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Bronwyn Reddan. *Love, Power, and Gender in Seventeenth–Century French Fairy Tales.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021. xvii + 242 pp. $65.00. Review by Rori Bloom, University of Florida.

In her young adult novel *Number the Stars,* Lois Lowry writes, "The whole world had changed. Only the fairy tales remained the same." In her recent book on seventeenth-century French fairy tales, Bronwyn Reddan proposes a different thesis: the world changes and fairy tales change with it. To make her point, Reddan draws on the work of historians of the emotions to argue that love—something that many consider universal and eternal—does not mean the same thing in all places at all times. Her reading of texts written in France in the 1690s examines how a group of women writers grappled with the definition of this important emotion in a social context where women's lives were strictly limited by the power of fathers and husbands. In so doing, Reddan complicates our understanding of "happily ever after" by reading seventeenth-century fairy tales as often ambivalent interrogations of early-modern marriage.

In her book's introduction, Reddan provides an overview of various previous approaches to the scholarly study of the fairy tale—folklorist, structuralist, psychoanalytic—before identifying her own approach as socio-historical and defining her corpus as the works of seventeenth-century French women, specifically Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, Louise d'Auneuil, Catherine Bernard, Catherine Durand, Charlotte-Rose de la Force, Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier, and Henriette-Julie de Murat. She acknowledges her debt to scholars of seventeenth-century French literature (Faith Beasley, Joan DeJean, Lewis Seifert, and Allison Stedman), who have studied the importance of women's writing and singles out the work of Sophie Raynard on *préciosité* and the fairy tale as an important influence. What is most innovative about Reddan's study of love in the French fairy tale is her choice of methodology. Adopting Barbara Rosenwein's ideas on emotional communities and Monique Scheer's theorization of emotion as a form of practice, Reddan looks at the presentation of love in fairy tales not as the expression of a feeling but as the examination of cultural norms in seventeenth-century France.

In Part I—Formation of a Literary Emotional Community—two chapters portray these women writers as a group bound by shared literary practices. Chapter one demonstrates that fairy tales authored by women far outnumbered those authored by men in France at the end of the seventeenth century, but it also shows that these women formed a group defined not only by interpersonal but by intertextual relationships, as they often referred to each other in their writing. Moreover, in the fictional framing of many of their tales, these authors present reading in a social setting where literature creates a sense of community. Chapter two goes on to argue that in their writing, these women draw on a "shared vocabulary of love," alternately influenced by Descartes's *Passions de l'âme* but even more so by Scudéry's *Carte de tendre*. For Reddan, Descartes's "passions theory" of love as an uncontrollable emotion manifests more clearly in the works of women writers of an earlier generation (Lafayette, Villedieu), ceding to Scudéry's "tender theory of love" in the works of female fairy-tale authors. Reddan observes that Scudéry's map of tenderness provides a set of social practices that tames passion, making it more like friendship. By adopting this model in which the beloved woman may accept or reject her lover's advances according to her inclination, the female fairy-tale authors question traditional patriarchal views.

In Part II—Conversations about love—three chapters examine the fairy tales' treatment of love in key moments of courtship, from the declaration of love to its disappearance. Reddan is particularly interested in how the model for marriage in this period evolves from a socio-economic negotiation overseen by families to an emotional interaction between individuals. For Reddan, declarations of love in fairy tales help to promote this new model, but at the same time she concedes that women's agency is still limited by the social norm of female restraint. Moreover, while the exchange of loving words creates a certain intimacy within the couple, Reddan grants that companionate marriage does not replace transactional marriage but does allow emotional concerns to be acknowledged within an institution structured by social and economic factors. Chapter four—written around a comparison of two versions of "Riquet à la houppe"—looks at gift-giving between fairy-tale lovers less as a transfer of property than as an effort at emotional reciprocity. In the version of "Riquet" authored

by Charles Perrault, the reciprocation of the lover's gift by the beloved seems to signify a consensual relation, whereas in Catherine Bernard's version, the offer of the gift signals coercion, but Reddan shows that even in the happy version Perrault's heroine is without real power. Chapter five examines the relatively rare but still significant unhappy endings of some seventeenth-century fairy tales (by d'Aulnoy, Murat, and Bernard) in order to argue that, despite their endorsement of the companionate model of marriage, these authors also admit that neither love nor marriage guarantees happiness.

Reddan begins and ends her book by addressing readers' expectations about the presentation of love in fairy tales, arguing persuasively that the seventeenth-century works of her *conteuses* did much to establish our twenty-first century ideas about this genre. At the same time, her own book slightly confounded some of my expectations, as I had anticipated more discussion of the authors' marital history, the characters' sexuality, and the difference between the treatment of love in novels and tales. Nevertheless, Reddan makes a strong argument that the authors whom she studies created the codes of a literary genre to critique the codes of their society.

Hubert Bost. *Bayle calviniste libertin.* Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021. 458 pp. 71.10€. Review by Parker Cotton, Wycliffe College, University of Toronto.

This collection of 23 articles from across Hubert Bost's career positions Bayle as operating between two poles: one Calvinist—supported by Bayle's apparent fideism and lifelong profession of the Reformed faith; one libertine—the critical, skeptical, and, of course, mocking Bayle, especially with respect to religious matters. This mapping of Bayle's positions is further charted by reference to four overlapping registers between Calvinist and libertine: the reasons for faith and belief; unlimited critical thought including the support of freedom of conscience; intellectual logic and scholarly knowledge; and finally political reflection. Additionally, Bost takes care to remind us of the "personal journey" that must inform our reading of a figure who often places himself as the impartial collator of historical facts. The strange

and varied, but carefully selected, articles and cross-references of the *Dictionnaire* tells that Bayle addresses which topics he wishes to address, and we do well to remember the person shaping this critical history.

Bost points out that part of the continued charm of reading Bayle is his lack of systematic thought. A collection of various studies may thus be the best way to grasp the variety of questions Bayle engaged throughout his writing. Regardless, Bost manages to effectively show that Bayle does circle some common themes.

This collection broadens the reach of some of Bost's lesser-known work in addition to well-cited articles. A good balance is struck between in-depth historical work pulling insights from understudied contemporaries and correspondence as well as more far-reaching articles engaging the uptake and impact of Bayle's philosophical ideas such as patriotism, secularism, and tyranny. The standout feature to this reviewer is the devotion to the theological Bayle, that is, the articles on Bayle's reception of Calvin, use of the Bible, Protestantism (or perhaps 'Huguenot-ness'), and most uniquely Bayle's understanding of the sermon. Far from erasing Bayle's professed religion and theological training, Bost challenges not only the "secretive atheist" Bayle but also those interpreters who accept Bayle's religiosity but do not offer it any explanatory power over his ideologies.

Given the vast spread of material I will comment on some selected chapters that stood out this reading. The article on "Adam" and "Eve" in the *Dictionnaire* illustrates just how integrated and cross-referenced these articles were while simultaneously teasing out Bayle's biblical hermeneutics apart from the infamous "David" article.

"Un 'Protestant Compliqué'" is a masterclass in upholding what a thinker writes about themselves. Sparring with those who take Bayle's Protestantism and "admit the reality to better empty it," Bost denies this quick escape. Here we are forced to engage the complications that internal critiques of religion bring for the professing adherent.

"Bayle and Censorship" offers a concise refutation of Straussian readings of Bayle. Here Bost argues that Bayle does not cave to censorship be it political or ecclesiastical and espouses ideas threatening to these various groups. We do not need to find a secret meaning behind Bayle's words when they already face censorship.

"La Rétorsion du Libertinage" engages Bayle's own understanding of "libertine" placing the term contextually and as both useful critique of religion and hostile byword. Bost walks us through Bayle's defenses and counter-attacks of "libertine" accusations from his opponents. While it's not clear that Bayle ever makes contact with this pole in the same way as his Calvinist side, Bost convincingly shows the usage of libertine critiques in Bayle's writings.

The use of definitions is careful throughout, citing contemporary usage to avoid anachronisms. The use of charts (ch. 1,6), along with appendices and lists of articles, helps the reader follow both Bost's research and track the presence of names and ideas throughout the massive volumes of the *Dictionnaire.* The collection would have benefited from summaries or subsets of the many chapters. The introduction does a good job explaining the scope of Bost's inquiry but does not engage particular chapters and how they fit into the picture; this is left to the reader. Perhaps, like Bayle, the collection defies easy categories and collating. This reader would like to see more unpacking of the many boxes of Baylean scholarship.

If we are constantly offering correctives to maintain the "complicated Protestant" between the poles of Calvinist and libertine, it is the religious side that warrants greater strength in the current tug of war. These investigations form a valuable collection for a new wave of scholars who, informed by the post-secular turn, are reappraising the religious Bayle. Yet a caution is given them to take seriously the messy and complex mix of Bayle's positions. Alongside Bost's earlier Bayle monograph (2006), this collection gathers a career's work of indispensable Bayle scholarship. More broadly, here is a refreshing model of letting your object of study breathe in the midst of complications and contradictions.

Michaël Green, ed. *Le Grand Tour, 1701–1703: Lettres de Henry Bentinck, vicomte de Woodstock, et de son précepteur Paul Rapin-Thoyras, à Hans Willem Bentinck, comte de Portland*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021. 376 pp. 65€. Review by Gabor Gelléri, Aberystwyth University.

An important number of Grand Tour correspondences can be located in various archives, the vast majority of them still unpublished. We can thus ask, in the first instance: in comparison to numerous other similar correspondences known from the same period, does the one edited by Michaël Green in this volume warrant a scholarly edition? On the one hand, the case and the material at hand are rather ordinary. A young man of the ruling class sets off on a tour of Europe accompanied by his tutor. As is standard practice at the time, both the travelling young man and his tutor send regular reports to the young man's father, who is investing considerable funds to perfect the education of his son. The fact that the tutor and the young man are engulfed, as they are here, in a never-ending quarrel during the whole trip isn't anything out of the ordinary, either. One of the great classics of Grand Tour ideology, Justus Lipsius's classic advice on travel (*De ratione cum fructu peregrinandi et praestertim in Italia*, 1578, adapted to English by John Stradling in 1592) and still very much in circulation at the turn of the 18th century, defines the travelling experience as a combination of the principles of *voluptas* (pleasure) and *utilitas* (usefulness). *Voluptas* is not to be eliminated but must come second to *utilitas*: this is their perfect combination that will create an experience of pleasurable instruction. A tutor was present to regulate *voluptas* and to enhance *utilitas*, to curb the excesses of the young gentleman, to instill in him principles of "prudent" behavior (thinking before acting; speaking only when necessary; etc.). The difficulty of doing so explains why Grand Tour tutors were known at the time by the nickname "bear-leaders."

But the Grand Tour correspondence published here is also an unusual case in several respects and, as such, its publication is most welcome. This is, first of all, because of the persons involved: we find ourselves in the very narrow elite, from more than one point of view. The tutor is an emerging Huguenot intellectual who will later be well

known as the author of the first major French-language history of England, Paul Rapin de Thoyras. The pupil, the viscount of Woodstock, belongs to one of the most influential families of England of the time, and is the son of Hans William Bentinck, named Earl of Portland upon the arrival to the English throne of his protector, William of Orange. Another unusual feature is the trans-cultural context. While having a Huguenot tutor fluent in French and English is a regular occurrence at the time, the young man's family is trans-cultural, too: they share their time between the Netherlands and England and have spent over a year in France, as well. A Grand Tour experience is deemed necessary because of the ambitions that the Earl of Portland has for his son, and because of the son's own curiosity (as expressed in one of the early letters). However, unlike in other cases, it is not something absolutely necessary for the young man's prospects in life; nor is it necessary—as it very often was for members of the English elite—for language learning, the son already being fluent in several languages.

The itinerary of the trip is also somewhat unusual. Some territories that would appear to be obvious choices for a Grand Tour experience, including France, are left out—either because Bentinck has already lived there, or because of the difficult political context, with the War of Spanish Succession about to break out. The itinerary that Rapin de Thoyras sets up includes, for this reason, some territories that we could call (with the terminology of Grand Tour historian Gilles Bertrand) the "peripheries" of the Grand Tour: a visit to Sweden and a planned (but never completed) trip to the mines of Hungary. It is interesting, in the detailed correspondence, to follow the planning of the trip and its subsequent realization: the itinerary drafted by Rapin sees them moving from the Netherlands all the way to Stockholm and down to Northern Italy within three months. With such a plan, it is of little surprise that Grand Tour youngsters were accused of simply whizzing through various territories without getting to know them.

One of the most interesting moments of the trip occurs upon their arrival in Italy. The Spanish War of Succession breaks out, and the Earl of Portland instructs his son to return home to take up a position in the army. However, the viscount refuses to do so and wishes to continue his trip—and, although tutor and pupil are barely on speaking terms by this point (they will part ways shortly after), Rapin also takes the

side of his pupil against the father.

This triangular, well-documented clash between father, son and tutor that sets the tone of this entire Grand Tour experience explains probably the angle chosen by Michaël Green in his introduction to the volume. Besides a careful explanation of the setting and of the provenance of the material, the focus of this introduction is on the interest this material represents for privacy studies: "À l'inverse de nombreuses correspondances du Grand Tour, dans lesquelles les voyageurs se concentraient d'abord sur les visites et curiosités vues, les lettres de Woodstock et de Rapin rapportent principalement leur vie quotidienne au long du voyage" (12). In all Grand Tour experiences, and one might say in all travels, we see a dialogue of the observation of the outside world next to an assessment of one's self—with the terminology used by philosopher Juliette Morice in her review of Grand Tour pedagogy (*Le monde ou la bibliothèque*), "exquisitio" and "inquisitio." However, it might be true that the extent of the discussion of personal issues takes an unusually large place. A focus on the private relationships is thus one possible approach among many and, indeed, points towards the possibility of a systematic study of questions of privacy throughout a large corpus of early modern travel narratives (in all their forms). Incorporating the Grand Tour within a discussion of personal and family strategies has gained traction over the last years, with recent monographs by Sarah Goldsmith and Richard Ansell, and the publication of this correspondence is in line with these current trends.

On the other hand, it would be possible to highlight some angles that could have been explored to a greater depth in the introduction. In particular, there is little discussion of the very ideology of the Grand Tour itself, as it transpires through early modern advice literature for mobility, the *ars apodemica*. It would have been possible to compare the planning of the trip we see here with various contemporary texts relevant to this practice, from classics such as Justus Lipsius to more recent examples such as *The Compleat Gentleman* of Jean Gailhard (1678). Gailhard was even mentioned in the volume as a fellow "bear-leader" of Rapin and having a similarly tumultuous relationship with his pupil during the Grand Tour experience.

The volume itself is impeccably presented and edited; the text is accompanied by an extensive critical apparatus, including the identification (wherever possible) of every person the pupil and the tutor met during their trip. The publication of such a detailed and, in some respects, rather unusual account of a Grand Tour experience is of great interest to historians of mobility and of education, among many others. Reading travel narratives might be a frustrating experience as so many names mentioned are unknown to us; the interest of the publication of the Woodstock correspondence is considerably enhanced by the editorial work, including the opportunity to identify various major and minor actors.

Ruoting Ding. *L'usurpation du pouvoir dans le théâtre français du XVIIe siècle (1636–1696).* Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021. 560 pp. 75€. Review by Denis Grélé, The University Of Memphis.

L'usurpation du pouvoir is, as the title depicts, a study of Baroque and Classical French Theater through the theme of the legitimacy of power and its usurpation. While this type of analysis is somewhat dated, the book has many excellent qualities that merit the attention of researchers and scholars. It is first important to note that Ruoting Ding makes a conscious decision not to look at this theme chronologically—even if she makes copious references to historical events—but to organize it according to subcategories, bringing together texts published many years apart, but which take into consideration the same sub-theme. Her investigation into usurpation and legitimacy is thus organized into three modules: "the Right to Govern," "the Duty to Govern," and "the Will to Govern." Within each individual module, she articulates how every aspect of the main theme is presented in the various plays dealing with governmental inheritance and the maintenance of political power. In the first part, "the Right to Govern," Ding explores the importance of laws which give the right to kings and queens to reign, the fights that can ensue when contestation arises, and how royal power can decay to the point that a new dynasty becomes necessary. This part explores in particular the difficulties authors have in presenting dethroned kings when royal power is asserting itself in France at the same time. In the second part, "the Duty to Govern,"

she presents the conflicts between the king as a ruler and the king as a private person. Ding thus examines cases when a queen or a king has to marry. She also looks at when plays legitimize the killing of a king (for example in the case of tyranny) or when it is best to submit. The last part, "the Will to Govern," examines the theme of the conquest of power through conspiracies and intrigues.

Ruoting Ding analyses situations that she finds in more than one hundred plays while tying them to current or well-known historical events such as the executions of Mary, Queen of Scots and King Charles I. Her text is copiously laden with historical and critical notes. If it makes the reading sometimes a little heavy, this attention to detail and her careful analysis of sources make this a valuable reference for other scholars. She develops an excellent historical framework for the key concept of legitimacy and legacy, and she understands the problem of political theory and what the authors of tragedies or tragicomedies knew about those theories. The large corpus of texts that she takes into consideration gives breath and legitimacy to her work. Rather than focusing on a few texts that may suit a certain point of view, she takes ownership of a corpus of all texts, taking into account the notion of inheritance and dealing with the possibility or eventuality of the usurpation of power. She is also able to bring together two methods, the poetic approach and the historical approach, to appreciate how authors understood political theories or political events and how they were able to deal with them within their plays.

It is unfortunate that *L'usurpation du pouvoir* reads very much like a dissertation and tends to be very descriptive at time; understandably since most texts are almost unknown today and need to be summarized before being analyzed. Certain notions could have been better explored in particular the role of the people in those plays and the notion of merit versus birth. If those two ideas are mentioned, they are not sufficiently investigated. The study is very precise but lacks a synthetic view. Her method and her choice of presentation make the reading a little dry. There is no sense that the reader is brought towards some kind of a conclusion. Rather, the reader is presented with every text according to its theme and sub-theme. For this reason, the conclusion is a little bit disconcerting. While she acknowledges in her introduction that her concluding remarks are not a proper conclu-

sion, her closing remarks read like any other chapter. Ding said that she wanted to systematize her study, but she could have more clearly defined general trends. By the end of her study, one would expect that she would be able to offer a better understanding of what she has studied with so much precision and attention to details. Rather, she prefers to explore the notions of dissimilation and display of power and continues to look at political authors and their theories. Only the last few paragraphs of the conclusion present a broader view and suggest wide-ranging currents of political thoughts within French theater of the time.

This being said, Ding's book is extremely valuable for many reasons. First, everyone working on *ancien régime* France understands how difficult it is to know with any real degree of certitude what the political culture of the French people was at the time. By looking at many plays over a long period of time, Ding is able to open a tangible window on French cultural thought. For example, she underlines how theater, as it evolves throughout the seventeenth century, expresses the unlikelihood of any transformative revolt. By the middle of the seventeenth century, theater ideology tends to increasingly favor absolute monarchy which leads to the impossibility of showing on stage a king guilty of any crime. She demonstrates also that it was very unlikely for a French spectator to accept the idea that a monarch would give his crown to someone else while still alive. Legally and culturally, this gesture would have broken the spirit of devotion for the king by his people, a feeling that spectators were not willing to accept. Second, she perfectly presents the creative limits of the authors at this time especially after the Fronde. For example, she shows how it is almost unsufferable to represent a son killing his father for the crown. By the same token, a king could not share, willingly or not, his power or his kingdom. All those actions would have been contrary to the rule of verisimilitude. Third, she demonstrates a real talent for exploring the link between various theories, the plays, and the culture. Her presentation of the French position regarding royal heredity and the culture that the French shared is well presented and analyzed. She describes and explains with amazing clarity the reasons for the *loi salique* but also how theater was a way of asserting French laws and asserting a political culture not only for the elite but also for the people going

to the theater.

Most of all, she does not fall into the traps of the American critique and her quest is as scientific as can be, never driven by a desire to prove a preconceived idea or an ideology. However, while her concerns about not making broad assumptions are valuable, her remarkable work has given her the authority to make such statements. Nonetheless, even if this precise and insightful analysis of French theater of the seventeenth century deserved a more elevated conclusion, *L'usurpation du pouvoir* is truly the work of a dedicated researcher and a book that should be read by every scholar interested in seventeenth-century theater.

José De Acosta. *Peregrinación de Bartolomé Lorenzo. Récit d'aventures dans les Amériques au XVI^e siècle.* Richard Lefebvre, ed. and trans. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval; Paris: Hermann, 2020. 204 pp. $25/30€. Review by María Hernández, Rowan University.

Editing and translating literary works is both a challenging and valuable enterprise, especially when dealing with an overlooked text from the Spanish Golden Age. In this newest edition of José de Acosta's *Peregrinación de Bartolomé de Lorenzo*, Richard Lefebvre undertakes the ambitious project of offering his own edition of the sixteenth-century Spanish text followed by a new French translation. José de Acosta is a renowned figure in Hispanic studies for two significant texts, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, a treatise on missiology published in Latin in 1588, and *Historia natural y moral de las Indias,* a treatise on ethnography and morals, published in Spanish in 1590. In his introduction, Lefebvre proposes that, instead of being a minor work, the 1586 *Peregrinación,* should be viewed as part of a textual triad including the aforementioned, works. While, before 1980, *Peregrinación* was reproduced and received within the scope of the hagiographic tradition, scholars have since reevaluated *Peregrinación* and reframed its analysis through the Latin American postcolonial criticism lens; Lefebvre continues in this vein.

In Chapter 1, Lefebvre gives his readership a well-rounded biography of José de Acosta. A member of the Society of Jesus who taught in several Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit colleges, de Acosta studied philosophy and theology before being sent in 1571 as a missionary

to the ecclesiastical province of Peru, where he would spend fifteen years before returning to Spain in 1587, where he would die in 1600. In Chapter 2, Lefebvre examines the different versions of de Acosta's text, from the printed versions to the earlier manuscripts. He does so in an anachronous fashion that mimics the random order in which versions were discovered and published. Lefebvre states that the different editions and multiple variations might be due to the manuscript's submission to rewriting and editing specific to its religious setting within the Society of Jesus' *scriptoria*. José de Acosta's work begins with his dedicatory letter to Claudio Acquaviva, followed by Bartolomé de Lorenzo's peregrination narrative recollected and transcribed by de Acosta. The first printed edition of *Peregrinación* was published in 1666 among a collection of texts entitled *Varones ilustres en santidad, letras y zelo de la Compañia de Jesus* by Alonso Lopez de Andrade, a Jesuit historian and biographer. José de Acosta's original composite piece is embedded between Andrade's introduction and epilogue to fit within the baroque and hagiographic genres. Andrade does not give any information about the original manuscript or manuscripts he might have used when establishing his version of *Peregrinación.* Still, he discloses numerous modifications, decoupage, and the addition of titles made to the original. Andrade's version would be the standard edition until a different version by Cesareo Fernandez Duro was published in 1899.

This later version was established on another, probably earlier source than Andrade's: the transcription of a 1622 manuscript copy made by Juan Bautista Muñoz in 1798. While it was published later than Andrade's version, Lefebvre concurs with Lorenzo Rubio Gonzalez's idea that Fernandez Duro's 1899 version is based on a primitive version of the text, closer in time to José de Acosta's original. However, that version has not proved as popular or studied and remains somewhat forgotten, in favor of other versions, notably the one published in the twentieth century. In 1954, Francisco Mateos published *Obras del P. José de Acosta de la Compañia de Jesus*, which includes a version of *Peregrinación* based on a unique and unexplored manuscript in the Jesuits collection at the Spanish Royal Academy of History. Lefebvre describes the peculiarities of the Jesuits manuscript at length and compares it with Mateos's rendition. According to Lefebvre's comparison,

Mateos's edition presents considerable changes, additions, rewritings, and transcription errors. Regardless, Mateo's edition enjoyed both the most significant diffusion and exegetic production. Lefebvre also mentions Juan José Arrom's 1982 edition and Fausta Antonucci's 1993 Italian translation.

