henry Farley, written in first person (St. Paul’s Church herself), in wretched verse, and accompanied by three painted panels of Paul’s by John Gipkyn. Only four years later, Bishop John King preached at Paul’s Cross in the King’s presence on the text from Psalm 102, of affliction and need, pointing toward the needs of the Church itself. There would follow years of effort to carry out repairs, which ended abruptly at the beginning of the Civil Wars.

Hentschell effectively outlines and narrates these events, and draws her study to a close. Her book is written with understanding and care for the time and place, but its theoretical framing is perhaps adventitious. Yet there is an imaginative recollection of the extraordinary world of St. Paul’s, especially of the later Reformation, well invoked and brought to life within the shape of “literary geography.” The book does leave one with a richer and fuller sense of St. Paul’s Church and precinct, its liveliness, and significance. The author is correct in judging her own project by noting that her work, “highlights certain spaces and practices to the neglect of others. Perhaps most obviously absent is a discussion of the embodied practices of quotidian religious life beyond sermon attendance” (228). Also, I would add that the style is generally clogged with numerous detailed references in a kind of academic style that obscures the author’s own authority. Nevertheless, Hentschell has provided an important, detailed, well documented, and even memorable study with an excellently full bibliography.

Katherine R. Larson. *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. xx + 245 pp. + 16 illus. + 14 tracks. \$77. Review by ANNA LEWTON-BRAIN, MCGILL UNIVERSITY AND DAWSON COLLEGE.

Performers of early music tend to rely on musicologists for insight into historical performance practices to inform their attempts at musical reconstructions. In *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air*, Katherine Larson inverts that paradigm and uses her insights as a musician to expand her musicological, literary, and historical analysis to “animate” (202) early modern song.

Songs are by their “matter” (31) or medium, necessarily inter-media art, but, as Larson outlines in her extensive “Prologue,” they have too often suffered from the limits of disciplinary study (1–31). Literary critics tend to treat early modern songs as poems, or worse, dismiss these lyrics as merely song and therefore not worthy of serious attention (4–5). Similarly, musicologists have tended to focus on “the notational framework of extant scores” (5). Larson argues that what is needed from scholars is to take account of the “singing body” (15) and to approach song as a performance art form. Borrowing the term “drastic” from musicologist Carolyn Abbate, Larson sets out to explore “the ‘wild’ [or “drastic”] elements of song as a product of the human body” (10).

Larson is particularly interested in the female singing body and the fourteen songs that she addresses in the book, which she herself sings on the companion tracks (<https://global.oup.com/booksites/content/9780198843788/>) accompanied by the wonderfully sensitive and musical lutenist Lucas Harris, are all in one way or another connected to women: some have lyrics composed by women, some are from collections dedicated to women, and others are female persona lyrics. In highlighting this repertoire, Larson is redressing a gap in musicological and feminist research. Much has been written on the continental female musicians and composers of the early modern period such as Barbara Strozzi and Francesca Caccini, but since, unlike in Europe, there were not professional female musicians in England, given “the pre-Restoration injunctions against women’s public appearance on the English commercial stage,” there has to date been scant attention

paid to the music-making of early modern English women (24–25).

The “Prologue” ends with an analysis of Robert Jones’s strophic air (or ayre), “My father faine would have mee a take a man that hath a beard,” which was published in 1610 in *The Muses Garden for Delights*, a book of airs dedicated to Mary Wroth (27–31). The song is voiced from the perspective of a fourteen-year-old girl considering the handsome husband chosen for her by her father and has interesting resonances as a comedic lyric that expresses female sexual desire. Larson’s reading of the music and lyrics together is astute and helpfully brings her own personal experience of singing and recording the song into the discussion to highlight the “drastic” elements of vocal production and music-making (31); however, as is often the case in the analysis of such a rich medium as song, there is much left to be explored. Lines like “I must not speak as I do think” and the song’s mockery of the mother’s reticence to let her daughter marry at the age of fourteen reveal the ways in which women’s voices were silenced in the period. Larson has included an image of the printed air (Figure P6), but the lyrics are hard to make out. Of the fourteen tracks recorded and discussed, only one transcription is provided (of “Sweet Echo” by Henry Lawes), and images of the original manuscript or print sources are only provided for five of the songs. One of the central barriers of access to this material for literary scholars is the lack of quality editions of musical settings of lyrics they may be interested in. Larson likely prepared editions for her recording session, and there is already a companion website hosted by Oxford University Press for the musical tracks. A digital appendix with edited scores of the songs would be beneficial to scholars wanting to digest and build on Larson’s argument and perhaps use her recordings pedagogically. Larson’s involvement in the Early Modern Songscapes web platform (<https://ems.digitalscholarship.utoronto.ca/>), which hosts editions and recordings of the previously unedited songs of Henry Lawes’s 1653 *Ayres and Dialogues*, shows she is aware of these issues in the field of song studies and is working to redress them.

Chapter One: “Airy Forms” is perhaps the most broadly applicable chapter of the book as it lays out “an embodied poetics of song” (33) by attending to the “lexical slipperiness” of song as a genre (34). Looking to Renaissance English literary theorists including Philip

Sidney, William Scott, George Puttenham, and Henry Peacham and Renaissance music theorists such as Thomas Morley and Charles Butler, Larson demonstrates the closeness of the two media, music and poetry, in the period. In particular, she highlights how often literary theorists borrowed language from music theory to explain their art and how poesy was essentially conceived of as a performance-based oral art form (37). She also argues convincingly for a “capacious” and “elastic” understanding of form that allows for multidimensional analysis of song’s many facets—textual, musical, and performance based (34). In a fascinating discussion of style, Larson shows how florid seventeenth-century compositions that used ornamentation, dissonance, and chromaticism to excess were gendered as effeminate by both William Prynne and Charles Butler; Prynne calls such pieces “whorish musicke crowned with flowers” (47). The chapter ends with analysis of two anonymous settings of Mary Sidney Herbert’s translations of Psalms 51 and 130, composed in quite the opposite style to the music that Prynne critiques. These two pieces are this reviewer’s favorite tracks, and Larson rightly calls Psalm 51 an “exquisite setting” (57). Particularly touching is her anecdote about being pregnant when recording Psalm 51 and the resonance she felt with the lyrics of the third verse when the singer imagines her gestation in her mother’s womb, when “as with living heat she cherished [her]” (line 17). It is this sort of immeasurable but deeply meaningful element of singing—the personal investment in the lyrics and intention on the part of the singer at any one performance of a song—that Larson is rightly pointing to as perhaps the most important element of vocal music. It is, she acknowledges, “airy” or unstable and therefore difficult to theorize, but absolutely fundamental to early modern song and to the song genre as a whole.

The second chapter, “Breath of Sirens,” examines the early modern technical understandings of air, breath, and the singing body, particularly the female singing body, and thus the chapter is a resource for scholars working on sound, acoustics, and the history of science. Larson begins with the standard sources for Renaissance understandings of the physics and physiology of sound production: Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and Ficino. It is from Ficino that Larson takes the title of her book, for he likens “the very matter of song” to “a kind of

airy and rational animal” that acts on our *spiritus*, the intermediary substance between soul and body (66). Charles Butler’s remarks in *The Principles of Musik* that “a Singing-man neede never fear the *Astma*, *Peripneumonia*, or *Consumption*: or any other like affections of that vital part: which ar the death of many students,” seems particularly apt advice for the current Coronatide—an incentive perhaps for us all to sing more, even if we are stuck at home (71). The discussion of how to produce a trill or “*tremblement*” that ends with the advice from Bacilly’s *Remarques curieuses*, “il n’y a que la pratique qui les puisse faire comprendre,” resonated particularly with me, as the words of my voice teacher when I asked her how to learn to trill effectively were “you just do it” (75). Larson points to such moments of “vagueness” in singing treatises as registering the “embodied, ‘drastic’ experience of singing on a textual level” (76) and concludes that “as a performance phenomenon, song can only be captured imperfectly on the page; it is more easily felt than explained” (77). Despite the challenges of talking about singing bodies and song performance, Larson uses her experience of recording Charles Coleman’s “Bright Aurelia” and the anonymous air, “Go thy way” to “animate” seventeenth-century debates about ornamentation and style (77–85). The chapter continues with a discussion of rhetorical affect and song that draws on John Milton, John Calvin, Charles Butler, and Baldassare Castiglione, before analyzing two songs of grief: John Bartlet’s air, “If ever hapless woman had a cause to breathe her plaints into the open ayre” and John Danyel’s “Mrs M. E. her funeral teares for the death of her husband” (92–96). That discussion of affect is taken up in the final section of the chapter, which focuses on the prolific writings of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (96–109). Larson describes the female-centric salon-like atmosphere of music-making gatherings at Henry Lawes’s house where two airs by Henry Lawes, recorded by Larson, with lyrics by female poets Katherine Philips (“Come, my Lucatia”) and Lady Mary Dering (“In vain, faire *Cloris*”) might have been sung and recounts how the Duchess herself sang a more simple “Old Ballad” at a musical evening at her house in Antwerp (103). This chapter thus does much to flesh out the singing culture of women in early modern England.

Chapter Three: “Voicing Lyric” focuses on the writings of Mary Wroth, “an accomplished musician whose writings abound with

musical lyrics and allusions to song performance” (112) and builds an argument for the musical qualities of the manuscript collection of her writings now housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library (V.a.104), and the significance of the songs in *Urania*. Larson’s discussion of “faining” in the chapter is particularly interesting as it raises debates about vocal range and color in historical performance practice. Larson makes a feminist case for the “potency of women’s songs in Wroth’s romance” (138) and concludes the chapter with a reflection on her experience of recording Alfonso Ferrabosco’s setting of Wroth’s lyric, “Was I to blame” (136–137).

At this point, the book moves farther from traditional musicological and literary study of lyric poetry and music to address the traces of music in the theatrical genres of early modern women’s household (or “closet”) dramas (Chapter Four: “Household Songs”), and masques (Chapter Five: “Sweet Echo”). Larson argues for the performability of plays by Jane Lumley, Mary Sidney, Elizabeth Cary, Jane Cavendish and Elizabeth Brackley, Mary Wroth, and Margaret Cavendish that have traditionally been treated as “closet” dramas, meant to be read (139) and demonstrates the acoustic permeability of the closet in the early modern household, suggesting that “musical and sonic isolation was more fantasy than reality” (148). The fourth chapter draws on three recent productions of such household texts—the Rose Company’s 2013–14 UK tour of Jane Lumley’s manuscript translation of *Iphigenia at Aulis* (c. 1554); stagings by the Toronto Masque Theatre in 2012 and the New Perspectives Theatre Company in 2014 of Margaret Cavendish’s *The Convent of Pleasure* (pub. 1668); and Shakespeare’s Globe’s Read Not Dead 2014 production of Mary Wroth’s *Love’s Victory* (c. 1620)—to argue that these texts have been “undervalued as viable performance texts” (142). One highlight of this chapter is the discussion of an epistle to the reader prefacing *The Worlds Olio* in which Margaret Cavendish worries over the power of vocal delivery to either mar or make her work: “Writings, though they are not so, yet they sound good or bad according to the Readers, and not according to their Authors” (160). This gets to the heart of a challenge with performance studies: that listening to a performance of a song or poem rather than just reading the lyrics and imagining their sonorous effects in one’s mind can make it difficult to evaluate a piece of

art since the success or ability of the song to create its emotional and cognitive effects in an auditor is reliant on the particular aptitude of a particular performer in a particular moment in time.

The fifth chapter addresses a particular performance, by a particular singer, at a particular moment in time: The Lady's song, "Sweet Echo" by Henry Lawes in Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle (Comus)* performed in 1634 by Alice Egerton, then fourteen years old (181). Larson fleshes out the context of Egerton's performance—she was Henry Lawes's student and the air was written for her to show her skill as a performer and to dramatize virtuous action. In this final chapter Larson builds on and draws in elements from previous chapters to weave together a compelling argument about the potency of this performance.

The Matter of Song is a substantial contribution to early modern literary studies, musicology, and gender studies on multiple levels. It helpfully theorizes how to talk about the slippery and multifaceted genre of song, it is full of relevant contextualizing early modern sources on air, poetry, acoustics, and singing bodies, and it does not shy away from the most "drastic" and also the most fundamental element of song as performance. The one element that Larson could attend more to is the auditor and his or her role in listening actively and creating meaning. Larson recounts, "playing physically to the empty seats in the studio with amplified facial expressions and gestures" during her recording session (29). The impact of an audience's presence on a musical performance has never before been so obvious as now, during this global pandemic, when musicians, if they are allowed to make music at all, are playing to empty houses, and as any singer will tell you, it is not the same to sing a song alone to oneself as to sing to an audience, especially a willing and attentive and active one. On a technical note, Larson's prose style is direct and fluid, the copy editing is flawless, the book is thoroughly indexed (238–245), and the Bibliography is usefully divided into Primary and Secondary Sources (209–235).

Jennifer Richards. *Voices & Books in the English Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. xvii + 329 + 25 illus. \$61.00. Review by MARGARET J. OAKES, FURMAN UNIVERSITY.

“There is an obvious problem that we need to acknowledge right from the start of this chapter: we cannot recover the Renaissance voice in any straightforward way” (279). This statement is from a chapter co-authored by Jennifer Richards in *The Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*, entitled “The Anatomy of the Renaissance Voice.” The authors of that chapter go on to contemplate the paradox of a fleeting phenomenon, unique to each individual and changeable instantaneously with mood, intent, and meaning, created from the physicality of the voice box, larynx, nose, and mouth. Richards, the Joseph Cowen Professor of English Literature at Newcastle University, writes frequently on speaking and hearing voices in the early modern period, but voices as they are mediated through and create meaning from printed books read aloud. In her latest book, Richards locates texts, situations, and commentary that can tell us when, why, and how the vocal transmission of the written book was a crucial means of an “embodied experience” (187) for listeners of the book. Richards argues that the “voice is a physiological technology for making meaning” (24), and she rethinks both the material object of the book and the circumstances in which it might be heard, in a literal sense, in less obvious ways. *Voices and Books* does not consider oral genres such as drama and ballads, but “first person poetry and prose in print” (25). The historical subject matter of the book includes a limited range of materials, some based on Richards’ previous work, and none of which are the texts of non-dramatic fiction or nonfiction that a reader might expect. Richards’ work lays a brief foundation for further exploration of vocal cues in a wide range of early modern genres and formats of texts.

While the notion that Appalachian Mountains harbored the remnants of “Shakespeare’s English” is the scholarly version of an urban myth, its continued life speaks to the fascination that we have for the sound of lost voices. We can capture words, images, and even some idea of sounds through music, but the first and most basic communicative tool that humans have is paradoxically fleeting. Meaning is added to words exponentially by pitch, tone, pauses, volume, emo-

tion, and non-verbal additions such as laughter, stammering, “um,” and whatever was the early modern version of the twenty-first century “like.” Richards asserts that attention to the material object of the book in recent historical studies and an overemphasis on the silent, male scholar reading alone in his study has hampered our view of books as tools for oral communication that were interpreted by variations in the voice, which held within them the cues for aiding oral readers.

