

Excerpts of review of Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: the Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

"[Tanner] conducts her reader on an exhilarating journey through an exotic and luxuriant landscape of human imagination, eking out her own enthusiasm with the help of the lavish artistic creations which it engendered. . . . We should be grateful to Tanner for this sympathetic examination of a world of allusion."—R.J.W. Evans, *New York Review of Books*

"Weaving together literary and visual evidence from well over a thousand years of European history, she tells an astonishing story of the myth's survival and adaptability." Mary Beard, *Times Literary Supplement*

"It is exhaustively detailed, rich in fine illustrations, and will clearly be a vital work of reference for years to come."—Anthony Pagden, *Times Higher Education Supplement*

"One cannot consider Tanner's book without reference to (Frances) Yates, . . . one of the most dazzlingly erudite and brilliantly interesting of intellectual historians, (who) pursued a highly distinctive historiographical strategy in her most important work, and Tanner stands close to her in this as well, in mode as well as matter. . . . Larry Wolff, *The Art Bulletin*.

"A useful addition to the fast-growing literature on the public images of early modern European monarchs. . . . The main value of her book is in providing a synthesis, a general discussion of some recurrent themes in Habsburg propaganda and of their inter-connections."—Peter Burke, *English Historical Review*

Tanner's book dealing with the Hapsburgs in Spain should be of special interest to hispanists . . . Among the topics discussed in the context of Hapsburg rule are the mystical and dynastic significance of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the title to Jerusalem, Columbus's discovery of the Americas, and the monarch's solar identity. . . . James C. Murray, *Hispania*,

(Additional reviews were published in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, *American Historical Review*, *Comparative Literature Studies*, *Apollo*, *Choice*, and in the foreign language publications *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, and *Das Historische Politische Buch*

MARIE TANNER

The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. 333 pp.; 141 b/w ills. \$45.00

When Dame Frances Yates, back in the 1950s, studied the Renaissance revival of universal imperialism in the reign of Charles V, she did so with reference to the famous emblem of the emperor, which featured the pillars of Hercules and the motto *Plus ultra*—for the Hapsburg empire then extended beyond Gibraltar to the New World of America. Dangling between the pillars in this imperial device was the clearly recognizable ovine form of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Marie Tanner, in *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, focuses on the little fleece, left dangling in Hapsburg historiography, and excitedly pursues its significance for imperial ideology in intellectual history. One cannot consider Tanner's book without reference to Yates, for it was Yates who staked out this particular terrain of Renaissance imperialism, with reference to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, the prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl, and the return of Astraea—which figure prominently in Tanner's work as well. Furthermore, Yates, who was surely one of the most dazzlingly erudite and brilliantly interesting of intellectual historians, pursued a highly distinctive historiographical strategy in her most important work, and Tanner stands close to her in this as well, in mode as well as matter.

The methodological magnificence of Yates involved seizing upon a figure or image—such as Astraea or Hermes Trismegistus—whose significance was supposed to be decorative, rhetorical, incidental, or eccentric, and, by relentless scholarly pursuit, revealing its profound and pervasive presence in crucial aspects of Renaissance culture. Her book *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, beginning with the frontispiece of Hermes Trismegistus in the pavement of the Duomo of Siena, reevaluated the emphases and priorities of humanism with such erudition that the Renaissance as a whole appeared radically—and magically—revised.¹ Tanner, in her pursuit of the Golden Fleece, proposes a similar sort of reconception, in which a hitherto neglected cluster of images is discovered in complex affiliation, so as to revise the rhetorical balance of Renaissance imperialism. The mythological figures of Jason and Aeneas preside—in person or by allusion—over this reconceived rhetoric, woven into every tapestry, inscribed in every emblem, and rooted in every genealogical tree. Tanner insists that they be taken in tandem as Trojan figures—for Jason stopped at Troy (to destroy the city) on his way to Colchis—and that together they constitute a Trojan key to the Holy Roman Empire of the Renais-

sance. The Penates of Aeneas, like Jason's fleece, were not simple scraps or props of remote mythology, but meaningful treasure and trophies for the Hapsburg emperors, who claimed them—like so much else—for the family inheritance, and deployed them ideologically on behalf of dynastic pretensions.

"All the monarchs of Europe sought Trojan ancestors," wrote Yates, "through whom to link their destinies and origins with imperial Rome."² Yates was especially interested in the celebration of Elizabeth Tudor's Trojan descent, as well as in the claims of the French Valois kings, so it is hardly surprising to learn from Tanner that the Hapsburgs were also keen to make their case. Yet surely no one has ever dedicated to this Trojan theme such weighty erudition and comprehensive attention as Tanner does, when she studies it in relation to medieval antecedents, from the Carolingians to the Hohenstaufen, and within a Renaissance context of intricately related thematic concerns. She begins with Virgil, for the *Aeneid* is fundamental as a future reference for things Trojan, and the fourth *Eclogue* is perhaps still more important with its prophetic allusions to Argonauts and Trojans. Homer, on the other hand, appears to have played a rather lesser role even in the Renaissance reevaluation of Troy.