In Chapter 3, which is the longest and most inviting in the book after the edition and the translation themselves, Lefebvre conducts a critical synthesis of different scholarly analyses of *Peregrinación* followed by his interpretation within seven subparts. In the first subpart, Lefebvre reveals how the factuality of Bartolomé Lorenzo's narrative is authorized by de Acosta's dedicatory letter's content, strengthening the veracity of the peregrination's relation. This *enchâssement,* specific to the epistolary genre and favored by the Jesuits, relies on the dynamic between the dedicatory letter and the narration that follows. However, José de Acosta's text is atypical and combines several literary genres: biography, hagiography, adventure romance, and fiction. By doing so, it fits within the principles of Counter-Reformation's art that combines Christian edification and the approval gained through "les machinations de l'art romanesque" (42). In the second subpart, Lefevbre examines the Greek and Christian sources of the peregrination as a literary genre and inscribes de Acosta's *Peregrinación* in the continuity of Ignacio de Loyola's autobiography. In the third subpart, Lefebvre explores the narrator's voice that subtly treads between objectivity and fictionalization through José de Acosta, who participates in the *romanesque* construction and the fictionalization process. In the fourth subpart, Lefebvre analyzes the allegorical and spiritual interpretations of the *Peregrinación,* which lean on literal and figurative readings of the text. In the fifth subpart, Lefebvre pays attention to realism and ideology in social representation and concludes that the omission of *mestizos* and other stereotyped racial representations reveals the author's biased ideology and social background. In the sixth subpart, Lefebvre discusses Bartolomé Lorenzo's transformation from merchant to pilgrim through successive interventions of Providence. Finally, in the seventh and last subpart of chapter 3, Lefebvre closes his study by examining the Jesuit intertext and comparing the numerous similarities between *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola* and *Peregrinación*. Nonetheless, Lefebvre suggests that de

Acosta's text presents its distinct particularities, such as its atypical protagonist, which positions José de Acosta's unique *romanesque* production outside of the narrative conventions of the time.

In Chapter 4, Lefebvre justifies the establishment of his version of the text. Referring back to Chapter 2, in which he describes the several editions and versions of the printed texts and manuscripts, Lefebvre explains why he chooses to present a Spanish edition based on the manuscript of the Jesuits collection at the Spanish Royal Academy of History. He first bases his decision on the notion of authorship in the context of publishing edification stories within the Jesuit organization (94). Secondly, Lefebvre chooses to inscribe his edition in the continuity of the exegetic tradition based on Mateos's 1954 edition in *Obras*. Although Lefebvre's edition includes one hundred and ninety-three footnotes identifying different variations found in the other printed and manuscript editions, he argues that his version is neither a critical nor a synoptical edition but, rather, an accessible Spanish version to possible French readers interested in reading the text in its original language. Lefebvre's version in Chapter 5 reads as seamlessly as possible, considering that he respected the original disposition and punctuation of the text. In Chapter 6, Lefebvre gives brief remarks about his French translation, which follows in Chapter 7, and completes his work. Lefebvre argues that his translation does not aim to reproduce José de Acosta's original writing style due to its complex style, lack of modern punctuation, and use of tenses specific to sixteenth-century Spanish. Instead of José de Acosta's parataxis, Lefebvre chooses short sentences instead. In his French translation, Lefebvre decides to keep some words in their original languages, such as *arcabuco* (Arawak), *curaca* (Quechua), or *corregidor* (Spanish), and in italics when they do not have a direct French translation. The seventy-nine informative footnotes allow readers to familiarize themselves with toponyms, historical figures, and natural elements. In his translation, Lefebvre does a great job of recreating Bartolomé Lorenzo's rhythmic adventures, everyday language, and the hyperbolic tone so dear to the Spanish original.

Reading the Spanish version and the French translation back-to-back is a pleasant and effortless experience for neophytes, bilinguals, and researchers alike. With this new edition of José de Acosta's *Peregri-*

nación de Bartolomé Lorenzo followed by a first-time French translation, Lefebvre's double-edged task is as effective as it is noteworthy. He delivers a much-needed new Spanish edition combined with an invaluable French translation in a functional and accessible format, opening the door for a continuing and renewed exegetical tradition around José de Acosta's work.

Coline Piot. *Rire et comédie: Émergence d'un nouveau discours sur les effets du théâtre au XVII^e siècle*. Genève: Droz, 2020. 488 pp. $74.40/62.00 CHF. Review by Peadar Kavanagh, University of Chicago.

We generally presume, begins Coline Piot, that comedy and laughter go hand in hand, when, in fact, this association was definitively established in writings on theater in the late seventeenth century. Since the five-act plays of Molière have been praised for their morally corrective laughter, and as these pieces have been consecrated as models for comedy in literary history, common opinion in and beyond France now holds laughter as an essential feature of comedy in general. Perceiving the disagreement between early modern commentary on comic theater and this prevailing assumption, Piot sets out to demonstrate how the marriage between comedy and laughter was made in non-theoretical writings, why theorists of the theater eventually came to recognize this union, and how the modern French perception of comedy as laughter was formed through this evolution of dramatic criticism in the seventeenth century. Following a general shift in the attention from the composition of plays to their effects on spectators, a new discourse emerged that designated laughter as an essential feature of the comic genre. When, in the 1660s, this laughter assimilated a morally corrective function, the modern notion of "classic" comedy in France was founded—high comic theater is supposed to reprove vices with laughter. Piot's clear interpretation of the vast field of writings on the comic in early modern France sustains a larger movement of studies on affect in theater, after Jacques Rancière's *Spectateur émancipé* [*Emancipated Spectator*] (2008), determined not only to "repenser le théâtre à partir de la salle [to rethink theater from the

side of the audience]" (14), but also to interrogate modern perceptions of the functions of feelings, suggesting a reflexive principle which new histories of emotion and literature will require.

It is indifferent, writes Piot, whether the spectators described in these early modern writings on theater really laughed (18). Since the object of this study is, strictly, *discourses* on the effects of plays in the theater, neither the reactions nor the dramatic works themselves will be deduced from these writings. With this focus, the author avoids and works to correct complementary traps of literary history in handling paratextual works. The Swiss research project and database "Naissance de la critique dramatique [Birth of Dramatic Criticism]" (2013–2017, developed by Claude Bourqui, Lise Michel, Christophe Schuwey, and Coline Piot herself), has served as the scientific foundation for this vast and careful treatment of commentary. *Rire et comédie* represents an unprecedented cartography of early modern discourses on the comic, from theorists and spectators, designed to retrace the province of comedy as corrective laughter in relation to diverse neighboring discourses: early modern poetics on comedy written to match theories on tragedy, discourses on the *risible* [the laughable], the *facétieux* [the amusing], and the *burlesque*; writings on *galanterie* [sociability], *honnêteté* for men [civility], *honnêteté* for women [chastity], and on women in the audience; commentary on *farce*, and on Spanish and Italian comedy; as well as apologies for the moral virtues of satire.

As part of this larger critical project, Piot defines modern dramatic criticism by a paradigm shift, away from poetics, towards aesthetics, and on to pragmatics: modern criteria for the reception of dramatic works, such as laughter, were formulated in commentary written from the point of view of spectators, and have, in turn, been codified in the discourses that condition current perceptions of theater. The author replots the steps that produced a new discourse on one effect of theater in early modern France. From the middle of the sixteenth century until the 1660s, French poetics and prologues acknowledged the laughable lines of comedy as one component ensuring the pleasure of the representation of civil life, but do not designate laughter as the principal effect of the comic genre. Since laughter was already associated with vulgar *farce*, commentators carefully distinguished the moral value of comedy from a reaction that was potentially incompat-

ible with newly refined demands for expressions of pleasure in French court society (Chapter I). Influenced by the *burlesque* and Italian comedy during the 1650s, writings progressively associated comedy and laughter (Chapter II). By the 1660s, laughter became a defining effect in spectators that writers of the comic genre should produce (Chapter III). The social and moral consequences of laughing in the theater, following from the relationship between dramatic fiction and reality, were now interrogated (Chapter IV). According to the moral and aesthetic notion of *honnêteté* [civility], the polite expression of laughter was distinguished from the low effects of comedy that were likewise condemned by religious adversaries of the theater (Chapter V). Here, Piot's work intersects with the research project "La Haine du théâtre [Hatred of Theater]" (dir. François Lecercle & Clotilde Thouret), which also stresses the polemical conditions of dramatic criticism in the late seventeenth century.

The turning point in this history of discourses on the comic, the last step in the association of corrective laughter and comedy, is the controversy surrounding Molière's *Tartuffe, ou, l'Hypocrite* [*Tartuffe, or, The Hypocrite*] (1664–1669). Piot's recontextualization of these traditionally appropriated discourses on comedy is especially welcome ahead of a general review of the playwright for his four-hundredth birthday. After Molière staged *Tartuffe* at Versailles for Louis XIV, accusations of impiety forced the playwright to assimilate discourse on satire to comedy in order to defend his play on moral grounds. Molière claims to intend only to reprove the vices of his contemporaries, and that comedy serves to correct spectators through laughter (Chapter VI). Through a process of classicization, intensified after the playwright's death (Piot observes Alain Viala's model: legitimation, emergence, consecration, perpetuation), Molière's circumstantial theories of comedy have been used to rewrite his career towards a morally corrective aim. When his five-act comedies are appropriated as literary models for comic theater, then comedy, in general, is supposed to laugh men out of their vices (Chapter VII). The modern association of normative laughter and comedy thus coincides with the idea of "classic" theater prevailing in France today. At issue in *Rire et comédie* is, ultimately, "l'histoire littéraire [literary history]" (425), and "la doxa sur Molière [common opinion on Molière]" (427) it

maintains, which predetermines "la critique actuelle [current criticism]" (416) on comedy in the seventeenth century in France. Readers less informed of the cultural assumptions of French "classicism" will wish that references to contemporary discourse were specified. Had the author included citations from concurrent studies, readers would understand that the dominant French idea of morally corrective comedy, instituted by national literary history, has been elaborated and sustained in sophisticated and, indeed, persuasive arguments by French specialists of seventeenth-century literature, in a live critical field that she renews in these pages.

In conclusion, Piot delineates several paths for further research thanks to new attention to the non-theoretical commentary that has informed modern perspectives on the effects of theater. The author's examination of writings on laughter in the theater affirms that comedies are social events with immediate and lasting effects on spectators. This early modern history of dramatic criticism warns once more against the deceptive parallel between comedy and tragedy, which has traditionally drawn attention to the poetics of comedy that should more constructively be paid to the effects that playwrights were compelled to produce in real spectators. When contemporary notions of these effects, rather than precepts for poetic form taken from ancient authors, are recognized as the real criteria for the composition of plays, then early modern theater can be reconsidered pragmatically, in relation to the tastes and presuppositions of the audience. Finally, Piot renews attention to the relation from Italian to French theater, and vice versa, anticipating further remapping of the seventeenth century through to transnational perspectives.

Furthermore, Piot's book poses a series of reflexive questions concerning the uses of literary history. In following the critic through this history of the French institution of comedy as normative laughter, readers might ask why France needed this discourse in the 1660s, what made it rise at this historical moment, and why French culture still needs a Molière who lashed men out of their vices with laughter. Although inscribing the moral revalorization of laughter in the culture of *galanterie* [sociability] surrounding young Louis XIV may not suffice (12–14), recontextualizing apologies for morally corrective laughter in the theater within religious theatrophobic discourse (Chapter V)

does recast the figure of the satirical comedian as predicator in modern French discourse in a promising way. Such reflections recommend a general interrogation of those ideals about satire, still prevalent in France, which have defined modern discourse on comedy. These questions, however, lie beyond the bounds of a novel history that culminates convincingly in the late seventeenth century. In *Rire et comédie*, Piot has carefully surveyed and interpreted a vast discursive landscape, offering a newly and clearly delineated map that will prove as invaluable for scholars of seventeenth-century French theater as for researchers in the comic in early modern Europe. Finally, *Rire et comédie* suggests that new studies on affect call for a critique that resituates prevailing associations between literature and emotion in history.

Antoine Baudry de Saint-Gilles d'Asson. *Journal d'un solitaire de Port Royal 1655–1656*, ed. Jean Lesaulnier. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021. 395 pp. 45€. Review by Robert Kilpatrick, University of West Georgia.

With impressive erudition and careful attention to the manuscript texts he assembles in his edition of Antoine Baudry de Saint-Gilles d'Asson's writings, Jean Lesaulnier delivers an essential resource for scholars of political, religious, and intellectual controversies in mid-seventeenth-century France. Saint-Gilles, as he is usually known, was a "Solitary" of Port-Royal des Champs, the abbey to the southwest of Paris that, in the seventeenth century, became an important center for Jansenist intellectual activity. Along with Saint-Gilles, prominent figures such as the brothers Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy and Antoine le Maistre lived and pursued their writings at Port-Royal des Champs. Saint-Gilles was closely involved in collecting documents related to the Jansenist milieu and in editing their works, including publications connected to polemical campaigns against the Jesuits and Molinists as they moved to repress Jansenism. Although the name *Solitaire* suggests a retreat to an isolated setting, Saint-Gilles split his time during the years covered in this edition between Port-Royal des Champs, Paris, and various travels.

The title, *Journal d'un Solitaire de Port-Royal 1655–1656*, originates in the manuscript copy of Saint-Gilles's writings and designates a series of dated entries extending from April 8, 1655 to September 6, 1656. It chronicles events surrounding censure proceedings leveled by Jesuit clergy against the prominent Jansenist theologian and author Antoine Arnauld, which eventually led to his expulsion from the Sorbonne. In 1653, a papal bull had formally condemned five heretical propositions later attributed by Cardinal Mazarin, at the behest of Jesuit advisors, to Cornelius Jansen's *Augustinus* (1640), which Arnauld had defended in several publications. The attribution of heresy to Jansen effectively constituted an attack on anyone associated with Jansenism or Port-Royal. In early 1655, the Jesuit-aligned confessor of the Marquis de Liancourt, a prominent Jansenist ally, refused to give him absolution until he renounced his association with Port-Royal. This quickly became a public affair when the priest of the Saint-Sulpice parish consulted four doctors of theology and, ignoring the majority opinion, cited only the opinion of the lone doctor who favored refusing communion until the marquis disassociated himself from Port-Royal. In response to this action, Arnauld published two *Lettres* in defense of Liancourt and of Jansenist views more generally. His enemies at the Sorbonne seized on the occasion of this public dispute to undertake the aforementioned trial. In defense of Arnauld, Blaise Pascal famously (and anonymously) took up the Jansenist cause in his *Provinciales*, or *Provincial Letters* (1656–1657). Although this campaign became a resounding literary and public success, it did not halt attacks against Arnauld and other Jansenist figures.

Saint-Gilles was directly involved in these polemics, both through his close association with Arnauld, as well as Port-Royal more broadly, and through his work to assure the clandestine printing and circulation of the *Provinciales* and other texts. Not intended for publication, the *Journal* forms an internal record that would contribute to the larger historiographical project undertaken within Port-Royal circles in the mid-seventeenth century. It provides a daily and, at times, dramatic account of how events unfolded from the perspective of a well-connected Jansenist who was himself an actor in those events. Saint-Gilles received his information either through first-hand experience—he resided with Arnauld in Paris for parts of 1656—or from

associates such as the Abbot of Pontchâteau and Nicolas Fontaine, Arnauld's personal secretary. Within the pages of the *Journal* readers discover valuable accounts of the censure trial against Arnauld and of the early reception of the *Provinciales*. A strong sense of the persecution felt by the Port-Royal community at this time emerges clearly from the *Journal*. Saint-Gilles staunchly defends Arnauld, delights at the success of the *Provinciales*, and frequently attacks the Jesuits. At times he expresses dismay at seeing former allies change camps under threat of losing their position or at the harassment and arrest faced by printers who helped disseminate Pascal's work. As a whole, the *Journal* provides a well-documented and highly detailed relation of events, including the names and roles of important actors and excerpts from other documents related to the Arnauld affair.

Two aspects of this edition deserve particular attention. First, it is not a new work, but a reprint of a text first published in 2008 by Lesaulnier with Nolin in its "Univers Port-Royal" series, taken up by Classiques Garnier in 2015. Second, and more importantly, the edition's title reflects only a portion of the book's contents. In addition to the *Journal*, Lesaulnier includes a collection of "annexes" encompassing miscellaneous texts written by Saint-Gilles, addressed to him, or written about him. Together, these annexes extend to 128 pages, or nearly 40% of Lesaulnier's edition, and substantially enrichen the reader's understanding of both Saint-Gilles and the networks in which he circulated. Some of these texts, such as correspondence with the famous Dutch mathematician and scientist Christian Huygens, have appeared elsewhere in print, but others appear for the first time in print in this edition. In the case of texts written by acquaintances after Saint-Gilles's death to reflect on his life, initially printed in the *Nécrologe de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Port-Royal des Champs* (1723) or in the *Supplément au Nécrologe de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Port-Royal des Champs* (1735), they appear for the first time here in a modern, annotated edition.

Lesaulnier's volume contains a useful preface whose main purpose is to describe the material sources that form the basis for his work, and which concludes with a few paragraphs tracing the textual history of the *Journal*. This twenty-first century edition, in fact, is meant to correct the first complete printed edition of the *Journal*, published by

Ernest Jovy and Georges Saintville in 1936. Lesaulnier also provides a thorough introduction to the life and activities of Saint-Gilles. His detailed annotations primarily correspond to five objectives: to provide brief biographical introductions to the various figures referenced in the *Journal* and other writings; to present marginal notes or other features found in source materials; to direct the reader to relevant primary or secondary texts; to clarify the historical or linguistic context for certain passages; and to point out specific corrections to the 1936 edition. This critical apparatus makes accessible texts that are dense with references to people and technical language that would not be known to most modern readers.

In sum, Lesaulnier's edition constitutes an indispensable volume for scholars and students of mid-seventeenth-century disputes involving Jansenism and Port-Royal. Along with its value as a research tool, it would be an ideal companion to graduate courses on the *Provinciales* or controversies related to the figure of Antoine Arnauld.

Luc Foisneau, ed. *Dictionnaire des philosophes français du XVIIe siècle: Acteurs et réseaux du savoir*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021. 2100 pp. 89.60€. Review by Erec R. Koch, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York.

This important work follows in the wake of the 2008 publication of the two-volume English language *Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century French Philosophers*. At first glance, the *Dictionnaire des philosophes français du XVII^e siècle: Acteurs et réseaux du savoir* would seem to cover the same ground in French—the contributors, Luc Foisneau's preface, and many of the bio-bibliographic entries are largely the same—but there have been several important additions. First, as the second half of the new title indicates, the current dictionary allows us to investigate not just individual figures but networks of thinkers. Second, thematic essays and other new features allow us to build a more synthetic sense of the intellectual history of seventeenth-century France. Third, the 109 new entries provide a more robust representation of the intellectual, political, and cultural spectrum of the time.

The greatest challenges confronting a dictionary or encyclopedia of philosophy are establishing sound chronological, disciplinary, and

geographical boundaries. Terrence Cave has argued that we find more intellectual continuity mid-century to mid-century, at least during the early modern period, but century starts and endings are the default. As a result, this dictionary spans a heterogeneous collection of philosophers, thinkers, and writers from Pierre Charron, whose Montaignian *De la sagesse* was published in 1601, to Pierre Bayle, whose writings represent the early stirrings of the Enlightenment. As for geographical boundaries, the dictionary relies on a definition of French national identity that is generous and includes, for example, Wilhelm Homberg, who, born in Indonesia, was ethnically German but settled in France. Similarly David Hume—no, not *that* David Hume!—,a minor Scottish theologian who wrote in French and settled in France, is included, as are significant Huguenot writers and thinkers in exile. This definition of national identity also means that Thomas Hobbes is not included in the work, although he was an important respondent to Descartes and interlocutor of Mersenne and others during his exile in Paris after the English revolution. In an age in which philosophy and knowledge work in general were international undertakings, the geographic exclusions are unfortunate but necessary. There is, however, some recuperation of non-French thinkers who had an impact on their French counterparts in the extensive and detailed historical index of the dictionary. Finally, it is also the case that, in the seventeenth century, there was considerable overlap among now autonomous disciplines including theology, medicine, natural science, and literature. The net is cast wide, and the dictionary includes entries on vital and diverse cultural figures such as Richard Simon, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux and Théophraste Renaudot, figures who do not normally find a place in histories of philosophy. This broader spectrum not only demonstrates the mutual imbrication of disciplines that, since modernity, have been separated, but it also establishes a vital cultural context for the profiled writers, thinkers, and political figures.

The format of the entries is *l'homme et l'oeuvre*, bio-bibliography, followed by some analysis of principal currents of thought and detailed bibliographies. The dictionary is a helpful starting point for research on individual thinkers, and cross-referencing entries by networks and keywords helps to fold each into larger questions and problematics; the list of contemporary thinkers in each entry does the same. Many

of the 109 new entries profile significant cultural and literary figures (Bourdaloue, Villedieu, Lafayette, La Mesnardière, for example) who certainly merit a place in this broad-based dictionary; secondary figures in natural philosophy and medicine (Nicolas Abraham de la Framboisière, for example); and political figures, as both theoreticians and as practitioners of power (Colbert and Rohan, for example). New entries also include some anonymous works of significance—clandestine, of course—such as the scandalous *L'Anti-bigot ou le faux dévotieux* that seems to have inspired Mersenne's response in *L'Impiété des déistes, athées et libertins de ce temps*. Of the remaining 585 entries of the English edition, many have been revised.

Besides the appeal to always elusive completeness, the presence of the new entries is important for two reasons: one, to frame and contextualize other entries, and two, to fulfill the promise of network creation. An important example of the former is Alain Fabre's new entry on Colbert, whose efforts to centralize power by control of production and finance also extended to control of knowledge work by the creation of disciplinary royal academies, a system of subsidies for thinkers and writers (*mécenat d'Etat*), and heightened royal control of publishing. Clearly accounting for that deployment of power is important to understanding the efforts of the profiled intellectuals in the second half of the seventeenth century. For the second point, Valentin Conrart provides a telling case: the long-term secretary of the *Académie française*, he was hardly published himself, but he maintained considerable importance within intellectual networks as a highly effective combination of public relations trouble-shooter, literary agent, and acquisitions editor. Another example is Jacques Grandami, on his own a minor figure, but his inclusion helps to fill out the Descartes-Mersenne-Huygens et al. physics and cosmology network.

If a dictionary of philosophy aims to offer a robust enumeration of thinkers, it will also want to create a sense of the synthetic whole or wholes usually conveyed in histories of philosophy. Such a perspective is created by the networks of thinkers as well as by shared problematics (keywords) that occur in every entry. This synthesizing work is also supported by eight new essays that account for overarching themes and problematics in intellectual history. All substantive and important, the essays cover the principal intellectual currents of

seventeenth-century France. Emmanuel Faye's essay explores the two waves of Cartesianism separated by the 1671 condemnation against the teaching of that philosopher; Jacob Schmutz's explores thriving scholasticism, in its great diversity, that flourished in the settings of *collèges* and university teaching. Philippe Hamou traces the rapid progress of science and mathematics outside of university settings, where investigating non-Aristotelian doctrine was forbidden, and through the creation of communities (formal and informal academies; private and state-sponsored), of communications by private correspondence, and eventually of journals such as the *Journal des Sçavans* (1665). Antony McKenna elegantly follows the currents of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the consequent multiplication of religious orders in France, the forceful and critical religious debates among their adherents, and the inflection of those critical efforts to philosophical and political matters, especially among Protestants in Europe. Those developments established the groundwork for the Enlightenment in the next century. While aesthetics did not yet formally exist, Carole Talon-Hugon makes a compelling case for centripetal and centrifugal aesthetic impulses throughout the century. To the latter category belong binary oppositions such as baroque/Classical, Classical/*précieux*, Ancient/Modern, *dessein*/*coloris*; to the former, the unshakeable authority of Aristotle and to a lesser extent Horace. A further symptom of the aesthetic impulse is the extensive published theorization of the arts. Stephane Van Damme examines the increased decentralization and communitarianism of the transmission of philosophical thought during the seventeenth century through the intellectual diversity of educational institutions, the growth of philosophical publications, and the creation of national and international communities.