The objective of *Voices and Books* is twofold: to elevate the role of *pronuntiatio*, the often-overlooked aspect of rhetoric and to reconsider the role of books as “events”: tools for interpretation that only have full meaning when they are read aloud. *Pronuntiatio* emphasizes the physicality of oral delivery: the “quality” of the voice, stance, gestures, posture, and facial expressions, which she distinguishes from the concept of *elocutio*, which is more related to the stylistic construction of communication. It can mean pronouncing words correctly, but Richards argues that the expression of words by the voice was a more important channel than historians have acknowledged in the past. Because this is a history of understanding the physical voice in action, the subject matter is somewhat disjointed, and each section of the book is better understood as standing alone in its analysis. The first section discusses locations and uses of voices in the period, both to make meaning and as the voice was used by certain figures. The examination of the material book for vocal cues inserted by readers or printers is intriguing, and the section on the use of *pronuntiatio* in teaching is just commonsense. Richards argues persuasively and logically that the schoolroom was heavily dependent on oral reading for teaching both content and maturity of expression in oral communication, something that tends to be assigned to “rhetoric” in modern thinking (when it is taught at all). While Richards seems concerned about the difficulty of determining how vocal modulation was taught from books (repeating this point three times in Chapter 2, with a concern that Renaissance texts do not discuss *pronuntiatio*), this seems unnecessary to make her point. A tradition of reading aloud to students, and helping them learn through the instructor’s oral expression, seems like a practice that is so obvious as a pedagogical tool that it would not need much exhortation or explanation. The unit on the sounds of children being beaten in the early modern classroom seems

strained as a topic for this book. However, the look at women's education is useful, not because we know how girls sounded as they were being taught to read aloud, but to add to the considerable work on female literacy by scholars such as Heidi Brayman Hackel, Catherine E. Kelly, Margaret W. Ferguson, and Mihoko Susuki and to address concerns in the period by female writers such as Margaret Cavendish over how readers read her work.

Given the contention over the use of the Bishop's Bible in English churches to promote Bible comprehension and concerns over ill-trained preachers as expressed by people such as Launcelot Andrewes and George Herbert, it is not surprising that Richards offers a section that supplements the well-considered topic of sermon presentation with that of reading the Bible out loud and distinguishes between the reading of verses, the reading of prepared homilies, and the reading of sermons prepared by the individual preacher. "Bare reading" is complained of in the period, meaning both straight reading without exposition and poor delivery, and Richards asserts, somewhat obviously, that a lively and expressive public reading of the Bible might have been preferable also because it does not rely on the "charismatic voice of the preacher" (150). This is also a theological point—if one believes that the Bible is easily understood without pastoral interpretation, then reading the Bible out loud to a congregation may be sufficient, but a view of the clergy as mediator and explicator may render "mere" reading an inferior activity. Richards attempts to fill in the gaps of our ability to discern concerns about audience comprehension by looking at the use of paraphrase from the pulpit, particularly Erasmus' *Paraphrases in Novum Testamentum* which under Edward VI was intended to be read aloud as a way of further explicating the difficulties of the gospels. Richards' study does not go past the Bishops' or Geneva Bibles, so a reader looking for the rich history of the goals of the translators of the Authorized Version should look to the work of David Norton or Alistair McGrath.

The final section addresses a few examples of what Richards describes as "talking books": "records of past speech (historical and fictional)" (187) and scripts of speeches. This portion is taken mostly from her previous work with the writings of Anne Askew and William Baldwin, and a new in-depth look at the copious and difficult to

define corpus of Thomas Nashe. These are idiosyncratic and somewhat anecdotal selections, but Richards' purpose is not to provide a broad coverage of this category, rather a deep view of how the richness of someone's oral communication is translated to the page. Two examples are of the message in the testimony of a Protestant martyr as transmitted by a concerned auditor and editor (in Askew's case, John Bale) and by the reception and response of an oral reading of a pamphlet to some illiterate seamen in *Westerne Wyll*, attributed to William Baldwin. Richards shows that these texts are committed to conveying both the full meaning of the speaker's expression of their message, and in the latter case, to show that a clear and expressive reading can prompt an informed response even in unlettered listeners. The detailed section on Nashe, which includes a biography, seems somewhat out of place in a broad overview of a topic. Nashe's interest in the sound of a voice would seem apparent by the fact that he was also a playwright, and Richards seems to move away from her subject matter as she dives into the content of *The Unfortunate Traveller* and the protracted public dispute between Nashe and Gabriel Harvey.

Richards asserts in her conclusion that "the voice is currently a niche area of study" (283). This is not true for dramatists or rhetoricians, who have an interest in the speaking style of people such as Richard Burbage or Elizabeth I. However, she provides an introduction to much further rethinking about other types of prose fiction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Other scholars will be able to take Richards' work for study of the vocalization in other texts of prose and poetry from the period. Some obvious choices exist, such as the *Faerie Queene*, with its heavy use of both dialogue and an occasionally bossy narrator, but others show great promise as well. William Harrison's *Description of England* was first published as part of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, but the chatty tone and self-referential, self-deprecating asides are much more than the transmission of historical facts that make his voice audible and make the inferences from reading it aloud rich. In *The Adventures of Master F.J.* (1573), the dialogue of George Gascoigne's characters drips with sarcasm and fairly begs to be read aloud. Thomas Deloney's *Jack of Newbury* is a study in cross-class conversation, and the delivery of dialogue between Jack and his lower-class neighbors in comparison with the King, Queen, and Lord Chancellor

is worth examining in light of Richards' background. The principles of vocal delivery and the attention to what printed books can tell us about that can greatly enhance both the reading pleasure of early modern books and our understanding of literate culture of the time.

Greg Walker. *John Heywood: Comedy and Survival in Tudor England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. x + 477 pp. \$85.00. Review by SARAH K. SCOTT, MOUNT ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY.

Greg Walker's *John Heywood: Comedy and Survival in Tudor England* presents the first comprehensive scholarly biography of the sixteenth-century musical composer, poet, playwright, epigram and proverb collector, admired in his time and too often neglected in present-day early modern studies. As Walker explains throughout his remarkable and substantial examination of Heywood's corpus, the playwright-poet is most deserving of study not only because of the astonishing variety of his writings but because of the ways they give expression to Heywood's moment, the tumultuous years of the English Reformation that spans the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I. The author's works, urban, urbane, satirical, bawdy, philosophical, and humanist, are profound engagements in the vexed moral, social, religious, and political climate. By showing readers how this is so, Walker brings a long-deceased poet and his work to life. Across eighteen chronologically arranged chapters, Walker's narrative approach reveals what is known about the writer and his milieu as it relates to England's tensions and the leading figures involved in them. At the same time, he offers fulsome summaries and analyses of Heywood's creations, including discussions of how the works directly or indirectly address the complex issues of the age. Printer, lawyer, and father-in-law John Rastell and his brother-in-law Thomas More are made central figures early on in Walker's story for the profound influence they had on the entirety of Heywood's artistic career, most notably through their shared affinity for the humanist enterprise and a passion for the powers and pleasures of all forms of moral satire and colloquial turns-of-phrase. Printer William Rastell, son of John, joins the scene shortly thereafter. Walker's interlacing of texts

and contexts invites readers to understand how Heywood's work engages, for instance, the humanist writings of More and Erasmus, matters of Henrician religious instruction, and the works of the poet's literary peers and forebears, notably Skelton and Chaucer, as well as anonymous dramatists and lyricists. Walker employs Heywood's "A Description of a Most Notable Lady" in Richard Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets*, for example, to foreground what would become Heywood's long sympathy for Lady Mary Tudor, a subject that reemerges in a later chapter's discussion of the ballad "The Eagle's Bird Hath Spread His Wings," written in honor of Mary's marriage to Prince Philip of Spain. The former lyric foreshadows More's fate, and the marriage poem, along with Rastell's and Tottel's publication of More's *English Works*, give expression to a period of renewed prominence for Heywood and his family, which, sadly, is irretrievably lost when Heywood later lives out the remainder of his life in exile. Walker's chapters on interludes and plays prove essential for those seeking to study the evolution of Heywood's dramatic artistry through imitation, adaptation, and invention. We are first introduced to the important role of theatre to Heywood and his circle when readers are made aware of the writer's likely ties to Coventry, then one of England's largest, most prosperous cities and sponsor of the celebrated annual Corpus Christi pageant. These cycle plays clearly informed Heywood's early dramatic works, including *Johan Johan* and *Witty and Witless*, which may have been performed at Rastell's London house in Finsbury Fields on a purpose-built stage designed for professional (or semi-professional) performances. Walker's stand-alone chapters on Heywood's plays in historical context are highly valuable for their depth, and when read in concert with one another, they reveal fruitful discussions that illuminate how earlier works inform those that follow. For example, readers learn how Heywood revisits the comic, parodic, and colloquial debate style characteristic of *Witty and Witless*, *The Four PP*, and *Gentleness and Nobility* in *A Play of Love*, though for a different purpose. *The Pardoner and the Friar*'s affinities with its forebears *Play of the Weather* and *The Four PP* advance Heywood's religious position on Reformation strife to reveal a deep concern with partisanism and favoring of mainstream Catholicism. Discussions of Heywood's lyrics also serve to enhance one's understanding of the plays. The repeated

caution to “bear no malice” in “Man, if thou mind heaven to obtain” to create a kind of estrangement evokes uses of repetition in *Weather* (“head”) and *Love* (“conscience”) to signal how the idea now holds a potential to inflict harm, given its politicized, destructive use in the Henrician regime of the 1530s. Earlier dramatic works also inform the poet’s enigmatic insect-parable *The Spider and the Fly*, which employs allegory in a fashion evoking *Gentleness* and *Weather*. Walker’s summations of various dramatic speeches, such as that of John in *Witty and Witless*, “the witless are saved by their own incapacity,” do much to elucidate for new readers the gist of sixteenth-century debate language in dramatic form, as well as to demonstrate the value of the epigram so appreciated by Heywood and others of his time. One can imagine that new and experienced present-day audiences might also welcome the idea that “old” plays addressing such unfortunate truths conclude with a moral message, in this case of the importance of using one’s wisdom to practice good deeds for the purpose of helping others in this life as well as for personal salvation in that which follows. With a style lucid, engaging, and approachable, Walker weaves a remarkable, sophisticated narrative of Heywood’s life, time, and creative work alongside contemporaneous and scholarly accounts of matters of Church and State. The result is a sensitive and deep engagement of the playwright that brings to life a figure exceptional for his discursive breadth, length of career, and humane, “merry” spirit. The volume is a highly valuable contribution to Heywood studies that will surely inspire literary scholarship for years to come.

Jonathan Scott. *How the Old World Ended*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019. xvi + 392 pp. \$35.00. Review by CHARLES BEEM, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, PEMBROKE.

This reviewer cannot remember reading a history book this enjoyable and edifying. In *How the Old World Ended*, Scott takes the knowledge and experience of a long and distinguished career to craft what is unmistakably his masterwork. This is a work of global history, leaving behind the limitations of “national” histories to create a history in which people, ideas, and commodities flowed freely in and around

a Northwestern European Archipelago, which created and then dominated global patterns of trade in the Baltic, the Mediterranean, across the Atlantic, and around Africa to South and East Asia. The book's thesis is that there was an Anglo-Dutch-American "Revolution" which unfolded over the course of a century and a half, from the beheading of Charles I in 1649 to the beheading of Louis XVI in 1793, which encompassed technological innovation in agriculture and shipping, encouraged and empowered by the emergence of modernizing states capable of maintaining a global empire. But in addition to this material explanation, religious toleration (coupled with a Weberian Protestant work-ethic), freedom of movement, and the free exchange of ideas were also crucial elements in this revolutionary mix, which in Scott's analysis developed by a process of cultural osmosis from Holland to Britain and then out to the rest of the world through imperial dominance of North America and control of global trading routes. This revolution reached its apotheosis with the Industrial Revolution, which we all know happened first in Britain, an achievement Whiggish inclined historians have celebrated for centuries.

But Scott avoids falling down the rabbit hole of Neo-Whiggism; in his analysis "Revolutionary" Britain did not "go it alone," a notion long a Whig dogma that was simpatico with the idea that the *nation state* of Great Britain was "separate" from Europe. Scott erased national boundaries to create a regional analysis in which Britain was just one component. In fact, it was permeability that ultimately allowed Britain to benefit materially by its openness to the flow of people and ideas from co-religionists, the Dutch, and the diaspora of technological know-how that left France in the wake of Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Such an interpretation in fact is another dagger in the heart of the Whig interpretation, which refutes the notion of the historical inevitability of British superiority, another key tenet of the Whig interpretation. While post-imperial historians continue to debate the merits of the emergence and dominance of the British Empire, Scott sidesteps this issue to present an image of Britain as the *recipient* rather than the originator of the essential ingredients for modernization, which included political revolution, the creation of the military fiscal state, the emergence of a commercial class which gained the ability to direct government to protect its interests with its

modernized armed forces. In Scott's analysis, this is not the achievement of Britain; it was the achievement of an archipelago consisting of Britain and Holland, along with the Americas, India, and the East Indies, all bursting with raw materials for trade and industry and later as an insatiable market for finished manufactured goods—a perfect storm for the emergence of the Industrial Revolution.

The book unfolds in mostly chronological order, charting the “love-hate” of Britain and Holland. In particular, Scott highlights the similarities that outweighed their differences, even as they went to war three times in the middle of the seventeenth century before a Dutch stadtholder (William of Orange) became king of England and Scotland, achieving a sort of “union” between these two countries that had its origin with Holland's offer to Elizabeth I to assume the sovereignty of an emergent Dutch republic as it began its near century of war of independence from Catholic Spain. As both were on the Protestant “side” of the Reformation, the need for both countries to stick together was more than just religious; the influence the Dutch imparted to Britain was also technological, entrepreneurial, and ideological, as Scott outlines the close relation between the Dutch and the English republics; indeed Scott offers an expansive definition of republicanism that encompasses the post-Republican British monarchy as a form of quasi-republic, which created “modernity” by forging a military fiscal state that built a state of the art army and navy whose primary purpose was to protect globalized English imperial commerce. The Dutch had done all this first in the late middle ages and in the sixteenth century when the center of wealth and commerce shifted from the Mediterranean to the Low Countries. Britain built on this model, but with considerably more ecological advantages within Britain, in terms of agricultural output but also in raw materials such as coal, which became the fuel of the Industrial Revolution. These advantages were coupled with the ecological bonanza that the North American colonies created. As a source of both raw materials and then as the market for British manufactured goods, Britain's dominance of trans-Atlantic trade (including the slave trade) created the “perfect storm” of Britain's ultimate emergence as the first modern industrialized nation. If this sounds like a Jared Diamond (of *Guns, Germs, and Steel* fame)-like material explanation, it is supplemented by the

force of culture, of ideology, and of religious belief (particularly the Calvinist version of Protestantism).

But Scott's is not the only voice present in this book. In fact, he brings in the voices of numerous contemporary observers, historians, and other scholars who have written over the past two centuries prominently in block quotes liberally sprinkled throughout the text to support his thesis. It is as if Scott was standing on a stage backed by a large chorus that includes Thomas More, Daniel Defoe, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Mark Kishlansky, who all get brief cameos in the book's narrative. In fact, it is the scholarly version of pop stars like Tony Bennett and Ray Charles who have record duet albums with other artists. In Scott's case, just about every reputable observer and historian of the last half millennium whose work has touched on the themes of this book is given a cameo voice, which not only adds to the richness of the narrative but also supports the validity of its thesis.