In the 4th century, in the aftermath of Constantine's conversion, Tanner finds Prudentius reading Virgil in the light of Christianity, associating Aeneas and Christ, and looking to an emperor who, as "the successor of Aeneas, in the imperial purple, prostrates himself in prayer at the house of Christ" (p. 34). She shows Charlemagne establishing a new Rome at Aachen, saluted as Pious Charles—the successor of Pious Aeneas. She attends to Guido delle Colonne, composing his history of the destruction of Troy at the court of Frederick II in 13th-century Sicily. In Guido she finds already the genealogical elaborations that link the Hohenstaufen emperors to precisely identified Trojan ancestors, according to the concocted Babylonian testimony of Berosus the Chaldean. "With the unveiling of Berosus's wisdom," writes Tanner, "the demarcation between history and legend was systematically eliminated" (p. 88).

In a long, central chapter "Mythic Genealogy," Tanner explores the apparently uncritical acceptance, in the humanist circles around the Renaissance Hapsburgs, of the medieval genealogical extravagances that mingled mythology and history in order to devise Trojan ancestries. John Marignola's 14th-century chronicle for the Luxembourg emperor Charles IV, asserting that "through the uninterrupted kinship in the Trojan blood of Aeneas, Charles descended from the pagan gods Saturn and Jove" (p. 97), was recopied for the Hapsburgs in the 16th century, including images of such illustrious ancestors as

Saturn and Jove, Priam and Anchises, as well as Clovis and Charlemagne. When Yates wrote of Ronsard's attention to Trojan ancestors for Charles IX in France, she quoted his statement of self-conscious critical detachment from the project: "sans me soucier si cela est vrai ou non, ou si nos rois sont Troyens ou Germains."³ Tanner gives no hint of any such frankness among the Hapsburg humanists, suggesting that for them genealogy was a considerably more earnest undertaking. Just as Yates's study of the humanists and the Hermetic tradition showed the Renaissance to be unexpectedly uncritical in its relation to ancient wisdom, so Tanner's account of genealogical preoccupations reveals an aspect of humanism in which the critical standards of Lorenzo Valla were far from prevalent.

One remains uncertain about what it really meant for humanists to propose, affirm, and celebrate the Trojan ancestry of the Hapsburg emperors, whether such affirmation was a deeply felt article of dynastic conviction or merely a perfunctory detail of routine imperial courtiership. One wonders whether even an emperor—such as Charles V, for instance—cared deeply about being the descendant of Aeneas. After all, the presumed relation of the Holy Roman Empire to the ancient Roman empire implied an automatic affiliation with the arms and men of Troy, as sung by Virgil, so that all things Roman inevitably point to all things Trojan, but only with the attenuated significance of transitive antecedence. Aeneas, considered as an ancestor of Charles V—"sans me soucier si cela est vrai ou non"—was rather remote, and perhaps Tanner demonstrates the general importance of genealogy more effectively than the particular relevance of Aeneas for the imperial agenda of the Renaissance.

The title of the book notwithstanding, Tanner's case for the ideological significance of the Golden Fleece is more provocative and more persuasive than her analysis of Aeneas. She argues that Jason and the Argonauts were so intimately related to Aeneas and the Trojans—by way of the Cumaean Sibyl in the fourth *Eclogue*—that they are complementary pieces of the same puzzle in intellectual history. Tanner does observe the rule of Renaissance symbolism that all things are somehow related to all other things, and while this strategy sometimes proves its merit in reconstructing Renaissance chains and patterns of association, it also sometimes shows its weakness in the loss of analytical distinctions. The figure of Aeneas and the form of the Golden Fleece told different stories and raised different issues for the Hapsburgs, and if the former offered legitimacy in the legendary realms of genealogical extrapolation, the latter proved its value in the currency of more contemporary iconography.

The Order of the Golden Fleece, taken as

1. Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, London, 1964.

2. Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (1975), London, 1985, 130.

3. *Ibid.*, 132.