The essays also cover important heterodoxies. Isabelle Moreau compellingly establishes an important place for the *libertins érudits* and their critical destabilization of theological, metaphysical, scientific, and anthropological systems. Gianni Paganini cogently makes the case for the (apparent) wealth of clandestine thought, whose subversive political and theological positions circulated principally in the form of copied manuscripts and pamphlets or required reading between the lines of authorized publications.

The essays provide helpful intellectual structure to the entries that follow them and, in the spirit of the dictionary in its entirety, respond to each other dialogically and as a network. The only disappointment here is that the system of keywords and networking (asterisks) does not extend to the essays as well. This would have strengthened the integration of the "parts" within the "whole." Again, keywords at the close of each entry also help to bind individual entries into unity, as do cross-referencing of entries marked by asterisks. The historical index is a great help as quick reference guide that contains a useful summary of biographies and principal concepts explored in the two tomes.

The review copy of this important reference work was marred by one regrettable error: all entries under the letter "C" prior to "Chasteigner de La Rochepozay" were … omitted. This means that seven new entries and more than 20 old are simply missing from the volumes, although they are briefly recuperated in the historical index. The many enrichments of this augmented new edition are improvements that are made possible by digital technology, and they would work especially well on a digital platform: networking through hyperlinks; keyword searches, etc. We can only hope that the dictionary can be offered on a digital platform as well, like, for example, the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Nevertheless, this dictionary will prove to be an important resource not only to start research on individual thinkers, but also to extend that research to other thinkers through networks and to broader problematics in philosophical, cultural, and intellectual history of seventeenth-century France.

Emmanuelle Hénin and Valérie Wampfler, eds. *Memento Marie: Regards sur la galérie Médicis*. Reims: ÉPURE, 2019. 512 pp. + 60 illustrations. 25€. Review by Arianne Margolin, Syracuse University.

Emmanuelle Hénin and Valérie Wampfler's volume is both a useful and contributory study of power, allegory, and representation employed by Henry IV's second queen, Maria de' Medici, who ruled in the stead of Louis XIII between 1610 and 1617. An anthology of texts, images, and critical analyses related to Peter Paul Rubens's Marie de' Medici Cycle (1621–1625), a grandiose project portray-

ing the deposed queen's struggles and triumphs as regent, *Memento Marie* offers us a multifaceted analysis of the motivations behind the commission, both from the self-aggrandizing viewpoint of Maria de' Medici as well as the artistic community which served as the viewing public. While the subject has been most recently discussed by Cynthia Lawrence, Carol Strickland, John Boswell, and Sara Galletti, this volume contributes to our understanding of the emblematic nature of the Maria de' Medici Cycle as a biographical advertisement of female power in France and artistic experimentation and innovation. On one hand, the series of twenty-one paintings made use of allegory to justify the queen's rise to an unprecedented status of proxy and authority in Salic France. On the other hand, these paintings would inevitably serve as the cornerstone of the 1671 quarrel between the pro-drawing Poussinists and the colorist Rubenists, as well as of the debate over allegory, mimesis, and *ut pictura poesis* in the eighteenth century. *Memento Marie* examines the use, intent, and reception of *ekphrasis* and allegory by several critics including Richelieu, Peiresc, Morgues, Bellori, Félibien, Pierre de Duput, Diderot, Winckelmann, and Quatremère de Quincy.

As stated, this volume is bold in that it combines three different books under one large investigation: the editor's preface, selected analyses of the Cycle written by philosophes and art critics, and contemporary criticism of the Cycle's reception as allegory and illustration of power. Since Hénin's preface serves as the introduction to the primary source material included in the second section, it suffices here to treat them as conjunctive. To appreciate the innovative character of the Maria de' Medici Cycle, we must consider that these paintings were meant to serve as testimony and propaganda to the queen's place in history. The Cycle was originally located in the queen's reception, where courtiers and diplomats alike could view them, and became royal property following her second and final exile by Louis XIII in 1631. She never returned to France and, as Hénin remarks, was rendered invisible for years afterward (41). It was thanks to Bellori's critique of Rubens's work in his *Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (1672) that shifted the Cycle from a ceremonial affair to the subject of art criticism (42–43). Yet the re-introduction of the Medici Cycle to a French audience drew controversy for its use of color and its

subject matter. Although Roger de Piles praised Rubens for his use of color to accentuate tension and sentiment, André Félibien criticized him for it, accusing the latter of having sacrificed accuracy and true beauty of form (195–96).

Intertwined with Rubens's colorism is the problematic nature of Maria de' Medici herself as a worthy figure of portraiture. While it was expected for kings and princes to commission praiseworthy commemorations of victories in battle and their spheres of influence, queens and ladies were largely viewed in the context of the less laudatory role of wife and mother of male heirs (63). In Hénin's view, the Cycle represents allegory in its etymological sense, which Rubens confirmed as a self-defined "interpreter" of her life; hidden within chiaroscuro and mythological references lies the attestation of a queen regnant in practice, if not in title (65–66). The preface concludes by addressing the argument over appropriate use of allegory in the Cycle, which many critics maintained was an historical document and thus had to be depicted faithfully. The editors draw our attention to Roger de Piles, Jean-Baptiste du Bos, Diderot, and Wincklemann regarding this question of *vraisemblance* and of realism versus idealism in the Cycle. For the more traditionalist Du Bos, the use of allegory is inherently incompatible with historical narration and therefore, allegory featured in the Cycle constitutes an active disrespect of nature and mimesis on Rubens's part (75–76). Diderot, however, supports allegory in painting and portraiture within the context of the human passion and expression more characteristic of the bourgeoisie, as opposed to the opulence of classicism and Horatian rhetoric (76–77). Wincklemann and Quatremère de Quincy take the Cycle's idealism and realism even further by pointing out the "double contradiction" within the *Traité d'Angoulême* of juxtaposing pagan and Christian symbols (79), which they asserted was idealistic painting *ipso facto.*

The third and final part consists of five critical essays by Fanny Cosandey, Marianne Cojannot-Le Blanc, Valérie Wampfler, Laëtitia Pierre, and Stéphane Lojkine on the political, allegorical, and semiotic nature of the Medici Cycle. Collectively, they pose the following critical question: since allegory cannot be understood as a faithful representation of history, what precisely then *is* the language of both the individual portrait and the series of portraits in the Medici Cycle?

Cosandey and Wampfler consider Rubens's choices of mythological and iconographical storytelling—for example, the use of the Virgin Mary in *La Naissance de la reine* (Cosandey, 375) and of the gentle, yet victorious Pallas in the *Marie de Médicis en reine triomphante* (Wampfler, 405)—as the reappropriation of power and monarchy from its traditionally masculine attributes. Wampfler furthermore scrutinizes Rubens's statement that he was a translator of Maria de' Medici's life; rather than presenting her power as a product of war, by use of pacific symbology such as the laurel, olive, and palm, her regency is depicted as one of exceptional stability (404–405), a theme that Morisot repeats in his *Porticus Medicaea* (126; Wampfler, 458). Laëtitia Pierre's article on Dandré-Bardon and Gougenot's criticism of colorism and allegory serves as the tie between the previous three essays and Stéphane Lojkine's discussion on semiotics and allegory within the Cycle, though she also insightfully gives a voice to the amateurs who contributed to the body of art criticism. Colorism and the suitability of allegory caused debate among less well-known French amateurs and theoreticians, with Gougenot siding with Du Bos with respect to allegory as dependent upon reason and virtue, and Dandré-Bardon extolling Rubens for employing chiaroscuro and occasional embellishments to highlight action and expression (464–468). The anthology concludes with Stéphane Lojkine's semiotic reading of the Cycle; Rubens's allegory (and allegory generally) cannot be read as a simple narration but as a disconnected system of narratives that a spectator interprets theatrically (480–481). In the case of the Cycle, the use of allegory and color not only highlight the fragmented symbolism of Maria de' Medici's greatness but moreover of her resentful interdependence with Louis XIII (486–487)—insofar as her achievements and status were historically real, she still functions within and is relegated to obscurity.

Hénin's and Wampfler's anthology is a fascinating reference, albeit overambitious in its presentation and inclusion of primary and secondary sources. No treatise can do everything, and it may have been more effective to separate the preface and texts into one volume, adding original exchanges between Peiresc and Rubens that are curiously absent, and the critical essays to a subsequent tome. Despite this inconsistency, *Memento Marie* proposes a unique, versatile study that intersects with numerous disciplines such as feminist critique and aesthetics.

Céline Bohnert and Rachel Darmon. *La* Mythology *de Natale Conti éditée par Jean Baudoin Livre I (1627).* Reims: Epure, 2022. 352 pp. 25€. Review by Larry W. Riggs, Butler University.

This very interesting, meticulously researched volume is, actually, more than one book. It is, first of all, a clearly and generously documented critical edition of Book I of Jean Baudoin's 1627 *Mythologie*. It presents, annotates, and studies critically the ways in which Jean Baudoin reproduced and adapted Jean de Montlyard's translation into French of Natale Conti's Latin *Mythology*. Baudoin's version, which, like its predecessors, deals rather freely—sometimes fraudulently—with the "original," was the last of the French translations of Conti. Baudoin's seventeenth-century French has been modernized in some details of spelling.

This edition, besides excavating and revealing the changes made by Baudoin, provides fascinating information about sixteenth-and seventeenth-century ideas and practices regarding authorship, commercial publication, and audiences. As Céline Bohnert states it, in her excellent "Postface," the central purpose of this project is "rendre compte de ces mutations en partant du dernier état français du texte, dû à Jean Baudoin" (162). The scholarly apparatus here is extremely useful. The editors and contributors have provided an excellent introduction, in the piece titled "Contextes"; the aforementioned "Postface"; a set of critical commentaries; several indices and bibliographies; a glossary; and a list of "Coquilles et *Errata*." The notes are numerous, clear, and informative. The critical commentaries and scholarly supplements truly amount to a second book. Overall, this is an enormously impressive work of collaborative scholarship.

In reading *Livre I*, the reader will be struck by the huge variety of ancient religious beliefs and practices described by Baudoin, following, and sometimes distorting, his predecessors. Also striking are the numerous quotations—again, sometimes false or distorted—of ancient figures, especially of Ovid, Virgil, and Homer. Baudoin clearly indicts the ancients—Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and others—for the contradictions and cruelty of their religious practices. It seems evident that one of the goals of the various *passeurs* of this information was to make Christianity seem more credible.

Reading Baudoin also illuminates the ancients' analogical reasoning in their religious ideas and ceremonies. For example, sacrifices to "sky gods" were made during daylight and in high places, while underworld deities were propitiated in darkness and in low locations. In some of the instances recounted, animals sacrificed to sky gods had their throats cut with their heads high, while those immolated to impress underworld gods were killed looking downward. There are also accounts, accompanied by many quotations from ancient sources, of beliefs about and sacrifices made to gods of the earth and sea. One can understand why Baudoin and his predecessors were regarded as an important resource by early modern literary figures.

In this volume, Baudoin's *Livre I* is followed by a set of very valuable critical commentaries, beginning with Bohnert's "Postface." Also notable are chapters on Conti's reputation as an "helléniste faussaire" (183), on Montlyard's and Baudoin's vernacular adaptations of Conti, and on the illustrations included in the edition of 1627. All of these critical studies are supported by numerous and detailed notes, and all are clearly written and effectively organized. The chapters provide thought-provoking perspectives, not only on Conti's original Latin work, but also, and especially, on the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century literary culture and market in France. The various *Mythologies* were treated as both sources and inspiration by writers and, later, by operatic librettists. As Bohnert puts it, in the "Postface," Conti and his successors were treated "en véritables bibliothèques mythographiques" (162).

In addition to showing that more modern ideas about authorship and originality had yet to develop in 1627, the critical studies convey interesting information on printing and publishing at that time. Details about the royal publication privileges accorded to the French mythographers are given, along with interesting, useful information about the readership of Montlyard and Baudoin. The latter and his publisher, in particular, produced a luxuriously printed and illustrated book to please an audience made up "des honnêtes gens et amateurs de beaux livres" (168), a public that was "moins érudit, plus mondain" (240). The French editions were all aimed at readers who were not able to read the Latin original. Commercial considerations were obviously a major factor in the production of the *Mythologies*.

In his chapiter on Conti as a kind of forger, or at least a liberal manipulator of his sources, Victor Gysembergh points out that "l'invention de citations pseudo-antiques participe indéniablement de l'art de Natale Conti" (188). Along with the absence of a high valuation on originality, and even on authorship in the sense that slowly developed in early modernity, the existence of and respect for a stable original text were not fundamental to the work of the *passeurs*. Rachel Darmon, in her piece on Montlyard'a and Baudoin's translations/transformations of Conti into French, underlines Gysembergh's point: these books do not correspond to "un seul texte, mais à une pluralité de versions, relayées par divers scripteurs, traducteurs, adapteurs" (203). Darmon emphasizes that Conti and his successors had significant influence on European literature in general.

Darmon also contributes a passage on Conti's position(s) on the religious conflicts of the sixteenth century. Conti apparently inserted in one passage a section "invectivant violemment les luthériens" (214). That passage was explicitly dedicated to the Inquisitor General of Venice. In dedicating the entire first edition to Charles IX, Baudoin called the French monarch the "dernier espoir de l'Eglise romaine et du souverain pontife" (214). However, the 1681 edition, according to Darmon, shows evidence that Conti had good relations with Protestants, among whom was his printer, André Wechel. Wechel had been imprisoned and banished from Paris for his religious beliefs. He had established himself in Frankfort after his exile from Paris. Conti was, evidently, capable of a degree of tolerance, perhaps in part for commercial reasons. Some members of the opposing religious camps were clearly able to collaborate fruitfully.

Takeshi Matsumura's study of the 1627 edition's illustrations includes a large number of reproductions of those specially commissioned engraved images. Matsumura argues that these images constituted a transformation of the mythology as represented by Conti. Matsumura's thesis in this chapter is that Baudoin, "fidèle à sa démarche générale de vulgarisiteur, traducteur et compilateur ... transforme par ces gravures ... l'ouvrage de Conti en une 'première' iconographie" (245), into a first draft of Baudoin's own *Iconologie* of 1636. Marsumura refers to Baudoin's work as "recyclage" (245), emphasizing the inter-textuality of the Mythologies and the freedom

with which early modern literary figures adapted, reworked, and transformed precedents.

Baudoin agreed with his predecessors that the multiplicity and human-like characteristics of the ancient gods made it impossible to believe that they were eternal. Pythagoras and Plato anticipated Christian belief, and agreed with Judaism, by arguing that there must be only one God. The text argues that ancient priests used religion to dominate and manipulate their people and calls much of their ritual "singerie" (117). Jesus Christ, according to Baudoin's text, overthrew and demolished the ancient pantheon and established the Truth of the one God. However, Baudoin does credit the ancient fables with teaching "probité et prudence" (37). This reflects, and no doubt reinforced, the early modern regard for many ancients as teachers of virtue, as distinct from religious Truth.

Between 1567 and 1627, Conti's work and its various reworkings and vulgarizations enjoyed enormous literary and commercial success: "l'ouvrage est sans cesse réédité, traduit et diffusé ~a travers toute l'Europe" (10). To a degree, they made available to a larger public the work of Renaissance humanistic scholars, especially when translated into French and other modern languages. Apparently encyclopedic in its coverage of Greco-Roman myths and fables, and certainly accessible to a fairly large audience, these works contributed to, and exploited, early modern Europeans' desire to know, and even to equal, Europe's ancient cultural predecessors.

This book will be of interest to both a scholarly and a more general readership. It provides voluminous detail and food for thought, enriching our understanding of the ways in which antiquity inspired, even when distorted, early modern literature and thought.

Anne-Laure de Meyer. *Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665), un penseur à l'âge du baroque*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021. 580 pp. 88€. Review by Larry W. Riggs, Butler University.

This book is the product of an enormous and very well-organized research enterprise. The author has given us an extremely valuable addition to scholarship on the early modern period. Her use of the concept

"baroque" is apt, and she elucidates her understanding of that term clearly and persuasively. Her subject, the eclectic and well-connected Sir Kenelm Digby, is well chosen. Exploring his voluminous works, which touch on every area of early modern philosophy—physics, metaphysics, epistemology, consciousness—enables the author to explore thoroughly the entire range of early modern culture. Moreover, Digby's circle of important contacts and correspondents, which included Newton, Berkeley, Fermat, Ben Jonson, and others, placed him at the center of the developing community of scholars that would become the Enlightenment movement. The book shows that Lord Digby was an important transitional figure between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and that "baroque" is an appropriate critical tool to open exploration of Lord Digby's period. The book is voluminously and clearly documented, with footnotes that go well beyond citations to provide meaningful contextual information, and an excellent index and bibliography. The author's French is elegant and clear.

De Meyer begins with a brief biographical summary and then gives a brilliant account of the crises—religious, demographic, political, epistemological—that haunted early modern Europe, and that motivated the search for certainty and stability in which Lord Digby participated. In the arts, "baroque" generally designates an esthetics emphasizing the play of illusion and "truth," image and reality, and the overall drama of subjective perception and its

"objects." De Meyer convincingly expands the significance of the term to include the awareness of instability and crisis in every realm of early modern life. She mentions the Reformation, the climatological fluctuation that produced what might be called a "mini-ice age," the drop in population, chronic warfare, and the appearance of three comets in 1618, as factors contributing to the general sense of bewilderment and insecurity. De Meyer's work complements that of Anthony J. Cascardi in showing that what we think of as modern epistemology and science grew in and from acute awareness of incomprehension and danger.

Near the end of the sixteenth century, Montaigne had described the world and the human subject as a *branloire pérenne*, a constant vacillation. It is useful to understand the succeeding period, in philosophy and what would come to be called science, as an effort to

find a point of certainty from which to explore, understand, and control that vacillating reality of self and world. This sheds new light on the idea of "method," and thereby enriches our understanding of Descartes and others who sought, and claimed, to have found the way to establish order in the apparent chaos. According to de Meyer, Lord Digby followed Galileo in seeing mathematics as the key to comprehending the world—to "l'intelligibilité du monde" (89). Overcoming the skepticism, and even Pyrrhonism, that were so influential at the turn of the seventeenth century, was the goal of many thinkers, notably of Descartes. The latter, as de Meyer notes, in his methodical doubt, sought to use skepticism's main principle against it. According to de Meyer, Lord Digby himself "vise à ramener l'intelligibilité et la confiance … il s'efforce de contrer les avancées du doute sceptique …" (353).

Exploring systematically Lord Digby's life and career, which this book does so admirably, turns out to be an excellent way of enriching our appreciation of more "major" figures. Our understanding of the motives of Descartes, Mersenne, Gassendi, and even Hobbes, is broadened and deepened by this book's detailed evocation of the cultural, political, and religious environment in which they worked.

As an English Catholic, Lord Digby was intensely interested in the subject of religious toleration. As a man who would have liked very much to be of service to his government and society, he saw the degree to which a nation is impoverished, politically and culturally, by intolerance. It is illuminating to see documented the lack of religious liberty in the Britain of Lord Digby's time; one understands better, for example, the Puritans' migration. The English religious toleration, so much admired by the Voltaire of the *Lettres Philosophiques*, obviously developed only over another century, and was the result of hard work and political evolution. Also, as a religious person, Lord Digby was concerned to understand physical reality, including the relation between body and soul, in a way that would be compatible with belief in immortality.

Another important aspect of the environment in which Lord Digby lived and worked that de Meyer documents is the fact that philosophical ideas and discoveries were valuable socio-cultural currency. De Meyer usefully notes that ideas were, to a significant degree,

developed in and for salon society. One of Lord Digby's goals was to achieve social prominence at a time when "... la sociabilité savante passait par les salons" (20). Lord Digby's social ambition, and his desire to be a public servant, are crucial to de Meyer's account, and to our understanding of Lord Digby and his milieu. De Meyer usefully describes Lord Digby in terms of the seventeenth-century French concept, *honnête homme*. This comparison helps to explain the Englishman's eclecticism as an aspect of both his philosophical and his social ambitions: the *honnête homme* is expected to converse intelligently on all subjects of interest to his thoughtful contemporaries, but not to fall into pedantry. La Rochefoucauld would say, in 1664, that "Le vrai honnête homme est celui qui ne se pique de rien." Like Lord Digby, the *honnête homme* is knowledgeable, but not a specialist; he participates in the social development and circulation of knowledge, but never makes anyone feel ignorant.

This element in the book reminds us, too, of Castiglione's *cortegiano*, and directs our attention to Lord Digby's pursuit of a goal that was important to a number of ancient Greek and Roman philosophers: the art of governing the self so as to be a worthy member of a governing elite. Like his contemporaries, Descartes and Bacon, Lord Digby sought definite knowledge so as, most importantly, to conduct himself correctly and with assurance, to acquire moral confidence and authority. In her Conclusion, de Meyer says that, for Lord Digby, the ultimate purpose of knowledge "... est de permettre au gentilhomme de gouverner son âme, prélude au bon gouvernement des autres" (545).

The book proceeds clearly and logically to this conclusion. There is a very useful Introduction, and the overall Conclusion admirably summarizes the most important points made by the book's content. There is a biographical Prelude, and the body of the book is divided into three Parts: "Philosophie de la nature," "Une logique de l'apparence;" and "Perspectives métaphysiques." Each part is composed of several chapters, and every chapter ends with a lucid and valuable conclusion.

The book is truly encyclopedic in its survey of Sir Kenelm Digby and his time. It will be informative to students of early modernity in every field and discipline: social and political history, history of science, cultural history, and all the areas of philosophy. The breadth of the study is matched by its depth. The detailed account of Digby's

life and work has provided de Meyer with opportunities to enhance our knowledge and understanding of the entire period during which he lived. De Meyer makes a significant and unique contribution to her field and to those of a wide range of scholars.

Meredith Martin and Gillian Weiss. *The Sun King at Sea: Maritime Art and Galley Slavery in Louis XIV's France*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2022. 256 pp. + 114 illus. $60. Review by Amanda Strasik, Eastern Kentucky University.

In their groundbreaking, collaborative study, scholars Meredith Martin and Gillian Weiss weave together interpretive methods in art history and history to reassess the art, culture, and propaganda of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715). Scholarship from this era overwhelmingly favors the visual politics of the Sun King's image in Paris and Versailles, so Martin and Weiss reposition the narrative. They focus on early modern Mediterranean maritime art and the visibility of galley slaves—particularly *esclaves turcs* (enslaved Turks), who hailed from across the Ottoman Empire and Morocco. These figures feature prominently in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century naval works across media, appearing in paintings, prints, artillery sculptures, illustrations for ship designs, and even live *fêtes* as multi-layered expressions of royal power and sovereignty. Their representations glorify Louis XIV as a "peerless Catholic conqueror" and declare his anti-Muslim beliefs, even though the king had a longstanding alliance with the Ottoman Empire called the Capitulations that benefited France commercially and militarily (7). Along with Louis XIV's self-serving relations with *esclaves turcs*, French religious orders, naval officers, court aristocrats, and even artists exploited servile Turks and their images for personal gain (7).