In the book's final pages, Scott's preoccupation with the present is made perfectly clear. Make no mistake—this work is a plea for globalization as it is for the virtues of tolerance, diversity, and openness to new ideas, which to Scott allowed the material and ideological foundation of Anglo-Dutch-American modernity. In an era where the utility of history is increasingly under attack, Scott's book provides for us a model to learn from, arguing that the transformations of the Anglo-Dutch-American Revolution are capable of informing contemporary problems like pandemic disease and inward-looking nationalistic impulses, if we let them. He ends his narrative with a eulogy on Brexit, "an act of self-mutilation, like the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." While acknowledging Britain's historical achievements in bringing forth the modern world, Scott reminds us that it happened not in isolation, but in collaboration, the direct result of the free flow of people and ideas. This is the true value of history today, to remind and warn us before the last tree is felled and the last river polluted, and to exhort us to work together to solve the globalized problems of the modern world in which we live.

Lena Liapi. *Roguary in Print: Crime and Culture in Early Modern London*. Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2019. Pp. 194. \$115.00.
 Review by ROBERT LANDRUM, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
 BEAUFORT.

Roguary in Print promises many things. It is firstly a discussion of a subgenre of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and restoration literature, the rogue pamphlet. As such, it contributes to ongoing dialogues within the histories of crime and of the city of London. Secondly, *Roguary* attempts to link the several ways by which scholars have approached rogue literature: the historians, who often dismiss it as ephemeral escapism; the New Historicists, who read it “as an articulation of power and as a site where subversion was generated in order to be contained”; and literary scholars, who argue that rogue literature “depicted an imaginary underworld...sometimes as jovial, sometimes as sinister” and connected that underworld to Shakespeare’s forest fantasies (4). Lastly, it is a contribution to the history of commercial print and the early modern book trade.

The first task of such a broad-ranging text is to define the subject and the sources. “The word ‘rogue’ was used loosely and often derogatorily,” Liapi says, and settles for a functionally-driven definition: rogue “describe[s] various kinds of urban deviant behavior with direct links to small-scale economic crime” (12). Though it serves well enough, the loosely defined term robs the work of some precision. Armed with the definition, Liapi identifies one hundred twenty-two rogue pamphlets from the period 1591 to 1670. The start date coincides with the earliest “peak” of rogue literature; the end date, with the publication of the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, which transformed the depiction of urban crime. During this period, dozens of printers and booksellers participated in the trade, which Liapi characterizes as profitable and dependable. Thus, rogue literature followed the general trends in printing, with a healthy growth in pamphleteering from 1562, a florescence in the 1650s, and the gradual reassertion of controls in the restoration period. The guiding motive was profit, and the major expense was the price of paper. Rogue pamphlets were short and sensationalist with little attention paid to authorship. Censorship is outside the scope of the text, but a majority of the source pamphlets

were published anonymously.

Perhaps the strongest section of *Roguary in Print* is Chapter Two: "Laughter, Tricksters and Good Fellows," which offers a corrective to an older academic tradition. In the 1980s, Liapi says rogue tracts, "were usually viewed as part of an 'othering' process through which the elites attempted to marginalise and stigmatise the mass of [the] poor and unemployed" (52). By depicting the rogue as a trickster and endowing the rogue with the qualities of a good companion, the rogue pamphlet was not involved in "othering, but [in] a figurative inclusion of the criminal in urban society" (55). Rogues were thieves, but their thievery was often directed against those even less deserving. Rogues were outlaws, but the corrupt officers of law enforcement were guilty of bribery and blackmail. Rogues might be grasping, but a citizen lending money at interest was more deserving of punishment than a "poor theefe" (71). Though they might be untrustworthy, a rogue worthy of the name could be trusted to stand around and drink deeply in good fellowship. Rogue pamphlets, far from "othering," attest to a common urban culture, offering an "affirmation of values" shared by their readership (86).

Elizabethan and Jacobean magistrates were concerned with crime and imagined, not without cause, an organized network of crime operating in the metropolis. Historians of crime, however, have shown that the pamphlet press, given its tendency toward sensationalism, "grossly exaggerated" the extent of a criminal underworld. In Chapter Three: "Trust Sociability and Criminal Networks," Liapi juxtaposes a traditional body of sources, the Westminster Quarter Session Rolls, with the relevant rogue literature to conclude, "that the existence of organized networks of crime depended on the eye of the beholder." The simple distinction, "that rogue pamphlets depict an organized underworld whereas archival evidence show that this was not the case" must be qualified "by considering the multivocal nature of both kinds of records" (116). What begins as a challenge to an existing verity then ends with a non-conclusion.

In the 1640s, a rising tide of political pamphleteering seemed to crowd out much rogue literature. Liapi reports only three new titles for the entire decade. Starved for rogues, she is forced to engage with slightly different material: newsbooks, anonymous pamphlets,

and a rich vein of historiography on the pamphlet press in general and roguery in particular. From 1642–1649 a London-centered and Parliamentary-leaning press associated robbery and lawlessness with royalism. That association endured even as the disorder of the 1640s receded. At the same time, rogue literature came roaring back. In 1651, nine new rogue titles emerged to be followed by seventeen more in the next decade. Royalists embraced their identification with illegality in the context of an illegal regime: “Most of the pamphlets about criminals as Royalists” in the 1650s “were written as polemic against the Commonwealth” (124). A new type of urban criminal emerged, the hector, long-haired libertines who frequented prostitutes, drank freely, and dueled inveterately. Given their lifestyle, they were a pointed inversion of the upright roundhead. The “hector (with its connotations of bravery, criminality, and merry defiance) became a synonym for Cavaliers” (140). After his restoration, Charles II explicitly rejected the “drinking, roaring and cursing” that his rowdy urban supporters engaged in, but “the image of the hector and the Cavalier [had] coalesced” and could not be disentangled (153).

The new rogue literature carried on the patterns of earlier tracts. There remained the ambiguity of the rogue as a criminal but also as “the quintessential good fellow,” there remained the victims who deserved their fate (155). There was also, however, the ongoing “politicization of rogue pamphlets” (156). In the 1660s, the hectors drank and swore in opposition to puritanical abstinence. In the 1670s, rogues were utilized to condemn the “informers of the Popish Plot and by consequence the Whigs who had tried to benefit from it.” Then, in the 1680s, rogue pamphlets were yoked to the Tory cause, supporting the Stuart succession. The text concludes with the obligatory call for more research, more specifically an examination of how these urban crime tales “were received by provincial readers” and an examination of the interconnections between “the different traditions of rogue pamphlets” (163).

Phebe Jensen. *Astrology, Almanacs, and the Early Modern English Calendar*. New York: Routledge, 2021, xxiv + 322 pp. + 103 illus. \$160.00. Review by M. G. AUNE, CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

As they problem-solve their approach to performing *Pyramus and Thisbe*, the Rude Mechanicals in *Midsummer Night's Dream* decide to rely on actual moonlight to illuminate their play. But will the moon shine that night? Peter Quince produces an almanac and announces that it will. Readers, performers, and editors take it for granted that an almanac is a book containing astronomical and astrological information and give it little thought otherwise. But as Phebe Jensen points out, Quince's almanac was more than a calendar. It provided, "astrological, astronomical, historical, agricultural, medical and ... religious information" intended to help the reader understand and use the calendars (2). And so, it is fitting that the man who has done all the work to organize his friends into an acting company would also be the one who carries such an encyclopedic work with him and knows how to use it.

Why then is so comparatively little known about early modern almanacs and calendars? Jensen, professor of English at Utah State University and author of *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (2009) as well as articles on early modern astronomy, provides several ideas. First, even in the early modern period, the unreliability of cheap printed almanacs was well known. That bias persists as we delight in mocking weather forecasts, despite their increasing sophistication. More immediately, "almanacs are hard for a modern reader to decipher" (4). They are often marvelous visual objects with intricate charts and images, but without a grounding in early modern astrology, very difficult to understand. What is more, as Jensen points out, accessibility is limited. While Early English Books Online has done tremendous service in making thousands of texts available, no almanacs are included in the fully searchable format—a "digital invisibility cloak" covers them (5). The third and related impediment to the study of almanacs and calendars is the relative lack of scholarship on early modern astrology, especially in literary studies.

Astrology, Almanacs, and the Early Modern English Calendar seeks to rectify these deficiencies and provides an immensely helpful and accessible guide for reading and understanding almanacs and calendars. Jensen divides her book into three sections, Backgrounds, How to Read an Early Modern Almanac, and Early Modern Calendars. Each part is further subdivided into chapters, which are compiled of sections, detailed in the table of contents. As a result, from the first page it is very easy to navigate and make use of the book.

Part one is a kind of textbook that explains astrology, calendars, almanacs, and other publications. Terminology is carefully defined, the sequence of sections incrementally builds, and Jensen regularly pauses to reiterate important ideas. The scope of material reaches back to Ptolemy and forward into the seventeenth century and covers a variety of forms of prognostication. Not just astral bodies and the moon were used to make predictions, but also Biblical events such as the punishments of the Egyptians in the Old Testament. A paragraph on brontology, prognostication based on thunderstorms, sent me to *King Lear* to reconsider Lear's raging against the "all-shaking thunder." Each section also includes material on printing and publication, reminding the reader of the materiality of the books and how it shaped their consumption. The section concludes with an overview of the controversies and contemporary criticisms of almanacs, especially from writers practicing natural philosophy.

Part two delivers on its title, providing the reader with the tools to read almanacs critically. Almanacs organized a tremendous amount of information that so typically had a uniform format, and Jensen uses it as the structure for this section, but all the while reminding her reader that the genre was constantly evolving. Half the section is given over to prognostications—the sections of almanacs that are perhaps the most difficult for modern readers to interpret. Here, the sketches of astrology provided in part one is especially useful as they provided the basis for the predictions of weather, astronomical movements, tides, and other important information. Here, the section on materiality usefully uses and contributes to the growing scholarship on books as "interactional objects" (13).

Part three provides a kind of model calendar that draws on an extensive range of almanacs and related materials such as engravings,

tapestries, and stained-glass windows. It takes the reader through the four seasons, the days of the week, and the twelve months. The various motifs, such as allegories, astrological symbols, medical and agricultural information, and historical backgrounds associated with each time period are described with numerous examples and illustrations. As a reference, this is likely to be the most useful section of the book. For readers looking into particular seasons or months of the year, the book provides a simple roadmap to locating relevant information. With Beatrice's promise in *Much Ado About Nothing* to avoid love's madness until "a hot January" (1.1.74) in mind, the reader learns from this section that January was seen as an especially important month in predicting a year's weather; it was also associated with Janus. While this information does not dramatically reconfigure the play or Beatrice's character, it gives insight into how Shakespeare's audiences might have understood her joke and appreciated her warning to Benedick.

The book is deeply researched and exceptionally well-cited. The primary bibliography is extensive and requires its own guide to use because of the complicated nature of almanacs. Helpfully, almanacs and calendars are listed separately, as are primers and religious texts. The secondary bibliography reiterates the interdisciplinary nature of the book, ranging from history to literature to art history to theology to science and medicine. A separate index of saints and holy days is also included.

Especially pleasing and helpful are the numerous illustrations, including photographs by the author, color images from books, tapestries, wall paintings, and needlework. Jensen also acquired dozens of color images from libraries around the world. All told, the book contains more than one hundred, high quality illustrations.

At the beginning of the book, Jensen writes, "[c]alendars are man-made systems that divide up the unruly cycles of the natural world..." (1). It is fair to say that her book divides up and makes accessible the unruly and important mass of early modern almanacs and calendars. The book is very well organized, deeply researched, and easy to use. It rewards a casual browse as one reads Shakespeare and also deserves space on the reference shelf of every research and university library.

Scottish History Society. *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society: Volume XVI* (Series 6). Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2020. 403 pp. \$130.00. Review by NATHAN JAMES MARTIN, CHARLESTON SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY.

The sixteenth volume of the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* provides hitherto unpublished sources for wider access and availability for researchers, students, and those interested in Scottish history during the early modern period generally. The compilation of the five interesting and varied sources contained within this volume allows for a deeper understanding of the political, cultural, and religious history of Scotland during the seventeenth century. The Scottish History Society has been dedicated to producing publications of sources related to all periods of Scottish history, but the sixteenth volume focuses on the late 1500s to the early 1700s. For more than 130 years, the society has been engaged in publishing works focused on different topics and subfields of history, and the volume at hand significantly contributes to the corpus of published volumes of the society.

Being a miscellany, the included sources lack a cohesive theme or connection, other than the fact that they are from the same general era and the last four do connect to the religious history of Scotland. Still, historians interested in economic history, political history, or even social history will find value in the volume. Each source has been edited, and each editor has provided a thorough introduction for each source, providing sufficient background information and interpretive guidance for a deep understanding of the source. The editors have also established a history of provenance and chain of custody analysis of the included documents.

One of the unique qualities of the first source, “James VI’s English Subsidy and Danish Dowry Accounts,” edited by Miles Kerr-Peterson and Michael Pearce, is the clever editing and juxtaposing of various sources from different archives including the British Library and the National Library of Scotland. Though the items will appeal to those interested in royal finance, which as the editors relate, was particular and more informal during this period than at others in Scottish history, the items within these sets serve as a supplement to the larger historical narrative of James’s marriage and political dealings. For

example, in the appendix of the third set of documents, the editors have included two letters from Anne of Denmark to James as she was unable to travel across the North Sea to Scotland. James famously set out for Norway, where Anne had taken refuge, to meet her. One of the major emphases of the subsidy records surrounds James's voyage to meet Anne, the marriage itself, and the subsequent 'honeymoon' they had in Denmark, where James spent lavishly. The bulk of each of these sets present the account records of John Maitland of Thirlestane, Lord Chancellor of Scotland from 1586–1595, and of Thomas Foulis, an Edinburgh goldsmith and financier. The reason these two figures and others are so significant in James's financial structure, as the editors point out, was that it demonstrated "one major feature of James' finances was the 'hived off-debts,' long-term debts resting with financial officers, out with the scope of the exchequer, which were to be repaid at unspecified times, if at all" (3). So, then, Kerr-Peterson and Pearce's compilation give a more complete picture of the spending habits and patterns of James VI beyond the official royal accounts. What these sources demonstrate, though, as is noted in the introduction, is a shifting practice of the system of 'less formal' finance. Using royal officers as vectors of royal debt was giving way to the use of private subjects, such as Thomas Foulis and Robert Jowie, an Edinburgh cloth merchant cited in the third set of documents.

Kerr-Peterson and Pearce's editing does much to enhance the sources, though they also do well to faithfully replicate the content of the original. For example, they do not alter or amend the values of the currency of the different records of account. The first two sets rely on the Scottish pound, with some of the Danish expenditure listed in dalers, and the third set using the English sterling more favored by the merchants. In other places, though, the editors do well to include additional footnoting and provide descriptions of the original manuscripts. One footnote provides information about the condition of the source page; another gives an identification of a key historical figure. This type of editing constructively benefits the entries in the work.

The next piece in this collection, "The Principal of Glasgow Against the Covenant," adds much to the volume's richness and significance. The editor of this source, Salvatore Cipriano, argues that the treatise written in 1638 by John Strang, the university principal,

is an “underutilized source whose title has perhaps prevented further inquiry into its contents” (95). Only one historian has provided a detailed account of Strang’s work. Therefore, the inclusion of this source holds substantial value for religious historians. Cipriano further shows in the introduction that the misconception of this source regarding Strang’s allegiance indicate that his views, like many others in Scotland, “occupied a grey area between support for and opposition to the Covenanting Movement” (96). The context of the work was the Covenanting Crisis of 1638; the National Covenant opposed the ‘innovations’ of religious worship imposed by the Stuart king. The content of the treatise is presented in four parts, each with a separate heading. Cipriano includes informative footnotes within the text itself and faithfully preserves the original manuscript by including markings from the draft, for example, including strike-through deletions and superscripts. Since this work is now accessible in publication form, researchers will certainly be given new avenues of insight within this topic.

Though the third item in this collection is short, it is nonetheless important and intriguing as a work of Scottish religious history. “An Account of a Confession of Raising the Devil at Irvine on 10 February 1682” runs only three pages, but relates the testimony of a woman, Margaret Dougal, who admitted to summoning the Devil. The uniqueness of this case, which was investigated shortly after the admission and prosecuted by a committee, was that “it was possible that the committee was actively trying to avoid prosecuting Dougal for witchcraft” (144–145), according to the editor Ciaran Jones. It seems that theme of a summoning of the Devil was rare in Scottish witchcraft narratives. The confession has received a fair amount of historical attention due to its detail, description, and unique qualities already mentioned. Jones presents this short source with minimal alterations to the original source, but does include an adequate number of footnotes to elucidate the text.

In ‘Angels, Ghosts and Journeys to the Afterlife,’ editor Martha McGill includes three letters of James Cowan from 1709–1710 which contain ‘two apparitions of angels; an encounter with a ghost; and the case of a woman who died, journeyed to Heaven, and subsequently revived’ (159). As McGill points out in the well-crafted introductory

essay, the significance of these letters is “because the stories ranged from being theologically dubious to outright heretical by the standards of Calvinist orthodoxy” (159). Further, the study of supernatural phenomena described in Cowan’s letters has received more interest and focus in recent years. The stories that Cowan related were unusual also for the fact that theologically questionable stories rarely made it into print. One of the problematic stories focuses on the apparition of angels. McGill provides a thorough examination of the ambiguous understanding that existed in the Reformed views of angelic encounters.

The final source in this collection, “The Canongate Lists of Parishioners,” is also the longest. It runs over 150 pages and includes examination rolls from one half of the parish from 1661, 1684, and 1687. The settlement of Canongate was connected geographically to the development of Edinburgh, though the neighborhood in the seventeenth century “remained a red-light district of the capital region” (197). As a result, these lists, which include names of parishioners at Canongate, have value for understanding social history and familial arrangements in the area. One of the impressive aspects of this work is the painstaking effort that Alice Graze has shown in trying to preserve the contents of the original lists by providing detailed notes on marginalia, graffiti, and conditions of the sources. For example, when a new hand is recognized, Graze has inserted a footnote describing the change. Since this was a ‘working document,’ abbreviations and shorthand markings were common. Graze has done well to interpret these features of the lists. As a consequence, this source holds significant value for those who require a faithful reproduction of the original source. Graze has also included a thirty-nine-page index of all of the various names, listed in alphabetical order, as an aid for those trying to access specific names within the lists.

In aggregate, the sources included in *Miscellany XVI* succeed in presenting significant primary sources related to early modern Scottish history. The editors have provided background, context, and interpretation for each source in order to allow for a deeper understanding of each source. This work will be of great interest to researchers who are involved in research related to religious, political, and social history.

Thomas Leng. *Fellowship and Freedom: The Merchant Adventurers and the Restructuring of English Commerce, 1582–1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. xii + 343 pp. \$85.00. Review by JOSEPH P. WARD, UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY.

The seventeenth century has fascinated economic and social historians for generations because it saw significant transformations of trade both within Europe and between Europe and the wider world. These developments coincided with—and, depending on one's school of thought, either shaped or were shaped by—the profound political and governmental innovations of the age. Together, these trends reflected the larger shift of the European geopolitical center of gravity from the Mediterranean to the north and west, from the cities and ports of Italy, Portugal, and Spain to those of Germany, the Low Countries, and Britain.

This is the background for Thomas Leng's highly effective study of England's Merchant Adventurers during the final century of the company's influence in national and international trade. Its decline has frequently caught the attention of historians because it would seem a clear case study of the process through which innovation and entrepreneurship overcame the entrenched power of government-backed monopolists. Leng's research, grounded in a command of a wide array of archival sources including the correspondence among merchants, allows him both to reconstruct in telling detail the ways in which merchants navigated the cross-currents of trade and to explain why the Merchant Adventurers were unable to maintain their perch atop the league table of English traders. He rejects scholarly arguments that have portrayed the Merchant Adventurers as unable to innovate because they were too addicted to their privileged monopoly to embrace risk, thereby making themselves vulnerable to the rise of upstart dealers willing to strike out for new markets. Instead, Leng emphasizes the great expense of time and money required to become established in the cloth trade between England and the towns of the northwest region of the Continent, the Merchant Adventurers' primary occupation, an investment that would prove worthwhile only if it were durable. For a successful merchant to avoid risking his hard-won reputation for expertise on a new venture that could easily fail would

seem a rational calculation rather than a preference for indolence over entrepreneurship.

The process of becoming an overseas merchant typically began with service to an established merchant. This often involved the apprentice living for several years on the Continent, pursuing his master's business in close association with a factor. The physical separation of the apprentice from his master's household could lead a master to become concerned about his apprentice's discipline, a condition that could be heightened by an apprentice's desire to gain financial independence. Long-established rules prohibited apprentices from trading on their own before completing their full term of service, but temptations to earn commissions by taking on work for merchants other than their masters sometimes proved irresistible. For their part, masters had reasons to prefer that their apprentices remain allies rather than become rivals once they gained their independence: "To masters, apprentices were an investment which was expected to pay dividends even after the expiry of their indenture" (53).

Not only did apprentices learn how to become skillful negotiators in the marketplace, but they also gained an appreciation for the inherently social character of the occupation. Long-distance trade relied on relationships of trust built over years. Although kinship could facilitate such trust, more commonly a merchant would acquire a reputation for reliability through his individual efforts. This was a principal reason why businesses were seldom passed from father to son; reputation was a valuable asset, but it was not inherently transferable. Having an extensive network of trusting relationships was especially crucial for merchants who wished to supplement their traditional trade in cloths with deals in more luxurious, and therefore riskier, commodities such as spice, where shipments could arrive with less predictability, and the market could run to surplus or scarcity with little warning.

In many ways, knowledge of the markets was the most valuable commodity of all, and the surest way to gain knowledge was through a reliable network of former apprentices, trading partners, and agents. Establishing relationships of trust with other merchants proved to be especially valuable during times of crisis, which occurred regularly because of unpredictable changes in market conditions, the disruption of trade due to warfare, and the loss of cargos at sea. With much of

their working capital committed to ventures that extended over long distances, merchants could find their fortunes—and their reputations for fulfilling obligations—overturned without notice, forcing them to seek credit by ‘running on the exchange,’ where sharp-witted brokers were ready to exploit their vulnerability. Although membership in the Merchant Adventurers fostered trusting relationships among traders, some chose to pursue their individual interests beyond the company’s established mart towns, an aspect of corporate life that the company’s officers found difficult to control, especially as Antwerp lost its prominent place in its affairs due to shifting international relations in the 1560s.

Compounding these internal and international challenges, the Merchant Adventurers increasingly became the focus of complaints from English merchants (jealous of their privileges) and manufacturers (frustrated by their control of access to Continental markets) that coalesced around the banner of ‘free trade.’ Leng follows the Merchant Adventurers as the fellowship navigated the political and religious gyrations of the seventeenth century, highlighting the ways in which it maintained some semblance of a corporate identity as its trading privileges declined. The process was hardly inevitable—indeed, at the end of the century the Merchant Adventurers in London seemed to enjoy a bit of a revival, though deteriorating relations with members based in Hamburg as well as intensified calls for free trade in England drained the company of its vitality.

Although the Merchant Adventurers remain a mainstay of the economic history of seventeenth-century England (and, to a lesser degree, of Europe more generally), Leng’s analysis highlights the changing cultural landscape of trade during the period that is sometimes viewed as the ‘Commercial Revolution.’ From their earliest days as a corporate body, the Merchant Adventurers claimed the ability to provide a unique service to the commonwealth by training young men to undertake the specialized work of a merchant who could sell English cloth in European markets. This claim was the justification for the privileges the company received from the Crown and for the rules it expected its members to follow. Over time, individual traders began to see success as inherently a reflection of their individual skill and effort rather than as a benefit of membership in a society. As a result, calls

for freedom of trade began to align with calls for individual rights, a shift in political economics that tested longstanding assumptions about morality and personal worth. That said, Leng persuasively finds that the Merchant Adventurers exhibited many of the same key characteristics throughout the period he considers: “There was no simple succession in commercial government from corporate organization to informal networks: the latter had always combined with the former to provide the infrastructure through which commerce was managed and opportunities were distributed within the merchant community” (317). The varied experiences of seventeenth-century merchants continue to frustrate the models of modern historians seeking to isolate the defining moment in the transition to a modern economy.

Yarí Pérez Marín. *Marvels of Medicine [:] Literature and Scientific Enquiry in Early Colonial Spanish America*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020. XI + 181 pp. + 12 illus. £90/\$125. Review by PATRICIA M. GARCÍA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

Yarí Pérez Marín has written an engaging study of sixteenth-century medical and surgical texts written by medical practitioners born in Spain but basing their accounts on their time living in the colonies in Latin America. Their descriptions of the “New World” departed from other narratives that sought to amaze their readers through their exotic descriptions of the New World by focusing instead on their lived experiences in Latin America, emphasizing their engagements with their subjects. These writers carefully documented their interactions with patients, procedures, and the new environment, being sure to practice a scientific method of verifying their discoveries through repetition and controlled studies. Additionally, writing from the perspective of a resident of the colonies, these authors helped create a *criollo* (Spanish living or born in the colonies) discourse that saw their experiences in Latin America as important contributions to the medical world. Pérez Marín analyzes these texts not only for the medical knowledge they produced, but also for their methodology. By placing themselves within the text, especially in how they address their readership, they tell their story in more direct ways. It is this

narrative trait that allows Pérez Marín to use her expertise as a literary scholar to investigate how such non-literary texts actually work to reveal the “sensibilities and mores of colonial subjects” (4). Even more importantly, “combining the tools of literary studies and cultural studies brings into focus the role these books played in shaping colonial imaginaries and subjectivities, and the significance of whether or not local science choose to advance racialised models of human anatomy and physiology when and if it did” (14). This last question situates *Marvels of Medicine* within the debates over the emergence of race/ethnicity as a category of difference in New Spain.

In her engaging introduction, Pérez Marín makes her theoretical arguments clear while also addressing questions concerning current methodology. For instance, the turn from the use of the word “colonial” to “early modern” in studies of the period brings its own set of issues. “Early modern” places the history of Spanish/Latin America within a European context, assuming that modernity only begins with the colonial period. It also does not recognize the power relationships between Europe and Latin America. So, scholars of this period, including Pérez Marín, return to the use of “colonial” as in this study, but move to this focus the term on the power relationships. Likewise, the concept of race is still being formulated within this period, and while medical texts were often used to demarcate perceived differences with classified “race,” Pérez Marín also sees these texts as complicating the issue. These medical texts, written from the perspective of one within the colonies, presents the identification and classification of communities into racial categories as part of a continuing conversation rather than a structure imposed upon it by Europeans. In fact, as Pérez Marín demonstrates, these writers often present information that questions the presumed superiority of Europeans, especially as they adapt, or not, to a new environment. As previously noted, Pérez Marín’s methodology of cultural studies and literary analysis moves the focus to these narrators and to their setting, thus allowing the readers, most likely literary and cultural studies scholars themselves, to understand these texts as, “early matrixes of colonial rhetoric, scientific as well as literary objects that charted a course for future colonial subjects’ sense of identity in relation to the larger context of global knowledge production” (20).

Chapter 1, “The surgeon’s secrets; the medical travel narrative of Pedro Arias de Benavides,” discusses his *Secretos de Chirurgia* [*Secrets of Surgery*] published in 1597. A multi-genre text encompassing medical text, surgical manual, travel narrative, and medieval book of secrets, *Secretos* is a convincing text for Pérez Marín’s argument for a literary analysis of such texts. Benavides, not his patients, is the center of this narrative, and his observations and often-humorous commentary speak to his growing frustration of the marginalized status of the colonies. In this chapter, Pérez Marín includes a textual analysis of some of Benavides’s medical illustrations, noting the printing of life-size guidelines for incisions and instruments transforms “the text into a surgical instrument in and of itself” (17). Chapter 2, “Irreconcilable differences? Anatomy, physiology and the New World body,” presents two texts that examine the use of medical discourse to enunciate, or not, the difference between European and New World bodies. The first text, Alfonso López de Hinojosos’s *Summa y recopilacion de chirugia* [*Surgical compendium*], was first published in 1578 and was the first medical book printed in Spanish in the Americas. Hinojosos, while not a university educated physician, nonetheless used his work as a nurse practitioner along with his careful studies of earlier medical texts to write *Summa*. As a practitioner, he speaks not just of his findings, but also his interactions with his patients and his environment. He notes the effect of the differing weather and temperature patterns in Mexico on the human temperatures, but compares this to the same patterns that one would see in southern Europe, thus establishing difference not based on anatomy but physiological changes due to the environment. The second text, Juan de Cárdenas’s *Primera parte de los problems y secretos maravillosos de las Indias* [*First part of the problems and marvelous secrets of the Indies*] (1591), further examines the intersection of anatomy, physiology, and environment. He makes the bold claim, based on his own careful experimentation, that “while those [Spaniards] born in Spain were choleric, the Spaniards born in the New World developed a choleric-sanguine constitution, which made them weaker physically but endowed them with a keener intellect” (72). Note that in both these texts, while the focus is on Spanish bodies, the writers also examined the Indigenous body through their treatment of them. However, in the texts, the conclusions drawn from

these experiences serve to further distinguish Spanish and Indigenous bodies, thus becoming part of the rhetoric of difference used in the debates about race and identity. Chapter 3, “Weakening the sex: the medicalization of female gender identity in New Spain,” returns to Hinojosos’ text, the second and revised printing (1592), and brings in Agustín Farfán’s *Tractado breve de anothomia y chirvugia* [*Brief treatise on anatomy and surgery*] (1579, 1592) to examine how they each address gender and gender difference within colonial understanding of “proper femininity” and “gendered physiology” (18). In attending to female patients, both writers argue for limitations on female subjects and their bodies, for example, as related to their diet, particularly in the consumption of New World foods such as chocolate which can be taxing on their physiologies. While such assumptions and prescriptions subscribe to traditional gender roles, these writers do acknowledge female agency in maintaining one’s health. Moreover, in writing about women’s experience at all, they invite the reader, assumed male, to engage directly with it in respectful ways. Farfán is often exasperated with his female patients and their attitudes and yet is “never mocking” with describing their actual medical condition. In one “transgressive” moment in his text, Farfán recommends that his medical advice should be followed even “if this remedy were not good for having children,” thus placing his patient’s health and comfort over her marital duty (113). Chapter 4, “Contested medical knowledge and regional self fashioning,” argues for the formation of a New World identity through responses to texts written about and outside this space. She returns to Juan de Cárdenas’s *Primera parte* (discussed in chapter 1) to examine his critiques of such writers, such as Olivia Sabuco de Nantes Barrera’s *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* [*New philosophy of human nature*] (1578). While Sabuco has been deemed one of the first women to publish in this period, recent debate over her authorship has challenged this view. Pérez Marín does not engage in this debate, instead seeing how Cárdenas views her as the author of this text in his critique of her findings, an important acknowledgement of her position as an author. His critique of her is methodological, noting that she performs her experiments on digestion by utilizing plants imported but grown in Spain. For Cárdenas, as with all of the writers in this study, medical texts must be based

upon the first-hand, practical, lived, and observed experiences of the writer in the New World.