In what I deem to be one of the authors' most striking interpretations of enslaved oarsmen from this period, Martin and Weiss emphasize the conflation of artistic allegory and contemporary life. Audiences can interpret *esclaves turcs* as regular symbolic motifs in royal propaganda, but bound Turks had real presence in Mediterranean France with a rich and complex history. For example, the newly constructed naval arsenal at Marseille—one of France's most influential

and multicultural southern port cities during Louis XIV's reign—was a maritime counterpart to Versailles. Forced laborers—especially *esclaves turcs*—participated in the "royal spectacle of subjection" in myriad ways (15); their presence was an undeniable and vital part of the city's makeup and after the 1720 Great Plague, its preservation. Enslaved Turks' lived experiences contributed to early modern debates about immigration, religion, trade, and pandemics (7)—it is time not only to acknowledge their existence but give them their due.

Martin and Weiss contend that galley slaves' presence and significance in artworks associated with the Crown have remained largely understudied in art history and history—until now. The neglect of this subject matter may have to do with assumptions of *esclaves turcs* as generic triumphal allegories, coupled with France's "Free Soil" doctrine that claimed to confine slavery to its Atlantic territories. Also, numerous artforms—like ship carvings and cannons—that depicted galley slaves or to which Turks contributed artistically no longer survive. In recent art historical and interdisciplinary studies, scholars have concentrated on the trans-Atlantic exchange of goods instead of actual sea vessels and their multiethnic crews; this approach de-emphasizes the cost of human labor and ensuing violence that made trade possible (5). I would add that modern-day scholars' longtime privileging of representations of Europeans at the French Court of Louis XIV created deeply ingrained racial biases that may have precluded a closer investigation of enslaved Muslims in maritime art. Martin and Weiss place visual representation and material culture at the center of their research: their examinations of art alongside broad collections of archival texts—ranging from naval registers to travelers' accounts—demonstrate a deeper political interpretation of galley slaves and confirm the Crown's sustained commitment in the exploitation of Muslim rowers to shape Louis XIV's image (6).

Martin and Weiss divide *The Sun King at Sea* into four chapters and an epilogue. The first chapter, "Turks at Work: Building the Marseille Arsenal," begins in the 1660s with Louis XIV's desire to stake a claim in the Mediterranean while keeping unruly Provençal citizens who threatened to align with the Ottomans under his control. The king ordered his chief minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert to overhaul the royal navy and establish Marseille as a base for galley ships and a center

for Levantine trade (15). Pierre Puget designed a new royal arsenal that utilized the "the power of architecture to promote order, express greatness, and regulate the movement of bodies—whether courtiers, diplomats, shipbuilders, or *esclaves turcs*—all orbiting the Sun King" (38). The Crown meant for this massive complex to rival its Mediterranean equivalents in Venice and Istanbul—not to mention England and Holland. According to Colbert's vision, the success of France as a major Mediterranean power depended on the sustained procurement, exploitation, and public display of Ottoman and Moroccan galley slaves (29). *Esclaves turcs* lived and worked in horrendous conditions, but their survival as oarsmen, construction laborers, artists' models, and craftspeople aboard ships for projects like *La Réale*—the fleet's premier galley—were critical for visualizing Louis XIV's ability to subjugate infidels and proclaim royal power.

In Chapter Two, "Port to Palace: Mediterranean Dominance at Paris and Versailles," Martin and Weiss explore "how and why representations of Louis XIV's ships, their crews, and the Mediterranean ascendency they made possible" moved from France's southern coast to its capital city and royal court (80). The king's visual propaganda campaign from the 1660s to the 1680s presented Louis XIV's naval accomplishments to French and international audiences in Paris and Versailles. Artworks included monumental statues and palace decorative motifs for the Ambassadors' Staircase and the Hall of Mirrors, but also ephemera like nautical festivals, commemorative medals, and almanac prints (80). Such maritime objects and performances featured *esclaves turcs* to construct a vision of Louis XIV's majesty and Mediterranean dominion. For instance, Charles Le Brun's 1663 *Reestablishment of Navigation*—a centrally located ceiling fresco from the Hall of Mirrors that sparked Martin and Weiss's project—shows Louis XIV as a classical conqueror with three captured turbaned men underfoot. Le Brun's aggrandized portrayal suggests Louis XIV's seizure of Muslims as a commercial and religious victory. This message of French conquest became all the more relevant in 1682 and 1683 when France attacked Algiers over enslaved subjects. The following year, the Algerian ambassador arrived at Versailles to ratify a peace treaty and toured the Hall of Mirrors. In this esteemed space, the dignitary experienced a program of imagery that touted French maritime

supremacy and Louis XIV's defeat of Islam—a thinly veiled rhetorical cover for the Sun King's past collaborations with the Ottoman sultan and his North African allies (82).

Chapter Three, "Civility and Barbarism: Enslaved Turks in Maritime Ceremonies and Manuals" moves beyond Louis XIV himself to show that galley ships and associated artforms were not simple top-down assertions of royal propaganda (130). Martin and Weiss primarily examine staged maritime rituals and galley manuals like the *Album des galères* to demonstrate how naval officers and other Marseille elites utilized oared vessels and *esclaves turcs* as manifestations of Mediterranean power, aristocratic civility, and Catholic fervor (18). Cartouches within the *Album des galères*, for example, depict galley slaves' working conditions, where rowers were chained and crammed together while officers held whips at the ready. This glorification of brutality asks readers to question who, in fact, was the barbarous group.

In the final chapter, "Spectacles of Suffering: Galley Slaves and Plague," Martin and Weiss look at representations of Turk galley slaves during the Great Plague that devasted Marseille five years after Louis XIV's 1715 death. While religious, civic, naval, and medical leaders debated the plague's source, most believed that the infection originated from a shipment of contaminated Levantine cloth (172). By 1722, nearly half of Marseille's population succumbed to illness, so officials charged the city's subjugated workforce—convicted criminals and Turks—with the gruesome removal of infected corpses from the city's streets to help stop the spread of disease. At once, Turks were essential to the city's recovery while blamed for its Muslim origins. Visual and textual sources reveal conflicting associations in representations of galley slaves tasked with cadaver collection; namely, artists like Michel Serre and Jean-François de Troy showed *esclaves turcs* as unfeeling savages and sympathetic heroes (186–188). This ambivalence toward galley slaves as both degenerative and regenerative forces parallels French uncertainty over rising immigration, xenophobic anxieties, and the price—both human and economic—of global commerce (174).

Martin and Weiss persuasively demonstrate that enslaved Turks were ubiquitous in the age of Louis XIV, despite having faded from our view today. The Crown and royal propagandists exploited this vulnerable population to inspire a vision of French majesty and iden-

tity. Galley slavery in the Mediterranean, however, has not only been glossed over in modern-day scholarship, but French activists have mostly left it out of current discussions on race and racism (227). Martin and Weiss published *The Sun King at Sea* at a pivotal moment in our time, when transnational movements across the United States and Europe have forced people to directly confront legacies of slavery and colonialism. This study is an indispensable resource for scholarly audiences of seventeenth-century art and history because it demands that we acknowledge inherent biases, look anew, and consider who suffered at the expense of Louis XIV's grandiose image of magnificence.

Patrick Dandrey. *Trois adolescents d'autrefois: Rodrigue* (Le Cid)*, Agnès* (L'École des femmes) *et Hippolyte* (Phèdre). Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021. 204 pp. 23,70€. Review by Sara Wellman, University of Mississippi.

Patrick Dandrey's most recent book offers a fresh perspective on three of the most widely studied seventeenth-century French plays, as well as new insight into how adolescence was understood, or rather misunderstood, by the French society in which these works were produced. In the introductory chapter of *Trois adolescents d'autrefois*, Dandrey provides a compelling argument for the importance of reading Corneille's *Le Cid*, Molière's *L'Ecole des Femmes*, and Racine's *Phèdre* through the lens of adolescence. Dandrey sees the adolescent protagonists of these plays as the most representative examples of a recurring yet understudied theme in seventeenth-century French theater: Rodrigue, Agnès, and Hippolytus are "allégories de l'adolescence impossible" (26) that give voice to the trials and tribulations of an age group often silenced by the society of their time. Building on but also nuancing Philippe Aries' monumental study *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Dandrey argues that adolescence in this period was not just confused with childhood, but subject to "un effet de tuilage" (18), a conflicting set of expectations that created an identity crisis for young people who were alternately treated as children and as adults. While Ancient Greek and Roman societies recognized adolescence as a distinct, well-defined, and decisive period of life,

Dandrey draws on both literary and historical examples to demonstrate the contradictory treatments this age group endured during the era of Corneille, Molière, and Racine. Horace in *L'École des femmes* is old enough to live on his own and to be an effective seducer of women, but he still trembles like a child with fear when he learns that his father Oronte is in town, and he is obliged to bend to paternal authority. As a historical example, young men were often required to do military service before beginning their studies. Young women were married before they were biologically able to have children. While society disrespected adolescence by failing to develop a coherent understanding of this phase of life, adolescents had an advocate in fiction. Literature, particularly theater, was "capable de donner forme et de représenter par anticipation ce qui n'a pas encore atteint le seuil de la conscience sociale et morale" (20).

In the chapter "Rodrigue ou l'adolescence écartelée", Dandrey provides the first example of how attention to the age of the protagonists gives new insight into the text. While conventional readings of *Le Cid* emphasize the importance of the conflict between honor and love, he argues that this conflict is a product of Rodrigue and Chimène's difficult transition from being seen as children to being recognized as adults by their community. Adding another layer to this anthropological reading of the play as a metaphor for adolescence, Dandrey examines the *Querelle du Cid*, and the play's eventual transition from tragicomedy to tragedy. He argues that this passage from one genre to another was not made possible due to changes in form or content, but rather by a recognition of the "tragique essentiel" of its young characters who sacrifice their personal desires in order to gain acceptance as adults, "sujet(s) à part entière" in their community (66).

The unstable definition of adolescence in seventeenth-century society as expressed in the characters of *L'École des femmes* is explored in the chapter "Agnès ou l'adolescence étouffée". Agnès, who has been trapped in a prolonged childhood by Arnolphe in order to facilitate her abrupt transition into the adult role of submissive wife, is deprived of the crucial intermediate stage of life between childhood and adulthood. While previous readings of the play focus on its critique of arranged marriage or the oppression of women, Dandrey's analysis adds that the play was ahead of its time in denouncing a lack of respect for all

the steps in human development, "la défiguration de l'épanouissement naturel des êtres" (98). Society's failure to recognize the importance of each developmental step also has an impact on Arnolphe. Not until the age of forty-two does his heart awaken for the first time, when he discovers that he loves Agnès instead of simply wanting to possess and control her. He has learned the lessons of adolescence too late and, by this point, he is no match for his younger rival Horace.

In the chapter "Hippolyte ou l'adolescence brisée," Dandrey turns to one of the protagonists of Racine's *Phèdre*, who is literally torn apart by the conflicting pressures of early modern adolescence. After establishing adolescent drama as a recurring theme of Racine's tragedies such as *Brittanicus, Bajazet,* and *Iphigénie,* he justifies his choice to focus on Hippolytus "pour expression des méfaits occasionnés par l'occultation symbolique de cette tranche d'âge dans la société de son temps" (143). As in previous chapters, Dandrey traces the genealogy of this character back to ancient Greek and Roman rituals surrounding the transition between childhood and adulthood, further strengthening his argument that adolescence is a key concept for understanding French Neoclassical theater. While these classical societies recognized adolescence as a unified, autonomous phase of life, of which Hippolytus was a patron deity, Dandrey traces the progressive relegation of Hippolytus' role, eventually eclipsed completely by Phèdre's. On the threshold of becoming an adult by marrying Aricia, Hippolytus dies an adolescent.

The concluding chapter includes a reflection on the evolution of theories of adolescence between the seventeenth century and the twenty-first century. Dandrey discusses what those of us living in an era he describes as "l'âge de l'adolescence par excellence" can learn from seventeenth-century French theater's staging of this misunderstood, critical phase of life (192). This study provides important new insights into seventeenth-century theater and culture. It will also be of great use to anyone who teaches *Le Cid*, *L'École des femmes*, *Phèdre*, and the numerous other plays that Dandrey references, as it provides access to these texts that students often perceive to be quite far from their world through a theme that is very close to them.

Olivier Leplatre. *Les Fables du pouvoir: L'utopie poétique de La Fontaine*. Paris: Hermann, 2021. 486 pp. 45€. Review by Céline Zaepffel, Universiteit Leiden.

In this augmented edition of *Le Pouvoir et la Parole dans les* Fables *de La Fontaine* (first published in 2002 by the Presses Universitaires de Lyon), Olivier Leplatre focuses on the relationship between the fables of La Fontaine and the concept of power (*pouvoir*). He analyses the treatment of power as a motive within those texts. The concept of power has a double meaning since it could also refer to any political government. Thus, Leplatre shows that studying the link between fables and power also implies (re)questioning their relationship to the monarchy.

The introduction offers a condensed reminder of the previous academic studies that focus on topics related to the question of power in La Fontaine's work. This review is followed by Leplatre's hypothesis, which states that fables do not accurately portray La Fontaine's opinion on this topic. They allow the reader, rather, to experience an intimate form of power that is woven into a playful language. The book is divided into five sections. Each of them delves into a different aspect of this hypothesis by resorting to the stylistic analysis of a whole array of fables.

The first section of the book (chapters 1–3) explores how the literary genre of fables is closely linked to power. Indeed, Leplatre reminds us that fables depict a brief encounter between two protagonists who are not equal. According to him, the exchange describes a power struggle between both parties who are seeking domination. The dialogue between both characters makes this dynamic noticeable to the reader, but also to the characters themselves, one of whom will end up being a victim. It gives the dominant characters a hold over the weaker ones by reminding them of the established order: in the fables' world, speaking (to the victims) often comes with eating (them). Leplatre thus reports that "mouths" are heavily present in fables. They often represent traps and tools to exercise power. This phenomenon motivates Leplatre to reexplore the anthropomorphism underpinning fables: the power of speech allows animals to represent humans. However, because speech is used to exert violence, it is also what makes

them inhuman. Therefore, according to Leplatre, La Fontaine's *Fables* reveal that people's speaking ability is what makes human beings human but also what could cause them to lose their humanity.

In the second section of the book (chapters 4–7), Leplatre analyses the role of speech, appearing both as an attribute of power and as an instrument to increase it. Leplatre explores La Fontaine's *Fables* by studying the voices they feature (who speaks, how, by which means, and what tone is used). The dialogues they display never seem to reconcile the characters, who either play their part without listening to one another, or use language as a trap for each other. Hence, by means of language, strong characters force weak ones to reason, beg, and express feelings when the former have already made up their minds about the destiny of their victim. The stronger ones suddenly cut dialogue short, pronounce their sentence, and condemn weaker ones by eating them: "Sire loup parle, condamne, puis mange" (157). However, the cautious use of language can backfire against stronger characters who play a role that is not representative of their identity. This gives Leplatre the opportunity to remind the reader of the links La Fontaine draws with theatre.

In fables, speech is a medium that forces the characters to surrender and accept both strength and social order. For this reason, the third section of the book (chapters 8–10) demonstrates to the reader the judicial aspects to which powerful characters are entitled by simply considering and introducing themselves as authoritative. Leplatre emphasizes how symbols of power enforce obedience. For example, by the mean of speech, kings and lords exercise their title—and thus political power—against other characters by turning against them a so-called justice they have entirely made up. It is with conspicuous delight that prevailing characters put language at the service of their supremacy: "Les puissants sont ainsi les seuls à parler vraiment ; ils font et défont le langage, ils le dressent" (201). In their dialogue, strength and violence are made laws, and weakness is seen as proof of guilt. Leplatre highlights the occurrence of this phenomenon even though the victims' speeches are usually filled with truth, common sense, and fair judgment. This makes the victory of the powerful animals even more dazzling.

The fourth section (chapters 11–12) addresses the educational projects La Fontaine's *Fables* might conceal towards the monarchy: the education of the Dauphin and the criticism of absolutism. Leplatre reminds us of the political use of emblematic fables as instruments for social order, that highlight the power and strength of the king. Therefore, if La Fontaine wanted to approach the monarchy by the mean of his fables, Leplatre explains that the author must have deeply considered how to convey his messages. Yet, La Fontaine's playful, joyful language does not hide the close links his fables maintain with the monarchy. There is a balance between the political and the poetical aspects of the fables. Because they are pure fiction, each fable becomes a stage for power to be both displayed and investigated. Fables show that language can be turned into an instrument of power, but La Fontaine seems to refuse this shift in his work. To avoid that he, according to Leplatre, insists on the fictional nature of his texts, which do not carry any absolute truths. Instead, the fables should take the reader—and the writer—on a journey through the pleasures of childhood.

In the last section (chapters 13–16), Leplatre explores this pleasure, conveyed by the structure of fables, that is delaying their conclusion. He shows, by considering the metaliterary aspects of fables, that La Fontaine's poetry reinforces the power of fiction. It thus becomes a symbol of freedom, in contrast with the absolutism of the monarchy. Even though this fiction might lead to disillusion, Leplatre believes that reading La Fontaine's *Fables* results in exploring the human temptation for power.

In conclusion, Leplatre's body of research reminds us that fables are short stories featuring two protagonists whose encounter depicts an obvious power dynamic. But surprisingly, this isn't reflected in the often-violent story endings. Instead, it is expressed through the dialogues which convey to both the reader and victim of the fable that control and power could shift at any moment. This has to do with the close links La Fontaine draws between power of speech and pleasure. Leplatre remains unsure on the popular hypothesis which states that La Fontaine would have wanted to give the monarchs any lesson on power through his fables. La Fontaine's relationship to this motive seems quite mysterious, too. Nevertheless, he opened a space where the reader can experiment with power by reimagining it through the

playful aspects of fiction that come with childhood, imagination, and a deep exploration of language.

Leplatre's investigation is thus comprehensive and dense. It offers its reader both an extensive overview on the topics that are related to the motive of power, and a rich stylistic reading of many relevant fables. He renews formerly recognized analyses by condensing and completing them with original and unpublished ones, but also with historical considerations. Not only does Leplatre offer generous, convincing, and thorough studies of these texts, he deepens them sporadically by considering fables into their relationship with some famous illustrations (especially Chauveau's works), which has been somewhat neglected after Bassy's enormous study on this topic.

However, as is often the case with such extensive research, following Leplatre's reasoning might be sometimes arduous. We, for instance, regret the fact that there is no other entry into his work than its complete reading. The titles of the different sections and chapters of the book often lack clarity as to their content. The addition of an index of the fables the study refers to is helpful, nevertheless insufficient for a researcher who needs to find their way into one topic in particular. Fortunately for such a reader, the reading process is pleasant and certainly enriching. Especially for those whose curiosities might be aroused by a demonstration of La Fontaine's ability to transform the motive of power into a—once again—playful exploration of the language's infinite strengths.

Jessie Hock. *The Erotics of Materialism: Lucretius and Early Modern Poetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021. 234 pp. $59.95. Review by Katherine Calloway, Baylor University.

Jessie Hock traces how Lucretius's poetics—not just his natural philosophy—shaped the work of five early modern poets: Pierre de Ronsard, Remy Belleau, John Donne, Lucy Hutchinson, and Margaret Cavendish. Hock's larger project is to deepen our understanding of Lucretius's recovery and reception in early modern Europe: surfacing in 1417, Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* failed to gain philosophical traction until Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655). What happened in the

interim? And why (for instance) did the devout Lucy Hutchinson feel comfortable translating Lucretius in the 1650s and then profoundly uncomfortable being associated with him in the 1670s? The answer, Hock explains, lies in the way early modern poets leveraged Lucretius's erotics and poetics, which are tied to each other. Lucretius realized that beautiful poetry can have an effect analogous to erotic seduction; early modern poets tuned in to this aspect of his thought and imported it into their own lyrics while flatly rejecting the anti-religious content of his philosophy for a century or more. Hock's argument is tight and clean, and the book is clearly written; readers will come away more knowledgeable about Lucretius's poetic influence in the early modern period and the stages by which *De Rerum Natura* was reintroduced. (A final step, discussed in the epilogue, is seen in the full-throated endorsement of Lucretius by libertines such as Rochester.) This book will thus be worthwhile reading for anyone interested in secularization narratives as well as early modern poetry and the erotic.

The introduction lays out the relevant aspects of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* (c. 60 B.C.E.), focusing on the connection between Lucretian poetics—which function as a "supple snare" that entrap readers in Epicurean philosophy—and erotics. Hock pays special attention to a few key passages to which she will recur frequently throughout the book: the hymn to Venus at the beginning of book 1, the teachings on erotic love at the end of book 4 (which warn against falling in love with *simulacra*), and Lucretius's insistence that his poetry functions as honey on the edge of a cup, enticing readers to swallow the otherwise too-bitter medicine of his philosophy. The connection between the erotic and poetic, material and verbal, is made explicit in Lucretius's famous analogy between atoms and letters of the alphabet: just as the elementary units of letters can form an infinite number of texts, so too can atoms form infinite worlds. Hock sees Lucretius as putting words on a uniquely high footing relative to Platonist and Christian thinkers, who view human poetics as derivative and inferior to material and spiritual reality; this aspect of Lucretius's thought was especially appealing to early modern poets.

Hock's first two chapters explore how the French poets Pierre de Ronsard (1524–85) and Remy Belleau (1528–77) work Lucretian themes into their lyric poetry. In his 1552 *Premier livre des Amours*,

Ronsard "draws connections between the scattered atoms of Lucretian cosmology and Petrarch's scattered rhymes" (30) and paints his Petrarchan speaker as suffering from the thwarted desire Lucretius describes in *DRN* 4. Ronsard's engagement of Lucretius here is playful, and there is no sense that he has bought in to Epicurean natural philosophy. Ronsard clearly appreciated the higher status Lucretius (not Epicurus) afforded poetry relative to Platonic idealism, however, and with these sonnets he effectively inserts "Lucretius back into the literary traditions that flourished while *DRN* languished, unread, in monastery libraries" (41). Besides discussing relevant passages from the *Amours*, Chapter 1 draws on commentaries to survey how Ronsard and his circle (which includes Belleau) read Lucretius and traces a tradition associating of Lucretius with Ovid as authorities on erotic love. Hock then shows how Lucretius's two Venuses—the positive life-force of the epic's opening hymn and the destructive seductress of book 4—are worked into Ronsard's 1563 seasonal hymns, respectively, as the life-giving Nature and disease-laden Autumn.

Chapter 2 turns to how Ronsard and Belleau "exploit the *simulacrum* to think about the stakes of poetic production in a time of war" (57)—specifically, the French Wars of Religion (1562–98). Like Lucretius, both poets ask Venus to keep Mars from his destructive raging, evincing a belief that poetry can promote real political stability. The most productive example in this vein is Belleau's Prometheus, who provides a "positive model of image-making as human creativity and creation" (68). With his theft of fire, Prometheus injected breath and spirit into humans, who remain resolutely material (unlike the deceptive, ephemeral Juno of his earlier Ixion poem). Belleau's final collection of poetry, the 1576 *Les amours et nouveaux eschanges des pierres précieuses* continues to develop a vision of artistic productivity begun in the Prometheus poems: ancient knowledge of stones is here translated into Christian terms, "construing the powers of stones as derived from their origin myths" rather than the stars (80). Belleau's treatment of magnets in particular imitates Lucretius's description of magnets in *DRN* 6: the magnet subdues bellicose iron, bringing about amity; humans should take a lesson from this. Beyond political stability, Belleau also uses poetry to promote a productive economy in his *Bergerie* and *Les petites Inventions*, the former of which imitates

Lucretius's hymn to Venus in its call for peace and bounty.