Marvels of Medicine ends with an epilogue that further explores the connection between scientific and medical writing with literature, an argument that Pérez Marín has convincingly made throughout her text. Indeed, in the conclusion to chapter 2's discussion on anatomy and physiology, she notes that "allusions to the physical body ... as a point of reference" for writers such as Miguel del Cervantes, Lope de Vega, René Descartes, and Shakespeare support her assertions. After all, doesn't Shylock argue for "equal treatment on the basis of a medicalised bodily experience" (88)? Furthermore, the link between the "marvelous" and the "real" in these descriptions of the New World are echoed in the magical realism of writers in the Latin American Boom of the twentieth century. The epilogue furthers these connections through a discussion of the writer Inca Garcilasco de la Vega and artist Miguel Cabrera. Inca Garcilasco, often identified as the earliest recorded *mestizo* (of Spanish and Indigenous descent) and best known for *Comentarios reales de los Incas* [*Royal commentaries of the Incas*] (1609), was known to own numerous scientific texts in his library and included medical descriptions of the benefits of particular herbs in the *Comentarios*, written with the same attention to narrative details and literary tropes as seen in the medical texts discussed. Cabrera's painting of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1750, after her passing) places Latin America's "Tenth Muse" in her library, where scientific and medical texts by classical writers such as Hippocrates and Galen and more contemporary writers such as Laurens Beyerlinks's *Magnum Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (1631). Additionally, Cabrera places three books titled *Chirurgia*, *Pharmacia*, and *Anathomia* [*Surgery*, *Pharmacy*, and *Anatomy*] right next to one labeled "Góngora," the prominent Spanish master of the baroque Luis de Góngora and one of Sor Juana's important influences. Thus, Sor Juana's portrait suggests the connection that Pérez Marín argues. If Sor Juana's library, "would not have been complete without works on surgery and medicine," then neither is our understanding of the "literary and cultural histories of Latin America" (160).

Pérez Marín has introduced these fascinating medical texts as a way of telling a more complete story of colonial Latin America. She

closely reads them through the lens of cultural studies and literary analysis, balancing the highly technical information with its delivery in a narrative voice. Pinpointing both the writer/narrator's position within the text and the colonial landscape helps consider how such writers participate in the debates about race, identity, and knowledge-production in the New World. Likewise, *Marvels of Medicine* contributes to these debates in both Early Colonial Spanish America studies and, in our Covid-reality, the argument for reading closely medical texts that connect to our lived experiences.

Julie Hardwick. *Sex in an Old Regime City: Young Workers and Intimacy in France, 1660–1789*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. ix + 280 pp. + 4 illus. \$35.00. Review by EVELYNE M. BORNIER, AUBURN UNIVERSITY.

In her most recent book, *Sex in an Old Regime City: Young Workers and Intimacy in France, 1660–1789* (Oxford, 2020), Julie Hardwick, a professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin, explores young people's intimacy and its intricacies in the early modern French city of Lyon, at a time when it was a political center and the country's most vibrant city after Paris. Lyon's rapid development, due in large part to its growing textile industry (mainly luxury silk), attracted droves of young workers. Searching through the legal archival records of the city, Hardwick unveils how society handled intimacy and the role of medicine, politics, religion, and the legal system in the realm of out-of-wedlock pregnancies. This "archive of reproduction" (7) Hardwick explores deals with pregnancies, claims for paternity recognition, abortions, and infanticides. What those records reveal is that intimacy was very much part of Lyon's daily fabric: at the workplace, on the streets, in churches, at attorney's offices, in hospitals, and orphanages. Indeed, Hardwick uncovers evidence that out-of-wedlock sexual relationships, pregnancy, and childbirth were not only common, but that, at the time, were not met with the stigmatization a twenty-first-century reader would expect. In fact, young people came up with a myriad of carefully crafted schemes to escape public scrutiny and hide their troubles. While society recognized its youths' sexual desires, intimacy

was a public affair, and all levels of society (priests, nurses, midwives, lawmakers, notaries, as well as family members, friends, and neighbors) were involved in many “reproductive” dramas.

Hardwick’s research reveals that, in the Old Regime, premarital sex and unplanned pregnancies were usually not censored nor punished but met with understanding and compassion. In fact, intimacy and reproduction were carefully managed by the collectivity and a clear line was drawn. Behaviors were implicitly categorized as either licit or illicit, and citizens acted as guardians of proper conduct: “Intimate partners, their families, and their communities configured a wide spectrum of intimacy as acceptable and clearly delimited behavior deemed illicit” (45). Hence, it was perfectly acceptable to walk together, have limited physical contact, and kiss in public, as long as marriage was on the horizon. Young couples were subject to public scrutiny, and streets and common areas were places where intimate deportments were either frowned upon or validated. Licit intimacy encompassed what was viewed as acceptable intimate behavior between two young people. It included flirting, holding hands, kissing in public, and even fondling (49). The premise for such “regulations” was to prevent out-of-wedlock births and encourage the transition from single to married in a time when marriage was quintessential to one’s economic, social, and legal well-being. As Hardwick explains, “The powerful imprint of marriage as the norm in the archive of reproduction also reflected a society where matrimony had a high political, economic, and cultural value and in which young men in particular, but also young women, gained legal and other privileges of adulthood only as spouses” (23).

While most pregnancies, when announced to a future father, were met with a promise of marriage, some were not and heated disputes between two partners could arise. Under the Old Regime, consensual intimate relationships were regulated by conventional expectations, and a man had to be prepared to wed his partner should she become pregnant by him. Pregnancy often deprived a woman of her ability to perform her work and support herself. Hence, the future father was expected and encouraged to maintain his partner’s and their child’s financial well-being. Pregnancy without marriage in the offing was frowned upon and could lead to ostracization by society. If needed, the local courts assisted with contentious situations and facilitated

negotiations between intimate partners. The role of the courts was also to emphasize male responsibility in paternity disputes and hold men responsible for their actions. Paternity was policed and, if proven irresponsible, a man could face penalties and jail time. At all times, the community's best interest was always put first.

"The business of reproduction was at the heart of communal complicity in the management of out-of-wedlock pregnancy" (168). Extensive records were produced and filed by doctors, lawyers, midwives, wet nurses, family members, friends, neighbors, and witnesses of all kinds. Items such as *billets doux* (love notes), garters with personal inscriptions, written marriage promises, and other documents were carefully archived and could resurface at any time in a court of law, should a paternity dispute unfold between lovers.

In some cases, when young pregnant couples deferred their wedding or decided not to marry, they resorted to various stratagems to give their affair the appearance of a perfectly respectable relationship. Once again, the community itself actively participated in the cover-up: the religious authorities and the judicial system played an active role in helping young couples handle out-of-wedlock pregnancies. For example, priests would record both parents' names on a baptismal certificate and godparents were recruited amongst co-workers or friends as an attempt to create a public acknowledgement of a couple's status and legitimize their relationship (110 & 131). "Parish priests who entered the details of the baptism into their registers were key on-the-ground arbitrators of a child's legitimacy" (131). In addition, pressure from the top in the form of regular episcopal visitations encouraged priests to minimize the rate of illegitimate births in their own parishes.

Besides legal solutions and other strategies to give an out-of-wedlock pregnancy the appearance of a legitimate one, other "remedies" were sometimes the recourse. Pseudo-medical and health/life-threatening measure to end a pregnancy were often sought to handle the reproductive consequences of extra-marital sexual relationships: "Women's accounts identified the "remedies" simply as "remedies" or as "drinks," "powder," "drugs," "purging remedies," or "bleeding remedies," or "bleeding" (usually in the foot, if specified) (116). In extreme cases, some men attempted to "erase" the fruit of their reprehensible conduct by poisoning the expectant pregnant mother and her child.

Surprisingly, references to the use of “remedies” were mostly ignored by the courts who were more concerned with issues of financial compensation and the child’s upbringing (120). As Hardwick explains, “Only three possible cases of abortion were prosecuted in Lyon between 1720 and 1790” (120). She also notes that prosecutions in other cities were equally scarce. Legal remedies and out-of-court arrangements were also common at the time. Mediation through *notaires*, although sometimes costly, was often a favored way for fighting parties to reach a settlement in paternity disputes.

Secure places for mothers to have their babies and financial support were at the heart of those quarrels. The economy of reproduction was very much a part of society’s fabric. While expectant mothers needed a safe place to deliver their babies, others seized the opportunity for income. A network of private accommodations, owned by landladies, rapidly developed. Much like clergymen, notaries, and midwives, landladies played an active role in the lives of young, unwed, pregnant women. They, too, were a key element in the communal human chain assisting and providing care to out-of-wedlock parents (144–146). Midwives and wet-nurses were another element of the “reproduction network” (149). While mid-wives usually dwelled in the city, wet-nurses were mostly found in rural areas. The role of mid-wives was not limited to the delivery of babies, but they also served as advisors to young couples and, in certain cases, as witnesses to the courts.

Not all out-of-wedlock pregnancies ended in a live birth. The Hôtel-Dieu, a foundling hospital in Lyon, where pregnant women could deliver their babies and abandon them, also had high mortality rates due to poor sanitary conditions and the limitations of medicine at the time. In addition, miscarriages, whether induced or natural, were common. As Hardwick explains, “While the high levels of abandonment have been well established, hints of the frequency of unexplained infant deaths are embedded in many records” (171). It was not uncommon for babies’ remains to be found in makeshift coffins and graves. In the last chapter of her book, Hardwick uncovers how, once again, the community’s networks of “safe guarders” were also often involved in the disappearance of newborns: “Dead babies in boxes that were de facto makeshift coffins were likely tragically common, dealt with by local networks and practices that are opaque

now but were very familiar to people at the time" (169).

An eye-opener and a veritable tour-de-force, Hardwick's book offers a fascinating window into sexual standards in *ancien régime* France and reveals a stunning and complex system of communal complicity. Her careful exploration of Lyon's archival records sheds new light on the lives and intimate stories of ordinary working-class young adults pre-1789 and offers a new historiography of sex at the time.

Agnès Cousson. *L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Classique Garnier, 2018. 404 pp. 48 €. Review by BERTRAND LANDRY, UNIVERSITY OF MOUNT UNION.

In the preface of Agnès Cousson's new book, *L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle*, Bernard Beugnot of the Royal Society of Canada reminds us, in Guez de Balzac's words, of the definition of *entretien*, an important yet understudied literary form: "[j]'ai en tête un ouvrage que je veux appeler Entretiens, qui seront d'un style plus concis et moins oratoire, mais qui ne sera ni moins pressant, ni moins agréable" (7). Stemming from the conference entitled "L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle" held in Brest, France on 19–20 March 2015, the book is a collection of seventeen essays from international scholars, edited in a volume divided into six parts: *Les Entretiens de Vincent Voiture et Pierre Costar*, *Dialoguer et transmettre*, *Formes de l'entretien*, *Esthétiques de l'entretien*, *Entretiens et récits narratifs*, and *Desseins de l'entretien*. All abstracts of the articles can be found at the end of the book for a quick browse.

L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle offers a broad, multifaceted, fresh view on a pregnant topic long overlooked by critics and scholars, a point Agnès Cousson emphasizes in her introduction. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the definition of the *entretien* evolves beyond what Guez de Balzac wrote, as the authors show. Except for a few texts, it becomes a lively, learned, sometimes erudite but not pedantic, written dialogue between trustworthy friends, which allows them to express their self—*moi*—in the most intimate way. The *entretien* occurs in a variety of settings, a practice seen in the works of Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero from which the genre emerged. It allows some difficult *topoi* to be conveyed under a pleasant, accessible, and didactic form

to a high-society audience.

The book investigates six important facets of the genre, and among them, I highlight two: *Esthétique de l'entretien* and *Entretien et récit narratifs*. My first choice is an essay entitled “Le ‘dangereux honneur’ de parler à la cour, pour une pragmatique de l’entretien,” authored by Karine Abiven and found in *Esthétique de l'entretien*. Abiven underscores that an *entretien* can become dangerous in the intimacy of princes. Some situations require implicit statements and the use of rhetorical devices, such as silences, to navigate safely through difficult conversations that could potentially precipitate the downfall of the person of lesser rank. From *Entretien et récit narratifs*, an essay entitled “Les entretiens en mer dans ‘L’Histoire du Canada’ de Gabriel Sagard (1636), entre la tradition des *problemata* et la propagande missionnaire” by Marie-Thérèse Pioffet piqued my interest. Sagard’s book *Histoire du Canada* shows the infighting between Catholics and Huguenots, but it also serves as a basis for Pioffet’s analysis of the power struggle between the Jesuits and the *Récollets* over the spiritual control of Canada. She unveils a propagandist slant of the *entretiens* contained in the book as the Franciscan order fights to assert its fading power against the mounting superiority of the Jesuits. Consequently, some *entretiens* are complex, politically charged, and somewhat detached from the modalities of more traditional ones.

The other essays provide equally important and thoughtful analyses of the *entretien* genre. In chapter one, Cécile Tardy explores a poetic approach to offer a definition of the genre via *Les Entretiens de Vincent Voiture et Pierre Costar*. On the other hand, François-Ronan Dubois considers the *mondain* implications in the linguistic competences of authors Voiture and Costar. In chapter two, Céline Hervey examines the philosophical essence in two *entretiens*, the famous conversation between Descartes and Burman, and *Entretiens entre M. Pascal et de M. Sacy*. Viviane Mellinghoff-Bourgerie investigates the spiritual and didactic functions of the *entretien* in François de Sales’s *Entretiens Spirituels*. In chapter three, François-Xavier Cuche suggests that Fénelon’s *Entretiens Spirituels* depict dialogues with God, and within themselves dialogues with man himself. Jean-Yves Vialleton claims that Brossette’s notes on Boileau expose a new spoken genre, precursor to the *entretien*, which is grounded in the present and which makes

it superior to the other works. Francine Wild analyses *Entretien* and *Ana* and how the two genres overlap and resonate with each other. In chapter four, in addition to Karine Abiven's essay mentioned above, Christian Belin explores the original rhetorical nature of the *entretien* in Chevalier de Méré's texts. Emmanuel Bury examines La Mothe Le Vayer's skepticism through the *entretiens* that pepper the author's work in the tradition of Lucian. In chapter four, beside Marie-Christine Pioffet's article discussed above, Francis Assaf demonstrates that *entretiens* expose more prominently than previously believed the values exposed in comical authors' texts, such as *L'histoire comique de Francion*. In chapter six, Maria Vita Romeo discusses René Descartes's *entretien* with François Burman and reveals how the conversations lead to self-awareness. Sylvie Herman De Francheschi unveils the theatrical and literary angles of theological *entretiens*, which allow the readers to better understand them. Didier Souiller analyses the ambiguity that arises between a transparent conversation and the ambivalence of a fictitious character noted in the *entretiens* of Baltasar Gracián. S. J. Christine Mongenot considers the perception of the educator's self in pedagogical *entretiens*, such as those studied in the *Maison Royale de Saint-Cyr*. Finally, Pascale Thouvenin examines the monastical *entretiens* of Port-Royal, particularly how poetics are used to convey a message of salvation and simultaneously define a monastic classicism.