Hock's third chapter, on John Donne (1572–1631), functions as a "clasp" to connect her first two chapters with the last two, on English authors writing during the civil war and restoration. Hock sees Donne as looking backward toward the (now tired) linking of Lucretian atomism with Petrarchan poetry as well as forward toward the fuller engagement with Epicurean philosophy of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Lucretius's influence is a "background hum" in Donne's poetry, evident in his repeated turns from spiritual to material in the poems of *Songs and Sonets*: she discusses in particular "Air and Angels," "The Ecstasy," and "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning." In his praise poems, Donne foregoes the "Lucretianizing strain of Petrarchan poetry" (110) epitomized in Ronsard in favor of a kind of love in which "there is no emptiness," to quote a line from Donne's verse letter to the Countess of Huntingdon. In these poems, in sum, Donne fills the "vacant center of atomist cosmology" with the object of praise, whether God or a patron (113).

Lucy Hutchinson (1620–81), discussed in chapter 4, produced the first complete extant translation of *DRN* into English. In this chapter Hock considers Hutchinson's performative renunciation of her earlier "wanton dalliance" with Lucretius, both in the dedication appended to her translation and in the preface to her biblical epic, *Order and Disorder*. Hutchinson is attuned to Lucretius's longstanding association with erotic seduction as well as his negative description of sex in *DRN* 4 (which she vociferously refused to translate) and describes her earlier interest in *DRN* in this light, disavowing the epic and warning young readers against such a dangerous dalliance. Still, she makes poetic use of Lucretius's negative example of seduction in her descriptions of reprobate biblical characters in *Order and Disorder* and of her own inappropriate desire for her late husband in her elegies. This chapter also takes up the topic of Lucretius and early modern women. Efforts to translate *DRN* were viewed as dangerous because they made this "rough" text available to women, and in any case, the task of translating *DRN* certainly belonged to a man and not, Sir Aston Cokain wrote, to the lady who had been attempting it (130). In turn, Hutchinson unshrinkingly criticizes male contemporaries such as John Evelyn and Edmund Waller for the self-importance and

obsequiousness, respectively, of their Lucretius translations.

In her final chapter, Hock turns to Margaret Cavendish (1623?–73) arguing that "Cavendish learns from *DRN* not only a theory of matter but also an argument about the connection between poetry and philosophy" (145). While ultimately rejecting Lucretian materialism for vitalism, throughout her writing career Cavendish finds in Lucretius's poetics a foil for the misguided enterprise of male scientists trying to "crack nature's structures to find its hidden truths"; Cavendish instead replicates and participates in nature's creativity through poetry and fancy (165). Even more than *DRN* itself, Cavendish's *Poems and Fancies* (1653) bodies forth Lucretian epistemology with its decentering cacophony of voices, underscoring the limitations of human knowledge while insisting on the existence of invisible atoms. As in *DRN*, Nature is a central, generative figure in Cavendish's poetry, sometimes figured as a housewife; sometimes, as a wanton bawd (here Hock acknowledges a debt to Lara Dodds). Like a woman, Cavendish's Nature is fanciful and unpredictable, not subject to Baconian investigation but at work whenever the poet creates.

Hock closes the book with the case of John Wilmot, second earl of Rochester (1647-80) in order to illustrate how the foregoing five poets do *not* receive *DRN*: "They do not tilt back their heads, expose their creamy throats, and invite the poet and his goddess to do their worst" (178). Rochester, by contrast, was one of a school of English and French libertines who "embraced Lucretius's critique of religion as well as his erotic articulation of philosophical issues" (174): they took to heart Lucretius's advice to spurn love and settle for the temporary pleasure of sex with numerous partners. Writing before the Enlightenment, when "the radical potential of Lucretian thought is given free rein," Hock's five poets only partially fell prey to Lucretius's seduction, leveraging his erotic poetics in the service of their own various ends (176).

The drawback with a tightly focused book tends to be what it leaves out, and *Erotics of Materialism* does occasionally leave out material in ways that either weakens claims or risks misleading readers. A few minor claims are under-evidenced: no concrete evidence is given that Ronsard is invoking *simulacra* in his *Sonnets pour Helene* in the pages-long discussion of the importance of *simulacra* in these poems,

for instance (58–62). Similarly, critics who work on Lucretius may be surprised to learn that they follow "their early modern objects of study by implying that readers of *DRN*—both early modern and contemporary—must either be 'all in' or all out, either fully committed to or utterly indifferent to Epicurean philosophy" (125). The only example given of this whole-hog attitude toward Epicureanism among contemporary critics is Stephen Greenblatt. Any scholars doing more tempered work—David Norbrook's analysis of affinities between Epicureanism and Reformed theology leaps to mind—are lost in such a generalization.

And while Hock describes Lucretian philosophy with great clarity, other schools of thought are painted with a broad brush: Christianity in particular is not treated with much precision despite at least four of her five authors being Christian. Hock reads Ronsard's "ungenerous Heaven" who "blinkers" humans, for instance, as obviously being the "jealous, interventionist God of the Bible" (34–35) without giving any reason for this identification. In several places Hock also effectively lumps Christianity in with Platonism and pits this conglomerate against materialism. For instance, in discussing materialism in Donne's *Songs and Sonets*, she passes over any resources within the Christian tradition that might have brought Donne to value material reality; this omission is particularly eyebrow-raising because Felecia Wright McDuffie has written a book showing how Donne's turn to the body was informed by his renunciation of gnostic heresy and recovery of a more robust theology of incarnation from Jewish and Christian thought. Indeed, to my mind the Donne chapter was the most tenuous (to use a Lucretian term): Hock's Donne is Jack Donne, always looking to "smuggle the body, and sex, into the conversation" and who obscures the lustiest aspects of his poetry, "papering them over with religious language" (102–3). She leaves the Donne who might really be interested in theology to other critics.

But a single book can't tell every story, so these are small quibbles. *Erotics of Materialism* is a highly compelling and informative read, and a welcome addition to the scholarly discussion of early modern "dalliance" with the notorious Roman poet.

Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, ed. *Challenging Women's Agency and Activism in Early Modernity*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022. 312 pp. Review by Kate Ozment, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

This edited collection from Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks features a variety of different approaches to the concept of agency—how to understand it, historicize it, and trace it across women's lives and creations in the early modern period. Growing from a series on conferences at the University of Wisconsin-Madison ending in 2018, the collection is self-consciously reflective of what motivates the authors to return to thinking about how women have historically engaged with male-dominated power structures. The #metoo movement and the Women's March in Washington D.C. in January 2017 linger on the edges of several essays and are central in the introduction's positioning of the work of the volume. As a whole, the collection offers an important contribution to an ongoing conversation about women's engagement with power structures. By bringing together authors from a variety of disciplines—literature, languages, art, history, philosophy—and allowing each author to approach their topic flexibly, the concept of agency is interrogated in productively distinct ways.

The book largely focuses on white women's agency in western Europe with variation in class status, although there are some chapters that travel across the Atlantic and one that looks at the Pacific. There are four sections, each organized by action verbs: choosing and creating; confronting power; challenging representations; forming communities. The organizational choice of grouping chapters by verbs was appropriate given the book's title and focus, but given the genre of an edited collection growing from a conference, often the chapters read as individual pieces rather than a conversation about agency that is picked up in a new way by each contributor. Thus the book mirrors the realities of a broad conference, and I find myself wishing for the Q&A section where the contributors are invited to make connections across disparate case studies and interests—one can sense these connections, but they are not explicit.

The first section on "choosing and creating" has three pieces that think about women's engagement with objects—as intoxicants, prepa-

ration for marriage, and to signal political and other allegiances. Angela McShane's chapter interestingly contrasts women's use of tobacco with tea-taking and makes visible how women's intoxicant use is both indicative of their individual choices and how historical narratives have made visible or obscured intoxicant use based on gendered assumptions. Thinking about women's tea-taking is normalized and tobacco-use more taboo because of its masculinized associations. The other two chapters from Joyce de Vries and Susan Dinan, Karen Nelson, and Michele Osherow consider women's clothing and the ways that collecting, wearing, and crafting garments signaled everything from class associations to political allegiances in England, France, and Italy.

The second section includes four pieces on "confronting power," which includes women's engagement in politics, information wars and censorship, marriage norms, and the modern classroom. Grethe Jacobsen discusses two sisters-in-law who disputed over a fief in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Denmark. As with several other chapters in the collection, Jacobsen contrasts the complex lived experiences of women with how our narratives have depicted them: despite prevailing beliefs non-royal women did not have significant political power, Jacobsen's subjects complicate this. Caroline Boswell and Caroline Castiglione consider women's speech, the former in the English Civil War and the latter through the perspective of Venetian author Moderata Fonte. These chapters are useful additions to narratives of how women resisted patriarchal norms and engaged in politics through speech and writing. Jennifer Selwyn provides the only explicitly pedagogical chapter (and, judging from biographies, she is one of a small number of contingently employed authors in the collection), and her application of thinking about how contemporary attitudes shape our study of the past is one of the standouts of the collection. The premise of seeing how #metoo and the Women's March motivates and shapes our engagement with early modern women is concretely explored in Selwyn's classroom, and her attention to digital pedagogy is useful for those of us still grappling with digital modalities spurred by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The third section focuses on "challenging representations" and includes three articles on women's intervention into representative space—as philosophers, in portraits, and through illustrations. Mihoko Suzuki discusses Margaret Cavendish's ties to animism and links

this to twentieth-century critiques of Enlightenment philosophy that positioned humans as dominators of nature. Suzuki argues Cavendish anticipated these critiques, and her chapter will be interesting for those who use ecocriticism as a theoretical approach to the early modern period. Saskia Beranek and Sheila ffolliott enter into the discourse of women's portraits in Europe and move beyond discussions of iconography and mimesis and instead consider the agency of patrons, the object themselves, and networks created by circulating miniatures. The chapter invites us to think about agency in broader and more evocative terms than artist or sitter, and it is one of the more theoretically interesting pieces in the collection. Andrea Pearson examines illustrations in the "Medieval Housebook," a German manuscript done by several anonymous hands. Pearson considers the figure of a woman watching as a case study of the ways women's "ocular agency" is rendered in the manuscript as the women's gaze and figures complicate their position as objects to be viewed. Taken together, this section is the most cohesive and effective as a thematic grouping, and the individual pieces are some of the strongest in the collection, which makes for delightful reading.

The last section on "forming communities," includes an analysis of three communities: French and Italian salons, a Franciscan convent in the Philippines, and networks of women artists. Julie D. Campbell's chapter considers the social circle around Madame de Retz, a *proto-salonnière* whose literary and intellectual circle set the stage for later salons. Sarah E. Owens's chapter is one of the only ones in the collections that considers a space outside of Europe, as she traces the lives of Spanish religious women in the Philippines and China. Much of this archive was destroyed in bombings during later wars, but from what remains Owens traces the literary and religious output of women who travelled across multiple oceans and braved monarchical changes, political tensions, and religious conflict. In the last chapter, Theresa Kemp, Catherine Powell, and Beth Link trace women's social networks to think about an alternative to the normative patriarchal narrative that assumed women stayed in the home. The authors link the Women's Building, a Los Angeles-based women's art collective in the late twentieth century, to early modern women's social networks and consider the ways that traditional digital network mapping does

not work for women artists. While the case studies in this chapter were interesting, because of its layered grounding of the contemporary metaphor, commenting on digital humanities methods, and considering agency for their case studies, it likely would have worked better as a longer piece so the case studies had time to breathe.

This book is a solid contribution to the study of women's lives and labor in Europe. A few epistemological snags and an organizational challenge can distract from the important work individual chapters accomplish. The book's title signals its focus on women, and an implicit secondary focus is on gender, which is employed in some chapters and the introduction. However, gender is left more as a given than a site of significant inquiry. The reader is left to assume that because these are women, what they are doing is gendered. This is an essentialist foundation that does not necessarily undermine the conclusions of the arguments, but it does leave a good amount of fruitful discussion on the table. Secondly, the book gestures to discussions of agency within enslavement and colonialism in the introduction, but this is noticeably absent from individual chapters. The collection is largely an account of European women's engagement with religion, class, and politics, and within this space, the stories are diverse and interesting. But the book, by and large, does not consider race or the impacts of colonialism and engagements with travel and trade. No collection can do everything, but I can imagine the ways that a book that considers women and agency in early modernity would be enriched, challenged, and shaped by engagements with thriving discussions of race and colonization that are currently ongoing in scholarship of this period.

These reservations aside, the collection has much to offer scholars of women's lives, creations, and representations. It is particularly useful for thinking about materiality, crafting, and making, and its interdisciplinary approach supports this line of thinking. The accessibility of the prose and style of the book will make it useful for a wide variety of researchers in the broad early modern period in Europe.

Chad Michael Rimmer. *Greening the Children of God: Thomas Traherne and Nature's Role in the Moral Formation of Children*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2021. x + 265 pp. $33.75.

Richard Willmott. *The Voluble Soul: Thomas Traherne's Poetic Style and Thought*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2021. xii + 270 pp. $97.50. Reviews by Cassandra Gorman, Anglia Ruskin University.

Few prolific seventeenth-century poets have been as consistently misunderstood, and overlooked, as Thomas Traherne. His lyrics are still often neglected from student anthologies and verse collections, where they are overshadowed by the work of his contemporaries John Donne, George Herbert, and Henry Vaughan. On the other hand, his theology—which, as Richard Willmott claims in the preface to his remarkable book, is separated too often from his poetry—has at times been dismissed by critics as naive, unoriginal, or outdated, holding more in common with the Church Fathers and medieval mysticism than seventeenth-century scholarship. The past twenty years have seen critical attempts to dispel these assumptions, with significant work by, amongst others, Denise Inge, James J. Balakier, Elizabeth Dodd, and Kathryn Murphy.

These two recent publications from Chad Michael Rimmer and Richard Willmott, both from Lutterworth Press, continue the important endeavour to relocate Traherne within the pressing poetic, theological, and natural philosophical discourses of his age—and to emphasise his value and relevance to a twenty-first century readership. Willmott chooses to conclude his study with an extract from Traherne's poem "Walking," which summarises the belief that we should learn morality from direct engagement with the natural world, as children do:

> A little child these well perceives,
> Who, tumbling in the green grass and leaves
> May rich as kings be thought:
> But there's a sight
> Which perfect manhood may delight,
> To which we shall be brought.

While in those pleasant paths we talk
'Tis that towards which at last we walk;
For we may by degrees
Wisely proceed
Pleasures of Love and Praise to heed,
From viewing herbs and trees. (241)

These lines demonstrate Traherne's attention to the sensorial experiences of childhood, experiences that he argues teach the "Pleasures of Love and Praise" which, importantly, are fully recoverable for the adult seeking the principles of "perfect manhood." The immersive study of nature—"viewing herbs and trees"—teaches the community of individuals "by degrees": with this phrase, Traherne could be said to echo the inductive philosophical method of Francis Bacon, who argued in the *Novum Organon* that truths can be known correctly only if considered gradually by axiomatic points. This knowledge of the "new science" need not come as a surprise, following Traherne's notes on Bacon's *De augmentis scientiarum* in his "Early Notebook" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Misc. fol. 45) and his praise of the philosopher in a major encyclopaedic work, *The Kingdom of God*.

Both the suggested Baconian parallel and the emphasis on learning from nature connect with the focus of Rimmer's study, which offers a rigorous reading of Traherne's understandings of the natural world and of childhood innocence. Rimmer's central argument is that the value Traherne places on childlike wonder and natural knowledge presents a solution to the ecological crisis of the twenty-first century. In establishing his focus, he claims: "This book will show how this sort of epistemological departure—disintegrating our rational selves from our ecological place in the web of life—has played a tremendous role in the ecological crisis of our age, and why it is important that we cultivate a childlike knowledge of creation in every age" (4). *Greening the Children of God* is bold and compelling in its mission and a significant contribution to Traherne studies, particularly in its strong claim that Traherne remains not only relevant but essential to the cultural and environmental concerns of the present day.

The opening chapters counter a longstanding assumption that Traherne's theological positivism underlies a spiritual naivety. With reference to *The Kingdom of God*—one of several texts by Traherne

discovered in Lambeth Palace Library in 1997—Rimmer explores the depth of the theologian's natural philosophical knowledge, developing along the way an argument for Baconian and Paracelsian influence in his writings. He shows how "Bacon's natural philosophy employed the senses for inductive reasoning, and ... that this epistemological method shaped Traherne's contribution to ethical theory" (32). Meanwhile, he detects Paracelsian influences in *The Kingdom of God*, arguing that Traherne applied "a Paracelsian empiricism that maintained an association between the embodied senses and metaphysical reality" (54). The combination of sensorial exploration and metaphysics is key and distinctively Traherne. Arguably, Rimmer understates the impact of Neoplatonism and hermeticism on Traherne's work—I would query the suggestion that "[Traherne] refers to Trismegistus very sparingly in his own writing" (29)—but *Greening the Children of God* contributes majorly to critical understandings of Traherne's natural philosophical principles and, crucially, how they were part of and inseparable from his Christian morals and metaphysics. In a chapter on the positioning of humanity "between ants and angels," Rimmer quotes a passage from *The Kingdom of God* in which Traherne recounts his personal experience "Upon Studying the Nature of Light":

> For the Idea being in evry Part of the Beams of Light, and the Beams falling upon evry Part of the Glass; the Idea will in evry part be Expressed: But the Lines of Incidence being observed in the Reflexion; the Severall Beams com off Severall Ways, and are seen only by Severall Eys. Evry single Ey seeth but one Idea ... (70).

An analysis of this passage reveals the inseparability of Traherne's natural philosophy from his moral theory. Rimmer connects the above with Christian atomism, explaining that "[b]y focusing on the lines of reflection, and the nature of individual beams, Traherne is operating with Gassendi's particle theory of light." For Traherne, particle theory is part and parcel of Christian metaphysics: he realizes that every individual ("Ey") has a direct, sensorial encounter with a beam, which conveys the original "Idea"—the origin, communicated by God—of the light. As Rimmer concludes, "Traherne believes that 'knowledge' of this idea has great theological significance for communing with God and perceiving goodness and wisdom" (70).

A strength of this monograph is its valuable readings of texts from the Lambeth Palace Manuscript, especially the important late work *The Kingdom of God*, but also lesser-read treatises that have so far attracted little critical attention: *A Sober View of Dr. Twisses his Considerations* and *Inducements to Retirednes*. Rimmer also brings fresh readings to Traherne's *Christian Ethicks*, a posthumously published work that he argues, correctly, has been underestimated by past critics who considered it to "lack ... ethical originality" (19). He counters this and gives an excellent overview of Traherne's understanding of "necessary" (amoral) and "living" (moral) beings (95–96). For the latter chapters of the book, Rimmer brings Traherne into conversation with contemporary psychologists including Colwyn Trevarthen and Darcia Narvaez, in a series of revelatory readings that introduce theories of inter-subjectivity and "other-mothering": the experience of care from other caregivers; "the notion that a broad network of relationships influences the formation of a child's moral identity" (187–88). Rimmer insightfully applies these theories to Traherne's accounts in the *Centuries* of his relationship with nature, arguing that his moral identity was structured on the notion of an "ecological self" (190), and reading his experiences as a model for present-day ecological consciousness.

There are some complications from the ambitious scope of *Greening the Children of God*. While Rimmer's arguments are important and timely, his monograph under-engages with existing Traherne criticism, especially the work of more recent studies: one significant omission from the analysis and bibliography is Elizabeth Dodd's *Boundless Innocence in Thomas Traherne's Poetic Theology* (2016), which explores the figure of the inquisitive, natural child in Traherne's writings at length. A few sections of Rimmer's book over-rely on the work of single scholars in their response to Traherne's philosophy and moral theory, such as Graham Parry and Allen G. Debus in the first chapter. There are some issues with missing or inaccurate references. Finally, the greatest strength and contribution of Rimmer's monograph is also one of its challenges: in a book that moves from the intricacies of seventeenth-century natural philosophy and theology to Immanuel Kant's disinterestedness and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, before concluding with recent anthropological theories of childhood

development, it is difficult to identify a specific, intended readership. Nevertheless, this breadth ultimately results in a rich, rewarding study for the seventeenth-century specialist, who will be led in remarkable directions to reconsider Traherne—and his writings of the natural world—in new, surprising ways.

Breadth of knowledge is likewise a feature of Willmott's impressive book on Traherne's poetic style and thought. In a study primarily aimed at the student of early modern literature and/or theology, Willmott introduces the historical figure of Traherne and proceeds to explore the poetic and religious contexts of his work from five significant texts: *Poems of Felicity*, *Dobell Poems*, *The Ceremonial Law*, *Thanksgivings*, and *Commentaries of Heaven*. Each chapter quotes generously from Traherne's text and brings his style and focus into close conversation with other writings, either contemporaneous or highly influential within the period. Willmott outlines his approach carefully in the Introduction:

> … the comparison of Traherne's own poetry with a wide range of that of his contemporaries and predecessors provides an effective way of providing an introductory context not only for Traherne's poetry, but also for his ideas. It should be noted that making comparisons in this way is not the same as claiming that Traherne was directly influenced by the other poets.... It is rather a way of providing a context in which his works can be interpreted and can also be valued and appreciated as poetry rather than simply as an exercise in versified theology. (3)

This wise approach permits a sensitive, far-reaching exploration of the resonance of Traherne's work within early modern intellectual culture. Willmott stresses his focus on poetry—and poetic style is undeniably at the centre of his study—but the texts referenced alongside Traherne's writings are not limited to verse. The author is as confident and clear in responding to the texts and influence of Irenaeus, Boethius, Calvin and Hooker as he is in exploring parallels with Milton, Sir John Davies, Lucy Hutchinson and Anne Bradstreet. While his comparative examples are plenteous, Willmott takes care not to overcrowd the reader with too many specific analytical details. Instead, he reveals the deeper resonance of Traherne's observations and style of expression

within early modern culture, in terms of sympathies and similarities but also, where appropriate, how Traherne's voice is distinct. This has the great value of demonstrating Traherne's significance as an original thinker and poet even while proving his active engagement with the intellectual and cultural developments of his time. In the first chapter, Willmott reads the sacred blazon of the Dobell poem "The Person" ("Ye sacred limbs, / A richer blazon I will lay / On you, than first I found") alongside Donne's erotic elegy "To his Mistress Going to Bed" and Rembrandt's painting "The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp" from 1632 (11). In the third chapter, on *Poems of Felicity*, he brings an insightful account of Margaret Cavendish's theory of mind into conversation—and contrast—with the "boundless distances" of Traherne's soul (59–65). A fascinating section in the fourth chapter explores different responses to "Infancy and Original Sin" across the poetry of Anne Bradstreet, Vaughan, Milton (*Paradise Lost*) and Fulke Greville (88–100). Such parallels have the potential to capture the imagination of a new generation of literature students and inspire renewed interest, and likely future scholarship, on Traherne and early modern literary culture.

Willmott's analysis of specific poetic extracts is often so exquisite that this reader, for one, longed for more. In his final chapter, on the poems from *Commentaries of Heaven*, he responds to a section from one of Traherne's "Atom" poems ("An atom is a firm material thing / The soul's a sacred incorporeal king; / Each soul's the crown and cream of all, O Bliss!") with the following:

> Traherne's rhyming couplets certainly give a satisfying shape and reinforcement to his ideas, for all Milton's lofty dismissal of their use. The first couplet above provides a clear and satisfying antithesis between atom and soul, the material and the incorporeal, while the alliteration in the third line ("crown and cream") effectively stresses the key words expressing delight and the second couplet's rhyme emphasises that "this" (i.e., "Bliss") was indeed God's purpose in creating souls. The reference to "dropping myrrh" echoes the passionate feelings of the Song of Solomon, raising the emotional intensity.... There is also, maybe, a conscious echo of Herbert's verse in "The Banquet," describing the rapture which he feels on tasting the wine of Holy Communion (233–34).