Whether it be real or fictitious, *entretien* unveils microcosmic and larger issues that impacted the intellectual, literary, cultural, political, and religious fabric of early modern society in meaningful ways. *L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle* is an important book that expands and enriches the meanings of *entretien* through various texts and scholarly perspectives, giving it its richness and appeal. This book will be a perfect fit in any library, at a research institution or on the shelf of an early modern scholar.

Ronald W. Tobin. *L'aventure racinienne. Un parcours franco-américain*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2020. 243. \$27.75/25€. Review by SUZANNE C. TOCZYSKI, SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY.

One of the most recent publications in L'Harmattan's nearly twenty-year-old *Approches littéraires* series, *L'aventure racinienne: Un parcours franco-américain*, by noted American dix-septième Ronald Tobin, presents fourteen of Tobin's many articles, thirteen of which have been published previously (between 1974 and 2017); five have been translated from English. Taken together, they offer a taste of Ron Tobin's important contributions to Racine criticism over a long and productive career, and confirming for anyone who may have doubted it, Tobin's longstanding love for the playwright Jean Racine, and his fine critical eye on Racine's theatrical production. Tobin's occasional refrain—for example, "Act IV is always intense"—makes one suspect that the scholar's gifts have been appreciated not only by his peers, but also by the many students at the University of California, Santa Barbara to have sat in his classroom over the years.

Well known for his books *Racine and Seneca* (1971), *Tarte à la crème: Comedy and Gastronomy in Molière's Theater* (1990), and *Jean Racine, Revisited* (1999), Tobin has also edited or co-edited several volumes of essays, including *Racine et/ou le classicisme*, the *acta* from the 1999 Santa Barbara conference which Tobin organized in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the playwright's death. In *L'aventure racinienne*, Tobin now turns his editorial attention to his own scholarly production. In articles ranging from ten to twenty-two pages, Tobin demonstrates his gift for fleshing out the history of an idea (*le plaisir, le secret*) or a character (Néron, Héraclès, Andromaque) or a theatrical perspective (*le lieu, les coulisses*). While limited in scope (many more of Tobin's articles might well have been included in the present volume), the collection ranges well beyond a simple mastery of the Racinian corpus, offering a wealth of information on works of Antiquity and the Renaissance as well. Useful cross references throughout, including to other essays within the present collection, and footnotes at the bottom of each page, allow the reader to navigate with ease the *parcours* referenced in its title.

Tobin's preface, "Doit-on aimer encore Racine?" (reprinted from a 2001 volume of *Biblio 17*), presents an extensive account of American contributions to Racine studies as well as a glimpse into his own history reading French scholarship on the playwright. It offers insights into various critical movements over time—from existentialism to structuralism and psychocriticism and including waves of attention to studies of Racine's Greek sources and mythology in general, philosophical and theological influences, Racine the man, Racine the playwright, and Racine the master of theatrical space, before moving on to reception studies, history, dramaturgy, rhetoric and poetics, all within the context of a more interdisciplinary approach. This short chapter is sure to prove enlightening to any new Racine scholar seeking to get her head around the vast production of criticism devoted to the playwright.

While Tobin devotes some space to virtually every play written by Jean Racine, a few plays merit special attention in the work he presents here, among them *Britannicus*, *Andromaque* and *Phèdre*. The first article in the collection, "Racine, Sénèque et l'Académie Lamoignon," furthers work Tobin published previously in *Racine and Seneca*, suggesting that while Racine clearly owed a debt to Seneca, he preferred to cite other, more impressive sources. Here, as in virtually every article in this collection, Tobin offers ample historical context for the argument he is proposing; in this case, he details the influence of Seneca in the Renaissance and early seventeenth century before his eclipse mid-century under the scrutiny of the Abbé d'Aubignac. Tobin will similarly lay out a thorough chronology of the character of Héraclès (aka Hercules / Alcide) across the centuries before turning his attention to *Alexandre le Grand* and *Phèdre*. Other articles are noteworthy for their deep look into the psychological underpinnings of Racine's characters: Tobin uses Adler's notion of the inferiority complex to better understand Créon, Néron and Pyrrhus, and reads Junie as an object of Néron's fantasies. Turning his attention to Sophocles, Tobin links love as a poison in that playwright's *Les Trachiniennes* to Racine's *Phèdre*. A study of pleasure in Racine's theater focuses most acutely (once again) on the character of Néron in *Britannicus*, while his study of *le secret* takes a broader approach, one that ranges across the playwright's *oeuvre*. Tobin's apparently heretofore unpublished article on

Esther points to the *oralité* (uses and abuses of *bouche, voix* and *langue*) targeted by the play and relating all to the notions of *festin* vs. *jeûne*, while an article on *Andromaque* questions the common wisdom that posits the character as morally perfect. Most intriguing, perhaps, are the small collection of articles devoted to *lieu, espace, scène et hors-scène*, and *coulisses* in *Britannicus, Bérénice, Andromaque* and *Phèdre*. The final article in the collection examines the fragmentation of the body, also in *Phèdre*, one which led Racine away from secular theater and the myth of a unified conscience to his final religious works.

L'aventure racinienne is not without its limitations. Occasional minor imperfections by the typesetter (an unfortunate page or line break here and there) are small distractions from a collection that is otherwise well edited and eminently readable. Surprisingly, the list of *Références* at the back is extremely limited, omitting even some critics Tobin cites as integral to his own understanding of Racine (Barthes and Picard among them), and including no works published after 1999. Given Tobin's own extensive work as bibliographer of the playwright, this much abridged list is unfortunate, resulting perhaps from a restriction imposed by the publisher. Nevertheless, *L'aventure racinienne* offers L'Harmattan's Francophone public a healthy serving of the eminently systematic and thorough work of an American critic whose scholarship has helped to shape the international trajectory of Racine criticism for almost fifty years. One hopes this volume does not represent an endpoint but, rather, a springboard from which further fruitful scholarship will follow.

Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, eds. *Canons and Values: Ancient to Modern*. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019. xi + 323 pp. + 89 illus. \$60.00. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

The perception that art history demands reformulations, reconsiderations, and reinterpretations to salvage the discipline's humanistic creed in times of renewal and exchange have prompted several notable interventions in the last decade. A credible origin point for these discussions is Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood's *Anachronic*

Renaissance, a work of scholarship intent on assessing the role played by the Eastern icons in the West and on challenging the scholarship of Renaissance scholars predominantly focused on the influence of classical antiquity on visual culture. In the edited collection *Canons and Values: Ancient to Modern*, Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano carried out significant research directions for the re-evaluations of traditions meant to reassess and reinforce the cultural heritage of the past.

In the introduction remarkably titled “Canons in World Perspective—Definitions, Deformations, and Discourses,” Larry Silver underscores the recurrent role played by canons and canonical values attached to cultures and visual creeds stemming from interactions between Western and non-Western societies. In order to shape for itself a credible canon, every culture remains true to the “place” or geographical territory (8) while engaging the plurality of influences and remarks accumulated through artistic dialogues. Silver posits that what turned Japan, China, India, Africa, and the Americas into reputable visual cultural presences has been the ability to reinforce and renew (Japan); to combine and sort out works of national culture into a European canon (China); to complicate and refine local practices (India); to innovate and provide new streams of figurative art (Africa); and to integrate ancient figurative sculpture of Teotihuacan into urban culture (Mexico). Revealingly, Silver concluded the illustration of this chain of international visual cultures with the example of Jewish art’s response to modernity, which forms the last chapter of this edited collection. What most eloquently represents Jewish artists and authors is the concept of “markedness” (291) loosely defined as a “minority self-consciousness,” a “cultural construction,” and an effective way to reacquaint humanity with universal spirituality, mythology, and injustice as perennial categories of modern art articulated in the works of Marc Chagall, Ben Shahn, Mark Rothko, and Adolph Gottlieb.

Adolf H. Borbein’s “Canons: Systems of Proportions in Ancient Egypt, India, and Greece” contributes a much-anticipated examination of the literary and practical definition of the word “canon” in the art of ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and India and finally in the Berlin Academy of the nineteenth-century where a premium was placed on statues based upon the proportions of ancient statues. Whereas in ancient Greek texts the word “kanon” was established as

a term in the arts signifying standard or model; artists of the classical world took the liberty to create individual canons. Such was the canon of sculptor Polykleitos that continued the tradition of Egyptian canons and of the sculptural rules of archaic Greek art, but remained the invention of a single artist-theorist—also author of the treatise *Kanon*—meant to challenge the universality of an obligatory canon. Polykleitos' canon included contrapposto or ponderation, which was invented, fully developed in the same age, and inspired a generation of statues, notably the Augustus from Prima porta in Roman times. The principles that ensured the popularity of Polykleitos' canon were the exclusion of a simple imitation of nature and avoidance of old age features—principles especially sought after in artworks presenting rulers and the creation of the divine-inspired Roman emperor (34).

John K. Papadopoulos's "Object(s)—Value(s)—Canon(s)" explores the interrelatedness of canon and object, positing that the word object is polyvalent because it is imbued with cultural values, local identity, and artifacts. In "Body Canons in South America," Gary Urton seeks to identify types of canons that parallel the Western canons (73). Urton names the task of canon formation a kind of "canonical relativism" predicated upon the human body. The bodies of individuals undertake painting, piercing, and dressing to become manipulated and thus shaped into expressions of named statues of local renown. The reverence for the dead and the quest for mummified remains dressed in costumes drawn from South American mythology form highly prized, canonical bodily forms.

The discussion of Indian temple architecture has been of increased scholarly interest in the last decade, spawning important interventions. Subhashini Kaligotla's "A Temple without a Name: Deccan Architecture and the Canon for Sacred Indian Buildings" contributes to the burgeoning interest in Pattadakal as the coronation capital of the Chalukya kings, who ruled the Deccan from 543 to 757 CE. Reviewing the scholarship on Deccan architecture and underscoring the fallacious conclusions of nineteenth-century European historiographers, Kaligotla uncovers how Deccan architecture is rather the outcome of sustained processes of interactions, translations, and adaptations of India's cultural forms.

The modern history of the carved objects of Teotihuacan amplifies the past traditions, as Matthew H. Robb underscores in “The 500 faces of Teotihuacan: Masks and the Formation of Mesoamerican Canons.” Robb identifies two canons at play in the historical patterns of masks associated with Teotihuacan: first, one canon formed through using objects from ancient Mesoamerica; the second, formed directly by ancient makers (115). The sculptural masks appear to have derived from a local version of the maize god, thus referencing an interpretation of a pan-Mesoamerican phenomenon in Teotihuacan (123). The use of color complements the sculptural face with an emphasis on greenstones and varied hues of maize hybrids likened to this life-giving and life-sustaining plant since it was first cultivated (129).

In “One Flower from Each Garden”: Contradiction and Collaboration in the Canon of Mughal Painters,” Yael Rice examines the Mughal canon of artists as a zone of collaboration within which the court artist contributed his autonomous talent. During the later half of the sixteenth century, the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) commissioned more than twenty-five illustrated manuscripts and employed an unprecedented number of artists. For the depiction of portraits, specialized artists of the best renown were selected to paint Akbar’s face and the faces of his courtiers. In New Spain, artists upheld the local traditions more than the historiographers commissioned by the Habsburg rulers. Kevin Terraciano’s “Canons Seen and Unseen in Colonial Mexico” illustrates how the Viceroy sought to erase indigenous memories by destroying their images in several works of art following the conquest in 1521.

In Louis Marchesano’s “The Enduring Burin in Early Nineteenth-Century Paris,” the opinions of artist, critic, and revolutionary Quatremère de Quincy reinforced the idea that engraving “is not an art” in the wake of the reports on the arts presented to Napoleon Bonaparte (194). At the same time, Quatremère de Quincy emphasized the importance of the mixed burin and etching technique, subsuming Gérard Edelinck and Gérard Audran as archetypal printmakers to restore the canon of burin engraving.

Friederike Kitschen’s “Making the Canon Visible: Art Historical Book Series in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century” deserves special mention in this edited collection. Kitschen outlines the

state of affairs in art history, still unchanged for “the young discipline of art history, struggling for social as well as academic recognition” (216). Relying still on modern mass media, the canonicity of art history rests on the validated masters and masterpieces from monographic series which form a curriculum for general education, comprising of a selection of masters and an array of masterpieces which the viewer is able to recognize (238). In Uwe Fleckner’s “The Naked Fetish: Carl Einstein and the Western Canon of African Art,” the perceptions that African art influenced Cubism are utterly dismantled. Carl Einstein’s *Negerplastik* (1915) established a truly remarkable canon of African art, yet the canon was based entirely on Western criteria, on the construction of autonomous aesthetic artifacts, and on decontextualization (262). The research into African art should “bridge the supposed dichotomy between art historiography and anthropology” (263) to study the original context of these works with the use of methods of art anthropology. A convoluted national history in Brazil turned modern art into a malleable movement until “the reinvention of the movement’s history was freed from any obligation to the troublesome facts of political enmity” (282). In his highly perceptive “Forging the Myth of Brazilian Modernism,” Rafael Cardoso seeks to trace the origins and evolution of Brazilian modernism, cautioning that “history can only do so much when confronted with its own value as propaganda and entertainment” (283).

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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◆ *Before Utopia: The Making of Thomas More's Mind*. By Ross Dealy. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2020. xii + 400 pp. \$120. As the title suggests, this is a traditional intellectual biography in which a scholar investigates the evolution of a famous person's thought, looking for influences from the subject's past and filiations in his or her present. While the book is long and the development is detailed, Dealy's main point is deceptively simple. Stripped of all its accompanying nuance and support, his argument is that prior to 1504, More vacillated between whether he should choose the active or contemplative life. This reflects an either / or world view, but that world view changed in late 1504, when More came to recognize that he did not have to choose because each life requires the other. This new both / and world view was radically transformative, and Dealy rightly asks how and why it came to be. The proximate cause, he argues, was Erasmus, in particular Erasmus's *De taedio Iesu* and *Enchiridion*, which led More to see that Stoicism offered a world view that had a place for both the worldly and the non-worldly, *honestum* and *utile*, a unitary understanding that supplied an intellectual method that functioned as well at the beginning of the sixteenth century as it did in antiquity. More's *Lucian* (1506) works out this unitary, two-dimensional way of thinking, and Erasmus in turn utilizes the same approach in his *Praise of Folly* (1511), as does

More's *Utopia* (1516), where it is developed within an imaginary New World setting. In other words, *Utopia* is not a rhetorical *jeu d'esprit*, but the programmatic working out of an approach to life with serious consequences for humanism and the history of classical scholarship.

While the genre in which this book is situated is traditional, its argument is not. It is not easy to say something new about one of the most frequently discussed works of Neo-Latin literature of all time, but Dealy has done so. His argument unfolds in dialogue with other scholars, whose works are cited and discussed in detail. Its novelty is confirmed by the number of times in which Dealy references other scholars, only to assert that they are wrong. This gives his book a polemical edge in places, but it is the polemic of someone who has immersed himself deeply in the primary sources, thought about them at length, and tested his ideas against the work of others. In fact this is the second long book on a similar topic that Dealy has published within the last three years: in his *The Stoic Origins of Erasmus' Philosophy of Christ* (reviewed in the spring 2018 issue of *NLN*), he argues that Erasmus's *philosophia Christi* originated in late classical Stoicism and shows that the *Disputatiuncula de taedio, pavore, tristitia Jesu* (1499-1501) and the more famous *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (1503) should be read together, as two important stages of Erasmus's early thinking. Dealy's two books together function as a sort of diptych that provides a new picture of the first generation of sixteenth-century humanism, as seen in the works of two of its most famous adherents. I suspect that not every reader will accept every detail of Dealy's argument, but the research that lies behind these eight hundred pages and the clarity with which his conclusions are presented guarantee that his will be one of the more significant voices in Erasmus and More studies over the next generation. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *The Republic of Venice: De magistratibus et republica Venetorum.* By Gasparo Contarini. Edited and introduced by Filippo Sabetti. Translated by Giuseppe Pezzini with Amanda Murphy. The Lorenzo Da Ponte Italian Library. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020. lx + 135 pp. \$34.95. As any student of the Italian Renaissance knows, the 'myth of Venice' was disseminated throughout Europe during this

period. The myth begins from the peculiar longevity of the Venetian republic and predicates several causes for its stability, ranging from the city's geography and institutions to a unifying patriotism that made a striking impression on foreign visitors for generations. The myth has been much discussed for centuries, but Contarini, who belonged to an old patrician family and was therefore well positioned to analyze it from the inside, offers a distinctive take on it by focusing on the institutions by which the republic's political aims were realized. These institutions created an equilibrium of plural centers of power, which produced a high degree of 'buy in' from the patricians, a minimal risk of factional violence, and an accountability for those who held office.

Book 1 focuses on the location and origin of the city and its form of government, with an emphasis on the basic political institution, the Great Council. The second book discusses the doge as the head of state and chief magistrate, while the third and fourth books move through the Senate, the Council of Ten, and the chief judicial tribunals and magistracies. The treatise concludes with a discussion of how Venice governed its territories on the mainland and how the various community organizations worked. For Contarini, Venice achieved long-term success by combining Aristotle's and Polybius's three forms of rule, with the monarchical vested in the Doge, the aristocratic in the Senate, and the democratic in the Great Council. To this ideal, mixed government, geography, institutions, and habits of mind contributed as well. The term 'myth' suggests a certain uncritical attitude toward the world around us, and it is true that Contarini tended to idealize the founders of the republic and to accept the kinds of social and political inequalities that have bothered some modern historians. But he also drew attention throughout his treatise to individual failings, political corruption, and institutional weakness.

This book has several things going in its favor. As someone who himself has written about the myth, I confess that I have always found the institutional framework within which it evolved to be complex and ultimately rather mystifying. Contarini's *De magistratibus* demystifies the inner workings of the Venetian government quite nicely. The front matter of this edition, however, strikes me as a bit misleading, in that including on the title page the name of someone who edited and introduced the book suggests to me that it will contain a Latin

text as well. This is not the case, but given that the translation and introduction are as short as they are and that there is no modern edition of the text, it is a pity that one was not included here. But what we do have will draw welcome attention to a text that merits further study. Within the last couple of generations, Venice has established itself alongside Florence as a focal point for Renaissance history in both the Anglophone and Italian-language worlds, but thanks to the outsized influence of Hans Baron, scholarship on Renaissance republican thought tends to remain centered on the Arno. *De magistratibus* suggests that we should turn our attention to the northeast as well, and that we should spend less time on ideology and more on institutions. As scholars like J. G. A. Pocock noted some fifty years ago, discussions like these take their place within the ‘Atlantic republican tradition,’ which makes this one of those places where Neo-Latin scholarship has something significant to say directly to modern cultural and political life. Thanks to the team that produced this book, Contarini should be able to take a larger role in this conversation from this point onward. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum VIII*. By John Lesley. Edited with Latin text, introduction, translation, and commentary by Bernhard Söllradl. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Edition Woldan, 7. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020. c + 376 pp. €69. The volume under review here presents a Latin text with an introduction, translation, and commentary for the eighth book of the ten-volume account of the origin, culture, and history of Scotland by John Lesley (1527-1596), bishop of Ross. The years covered here, from 1437 to 1513, include the struggles of the young king James II with the powerful house of Douglas, the rebellion of the nobles against the unpopular James III, the splendid wedding of James IV with Margaret Tudor, and finally the decisive Scottish defeat by the English at the Battle of Flodden. Lesley’s account, however, is not restricted to the basics of political history: he also chronicles the Scottish role in the internal and external diplomatic maneuvers between the English and French and the conditions within the Scottish church that made it

receptive to the ideas of the Protestant reformer John Knox.

Lesley's account provides both rich historical detail and a satisfying read on stylistic grounds, but it has been largely forgotten today. Söllradl suggests—rightly, I believe—that this obscurity results from Lesley's unwavering loyalty to the Catholic Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. This meant that the powerful Scottish Protestants of the sixteenth century rejected his account as biased in the wrong direction and turned instead to the *Rerum Scotticarum historia* of George Buchanan. Buchanan has become a writer of considerable interest to Neo-Latin scholarship today, which has in turn eclipsed Lesley's work even further. Söllradl's edition therefore serves as a welcome partial corrective to Buchanan's Protestant bias.

I say 'partial' because Söllradl's edition covers only one of the ten books of *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum*. Given the length of Lesley's work, the decision to restrict one's self to one book is a reasonable one, and given the importance of the events from this period, book 8 was a good choice. On an editorial level, this raises again a question that often recurs in Neo-Latin studies: should we try to publish modern print versions of every Neo-Latin text, given that readership will remain relatively small, the paratextual aids that accompany the early editions are lost in this process, and the internet offers the options of reproducing an early edition or providing a modern version in a low-cost format? Söllradl's solution—to do a modern edition of one key part and to direct the reader to an early edition for the rest—strikes me as an interesting compromise that should be considered more widely.

Both the Latin text and the German translation are well prepared, and the commentary, while brief, provides what is needed for an informed first reading of the work. This is a competently done example of the stock in trade of Neo-Latin studies, the edition of a previously neglected work, and as such, it should be consulted by anyone interested in Scottish history and culture of the period. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *I paratesti nelle edizioni a stampa dei classici greci e latini (XV-XVIII sec.)*. Edited by Giancarlo Abbamonte, Marc Laureys, and

Lorenzo Miletta. *Testi e studi di cultura classica*, 81. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2020. xii + 382 pp. €39. Ever since the late eighties, increasing attention has been paid to what Gérard Genette called the ‘paratext,’ that is, things like dedicatory letters, commentaries, and indices that were added to the text itself to help the reader navigate through and understand it. The essays in this volume build on this work by focusing on a period prior to the one in which Genette was most interested, and by confronting the problems that arose in early editions of the classics, where the paratexts were provided not by the author, but by third parties like editors, commentators, and printers.

A number of themes emerge from the essays. In some cases, like that of Erasmus, dedicatory letters were republished apart from the texts they originally accompanied; in others, like that of the *Cornu copiae* of Niccolò Perotti, the paratext took on a life of its own to the extent that the text itself served as little more than a foundation for it. The paratextual material accompanying a text often grew and grew, accumulating greater mass over time, then changing shape again to accommodate the needs of readers with different abilities and goals. Paratexts reveal relationships within the *res publica litterarum*, and they often served to situate a text within the ideological and political controversies not of the ancient culture in which it was produced, but of the editors and commentators who brought it back to life. In other words, paratexts offered powerful tools for generating more informed readings, but they opened up the possibility of new misreadings as well, as early modern scholars also recognized. In addition they provided a vehicle by which early modern authors could maneuver to have their works recognized as modern-day classics.

After the introduction by the editors and before the indices of names and ancient authors cited, the volume contains four groups of essays. The first, collected under the title “Paratesti di edizioni e traduzioni di classici greci,” includes Claudio Bevegna, “Il greco di Aldo Manuzio nelle lettere dedicatorie”; Ioannis Deligiannis, “The Classical Sources of the *Marginalia* in M. Palmieri’s Latin Translation of Herodotus’ *Histories* from Florence, BML, ms. *Acq. e Doni 130*”; Angelo Meriani, “Vicende di un paratesto: il *Prooemium in Musicam Plutarchi ad Titum Pyrrhinum* di Carlo Valgulio”; Maria Stefania Montecalvo, “Il ruolo delle dediche e degli elementi paratestuali nelle

edizioni di Cassio Dione (in età moderna) tra erudizione, politica culturale e filologia”; James Hirstein, “The 1518 Basel Bilingual Edition of Musaeus’ *Hero and Leander*: The Contributions of Aldus Manutius and Beatus Rhenanus”; and Cristina Pepe, “Testo e paratesti nei *Commentarii in tres libros Aristotelis de arte dicendi* di Piero Vettori.” Contained in the second group, “Storia editoriale di autori classici latini attraverso i loro paratesti,” are Fabio Stok, “Le edizioni del commento virgiliano di Pomponio Leto”; Béatrice Charlet-Mesdjian, “Les paratextes de l’édition des élégiaques, Tibulle, Catulle et Propertius commentés respectivement par Bernard de Vérone, Antonius Parthenius Lachesis et Philippe Béroalde l’Ancien (Venise, Bonetus Locatellus, 1491)”; Felicia Toscano, “I paratesti delle edizioni a stampa dei *Fasti* di Ovidio fra XV e XVII secolo: storie di uomini, libri e idee”; and Federica Rossetti, “I paratesti delle edizioni di Persio tra XV e XVI secolo. Dall’Umanesimo italiano al Rinascimento europeo.” In the next group, “I paratesti e gli studi classici di umanisti italiani ed europei,” we find Marianne Pade, “The Paratexts to the Printed Editions of Niccolò Perotti’s *Cornu copiae*: Commissions, Patronage and Intended Readership”; Jean-Louis Charlet, “Une condamnation sévère des paratextes aux éditions classiques: Niccolò Perotti, *Lettre à Guarnieri* 5”; Lorenzo Miletti, “Da Venezia a Nola. Le epistole prefatorie al *De nobilitate rerum* e alla traduzione del *De virtutibus* pseudo-aristotelico di Ambrogio Leone”; Valéry Berlincourt, “Observations sur les constellations paratextuelles dans les miscellanées philologiques”; and Marc Laureys, “Text and Paratext in Erasmus’ Editions of the Classics.” The final section, “I paratesti dei nuovi classici,” presents Marc Deramaix, “*Ut ad poema redeam*. Le lettere di Egidio da Viterbo e di Belisario Acquaviva a Sannazaro nell’*editio princeps* del *De partu Virginis*”; and Antonio Gargano, “Un moderno classico spagnolo: Garcilaso de la Vega nei commentari del Brocense a di Herrera.”

This is a substantial volume on a topic of great interest to readers of *Neo-Latin News*. And at €39, it is also quite a bargain. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Tassus Latinus. 100 Jahre lateinische Nachdichtungen der Gerusalemme liberata (1584-1683). Gentilis – Valentianus – Vanninius – de*

Placentinis – Libassi. By Jacob Sense. *Noctes Neolatinae / Neo-Latin Texts and Studies*, 34. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2019. 404 pp. €88. At first glance the subject of this book, which originated as a doctoral dissertation at the Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, might seem to be an exercise in perversity: why would anyone choose to translate a vernacular poem into Latin at the point when the linguistic balance was tipping in exactly the opposite direction? And why, at a time when fewer and fewer people read Latin at all, would a scholar study such a translation now? Yet as Sense shows, the Tasso poems translated here are hardly an isolated phenomenon, since his catalogue of the Latin translations of the *Gerusalemme liberata* (356–60) lists twenty-nine versions that were published between 1584 and 1900. And Tasso was not the only vernacular author who was treated in this way—my library, for example, contains a copy of *Lapsus protoparentum ex poemate Miltoni Cantus VI. Accedit Supplementum ad Lib[rum] VI Aeneid[os] de Fatis Imperii Romano Germanici et Aug[usto] Gente Austriaco* (Vienna, 1768), by Ludwig Bertrand Neumann (1726–1779), which shows that this exercise was still popular a century after its heyday. Sense has selected five versions from among the twenty-nine in his catalogue for further study: the *Solymeis* (1584) of Scipio Gentilis, the poem of the same title (1611) by Johannes Baptista Valentianus, the *Hierosolyma liberata* (1623) by Guido Vanninius, the *Hierosolyma vindicata* (1673) by Hieronymus de Placentinis, and the *Solymeis* (1683) by Vincentius Libassi.

The question posed above, about why anyone would undertake a project like this, is answered at length in Sense's analysis. For one thing, it was often argued during this period that for a work to be universally accessible, it needed to be in Latin, since the knowledge of vernacular languages was limited geographically. Second was the aesthetic argument, that Latin possessed a greater *maiestas* than the vernaculars, so that translating a work like *Jerusalem Delivered* or *Paradise Lost* would elevate the reading experience. In addition, translation into Latin also allowed for an expansion of the literary features that were characteristic of the epic genre. And there are several good reasons for studying these poems now, even though they are even less likely at this point to gain a wide audience than they were when they were

published. First, it is sometimes forgotten now that after the fall of Constantinople, the idea of a crusade was still very much alive, as was the threat of an Ottoman invasion of Europe; these poems played a part, albeit a small one, in the accompanying discussions. Second, the period in which these five poems were written was marked by a good deal of theorizing about both literature in general and translation in particular. And finally, the growing interest among scholars today in paratexts (see the review of *I paratesti nelle edizioni a stampa dei classici greci e latini (XV-XVIII sec.)* in this issue of *NLN*) encourages us to examine the connections between these poems and their dedicatees, which provides insight into their place in both the political environment and literary culture of their day.

The book begins with a sixty-five-page introduction that examines the current state of scholarship in this area, the idea of a crusade after the fall of Constantinople, Latin translation in theory and practice, and the general issues surrounding the Latin versions of Tasso's epic. The main body of the monograph offers separate sections on each of the five poems selected for study, with each section examining the author and the environment in which his poem was produced, followed by a study of the poem itself. The book concludes with a general summary, an extensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources, an index of abbreviations and the complete catalogue of Latin versions of *Jerusalem Delivered*, and three indices: an *index nominum et operum*, *index locorum*, and *index rerum*. Everything is done well, resulting in what will remain the definitive study of its subject.

As those who attend the IANLS congresses regularly know, the interaction between Neo-Latin and the vernacular has become a subject of considerable interest in the last generation. That interest is generally focused on the movement from Latin to the vernacular languages, but this book reminds us that linguistic transferral went in the other direction as well and that the second deserves serious study along with the first. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Der Schlüssel zur Tragödie: Der senecanische Chor in Jakob Baldes dramatischem Werk.* By Caroline Dänzer. NeoLatina, 35. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2020. 247 pp. €98. This monograph, which

is a lightly revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation from the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, examines the role of the chorus in the dramatic works of Jakob Balde. Dänzer begins from the premise that these works can be best understood from two reference points: the institutional framework of the Jesuit order in which Balde's literary activity took place and the tragedies of Seneca, which served as a literary model for his plays, especially the *Jephtias*, which is the best known of the group.

After a brief overview of the Jesuit theater in the Baroque period, Dänzer moves to an extended analysis of almost a hundred pages that considers the role of the chorus in Senecan tragedy, with a focus on *Oedipus* and *Troades*. While she has considerably more to say in this section, the key conclusion is that "[d]ie Tragödien sind eine Form des Philosophierens für Fortgeschrittene, ihre Chorlieder fungieren dabei als kondensierte Interpretationsanleitung, die nach dem Prinzip der *mise-en-abyme* die einzelnen Akte zusammenfasst" (216). The second part of the book explores how and to what extent Balde takes over this principle in his own works. Dänzer first explores the function of the chorus in Balde's non tragic plays. The section titles summarize nicely what Dänzer sees in each of the relevant works: "Was ist ein tragischer Chor: *Regnum poetarum*," "Gattungsmarker: *Iocus serius*"; "Ordrende Konstante: *Tilly*," "Emotionale Verstärkung: *Philomela*," "Ohne Chor: *Drama Georgicum*," and "Ein Grenzfall: *Arion Scaldicus*." The last fifty pages are devoted to the function of the chorus in the tragedy *Jephtias*. As she indicates in her final paragraph (219), Dänzer shows that Balde understood well the importance of the chorus in the tragedies of Seneca and developed it further and with more flexibility as a key to the meaning of his plays, in which the concept of the *mise-en-abyme* takes on a new importance in Latin literary history.