The analysis above demonstrates Willmott's excellent ear for the techniques and nuances of Traherne's poetry. With sensitive attention to the productivity of his couplets and suggestive alliteration—a trope often favoured by the poet—Willmott provides an elegant, revelatory reading of Traherne's poetic style and his harmonisation of a natural philosophical subject, the atom, with passages from scripture (the Song of Solomon) and features of devotional lyric (Herbert's "The Banquet"). *The Voluble Soul* is highly refreshing in its concentration on poetic form. In an earlier chapter on the *Thanksgivings*, Wilmott explores their striking appearance, with the introduction that "[t]he Thanksgivings are not written in conventional prose, nor are they written in a form that its first readers would have recognised as poetry" (173). He proceeds to trace stylistic parallels with work by figures as diverse as Henry Peachum, Francis Bacon, Lancelot Andrewes and Traherne's friend, Susanna Hopton; another influence worth considering would be that of Petrus Ramus, the logician whose structural diagrams have been compared with the *Thanksgivings* by Jane Partner (whose work Willmott cites, 186). From the *Thanksgivings* to the little-read—and most recently discovered Traherne text—*The Ceremonial Law*, Willmott's study will bring new readers and new ways of reading to Traherne's poetic works.

Read together, both books present an outstanding contribution to Traherne studies and seventeenth-century scholarship. Willmott and Rimmer's monographs are poised to introduce a new generation of readers to Traherne, and indeed to influence new readings that will challenge longstanding assumptions about the poet and theologian's contributions. Their work deserves enduring, wide recognition from those working in seventeenth-century literature and theology.

Edmond Smith. *Merchants: The Community that Shaped England's Trade and Empire, 1550–1650*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2021. x + 361 pp. $32.50.

Eleanor Hubbard. *Englishmen at Sea: Labor and the Nation at the Dawn of Empire, 1570–1630*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2021. xii + 349 pp. $38.00. Reviews by Joseph P. Ward, Utah State University.

The emergence of England as an increasingly consequential participant in global trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has long preoccupied historians seeking to understand the causes and consequences of early modern European engagement in international affairs. Both of the lively books under review here explore in considerable detail the separate but overlapping groups of people whose working lives contributed to the long-distance relationships at the heart of English overseas activity. When read together they offer a sophisticated contribution to our understanding of how early modern England entered the world stage.

Edmond Smith's book focuses on merchants, the group that more than any other forged meaningful, long-term connections between England and societies across Europe and, by the middle of the seventeenth century, much of the wider world. His approach emphasizes that merchants comprised a distinct community founded on common experience and shared interests. Although merchants could form a variety of formal partnerships, often their relationships were quite informal—they could form varied and short-term alliances to promote their common interests, broadening their fields of activity while sharing the risks associated with a new venture.

A principal reason for understanding merchants as members of a community was their ability to hold one another accountable for the promotion of shared values. A reputation for reliability and skill was the foundation of a merchant's success given the significant role of trust in the completion of a long-distance transaction. The ability to write clearly and to keep careful, accurate accounts was essential for a merchant's work, and those who were based abroad would also need the cultural and linguistic skill to thrive in a foreign land. Merchants

acquired these abilities during an apprenticeship that would span their late teens and early twenties under the tutelage of an established master. Apprentices increased a merchant's capacity and, once their apprenticeship was completed, could become his valuable commercial allies. The potential for an apprenticeship to foster a successful career meant that merchants with stellar reputations could attract apprentices who already had significant family wealth and social connections. In this way, the social conditions of mercantile activity tended to spawn durable mercantile networks that could span generations and continents.

Given the challenges that they each faced, it was reasonable that merchants would band together to form companies. From the time that they were apprentices, merchants engaged with society at large through their membership in corporations. These included urban trade guilds that were connected to civic life as well as joint-stock companies that were primarily commercial in nature. The rosters of such corporations often overlapped—for example, members of the Grocers' Company, a prominent livery company in London, could also be members of the East India Company, joining with merchants who belonged to other London livery companies as well as trade guilds from other English towns—and together they created a common framework for decision–making. Through these corporations "merchants were connected through a dense network of shared experiences and expectations about how they should behave and operate" because the corporations "helped reinforce existing traditions while allowing the sharing of new information, experiences and ideas" (70).

Despite their members' shared experiences of town life, joint stock companies faced potential regional differences, as merchants based in London steadily gained influence in corporate affairs, in part because their social proximity allowed them to strengthen their connections with one another, building relationships of trust that gave them political as well as commercial advantages. Smith shows how, over time, London-based merchants increasingly sought to gather control over several trades into their hands, relegating traders based in provincial centers such as Norwich, Newcastle, and Yarmouth to secondary roles: "Resisting the centralizing authority of London's new trading companies was an expensive and often fruitless task" (152). Although there were meaningful political aspects to this development, it largely

reflected the social realities of life for merchants, where access to the Crown officials, attorneys, and clerks who controlled vital information was essential for economic success. The consequences of London merchants occupying an increasingly dominant role in England's commercial affairs were profound and long-lasting.

Of course, the relationship that leading merchants maintained with the Crown was a two-way street. Corporations had their legal rights established through royal charters, and overseas merchants who ran into roadblocks in foreign countries looked to the Crown for diplomatic support. English monarchs frequently reminded merchants that such assistance was not free, and Smith describes the variety of ways that they could access mercantile wealth. The granting, regranting, and affirming of corporate charters became a steady source of Crown revenue in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Monarchs also saw corporations as a source of loans that could be paid back slowly, if at all. Companies, in turn, looked to their members to provide the funds that would be passed to the Crown, which in effect created a kind of wealth tax on successful enterprises. As English merchants increasingly bumped against competitors from foreign countries during the seventeenth century, they sometimes grew frustrated by the sense that their adversaries enjoyed greater support from their governments; this was especially true for those English traders who considered the apparent success of their Dutch rivals to have come at their own expense. The Crown struggled to sort out the competing theories of how to increase trade at the same time as it grew increasingly reliant on extraordinary means of raising revenue beyond that which Parliament was willing to grant. The result was a deterioration of the leading role of merchants who had been raised in the profession and the increasing influence of those who undermined "the practices of commercial governance that had sustained English merchants across the world for the previous century" (206).

Unlike some of his predecessors in the field, Smith spends relatively little time exploring ways that merchants engaged with issues of broad national importance. He gives only passing regard to how religion may have shaped the world views of the merchants he studies. Although he notes that "the common locations of merchants' everyday contact were work, worship and social interactions" (107), he says nothing about

how, for example, merchants may have shaped—and were shaped by—the Reformation or the rise of religious dissent. Even more surprising is his reticence to discuss the economic aspects of the revolutionary decades of the mid-seventeenth century. Contemporaries and generations of historians alike have noted that both sides in the English Civil Wars drew upon the mercantile fortunes of London, but from Smith's perspective the merchants were largely passive participants in events. He briefly mentions how "during the Civil War" the anonymous author of a pamphlet attacked the monopolistic trading practices of the Merchant Adventurers, but he does not pause to consider the extent to which such critiques of corporations may have motivated some outside the mercantile community to engage in political action (136). It is not the historian's role to pass judgment on the past, but frequently Smith seems eager to avert his reader's gaze from theoretically charged topics, choosing description over analysis as his preferred mode while emphasizing that the contributions of merchants to the shaping of national policy were informal and often subtle.

Among those outside the merchant community and yet intimately connected to it were the seamen whose stories fill Eleanor Hubbard's new book. Reminiscent of Smith's approach to his subjects, Hubbard emphasizes that English seamen in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries formed a community, with shared experiences fostering a common worldview. Mariners learned their trade through hard experience, less formal perhaps than the apprenticeships that aspiring merchants would complete, but novice seamen would have to prove themselves worthy of the trust of their fellow crew members. Hubbard highlights the physical risks that early modern mariners faced, especially in the closing decades of Elizabeth's reign, when war with Spain inspired a new generation of English sailors to see the ocean as a vast opportunity for plunder. Investors scrambled to build vessels and hire crews to take advantage of the many chances to intercept Spanish treasure fleets; they were motivated far more by the opportunity for a quick fortune than they were by any sense of English national ambition. Departing from the interpretation of Kenneth Andrews, which included zeal for the Protestant cause among the motives for Elizabethan privateering, Hubbard finds that "for most privateers and

their backers the central purpose of privateering was to make money. Injuring Spain was a distant second, and in many cases privateers seem not have cared whom they injured, so long as they filled their purses" (39). The Elizabethan seamen whose adventures captured the contemporary imagination were entrepreneurs and allies—rather than employees—of the Crown.

The fortunes of sailors could turn rapidly, and Hubbard draws from a wide array of sources to reconstruct vividly the careers of mariners who spent considerable periods of their lives as hostages, galley slaves, and prisoners in foreign lands. English seamen in this period were valued for their abilities with a sword or cannon as much as for their skill with a sexton or compass, and their loyalties to their captains and shipmates could be fleeting, with alliances forming and dissolving based on calculations of the greatest opportunity for gain. Although this was true throughout the period Hubbard studies, the early years of James I's reign, after England and Spain had ended their formal hostilities, saw some English privateers become renegades, preying upon ships of all nations on their own or entering into the service of foreign rulers. English pirates did not lack for opportunities, and by 1608 many of them found a friendly base in Mamora, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. At times, the numerous ships anchored off the Moroccan coast were a sort of "floating emporium" at which pirates could sell their plunder to corrupted merchants who, if later charged with receiving stolen goods, would spin elaborate tales in court (141). If English pirates tended to treat English vessels more kindly than they did foreigners, Hubbard suggests that this reflected a pragmatic need to maintain constructive relations with home rather than patriotism; she gives several examples of renegades who acted in the hope that they could one day be pardoned for their crimes and retire in England. The Spanish and Dutch navies scattered the Mamora pirate refuge in 1614, leading some of the English sailors to find a way home while others settled in North Africa, joining pirate crews in the Mediterranean.

Merchants and the mariners on whom they depended had, at best, an uneasy relationship. They often had common interests, but when a pirate ship approached, priorities could shift quickly: "Seamen ventured their lives when merchants ventured their goods—and

like merchants, they were obliged to set their potential losses against their potential gains" (98). Tensions between the occupations flared regularly, as corporations brought lawsuits against mariners who tried to trade on their own accounts and merchants sued seamen whose extreme carelessness in handling cargo could plausibly be characterized as a form of theft. Crews would typically be paid at the conclusion of a voyage, giving them incentive to remain true to their purpose, but cash-strapped mariners could succumb to the temptation to seek a faster, potentially larger payoff by seizing control of their vessel and whatever it was carrying and then selling them to pirates. Even though they were not acting on behalf of the Crown, English renegades who seized goods from foreigners could expose English merchants to reprisals when they reached a port whose local merchants had been plundered.

Employing an anthropological lens, Hubbard teases from her sources glimpses of attitudes that English mariners brought with them as they encountered foreigners on distant shores. In Africa, seamen looked with pity, rather than curiosity, on the Khoekhoe of the Cape of Good Hope, a people whose language was beyond their comprehension. By contrast, sailors visiting Japan marveled that even the relatively poor seemed prosperous and civilized. Merchants were well aware that the success of a distant voyage depended on the crews of their vessels being able to form peaceful relations wherever they traveled, both for the facilitation of profitable trade and for the acquisition of fresh water and other supplies that would allow the ships to return safely home. Given the well-earned reputation of English mariners for piracy and plunder, captains would often need to display advanced diplomatic skills to pull this off.

Although English seamen were well-regarded throughout maritime Europe, the Crown struggled to organize the talent in its midst. The high value of English sailors put pressure on the Crown to recruit them away from more appealing opportunities abroad. Their value also made it relatively difficult to redeem English maritime captives, some of whom were sold in Mediterranean slave markets. In the wake of peace with Spain, James took steps to increase his naval strength, but he labored to fill the ranks. A key policy shift was to embrace pirates through pardons—even allowing them to keep their treasure—and

then recruit them into the royal navy. The stress on the royal navy increased dramatically under Charles I, whose aggressive foreign policy initiatives put a premium on recruiting and retaining skilled mariners: "In warfare, as in the captivity crisis, the Crown's desire to cherish its seafaring subjects outstripped its capacity, resulting in widespread misery and unrest" (268). The disastrous course of the war combined with Charles's deteriorating financial condition to produce ongoing discontent among the poorly fed and chronically underpaid seamen, many of whom knew from personal experience that they would have been materially better off as pirates. By the spring of 1628, the Duke of Buckingham became the focal point of protests among disgruntled mariners, contributing the context in which he was assassinated in Portsmouth while assembling another fleet.

Smith and Hubbard each engage effectively with the discussion among historians of the process through which the English state modernized as its monarchs developed an increasingly ambitious vision of empire. The corporations on which Smith focuses occupied an important stratum in the composite state of England, and although Hubbard sees the state as relatively weak, the mariners she studies nonetheless facilitated the work of merchant corporations when such corporations provided them sufficient incentives to do so. At the very least, it can be said that early modern merchants and seaman both contributed to a long-term project of nation-building apparently without being motivated by the type of nationalist ideology that would be a hallmark of later phases of imperialist expansion.

J. Vanessa Lyon. *Figuring Faith and Female Power in the Art of Rubens*. Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 248 pp. 67 illus. $ 136.00. Review by Ruth Sargent Noyes, National Museum of Denmark.

This book, authored by J. Vanessa Lyon, associate professor of Art History at Bennington College, offers a refreshing, thoroughly researched, and well-considered new approach to a shibboleth of art history, the relationship between artist Peter Paul Rubens and women's bodies (and women more generally); or, put differently: the question of Rubens and feminism (or even: Rubens as feminist). Published under

the aegis of AUP's series Visual and Material Culture, 1300–1700, this monograph takes its place amongst a burgeoning cadre of works in the series that approach early modern art history from the perspective of gender studies and feminist theory, revisiting—even reviving—a corpus of scholarship from the 2000s through the turn of the twenty-first century and re-evaluating the legacy of feminist art history while demonstrating that such analytical approaches continue to offer new and significant insights in the field.

Figuring Faith and Female Power in the Art of Rubens argues that in his capacities as artist, propagandist, and diplomat, Rubens not only possessed an awareness of evolving period religious and cultural attitudes toward women, but was also actively involved in shaping this same discourse. Embedded in close scrutiny of Rubens's paintings combined with close analyses of distinct genres of early modern textual sources, Lyons's historically contextualized approach undertakes to avoid and revise modern-day anachronistic readings of the artist's images of women that prescribe and proscribe certain forms of femininity. By analytically remapping within the discursive landscape of seventeenth-century female court culture and Catholic theology some of the artist's more renowned works, the book offers an historically grounded feminist corrective to a body of seventeenth-century art criticism that undervalued the painter's works on gendered terms, and to more recent scholarship wherein studies of gender and religion are often mutually exclusive. Lyons framed this work as a series of thematic semi-biographical case studies that proceed chronologically according to Rubens's extensive career and in relation to significant and powerful female figures from his personal and professional life: these include the artist's wives Isabella Brant and Helena Fourment, contemporary female rulers, and biblical or mythological personages who figured prominently in his works such as Delilah and the Virgin Mary, Juno and Omphale. The author unfolds how, rather than the bearer of a fixed meaning or set of meanings, the female form functioned across Rubens's oeuvre as a polysemous transhistorical carrier of meaning that, while unstable and evolving over the course of the artist's lifetime, was consistently imbued with heightened devotional and rhetorical efficacy by virtue of being inflected by period notions of female difference and particularity.

A Prologue and Introduction that deftly map the state of scholarship, provide a helpful bibliographical and historiographical overview of the issue of a feminist approach to Rubens's art, and establish the early modern European context of the "woman question" whereby "the height of the *querelle des femmes* coincided with the widest reach and reinforcement" of Catholic Counter-Reformation decrees, such that paradoxically, "while earthly liberties were being summarily curtailed for mortal women an even greater spiritual status was being accorded to female saintliness" (20). As Lyons states in the Introduction with regard to the overwhelmingly Catholic courtly context for many works treated in this study, while remaining hermeneutically guarded "when confronting the portrayal of women for and within the historically masculinist institution of the Christian Church" (27), nonetheless a broader argument can be framed whereby women often functioned in Rubens's religious images as typological *figurae* gesturing to a meaning (such as Catholic doctrinal truths) beyond themselves while also standing for themselves; moreover, his depicted female forms more generally figured "quintessentially Rubensian powers of peacemaking, reproduction, and devotion in typological and transhistorical ways" (32).

Chapter One, "Samson and Dilemma: Rubens Confronts the Woman on Top," takes up a new critical reading of an intriguing and provocative threesome of paintings of dyadic couples from the early years of the artist's career, which this study reads against one another. These include *Hercules and Omphale* (c.1606), depicting Ovidian characters, *Samson and Delilah* (1609), portraying Old Testament protagonists, and the well-known *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brant* (1609), a rare (for the period) depiction of a married couple shown life-size within the same frame of the artist and his first wife (an educated and wealthy woman in her own right). Lyons posits that the former two history paintings should be read as iconographical and compositional keys to unfolding layers of significance subsumed in the imagery of the double portrait. This chapter unpacks how these images were inflected on one level by contemporary circumstances in the artist's life (notably his union with a woman from a family possessed of a higher social rank than Rubens's own), and on another level by motifs and forms adapted from Renaissance works across media by artists including

Michelangelo and Titian according to typical Rubensian strategies of emulation. Through contextualized iconographic and formal analysis that attends particularly to specific compositional aspects—e.g., placement of female in relation to male figures, the role of drapery and (cross-)dress, and biblical topoi alluded to by all three paintings—this chapter succeeds in shedding new light on the canonical and much-discussed *Self-Portrait*, disclosing its potential ambiguity, which Lyons suggests may reflect the painter's own shifting notions of sex difference within the milieu of the *querelle des femmes* and his familial circumstances. The second chapter, "Making Assumptions: Marian Tropes After Italy," similarly explores a novel cluster of paintings, here dating to the era of Twelve Years' Truce (1609—21) that brought the cessation of hostilities between the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic, which proved for Rubens a highly productive period during which he secured important commissions for his iconic Antwerp *Crucifixions*. Lyons reads these renowned altarpieces against a contemporary cluster of complex mythological paintings that included *Juno and Argus*, and contemporaneous depictions of the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the lactating Virgin. Chapter Two marshals discussion of these ostensibly disparate images to map a meta-artistic trajectory linking Rubens's earlier Michelangelesque works and his increasingly Venetian approach to picturing, underscoring the critical implications of the corresponding stylistic shift from Rome to Venice—associated, respectively with central Italian *disegno*'s masculine linearity and feminized *colorito*—to which the author will return in the book's final chapter in greater depth.

Chapter Three is divided into two complimentary sections, each devoted to cycles and suites of paintings executed for female sovereigns, whose respective patronage commissioning important large-scale pictorial programs in the 1620s played a significant role in shaping Rubens's mid-career production. Part One, "Recycling Sovereignty: Maria de' Medici," takes up the sometimes misunderstood, relatively secular and mythologically inflected Medici cycle of canvases produced for the widowed queen mother of France and currently preserved in the Louvre; Part Two, "Figuring Faith and Female Power: Isabel Clara Eugenia," treats the so-called Eucharist tapestries, commissioned as a luxurious ex-voto taking up aspects of Catholic doctrine by the arch-

duchess and governor general of the Spanish Netherlands and today in the royal Poor Clare convent in Madrid. Constituting the book's inflection point and "a diptych of sorts" (119), this chapter gives a carefully constructed comparative analysis that makes for a lively re-reading of two otherwise ponderous projects, which Lyons characterizes as Rubens's most inventive and important large-scale programs for female patrons, despite their dramatic differences in conception, tone, and subject. Against the entangled backdrop of the Thirty Years War, early modern gendered theories of leadership, battlefield views, and portraits that attended the careers of both embattled female rulers, this study highlights how the artist conceived of vastly different artistic solutions to the common challenge of how to portray the legacies of both subjects as divinely appointed sovereign widows.

The fourth chapter, "Peace Embraces Plenty: Queering Female Virtue at Whitehall," extends the book's exploration of gendered figurations of leadership to the Protestant ambit of the English royal court under King Charles I during the 1630s, when Rubens won the sought-after commission to paint the ceiling of London's Whitehall Palace Banqueting House, resulting in his cycle of canvases known as the *Peaceful reign of King James I*. Within this extensive painted program, Lyons pinpoints attention on a specific pair of intimately coupled figures portraying Peace and Plenty personified in an amorous same-sex embrace, conventionally described as the artist's allegory of "Righteousness kissing Peace" after Psalm 85. Chapter Four argues instead for a new interpretation of this provocative figural group that re-situates Rubens's passionate female personifications within the context furnished by the contemporaneous discourse weaving together Caroline divine-right rhetoric, sermons by court clergyman William Laud, and changing period approaches to allegorical representation. Against this rich contextual backdrop, this case study tenders that "the scriptural meeting and kissing of virtues provided Rubens with both a notional narrative and an authoritative justification for representing female affection, even same-sex desire, in a political and morally positive light" (177). Chapter Five, "Feminizing Rubens in the Seventeenth Century," circles back to an issue of gendered seventeenth-century critical receptions of Rubens's oeuvre raised earlier in (and indeed at various points throughout) the volume. Here, Lyon performs close

readings of ways in which early modern art theorists "mobilized dichotomously gendered, regionalist taxonomies of painting in order to reassign the artist from the ranks of the foreign-born naturalist painters considered as *Caravaggisti* to the company of the purportedly (even) less cerebral, graphically unskilled follower of Titian" (209). By disclosing the coded and continuously reappropriated stylistic binaries opposing "masculine" Tuscan *disegno* against inferior "feminine" Venetian *colorito*, this chapter offers a reëvaluation of Rubens—whose work has been shown over the course of this book as inhabiting both artistic spheres—as an underappreciated artist who in fact achieved a synthesis of the two rival, regional approaches to painting.

Rather than a theoretical overlay applied onto the works of art discussed, across a series of chronological-thematic case studies the feminist perspective seems to emerge organically from the material, deftly mined, refined, and presented by the author. Given this approach, and the vastness of the artist's oeuvre, there is necessarily a degree of selectivity at work (which Lyons acknowledges), and the study makes no pretense at being a universal survey of Rubens's career. However, Lyons succeeds in setting forth a kind of analytical toolkit, drawing deftly on past studies and foregrounding close visual analysis of images, such that they develop adaptable models that might be re-iterated and brought to bear on other works beyond the purview of this study. Productively provocative, rigorously contrived, and enlightening, *Figuring Faith and Female Power in the Art of Rubens* will appeal to a broad academic readership: Rubens specialists interested in new perspectives on canonical works; art historians of the period, particularly those who teach undergraduate and graduate surveys of Baroque art, who will find this book enriches timely discussions of Rubens's otherwise increasingly potentially problematic oeuvre in the post-Me Too era; scholars of women's, gender and sexuality studies interested in visual culture; as well as graduate students and advanced undergraduates interested in the continued relevancy of feminist art history (Lyons helpfully translates relevant period texts in English and contextualizes specialized terms for greater accessibility).

Sheila McTighe. *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy*. Amsterdam University Press, 2020. 251 pp. 67 illus. $ 136.00. Review by Ruth Sargent Noyes, National Museum of Denmark.