Balde has been better known and appreciated for his Neo-Latin lyrics, which have earned for him the title of 'the German Horace.' His dramas have not received nearly as much attention, which makes this work a welcome addition to the scholarly literature. In one sense, some of Dänzer's conclusions underwhelm, in that if we think about it for a moment, the idea that Balde's plays should be unpacked in reference to Baroque school drama and to Seneca is where most people sitting down to write this book would begin. The argument that the

choral passages are the “key to tragedy,” as the title suggests, is more provocative; it may strike some readers as debatable, but the debate is worth having. And even if Dänzer’s conclusions do not open up a breathtaking new approach to Neo-Latin drama, they remind us of a couple of important points that we are in danger of forgetting. When we think today of *Oedipus*, for example, we tend to think of Sophocles, not Seneca, but since Latin was always better controlled by more people than Greek, pre-modern readers were more likely to access the version of the latter than the one of the former. For this reason alone, Dänzer’s study is important, for directing attention to Seneca’s dramatic works and to how they were understood and adapted in later periods. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus. Napoleon Bonaparte in lateinischen Dichtungen vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts.* Vol. III: *Vom Frieden von Tilsit bis zu Marie-Louises Schwangerschaft (1807–1811)*. Edited, with translation and commentary, by Hermann Krüssel. *Noctes Neolatinae*, 37. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Olms, 2020. XII + 621 pages. €98. Given the role that Latin continued to play in European culture at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, it should not surprise us to find that there was some Neo-Latin literary activity connected to Napoleon Bonaparte. When the first volume in this series appeared (reviewed by Joanna Luggin in the fall 2012 *NLN*), I at least was not expecting to learn that there are almost two hundred such poems. This is the third of a projected four volumes devoted to this understudied corpus.

The poems in this volume cover just four years, from the Peace of Tilsit to the pregnancy of Marie-Louise. The first two poems are the longest: *Bardus Hercyniae, Poema Vincentii Monti a Francisco Bottazzi epicis Latinis interpretatum*, an Ossianic epic in 1747 hexameters, and the teacher Pierre Crouzet’s *Colloquium apud Elysios manes inter Carolum Magnum et consultissimum virum Tronchet*. The remaining poems in this volume are arranged in groups, with twenty-five coming after the Peace of Tilsit, another nineteen devoted to Napoleon’s marriage with Marie-Louise, and six focused on her pregnancy. Written by poets

from Germany, Austria, and Italy as well as France, the poems reveal a longing for peace, but they also touch on a variety of sub-themes, with Joseph Matthias Arnold's *Napoleon primus, qui Maximus esse meretur* being of special interest for what it has to say about life during the Napoleonic era, both as regards its author and in general. Each poem is accompanied by an extensive introduction and commentary that place the works into their contemporary historical contexts and link them to other poetry in the Latin literary tradition, along with a translation that is both accurate and elegant, in that the meter of the original Latin is preserved in the German translation.

This collection is valuable for several reasons. First, it must be recognized as a long labor of love. Krüssel first had to locate each of the poems, which are dispersed in archives and libraries in Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and England; the poems then had to be sorted into groups, translated, and equipped with the paratextual material necessary to make them comprehensible to readers who do not have either the historical knowledge or the literary background that educated people in Napoleon's day had. Then he had to find a publisher willing to commit to a project that has already come to 1,900 pages in print, with a fourth volume still to appear; for this we owe thanks not only to Georg Olms Verlag, but also to a foundation, Pegasus Limited for the Promotion of Neo-Latin Studies, that has been the silent partner for a good deal of publication in this field over the last generation. In short, this collection and the volume reviewed immediately below offer a valuable reminder that Neo-Latin retained considerable importance after the Renaissance and Baroque periods on which attention is more generally focused. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Studies in the Latin Literature and Epigraphy of Italian Fascism.* Edited by Han Lamers, Bettina Reitz-Joosse, and Valerio Sanzotta. *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020. x + 364 pp. €59.50. Mussolini's fascination with Latin and the Roman past is well known; indeed one could argue that the twenty-year period in which Italy was dominated by fascism probably marks the high point for Neo-Latin in the twentieth century, in the

sense that the language was cultivated and appreciated more widely and deeply within society than it was before or since. But ask yourself how you feel after you have read this sentence: rather uneasy at least, right? This feeling, as the editors point out (1), has until recently inhibited the study of the literary and epigraphical use of Latin in Italy from 1922–1943.

But this is changing: “[r]ecent publications have explored what it meant to write in Latin under Mussolini and argued that the language was made to serve as the language of Fascist *romanità*, as a modern and a specifically Fascist language, as a national and international language, and as the language of Italian imperialism” (2). The subject was initially explored in a colloquium, “*Fascium decus superbum*. Neo-Latin in the *Ventennio Fascista*,” which took place at the Bischöfliches Institut Vinzentinum in Brixen on 7 and 8 October 2016, although the presentations have been refined into a form that is of more permanent value than most *acta*. For one thing, the essays build on recent research and open up new avenues to pursue by focusing on three recurring topics: the important role that Latin played in linking fascist Italy to ancient Rome, the variety of contexts in which Latin was used in fascist Italy, and how fascist Latin manipulated the ‘myth of Rome’ as it appeared more broadly in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Italy. More important, perhaps, is that while most essay collections are presented by marketing departments as ‘opening up new avenues of research,’ this one actually does so: the notes and bibliography are unusually full, and the volume closes with an “Instrumentum bibliographicum” of some eighty pages that invites the reader to dive in and develop her own project.

The volume contains the following essays: Han Lamers, Bettina Reitz-Joosse, and Valerio Sanzotta, “Introduction: Studies in the Latin Literature and Epigraphy of Italian Fascism”; Dirk Sacré, “Die neulateinische Literatur in Mussolinis Italien: Eine Einführung”; Paolo Fedeli, “Usò e abuso della poesia di Orazio nelle odi al Duce e al fascismo”; William M. Barton, “Pastoral and the Italian Landscape in the *Ventennio Fascista*: Natural Themes in the Latin Poetry of F. Sofia Alessio, G. Mazza, and L. Illuminati”; Johanna Luggin, “*Imperium iam tandem Italiae restitutum est*. Lateinische Übersetzungen der Reden Mussolinis zum faschistischen Imperium”; Wolfgang Strobl, “In

honorem et memoriam fortissimorum virorum ... Zur präfaschistischen und faschistischen Biografie einer Römischen Inschrift"; Antonino Nastasi, "L'epigrafia in latino negli anni del fascismo. L'uso dei classici tra continuità e fratture"; Dirk Sacré, "The *Certamen Hoeufftianum* during the *Ventennio Fascista*: An Exploration (with Unpublished Poems by Vittorio Genovesi and Giuseppe Favaro)"; and Xavier van Binnebeke, "Hoeuff's Legacy: Neo-Latin Poetry in the Archive of the *Certamen Poeticum Hoeufftianum* (1923–1943)."

This is a well prepared and well executed collection that belongs on the bookshelves of anyone who feels the need to explain the relevance of Neo-Latin studies in the modern period. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Albasitensis: Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Albacete 2018)*. General editors, Florian Schaffenrath and María Santamaría Hernández; edited by Jean-François Cottier, Carla Maria Monti, Marianne Pade, Stefan Tilg, and Juan J. Valverde Abril. Acta Conventus Neo-Latini, 17. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020. XXXIV + 703 pp. €165. Every third year, the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies hosts an international conference that has become the largest and most important meeting in the field. The 2018 congress took place in Albacete, Spain. The fifty-four participants whose papers were submitted for publication and passed peer review are included in this volume.

The volume opens with the congress program, the presidential address by Ingrid A. R. De Smet, and a list of illustrations. IANLS practice is to have a plenary paper in each of the five official languages of the organization, with the speakers serving as editors for the other papers in their language. The plenary speakers gave the following papers: Jean-François Cottier, "Le *De Alea* (1561) de Pascasius, ou l'invention des addictions et de la thérapie analytique"; Carla Maria Monti, "Petarca e la natura"; Marianne Pade, "'Conquering Greece': On the Correct Way to Translate in Fifteenth-Century Humanist Translation Theory"; Stefan Tilg, "Autor / Erzähler und Fiktion im neulateinischen Roman: Ein Beitrag zu einer historischen Narratolo-

gie”; and Juan J. Valverde Abril, “Apuntes sobre la transmisión textual de la versión latina de la *Política* de Leonardo Bruni.”

The remaining forty-eight papers are regular communications by IANLS members, presented in alphabetical order by the surnames of the authors: Guillermo Alvar Nuño, “La *Compendiosa historia hispanica* (1470) como fuente en el primer Renacimiento castellano”; David Amherdt, “L’humaniste suisse Heinrich Glaréan (1488–1563), *vir bonus dicendi et docendi peritus*”; Manuel Ayuso, “La relevancia de los paratextos de las primeras ediciones de Marciano Capela para la crítica textual”; Valéry Berlincourt, “Fonctions et effets des titres-résumés dans les miscellanées philologiques de la Renaissance”; Anders Kirk Borggaard, “From *puer* to *iuuenis*: Peder Hegelund’s Self-Reflecting Portrayal of Danish Christian III in the *Epicedion de Inchyto et Serenisimo Rege Christiano III*”; Elwira Buszewicz, “Shaping a Poem: Some Remarks on Paul of Krosno and His Horatianism”; Nadia Cannata, “Le scrittore esposto e il latino in Italia fra XIV e XV secolo”; Lucie Claire, “Commenter Quinte-Curce au XVI^e siècle: premières observations”; Claudia Corfiati, “Bernardo Michelozzi e Francesco Pucci, amici di penna”; Ingrid A. R. De Smet, “The Bird-Catcher’s Wiles: Pietro Angeli da Barga’s *De aucupio*”; Marina Díaz Marcos, “La tradición latina renacentista del *De simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus* de Galeno”; Roumpini Dimopoulou, “Aspects of Nature and People in Early Travel Literature (Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)”; Ignacio J. García Pinilla, “Bonaventura Vulcanius in Spain: Some Poems”; Paraskevi Gatsioufa, “La versión latina del tratado aristotélico *De sensu* (*Parva naturalia*) de Sepúlveda”; Donald Gilman, “The Practicing Poet: Petrarch, Dedalus, and the Dynamics of Poetic Creativity in the *Bucolicum carmen*”; Gerard González Germain, “The *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (1521) and the Muses: A Little-Known Chapter in Sixteenth-Century Latin Poetry”; Lika Gordeziani, “La figure du tyran dans les *Adages* d’Érasme”; Trine Arlund Hass, “From Caesar to the Rantzaus: Allegory, Fiction and Reality in Heinrich Rantzau’s *De obitu nobilissimae matronae Annae Rantzoviae Domini Ioannis Rantzofij coniugis ecloga*”; Sylvie Laigneau-Fontaine, “Épigramme et épopée: quelques exemples tirés de l’épigramme lyonnaise des années 1530–40”; Marco Leone, “Ovidio neo-latino tra Cinque e Seicento: un percorso italo-europeo”; Maria Łukaszewicz-Chantry, “*Nunc erit*

beatior ... L'homme et la nature dans la troisième épode de Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski"; Eric MacPhail, "L'art de conférer chez Érasme"; Ana I. C. Martins, "Mankind's Public and Private Roles in *Collectanea moralis philosophiae* (1571)"; Maria Stefania Montecalvo, "Prefazioni e dediche nelle edizioni degli storici greci tra politica e divulgazione"; Henk Nellen, "Dutch Late Humanism and Its Aftermath: The Reception of Hugo Grotius' Biblical Scholarship"; Daniel Nodes, "The Merging of Linguistic Idioms in the Commentary Genre: The Case of Alejo Vanegas of Toledo (1542)"; Pietro Daniel Omodeo and Alberto Bardi, "La *Quaestio an terra moveatur an quiescat* di Giovanni Regiomontano"; Joaquín Pascual-Barea, "Los cuatro epigramas latinos de Alonso García en alabanza del *Libro de la melancholia* (Sevilla, 1585) de su discípulo Andrés Velásquez"; María Jesús Pérez Ibáñez, "Amato Lusitano: el relato patográfico del morbo gálico"; Carlos Ángel Rizos Jiménez, "Nuevos retos para el estudio de la poesía jesuítica latina del siglo XVIII"; Federica Rossetti, "Fonti scientifiche in contesti scholastici: la metafora medica nei commenti a Persio del Secondo Quattrocento"; María de Lourdes Santiago Martínez, "Continuidad y variación en el tratamiento de la rabia: de Gratio (s. I) a Aurifaber (s. XVI)"; Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, "Magnetism's Transformation from Natural Phenomenon to Literary Metaphor"; Petra Schierl, "Natural and Artificial Objects in Conrad Gessner's Book on 'Fossils'"; Margherita Sciancalepore, "Educazione e politica nelle lettere di Costanza da Varano"; Robert Seidel, "Städte lob und Zeitkritik: Die Frankfurt-Episode im *Iter Argentoratense* (1544) des Humanisten Georg Fabricius"; Minna Skafte Jensen, "Seven Types of Intertextuality, and the Emic / Etic Distinction"; Anna Skolimowska, "A Dowry Recovered after Three Decades: Diego Gracián's Spanish Editions of Ioannes Dantiscus' *Hymns* Revisited"; Anna Smirnova, "Neo-Latin and Russian in Mikhail V. Lomonosov's *Panegyric for Elizaveta Petrovna* (1749)"; László Szörényi, "De interpretibus Iacobi Vanierii e Societate Jesu sacerdotis inter poetas Hungaros"; Irina Tautschnig, "The Weaver of Light: Divine Origin of Nature and Natural Science in Carlo Noceti's *Iris*"; Pablo Toribio, "Notas sobre la correspondencia manuscrita de Christoph Sand"; Marta Vaculínová, "*Cum Apolline Christus*: Personal Mottos of Humanists from the Czech Lands"; Sebastiano Valerio, "Lettere alla corte aragonesa: l'epistolario di Antonio Galateo, i re di Napoli

e l'Accademia"; Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich, "The Latin and Swedish Versions of J. Widekindi's *Historia belli Sveco-Moscovitici decennalis: The Nature of the Differences*"; Éva Ví, "Il bestiario 'non inutile e giocondo' dell'umanista Pier Candido Decembrio"; Kristi Viiding, "Der Humanist in der Krise: Zur Rolle der Poesie im Leben des Rigaer Humanisten David Hilchen"; Benjamin Wallura, "*Nepenthes* – Trank der Helena: Die umstrittene Identität eines 'homerischen' *pharmakon* in gelehrten Debatten des 17. Jahrhunderts"; and Svorad Zavarský, "Martinus Szent-Ivany's Notion of *Scientia*: Some Preliminary Notes on the Semantics of Neo-Latin Science."

As always, this volume offers an excellent overview of the field, and as such, it takes its place among the preceding *acta*, all of which should be on the bookshelves of any serious Neo-Latinist. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)