This monograph by Sheila McTighe, Senior Lecturer at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, takes up the theme of images designated as from, to or after (the) life (hereafter: From Life)—otherwise known as according to the terminology *ad vivum* and its multilingual iterations such as *dal* (or *al*) *vivo*, *dal natural*, *au vif*, *au naturel*, *d'après nature*, *nach dem Leben*, and *naer het* (or *nae't*) *leven*—in the context of early modern Italian art of the early- to mid-seventeenth century, widely-recognized for its naturalism. The book focuses on approaches representing From Life by both native Italians and migrant artists from northern Europe who worked in Italy, with special attention to the court centers of Rome and Florence, through the art of Caravaggio, etchings and graphic works of Jacques Callot and Claude Lorrain (as well as their acolytes and collaborators), and the works of Flemish and Dutch artists like Pieter van Laer who were members of the so-called *Bentvueghels* and *Bamboccianti*. In the most transcultural and trans-media study of the phenomenon of From Life picturing to date, *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy* investigates across works in print, graphic media, and painting to reveal new aspects of the artistic practice of a diverse cadre of artists in international Italian milieux and the critical implications of depicting *dal vivo* in Italy (and beyond) as a self-conscious departure from the norms of Italian arts, inflecting concepts of artistry and authorship, authority of images as sources of knowledge, boundaries between repetition and invention, and relations between images and words. As a self-conscious heir and corrective to prior scholarship on notions of From Life pictorial praxes (on which see more below), which have overwhelmingly focused on northern European art (above all prints) and issues of epistemology (especially in regards to the natural world) to the exclusion of other cultural spheres, media, and motivations, this book restores richness and multifaceted complexity to the phenomenon, reframing it as a polysemous mode of picturing and unfolding the different utilities of representing From Life that served a range of meta-artistic, socio-political and cultural interests and agendas both

individual and collective.

Chapter 1, "Caravaggio's Physiognomy," revisits the long-standing question (dating back to biographer Giovan Pietro Bellori) of Caravaggio's supposed (over)reliance on painting directly from posed models. This chapter maps investigation of period physiognomic discourse that analogized human and animal facial morphologies against recent studies of his painting technique that enable the virtual excavation of his multi-layered process to reveal earlier compositional layers beneath the surface of his paintings. McTighe discloses deep paradoxes an meta-artistic inflections of Caravaggio's realism, shedding light on one level on his choice and repetition of certain models across his lifelong oeuvre, and on another his altering of models' facial features from underpainting to finished work, bringing new insight to some canonical works.

The second chapter, "Jacques Callot, Drawing Dal Vivo around 1620: Commerce in Florence, Piracy on the High Seas," turns from painting to print-making and the graphic arts, and from the turn-of-the-century papal Roman to the Florentine Medicean milieu during the early Seicento, taking up questions of why, how, and to what ends Flemish practices of drawing from life were cultivated at the Medici court. As a case study in the ambit of Lorrenese Jacques Callot and Neapolitan Filippo Napoletano, Chapter 2 explores these and other court artists' emulative and performative output characterized by pictorial strategies of eye-witnessing, particularly representations of Medici court festivities and Tuscan as well as Mediterranean topographies in service to Grand Duke Cosimo II and propagandistic ends promulgating the Tuscan Grand Duchy's prosperous regulation of urban commerce and military supremacy over the Mediterranean coasts. A highlight of this chapter is a re-reading of Callot's renowned 1620 etching of *The Fair at Impruneta*. Chapter 3, "Jacques Callot's *Capricci di varie figure* (1617): The Allusive Imagery of the Everyday, Represented 'from Life' and Emulating a Text," presents a microhistorical case study of Callot's enigmatic series of fifty diminutive etchings dedicated to the dissolute young Prince Lorenzo di Ferdinando I de' Medici. Taking up a reconstructive approach similar to that brought to bear on Caravaggio's multi-layered canvases in Chapter 1, McTighe's analytical recourse to the print series in its original bound format

enables an interpretation of the *Capricci* through the Erasmian lens of the Mirrors of Princes genre to clarify how Callot's marshalling of From Life pictorial modes formed and informed the etchings' theatrical and often vulgar, yet edifying and witty sequential narrativistic unfolding.

"The Motif of the Shooting Man, and Capturing the Urban Scene: Claude Lorrain and the *Bamboccianti*," the book's fourth chapter, returns to Rome in the 1630s, and further expands the book's transcultural purview by exploring the practices of preparing landscapes, genre and urban scenes From Life in the works of the Lorrenese painter, Pieter van Laer (nicknamed *Bamboccio*) and other members of the so-called *Bentvueghels* and *Bamboccianti*, loosely associated cadres of Northern migrant artists working in the Italian (primarily Roman) ambit around mid-century. The chapter turns around the author's in-depth excursus of the period expression *tirer au vif*—meaning both "to shoot live prey" and "to portray from life," implying the "pulling" of an image or tracing of a likeness from a present prototype—against the geometrically contrived perspectival structures employed by this circle of artistic compatriots, to argue that these and "even Claude's later Arcadian landscapes were grounded in a particular notion of depicting from life" (179). Chapter 5, "The absent eyewitness: the *Revolt of Masaniello* and depiction *dal vivo* in the middle of the seventeenth century," is conceived as another case study around a single work by Pieter van Laer's Italian follower Michelangelo Cerquozzi, a celebrated topographic view of the market in Naples' piazza del Carmine framing a scene of the 1648 Neapolitan popular uprising, painted for consumption by an elite Roman viewership. Redounding this analysis of Cerquozzi's painting against the earlier account of Callot's *Fair at Impruneta* and period printed siege views, McTighe re-visits conflicting claims surrounding *Revolt of Masaniello*'s status as a proto-journalistic first-hand depiction or an instantiation of absent witnessing resonating notions of From Life image-making to consider broader reconciliations of concepts of pictures' self-professed (topographical) accuracy and the reconstructive methods by which such pictures were manufactured in this period on both sides of the Alps.

As alluded to in the book's Introduction (31–32) and closing chapter (203), McTighe's study furnishes a long-overdue realization of a crucial but mostly overlooked axis of research raised in Peter Parshall's

seminal and oft-cited 1993 article "*Imago contrafacta*: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," published in *Art History*, which has in the nearly three decades since remained largely unpursued. Namely, Parshall's recourse to an image produced by an artist of Northern European origin (Israhel van Meckenem) made in or after a sacred subject in Italy (the so-called *Imago Pietatis* icon in the church of Santa Croce di Gerusalemme in Rome), as possibly the first reproductive print and paradigm of a certain species of picture (the "counterfeit" image) that subsumed claims regarding its own origins in the presence of the subject through the artist's first-hand, objective eye-witnessing. Attending to multicultural aspects of Rome and Florence as centers of courtly and touristic life that inherently attracted a diverse cadre of artists, it is as if McTighe is circling back to fulfill Parshall's proleptic gesture to Meckenem's *Imago Pietatis*. McTighe thereby not only succeeds in decoupling From Life image-making from the purview of a particular cultural sphere, but also demonstrates that this mode could attain its fullest hermeneutical potential in crucibles of cultural interaction, where different artistic traditions comingled to the point of inextricability.

Similarly, McTighe's study also provides a welcome and timely counterpoint to the recent volume of papers titled *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, edited by Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall, and Claus Zittel, and published by Brill in 2019. While their respective publishing timelines did not allow for these books to explicitly engage with each other, McTighe's Introduction acknowledges the other volume, which derived from a conference where McTighe also participated, although they did not contribute to *Ad vivum?* (30). Implicitly, these two nearly contemporaneous works enter into (and can be productively read in) mutual conversation, with *Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy* offering a valuable corrective in several respects to the Brill volume, as the latter, following conventions established by Parshall, focuses on primarily (though not exclusively) Northern European art and aspects of the subject related to questions of early modern epistemology and the study of nature.

Representing from Life in Seventeenth-century Italy will be a valuable resource to art historians interested in the now decades-long corpus

of scholarship taking up the issue of questions of From Life picturing, regardless of geographical focus, and more broadly to scholars of the early modern period concerned with notions of verisimilitude, accuracy, reproductivity, and naturalism in the arts. Instructors of seventeenth-century art will find the first chapter on Caravaggio especially helpful for refreshing approaches to this canonical artist, and the volume is accessible for advanced undergraduate and graduate-level students in the field.

Joshua Calhoun. *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking, and the Ecology of Texts in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020. xii + 212 pp. + 30 illus. $55.00. Review by Cyndia Susan Clegg, Pepperdine University.

In his "Remainders" (epilogue) to *The Nature of the Page*'s principal chapters, Joshua Calhoun concludes that "If readers of this book can never again look at paper, especially in an archival library, and see it as blank or white, then *The Nature of the Page* is at least partially successful" (153). Only in an ill reading of Calhoun's book could one escape its success in fixing our attention on the early modern page's plenitude. The page's material nature—the pulp from which paper is made (whether flax, straw, or wood); the animal glue that coats/sizes the paper (or doesn't); the detritus the paper traps—both inspired seventeenth-century writers and shaped how readers read and interpreted the words printed. This study centers upon the premise that the material page is intimately related to natural materials which, despite human efforts to shape them to our own ends, experience recurring cycles of abundance and scarcity. To illustrate this, Calhoun sketches a history of materials that record written words—from wax, to papyrus, to parchment, to paper made from rags, and later, from plants like straw and wood. At each stage abundance gives way to scarcity, which gives rise to adaptation.

This model of abundance, scarcity, and adaptation suggests that *The Nature of Page* is an ecological history of making paper. It is not, although it certainly refers its reader to important histories of paper.

Instead, the idea of one material supplanting another is a means for Calhoun to think about literary ecology—on the one hand, about literary texts' dependence on natural materials and thereby their vulnerability to natural processes, and on the other, about how literary texts engage the ideas inspired by the materiality of paper with its shrives, wormholes, blots, and erasures. This is especially true among some seventeenth-century authors who were caught in the tension between the printed word's capacity to replicate and eternize the author's ideas and paper's vulnerability to decay. According to Calhoun:

> It is easy to imagine humans as the point of origination, as if the materials used to make paper, to make ink, to make printing type, and so on simply existed in abundance, waiting to be harvested. In reality, ecological vulnerability and scarcity make certain kinds of human records possible; at the moment those possibilities are realized and integrated into textual forms, textual corruption and disintegration begin. (2)

Seventeenth-century writers, Calhoun says, recognized this, but they seem not to have "fully registered how much the nonhuman materials of writing and revising influenced the metaphors they used to understand human narratives of achievement and failure" (69).

The Nature of the Page is divided into two parts. Part 1's two chapters on "Legible Ecologies" call our attention first to the materials from which paper is made, and then to paper's varying qualities. The first chapter juxtaposes Henry David Thoreau's reflections on the paper futures of ships' sails (ca. 1840) with the Water Poet John Taylor's *The Praise of Hempseed* as a paper source (1620). Both express a confidence in the availability of resources to make paper, while the remainder of the chapter focuses on Mathias Koops's *Historical Account of the Substances … for the Invention of Paper*, which posits the model of abundance and scarcity upon which Calhoun relies. Chapter 2, cleverly titled "The Word Made Flax," turns to Bible printing in early seventeenth-century England and the varieties of paper and printing quality that seem to inspire Henry Vaughan's poem, "The Book," which "looks to the Bible and the Book of Nature for truth" (69). Part 2, "Indeterminate Ecologies," expands upon the kind of literary analysis that Calhoun touched on in Chapter 2 with Vaughan's poem. Chapter 3 is interested in traces of paper materials like minerals from

the water used, hairs, and shrives that remain in the finished paper, but mostly the chapter considers ink blots. Calhoun is especially interested in a blot that appears on a page of *Henry IV, part 2* (5.2) in one of the Folger Shakespeare Library's Shakespeare First Folios and offers a reading of the play as an effort to blot and erase earlier histories. He also observes, more generally, that the appearance of blots on the printed page reformed biblical language about sin, in particular, in Psalm 51, which in the King James Version asks for sin to be blotted out. He suggests that the audience's familiarity with blots somehow influenced the choice the King James Version's translators made. Chapter 4 moves from blots to sizing. It explains the manner in which paper was sized (at a sacrifice to some animals), and then considers "sinking" in which ill-sized paper could not hold its ink. This gives rise to a variety of metaphors including the likening of sinking paper to ephemerality and unrequited love. The last chapter, which attends to the poetics of decay, returns to a fuller analysis of Vaughan's "The Book," to John Donne's "Valediction to his book," and, briefly, to Shakespeare's sonnets. The chapter ends with a curious juxtaposition between the thematizing of decay in seventeenth-century poetry and the efforts of archival libraries to preserve the very books these poets envisioned as ephemeral. Such efforts to preserve texts printed on seventeenth-century paper come with greater costs to the natural environment than the costs to nature itself in the production of these early papers. According to Calhoun,

> we must study the "nature of textual transmission" not only in an abstracted bibliographical sense, but also in a material, ecological sense. The nature of textual transmission now includes our active, intentional attempts to stop decay, and we have HVAC (and fire retardant) systems to thank, at least in part, for the "wealth of surviving manuscript[s]." (149)

Texts, Calhoun concludes, are embedded in the ecosystems in which they were created and in which "they will cease to be" (150).

The Nature of the Page achieves its intended end of compelling us to think about paper—indeed to think about it in multiple ways—as a medium with a message, as an environmental microhistory, as literary inspiration. It is a well-researched study, and

what Calhoun refers to as his "case histories" effectively illustrate this book's working premises. Its wit delightfully mirrors the seventeenth-century literature it considers; unusual—sometimes jarring—juxtapositions unsettle comfortable assumptions and demand that we take seriously the ecology of reading. As much as I like this book, the jars did not always work. To read Mathias Koops's early nineteenth century *Historical Account of the Substances ... for the Invention of Paper* against seventeenth-century poets whose poems thematize paper's transience seems anachronistic since Koops writes about resource scarcity at a time when paper manufacture had taken hold in England, while in the early seventeenth century, English printers relied heavily on Continental manufacture. Similarly, using the example of mass-produced, small format Bibles on cheap, thin Bible paper to illustrate that poor textual production "muddled" the "communication of godly ideas" (51) in Chapter 2 is inexact. Calhoun seems to miss the point that such Bibles were printed in Amsterdam and imported illegally into England, and while these Geneva Bibles, indeed, were immensely popular, they have little to do with the problems related to authorized English Bible printing, which was privileged exclusively to the King's Printer. The remarks on Bibles Calhoun quotes from Michael Sparke in *Scintilla* and William Prynne in *Histrio-mastix* thus lack proper historical contexts—not to mention that these highly polemical writings may not be the most reliable sources. Finally, while I read with pleasure about blots and *Henry IV, part 2*, I have some difficulty with the idea that the King James Bible translators' use of the word "blot" reflected a linguistic modernization in keeping with current usage. Here Calhoun relies on Hannibal Hamlin's observation that Psalm 51(one of the penitential psalms) "played a vital role in the liturgy of the English Church" and thereby influenced major English writers (95). The King James Bible, indeed, uses "blot" in Psalm 51, but the Coverdale Great Bible was used liturgically in the Book of Common Prayer for Epistle

and Gospel readings until 1662, when the text of these readings changed to that of the King James Bible. Even then, though, the liturgical use of Psalm 51, and indeed the entire Book of Psalms printed in the Book of Common Prayer, continued to use the Great Bible's text. Thus, "do away mine offences" remained in Psalm 51 from 1662 onwards. If "blot" came into popular usage in the seventeenth century, its source was the printed page rather than the English liturgy. I raise these objections not so much to reflect unfavorably on *The Nature of the Page,* which I enthusiastically recommend, but to propose a *quid pro quo.* A book that successfully challenges us to seriously see, read, and consider paper might itself put to rest some of the tired assumptions it perpetuates about printers, printing, and printing trade practices in seventeenth-century England.

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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♦ *Classical New York: Discovering Greece and Rome in Gotham.* Ed. by Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis and Matthew M. McGowan. Empire State Editions. New York: Fordham University Press, 2018. 304 pp. $25.25.

New York is a thoroughly American city, but it remains conscious of the classical past. The nine essays in this volume, along with introductory and closing chapters by the editors, survey how buildings and institutions in New York evoke and exploit Greco-Roman antiquity. All of the buildings, sculptures, and inscriptions under discussion are in Manhattan except the Gould Memorial Library in the Bronx; the editors recognize that this omits significant classical structures like the Green-Wood Cemetery (Brooklyn) or Sailors' Snug Harbor (Staten Island). Some of the buildings in question no longer exist, like the original Pennsylvania Station; others are visible and familiar, like Rockefeller Center. Most of the contributors work in New York and their affection for the city is clear. Every chapter has eight or nine large, legible, black and white illustrations, including historical plans and photographs, and there is a copious bibliography.

Francis Morrone, in "The Custom House of 1833–42: A Greek Revival Building in Context" (15–37), discusses what is now the Federal Hall National Memorial, 26 Wall Street, which he calls "the most significant surviving artifact of New York City's philhellenic era" (16), an austere Doric building on the outside with elaborate decoration on the inside.

Margaret Malamud's "The Imperial Metropolis" (38–62) argues that "over the course of the 1880s and into the twentieth century, analogies drawn between the ancient Roman and modern American empire helped articulate and legitimate America's recent acquisition of an overseas empire" (57), using evidence from architecture (banks, train stations, baths, the temporary Dewey Arch in Madison Square) and popular entertainment (theater and circuses). As Malamud observes, "a discussion of turn-of-the-century New York's architecture and entertainments must begin with the hugely influential Columbian Exposition" (39), held in Chicago in 1893, and in particular with the White City constructed for it, which "effectively introduced Beaux-Arts architecture to the United States" (39). This exposition is in the background of several other chapters as well.

In "Archaeology versus Aesthetics: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Classical Collection in Its Early Years" (63–84), Elizabeth Bartman gives a brief history of the early days of the museum, starting with its acquisition of the collection of Luigi Palma di Cesnola, its first director and a former US consul in Cyprus. At first the museum focused on acquiring Greek masterpieces and had something of "an aversion to classical archaeology" (67), even declining to join in the Antioch excavations of the 1930s. The classical collection "grew through selective purchases rather than the vagaries of the spade" (72), though other departments of the museum supported fieldwork in Egypt and the Near East. Bartman credits Gisela Richter, curator and head of the classical department from 1925 until her retirement in 1948, with enhancing the museum's stature and acquiring major pieces like the New York kouros (32.11.1), but also with contributing to "the collection's fundamental shortcoming: a dearth of contextual information that would enable viewers and scholars alike to understand more fully what they are admiring" (78).

Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis, one of the volume's editors, ventures off Manhattan Island with "The Gould Memorial Library and Hall of Fame: Reinterpreting the Pantheon in the Bronx" (85–113). The library was built for New York University, which had a campus in the Bronx from 1894 to 1973. At that point the campus was sold to the City University of New York, and it is now the home of Bronx Community College, which still uses the Gould Memorial as its library.

The main building is modelled on the Pantheon. It is surrounded by a columned portico, the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, with busts of important figures from science, art, education, business, politics, and the military. It was "conceived as a public monument intended to educate the population of New York City about the achievements of outstanding Americans" (105), with handbooks, tours, and periodic elections of new honorees.

John Ritter, in "'The Expression of Civic Life': Civic Centers and the City Beautiful in New York City" (114–139), discusses the Civic Center at Foley Square in lower Manhattan. The area was planned in the early twentieth century as a space for public life, following the principles of the City Beautiful movement, and deliberately in classicizing style. In the end, not all the planned buildings were erected, and, through negotiations about land acquisition, the square was built in an out-of-the-way corner. As Ritter puts it, "one goes to Foley Square only on official business, and so the civic center is not civic" (154).

Next is "The Titans of Rockefeller Center: *Prometheus* and *Atlas*" (140–160), by Jared A. Simard, an analysis of the sculptural program of the 21-acre commercial complex built in the 1930s. Here, too, the City Beautiful movement is in the background. The design of Rockefeller Center "accounts for nearly every possible function of building and space" (143), making a unified composition of buildings, gardens, water features, and sculpture. *Prometheus*, by Paul Manship, is at the end of the Channel Gardens and mythological corridor, right below the main entrance to the central tower at 30 Rockefeller Plaza and above what is now, in winter, a skating rink. As Simard explains, the sculpture shows Prometheus giving fire to humanity, and is based more on literary sources than ancient visual arts. *Atlas*, by Lee Lawrie and Rene Chambellan, is in front of the International Building, on 5th Avenue. Where Prometheus symbolizes innovation, Atlas stands for internationalization and international relations (153).

Maryl B. Gensheimer, in "Rome Reborn: Old Pennsylvania Station and the Legacy of the Baths of Caracalla" (161–181), shows how the former Penn Station was modelled on the baths of Caracalla. Charles McKim, the architect of the station, had visited the baths in 1901 and recognized parallels between the functions of a Roman bath and an American rail station: each is "an enormous interior space

where the largest number of people in the city were likely to congregate" (173). Although the decoration of the station is not as elaborate as that of the baths, the materials used give the impression of luxury and demonstrate "the power of the railroad" (176).

Allyson McDavid, in "The Roman Bath in New York: Public Bathing, the Pursuit of Pleasure, and Monumental Delight" (182–210), gives an overview, both architectural and sociological, of bathhouses in New York. The first public baths "optimistically sought to bring about physical, moral, patriotic, and economic rectitude" (184), though at first, they were sponsored by private groups rather than the municipal government. The neoclassical decorations of the early twentieth century buildings were intended to connote dignity, evoke imperial Roman baths, and suggest cleanliness (189). Most of the facilities contained showers rather than pools to save space and encourage privacy, though New Yorkers generally preferred the floating pools constructed in the rivers (190). Thus, private organizations, such as hotels, and the city itself began to construct bath houses with swimming pools, for pleasure as well as for washing, but mostly not available to poorer citizens. An appendix to this chapter lists all the baths built in Manhattan between 1852 and 1925 and a handful of other buildings, like the old Pennsylvania Station, using architectural features adapted from Roman baths.

Matthew M. McGowan, the other editor of the volume, discusses texts in "'In Ancient and Permanent Language': Artful Dialogue in the Latin Inscriptions of New York City" (211–234). The inscriptions are found on a memorial bench in Central Park; a plaque for Irish-born general Richard Montgomery at St. Paul's Chapel (with text in English and Irish as well as Latin); other memorials in St. Paul's cemetery, also for Irish men who came to America in its early days; several memorials in the Trinity Cemetery in upper Manhattan; and the headquarters of the New York Academy of Medicine. McGowan argues that "well into the twentieth century, the Latin language was used to project permanence" (211), even if some of the texts contain grammatical errors. Latin inscriptions are no longer common in New York, but McGowan notes a 2002 mosaic in a midtown subway passage, *Under Bryant Park,* by Samm Kunce, including a line from Ovid in both English and Latin (229). But the National September 11 Memorial &

Museum (2011–2014) quotes Vergil (*Aen*. 9.447, *nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo)* in English, rather than Latin; as McGowan says, the line is about permanence, but it was important that the text be widely understood. Nonetheless, "when the City of New York—a microcosm of the world—needed the words to begin to capture the grief, anger, and sense of loss created by that day, it turned to Virgil, the ultimate classic" (230). (Anne Mahoney, Tufts University)

♦ *Exhortation and Advice for the Teachers of Young Students in Jesuit Schools* by Francesco Sacchini SJ. Ed. and trans. by Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, SJ. Institute of Jesuit Sources, Chestnut Hill: Boston College, 2021. 430 pp. $44.95.

This volume includes two essays by Francesco Sacchini SJ (1570-1625) first published in separate volumes. Originally titled *Protrepticon ad magistros scholarum inferiorum Societatis Iesu* and *Paraenesis ad magistros scholarum inferiorum Societatis Iesu*, the works address teachers of the lower courses in Jesuit schools. The *Protrepticon/Exhortation* takes the form of encouragement for young instructors, while the *Paraenesis* contains practical advice on classroom management.

Sacchini lived and wrote in a period of great expansion in the system of Jesuit schools across Europe. His primary life's work was his continuation of the *Historia Societatis Jesu,* though he also wrote biographies and published speeches on education. Sacchini was elevated to the position of Secretary of the Society in 1619, a role he fulfilled until his untimely death at 55. The essays in this volume appear to have been completed days before his death and published posthumously.

The Introduction by the editors gives a clear overview of Sacchini's life during a crucial period of growth for the Society of Jesus. Moreover, it includes in-depth summaries of his earlier published booklets on education to better set these later essays in the context of a maturing perspective on schooling for younger pupils. In a compelling section of the Introduction, the authors trace the structure of a typical Jesuit's career and the challenges which made works of encouragement, such as Sacchini's, necessary. The lack of respect accorded to the teachers, the large number of students in their classrooms, and the myriad respon-

sibilities that fell on their shoulders certainly engender sympathy from teachers today. Sacchini sought to address the lack of morale through his exhortations and advice. His efforts were apparently appreciated, as the works were reprinted four times in the seventeenth century and then again after the restoration of the Society in the nineteenth century.

The main part of the book is divided into sections for the "Exhortation to the Teachers" and the "Advice to the Teachers." Each section has its own table of contents, but they share an index. Each work is printed with a facing translation from the Latin to English with a substantial quantity of white space included. The essays retain their chapter, section, and paragraph formats and numbering, making it easy to refer between the languages in the texts. The English translation is fluid, coherent, and pleasurable to read. Though some word choices in the translation could a reader who does not have recourse to the Latin some confusion such as the use of "teachers of the Lower Classes" for "Magistros Scholarum Inferiorum" (289): it appears to this reviewer that the phrase *lower classes* more commonly has a socio-economic meaning in common contemporary English.

Both the "Exhortation" and the "Advice" are predicated on Sacchini's belief, widely assumed among his contemporaries, that the teacher's goal is to "help the student become not merely a sensible person, but also a thoroughly good man." (83) Thus, his advice assumes education will include not only learning the material, but also teaching the Catholic faith and moral behavior. Sacchini's tone throughout is warm, and he continually emphasizes how difficult, yet important the teacher's work is for the students, the nation, and the Church. His description of the psychological traits best suited for teaching younger students still have resonance, for instance, "gentleness and patience are necessary so that he may stomach the foolishness of those who are silly." (301) He includes methods to increase interest, manage grading, and differentiate instruction, as well as guidance still relevant today such as refraining when chastising students from any comment "that touches upon a person's family, country, bodily or natural defects." (355)

In both essays, Sacchini supports his arguments with ancient references, both pagan and Christian, (e.g., Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, Augustine) to place the role of teachers in an ongoing, honorable

tradition. In addition, he refers to teachings from the Council of Trent and Jesuit leadership. Most of his textual references are easily placed in context, and the notes are mostly mere citations, but for some of the less widely known Jesuit or contemporary sources, the editors include longer notes for context. This represents somewhat of a departure from the editors practice in their previous volume (cf. *NLN* 69.4). The index itself suffers from several defects. First, references from the notes do not appear to be included consistently in the indices. In addition, the page numbers listed in the index are off from the appearances in the text. Finally, the binding of the hardcover book feels less substantial than one would hope.

This volume is a useful addition for scholars of Neo-Latin, Jesuit Studies, education, and Catholic history since Sacchini's discussion of dealing with parents, problems with the boys, and classroom issues give granular level details about seventeenth-century scholastic praxis and school life, which is often only hinted at in other texts. As a more practical supplement to the *Ratio Studiorum*, the works also serve as a less abstract window into the methods used in Jesuit education. This is a welcome addition to a series of publications by the Institute of Jesuit Sources that aims to make important historical texts of Jesuit pedagogical material available in dual-language editions. Perhaps most importantly, the works still fulfill their original goal of encouragement and practical advice to teachers. Despite the passage of four hundred years, both high school and university educators will find inspiration, affirmation, and solid classroom management advice in these works. (Patrick M. Owens, Hillsdale, MI)

♦ *Gabriele Faerno Filologo* Gourmand. *Con un'appendice delle sue lettere a Piero Vettori, nove suoi nuovi postillati e un inedito a stampa*. Ed. by Giacomo Cardinali. Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance No. 172. Geneva: Droz, 2021. 198 pp. + 19 b/w plates. €29.

This succinct monograph assembles the *disecta membra* of the learned philologist Gabriele Faerno (1510-1561), whose brilliant emendations of Latin texts are scattered in his extant letters and in marginalia found in various codices and printed editions. Cardinali's

characterization of the scholar as a gourmand reflects the fanciful legend that his death was hastened by culinary overindulgence at papal banquets.

Born in Cremona, Faerno came to Rome in 1548 hired as a Latin copy editor, an *emendator*, by the Vatican librarian Marcello Cervini, who was promoting both the conservation and the expansion of the collections. (Elected Pope Marcellus in April 1555, Cervini died after only twenty-two days in office.) Cardinali elucidates how Faerno coordinated his emendations by recording them in printed editions of various texts: Caesar, Terence, and the *Antonine Itinerary* among the classics (71-81, plates 7-12); Gaudentius of Brescia, Cyprian, and Peter Damian among Christian authors (81-94, plates 13-16); and the recent 1547 Louvain edition of the Vulgata (96-101, plates 18 and 19). In the case of Caesar, Cardinali reconstructs how Faerno simultaneously collated two printed editions and three codexes.

Faerno's plans to publish his research were thwarted during his lifetime. Of three Ciceronian editions printed by Alessio Lorenzani (Rome, 1551), only one seems to survive, an edition of *Pro Marcello* (110, citing Edit 16: CNCE 14612). But scholars admired his textual notes on Cicero's *Philippics* (1563), Terence's *Comedies* (1565) and Caesar's *Commentaries* (1570), which appeared posthumously. Unlike Poliziano and Robortello, Faerno did not discount newer witnesses, *recentiores*, in favor of the most ancient, *vetustissimi*; and in dealing with older codices, he followed his mentor Cervini by experimenting with reagents like sumac to enhance faded ink. Faerno shrewdly applied his mastery of Latin meter and prose rhythm to textual emendation and was praised by both friends and foes, including his formidable adversary Marc Antoine Muret, who credited him with "incredibile learning, extremely penetrating judgment, and indefatigable industry in studying documents": *incredibilis eruditio, summa iudicii acrimonia*, and *indefessa in evolvendis monumentis diligentia* (10).

Faerno's literary legacy is confined to a single posthumous publication that lies outside Cardinali's purview. In 1563 Faerno's *Fabulae centum ex antiquis auctoribus delectae*, one hundred versified Aesopic apologues, were printed in Rome with a dedication to Cardinal Charles Borromeo and with illustrations by Pirro Ligorio. The fables were later reprinted and translated in various languages, including Charles

Perrault's 1699 French version.

By combing through Vatican collections and archives, Cardinali has identified nine manuscripts and printed books containing previously unknown autograph marginalia. To illustrate Faerno's critical stance, he prints the fifteen extant letters to Pier Vettori, the great Florentine philologist who cites Faerno in his 1553 *Variae lectiones*. All the letters are in Italian, except for the last one in Latin, dated "xii Kal. Novembres m.d.lxi," or 21 October 1561 (which Cardinali inexplicably translates as "10 novembre 1561"). Faerno was also a friend and correspondent of Giovanni Della Casa, who calls him a forthright man (*simplex*) in his satire "Ut capta rediens Helene" (ca. 1550): see Parenti and Danzi's *Poeti latini del Cinquecento* (Pisa, 2020), 1286-1287.

Despite its distracting subtitle "Filologo *gourmand*," Cardinali's monograph sheds valuable light on an important but elusive philologist active in Renaissance Rome. (David Marsh, Rutgers University)

♦ *Irish Jesuit Annual Letters, 1604–1674*. Ed. by Vera Moynes. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2019, 1013pp. Hb, €80.00.

Let the keening cease. For years, many have moaned the absence of serious studies of Irish Jesuits and the Society's activities in early modern Ireland. The occasional thesis never seems to be converted into a monograph. Over the past few years Vera Moynes has, on the one hand, highlighted the absence of such monographs and, on the other, provided a great impetus for the correction of that omission. Two years ago, she edited *The Jesuit Irish Mission: A Calendar of Correspondence 1566–1752* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2017). Subsidia ad Historiam Societatis Iesu 16, reviewed in *JJS* 6, no. 2 (2019): 340–43 by John McCafferty). In that edition and in this collection, she builds on the strong foundations laid by John MacErlean, SJ

The importance of correspondence in the early Society has long been acknowledged by the academy but scholars have not always been aware of the purpose of the letters and have thus misconstrued the contents. The letters were initially intended for "ours only," that is for other Jesuits. They were a means whereby Jesuits dispersed throughout

the world informed their brethren of the good works that they, with God's grace, were accomplishing. Edification was the object. Once published, these letters of edification were distributed to potential benefactors and potential Jesuits. By the seventeenth century, the template for the annual letters dictated the numbers of baptized or reconciled persons; number of general confessions heard; extraordinary "confirmations" of the Catholic faith; reconciliations of long-standing feuds; anything that reflected well on the Society; number of vocations to religious life; assistance to the poor and imprisoned; amount of money received as alms; public good works recognized and acknowledged; and finally anything of historical interest.

If the Irish Jesuits did in fact compose a letter annually, many have been lost. MacErlean and Moynes identified letters (and quasi-letters) from 1604, 1605, 1606, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621–22, 1641–1650, 1652–53, 1651–54, 1662, 1663–64, 1664, 1665, 1669–74. It is most interesting to note that more than half the extant letters come from the reign of King James I (1603–25) and that after a brief resuscitation with the restoration of the monarchy (1660), the letters peter out and die with nothing from the reign of James II (1685–88) and the eighteenth century.

Given the letter's template one should not be surprised to find repeated accounts of peace-making, public confession, conversion of heretics, and exorcisms. In 1608, two gentlemen disputing ownership of fields, turned to an unnamed Jesuit for adjudication. At the end said Jesuit "made those gentlemen shake hands in public as a sign of reconciliation and goodwill, to the great joy of all" (106). Two years later, a "certain ecclesiastic," presumably a Catholic priest and a source of considerable scandal, publicly confessed his sins (170). In the same year, a Protestant minister "with both the worst habits and perverted opinions" became very ill. A Jesuit traveled six miles to his bedside. Under his prayerful direction, the minister repudiated his former life and urged his congregation to follow his example in conversion (167). Another Jesuit exorcized a young girl whose "eyeballs rolled around, when she was seized by the appearance of a specter, and she spoke many words with little coherence or consistency" (332). In no account, is a proper name provided. Fergus O'Donoghue, SJ, observed

that only deceased Jesuits were mentioned by name (as cited on xxi). Many attended country missions with sermons "even up to five hours with such good will on the part of those in attendance" (279). Over three days at Cashel, the Jesuits celebrated the canonization of Saints Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola on March 12, 1622 with a "large amount of music, both for voice and for concerts of instruments" (811). Between 1669 and 1774, the school in Cashel staged a play for Archbishop William Burgat: "It is almost incredible the volume of applause that this play received even from those opposed to the true faith" (969). Apparently, heresy does not blind one to artistic achievement. Marital problems were resolved; dispensations obtained; minor miracles reported; sodalities flourished; missions to Scotland explored; Oliver Cromwell condemned; and Jansenists foiled. An occasional odd detail emerges. Ulster in 1610 observed the Gregorian calendar but the areas around Meath and Dublin still followed the Julian calendar with consequent confusion over feasts (161); in 1616, ribald songs and alcohol disturbed the prayerful serenity of a wake (538). Perhaps future researchers will be able to identify the unnamed persons.

Sixteen translators worked on the twenty-five letters. The editor opted for literal translations, which occasionally make for awkward but accurate reading. With so many translators a certain amount of inconsistency should be expected but I noticed only two: Acquaviva (Italian) and Aquaviva (Latin); the Italian Giovanni Paolo Oliva and not the quasi-Spanish Juan Paolo Oliva.

Moynes also provides a useful glossary of Jesuit terms and expressions. However, two require clarifications. *Noster*, usually seen in the plural *nostri*, refers to any Jesuit and not "usually an ordained Jesuit" (xii). In Jesuit terminology, the opposite of "ours" is "externs." There are, it is true, three probations in the Society. The first is postulancy, a brief period of approximately two weeks, that precedes the novitiate or noviceship proper. Technically, first probation, although it may take place in the novitiate building, is distinct from the noviceship as a period of formation. I also found one historical mistake. The English College, Rome, was founded in 1579 and not 1576 (269n224). The errors are few and small; the edition, comprehensive and significant. [This review is reprinted with permission from *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7.2 (2020): 324-326.] (Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, St. Claude La Colombière, Baltimore, MD)

♦ *Coffee: A Poem*. By Guillaume Massieu. Translated and introduced by John T. Gilmore. Todmorden: Arc Publications 2019. 50 pp. £9.99.

Rhazes (Abu Bakr al-Razi, 865-925) the Persian physician, scholar, and philosopher, is the author of the first extant writing that mentions coffee. He was followed by other great physicians, like Bengiazlah, a contemporary, and the great Avicenna (980-1037). Sheik Gemaleddin, mufti of Mocha, is said to have discovered the virtues of coffee for himself ca. 1454, and to have promoted the use of the drink in Arabia. Although historians are not in perfect agreement when coffee arrived in Europe or how it first spread, it was first described by the Venetian botanist Prospero Alpini in his *De Plantis Aegypti* (1591). By the middle of the seventeenth century coffee houses were opening across Western Europe, and Gilmore reports that by 1723 there were 380 cafés in Paris alone (11).

Perhaps the first account of the origin of coffee was written by Abd-al-Kâdir in 1587. Coffee had then been in common use since about 1450 A.D. in Arabia. Abd-al-Kâdir's work treats the etymology and significance of its name, the nature and properties of the bean, where the drink was first used, and describes its virtues. Arabic poets wrote encomia of the drink in support of its natural virtues and its permissibility (i.e., halal). French poets, writing in Latin, first took coffee as the subject of their verse. It is doubtful whether the author of the volume under review Guillaume Massieu (1665-1722), or his contemporaries, Thomas-Bernard Fellon SJ (1672-1759) and Jacques Vaniére SJ (1664-1739) had any knowledge of the javan poetic tradition in which they participated, but the short poems on coffee published by Massieu (*Caffaeum carmen*, composed c. 1718 and posthumously published in 1728), Fellon (*Faba Arabica*, 1696), and Vaniére (*Praedium rusticum*,1696) fit squarely within the well-known Jesuit tradition of didactic poetry. Of these, Massieu undoubtedly carries the palm. *Carmen Caffaeum* is self-consciously artificial and therefore assumes an ironic humour. The stately grandeur of his hexameter and the nimble descriptions of a coffee grinder and the brewing process would excite all but the most morose tea drinkers.

Guillaume Massieu joined the Jesuits in his youth but eventually left the order in 1695 to pursue literature. After securing influential patrons he was elected a member of the Académie des inscriptions et médailles, wherein later his *Caffaeum* was presented aloud. It was not until Father François Oudin's 1749 anthology of (mainly Jesuit) *Poemata didascalica* that the *Caffaeum carmen* was printed. One of the panegyrists of this author, de Boze, in his *Elogé de Massieu*, says that if Horace and Virgil had known of coffee, the poem might easily have been attributed to them; and M. Thery, who translated it into French in the *Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen* says "Le talent de Massieu, plein de souplesse et de ressources, devait briller dans cette épreuve. Aussi son petit poème est-il une perle d'élégance, un vrai joyau dans un riche écrin. Pour en sentir le mérite, il suffit de le comparer à un poème sur le même sujet, imprimé a la suite dans le même recueil, et qui a pour auteur le Père Fellon, un des bons poètes latins de cette époque. (p.248, Caen, 1855)" Similar praise and comparison can be applied to Gilmore's translation of Massieu's work. For our purposes we might consider one of Massieu's elaborate georgic similes for comparison: "Ergo, quod satis esse tuos cognoris in usus, / Tu longe ante para; largam sit cura quotannis / Collegisse penum, et parva horrea providus imple: / Ut quondam, multo ante memor prudensque / futuri, Colligit e campis segetes, tectisque repoint / Agricola, et curas venientem extendit in annum. / Nec minus interea reliqua est curanda supellex: / Vascula sorbendo non desint apta liquori, / Ollaque, cui collum angustum, sub tegmine parvo, / Cui sensim oblongum venter turgescat in orbem." Gilmore renders this as: "As much thou know'st as will thy needs demand / Prepare: each year collect with gen'rous hand / An ample store, some little barn to fill. / Last harvest, so the farmer, prudent still, / Did gather from his fields the ripen'd ear / And stor'd his crop against the coming year. / No less meanwhile behooves it thee with care / To fill thy house with other needful gear. / Let there lack not some vessels small design'd / To hold as it is drunk the liquor kind, / Nor pot with narrow neck and little lid, / And belly round in which it may be hid." (p.22-23) The poem begins with a description of the plant's origin and anatomy before turning to the bean itself (*Parva, fabae similis, pallenti fusca colore, / Quam tenuis medio distinguit cortice*

rima.). Massieu then describes the entire process of roasting, grinding, and brewing the drink before praising the taste the amazing effects on the imbiber. Gilmore translates a panegyric exclamation, which is characteristic of the work: "How blest by Fortune they, who often feel / This gentle liquor through their innards steal! / A slothful dullness seizes not their hearts - / They hasten to each task their Rule imparts, / And joy to rise before the dawn's first light." (p.39) The style of mock epic and archaic rhyming couplets is reminiscent of Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*.

Gilmore is clear that this is not an academic edition; he intends to publish an edition with more complete annotations. That volume would be a great contribution to the study of Jesuit didactic poetry especially if it takes into account the possible sources and intertext with the contemporaneous Neo-Latin authors. Nevertheless, this thin, well-bound and pleasantly designed volume can be enjoyed all on its own. It is unfortunate that the numbering of verses was omitted. There was a bit of frustration in comparing the Latin and English when by page 31 the facing translation is off by twelve lines. Gilmore has produced a lively and thoroughly enjoyable translation of Massieu's delightful *doctae nugae*. This reviewer read the work once through in a sitting – with requisite breaks to refresh my cup of coffee. (Patrick M. Owens, Hillsdale, MI)

♦ *Early Modern Catholic Sources: The Catholic Enlightenment, A Global Anthology* Ed. by Ulrich L. Lehner & Shaun Blanchard. Early Modern Catholic Sources, Volume 3. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 2021. viii+296 pp. $34.95.

The editors introduce this volume of fifteen diverse sources from Catholic thinkers of the eighteenth century with a concise, informative, and well foot-noted introduction which articulates their goal in choosing the selections: it is not helpful to conceive of the Catholic Enlightenment as a monolithic movement, but rather as multiple Catholic enlightenments. Additionally, the editors demonstrate that the term *enlightenment* applied to Catholics is not anachronistic (as alleged by some) but present in many works of the period. The selec-

tions bear out the assertions made in the introduction. Most of the sources appear here in English for the first time. The selected authors include women and men, clergy and laity, from across Europe and the New World. The editors, Ulrich Lehner and Shaun Blanchard, assembled a team of eleven collaborating scholars to introduce and translate several voices that otherwise might not be heard and considered. Each chapter is preceded by a short prefatory essay, biographical notes, and a brief bibliography. Many of the selections make for engaging reading. Nevertheless, the reader is left with the impression that the editors chose some selections with rather narrow goals in mind so that although the volume provides a wealth of important and often neglected primary sources, its broader appeal is sacrificed.

This volume makes some valuable Catholic Enlightenment sources available in a single accessible collection for Anglophone students. Perhaps the greatest strength of the volume is the breadth of subject matter and disciplines included: education, ethics, mysticism, theology, and political philosophy. Most of the ten chapters, which are arranged geographically, highlight various views within the Catholic Enlightenment on subjects such as the appropriate role of extra-scriptural devotion, Church discipline, women's education, specific ethical questions, and political relations. It would make a valuable addition to a reading list for a course on eighteenth-century Catholic thought or spirituality and provides a counterpoint to traditional historical narratives regarding the long eighteenth century and the Catholic Church. Here Blanchard and Lehner continue the revision Lehner began in his magisterial *The Catholic Enlightenment* (OUP, 2016) to earlier historiography that presents the Enlightenment as a strictly secular and anti-clerical movement. Lehner again proffers an account that encourages scholars to reconsider the relationship between faith and reason in the eighteenth century. The introduction further challenges established narratives about the origins of modernity and frustrates the old dichotomy between conservatism and progressivism.

The majority of the selections are taken from texts composed in the modern languages. This is somewhat surprising given the vast number of texts composed in Latin during the period, whose contents remain unknown to most historians. The chapters on Germany (ch. 9) and England (ch. 14) stand-out with excellent introductions

and footnotes. These include the selection from Benedict Maria von Werkmeister (1745-1823) which favorably discusses the possibility of a married clergy, and the selection from Joseph Berington's *State and Behaviour of English Catholics* which demonstrates the kind of political rhetoric Catholics in England employed in order to defend themselves against public calumnies and assert their own claim on their rights as English citizens. In the chapter from South America (ch. 7), the Pastoral solicitude evidenced by Bishop Tomás da Encarnação da Costa e Lima and the specific concern directed towards those living in the remotest parts of Brazil show a bishop's willingness to dispense with unrealistic expectations regarding ecclesial discipline. It is, however, noteworthy that he composed his letter in 1775 to his clergy in the vernacular and not in Latin. Some of the selections were surprising. For instance, Maria Gaetana Agnesi's *Il cielo mistico* (ch. 2) was unpublished until this volume and thus had no lasting influence on the Catholic Enlightenment. It is certainly possible that the work is uniquely indicative of the Catholic Enlightenment, but the editors do not argue persuasively for its inclusion. Other chapters were expected fare in an anthology of this scope and length such as Ludovico Antonio Muratori (ch. 1) and John Carroll (ch. 15).

As should be expected, the footnotes provide valuable information that further contextualizes the selections either historically or within the entirety of the works from which they were excerpted. Not all of the selections have equally diligent footnotes, however. It is rather disappointing to see "Paulo Zaquias: I have not been able to identify this figure." (84, fn4) describing Paolo Zacchia (Paulus Zacchias, 1584-1659) who served as the personal physician to Popes Innocent X and Alexander VII and composed the standard manual on forensic medicine, *Quaestiones medico-legales* (Leipzig, 1630). In the stimulating selection on the use of cannabis, we read "This drug intoxicates them and instantly immerses them in a sort of rapture or static dream, during which they see the most agreeable images in the world [...], in a word the Fortunata islands, or to speak more properly, the Prophet's true paradise" and the footnote, "[Translator's note: The Canary Islands.]" (123 and fn9) Although the Canary Islands are sometimes called *Fortunatae Insulae,* that is certainly not what is meant here, but rather the Elysium of one's mind; the author means

getting high. Similarly, it seems likely that one should read "nutmeg" for "coriander" in the sentence "[Cannabis] makes people delirious, just like the coriander." In another chapter we read, "General censorship will hold the representatives of power to account. It is only the supreme authority, the grand repository of public power, the king, who must be personally sheltered from all published censorship. Respect must surround his person." The translator may have meant "sheltered by censorship" though it is difficult to know. (221). The convention of using square brackets to differentiate the translator's notes from the original footnotes is not used consistently. Overall, the copyediting and proofreading were surprisingly weak: I noticed a dozen typos and half-dozen garbled or unintelligible sentences, which may warrant corrections in a subsequent printing.

This book offers an admirable cross-section of voices, many of which are under-represented in previous research on eighteenth-century learned culture, and they encourage us to consider the pluralism that is often eclipsed by the term "Enlightenment". By highlighting often overlooked sources from Catholics of this period, Lehner and Blanchard challenge our understanding of early modernity. *Early Modern Catholic Sources* is, therefore, a valuable counterweight to established narratives about the Enlightenment and a useful resource book for professors developing course materials on this period. (Patrick M. Owens, Hillsdale, MI)