an order, was something materially metallic, to hang on the decorated chests of particular individuals. Its historical moment can be precisely dated to the creation of the order by Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1429, its custody passing to the Hapsburg Maximilian in 1477, with his marriage to Mary of Burgundy. Finally, the image of the fleece itself is so strikingly recognizable that it serves as a definite point of departure for the iconographical relations and variations that Tanner attempts to discern. Such specificity—in terms of images, centuries, and social bases—tends to be somewhat undervalued in the grand symbolic scheme of the book. This scheme is at its grandest as Tanner traces the ramifications of the fleece. If the order was originally founded by Philip with reference to an analogy between ancient Argonauts and contemporary crusaders, encouraging the redemption of the Holy Land, by the end of the 15th century it was possible to construct a connection between the figures of Jason and Columbus, voyaging to America. When the New World was inherited by the Hapsburgs along with the Spanish crown, Ariosto could salute Charles V as the sponsor of “new Argonauts,” which neatly fit the emperor’s sovereignty over the Order of the Golden Fleece. Tanner reports that for his entry into Milan in 1541, Charles himself was celebrated as Jason. Furthermore, after plausibly proposing a totemic relation between the Golden Fleece and the Lamb of God, Tanner suggests a connection between the mystique of the fleece and the cult of the Eucharist promoted by the Hapsburgs in the context of the Counter Reformation. She offers illustrations from the royal chapel in the Escorial of Philip II, in which Hapsburg effigies kneel in veneration of the Eucharist, under the cordon of the Golden Fleece.

The chain of iconographical associations that Tanner constructs is plausible enough, and, if the evidence of the details appears sometimes inconclusive, one does not so much doubt the validity of the links as wonder how important they really were to the humanists themselves. For Tanner, the accumulation of associated images seems to snowball across the centuries to produce an ever denser sphere of significations:

The topos of the Fleece’s safe passage home was applied to Aeneas’s repatriation of the ancestral gods of Priam’s royal lineage to Latium, and by association to Augustus’s translation of the Penates to his own temple-palace on the Palatine hill. Following its application to Titus’s destruction of the temple of Jerusalem and the transfer of the most sacred Jewish cult objects from Solomon’s temple to Rome, the Fleece and its recapture assumed a Christian meaning. (p. 149)

Every movement of the fleece (its “passage”), of the Penates (their “translation”), or of the sacred objects of Jerusalem (their “transfer”) is reflected in the argument of the book as images pass, translate, and transfer their meanings across the symbolic space in which

any boundary between legend and history has been thoroughly effaced. The assumption of Christian meaning is summarized in similarly broad strokes:

The identification of the Host as the Palladium of the Hapsburgs conferred upon the Christian sacrament an explicit interchangeability with the most venerated icons of imperial ancestor worship—the sacrificial Fleece that was the soul of Phrixus and the Penates that were the ancestral kin of Priam’s royal lineage. Since the Eucharist was identified with the Manna of the Old Testament, the effect of this synthesis was to consolidate all the divine effluvia in the one true heir of the Gentiles and the Jews. Alike in function, the Fleece for Argos, the Penates for Troy, and the Eucharist for the Holy Roman Empire were presences that invested the ruler with a mystical aura and guaranteed the perdurability of the state. (p. 249)

Tanner’s argument is a matter of identification, interchangeability, synthesis, and consolidation, ultimately producing the triple equation of the Fleece, the Penates, and the Eucharist, with a serving of manna from heaven on the side. The elaborate ingenuity of such analysis, in which all meanings are interchangeably combined, leaves one uncertain whether Tanner has really rediscovered the Renaissance perspective or herself supplied some of the synthesis and consolidation. If the argument were a little less overarching it might be more susceptible to testing in the details. In conclusion, she claims to have shown that “the allusive imagery which we are accustomed to encountering in ruler iconography is not haphazard but dependent on a rigorously programmatic system of ideas” (p. 250).

Tanner at times appears curiously ahistorical in the sweep of her assertions. The introduction proclaims that the image of the emperor “underwent a seamless development from its origins in antiquity to its consolidation by the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century” (p. 1), and such an assumption of seamlessness tends to undervalue the historical significance of the Renaissance itself for precisely the issues of classical heritage that Tanner addresses. Still less convincing are her claims for the centuries that follow, when she argues, for instance, concerning Philip II, that he not only brought about the consolidation of a seamlessly venerable tradition, but also served as the definitive model for the early modern political future. “Assimilating the entire preceding history of the sacred imperial system of beliefs,” writes Tanner, “Philip formulated the concept of absolute monarchy on which the dominant political systems of the seventeenth and eighteenth century would be structured” (p. 131). She argues that “Philip intuited the essence of theocratic rule, when through his perpetuation of a solar identity, he drew himself into the orb of eucharistic iconography” (p. 245). One hesitates to concede that these aspects were decisive for the political theory of Rich-

elieu or Hobbes, for instance, and one cannot begin to imagine the relevance of “eucharistic iconography” for the absolute monarchy of Frederick the Great.

The treatment of Philip II is immensely interesting—with chapters on the Escorial and on Philip as Apollo—but his significance for the study as a whole is somewhat perplexing, since the subject of the book is the imperial image, and Philip, of course, never reigned as emperor. “Denied his legitimate right to rule the universe by the capriciousness of Fortune,” writes Tanner, seemingly indignant on his behalf, “it was nonetheless this emperor-manqué who placed the finishing brushstroke on the Roman emperor’s mythic image” (p. 248). She makes a reasonable case for pursuing Philip’s imperial significance even apart from the empire, but surely there is a certain capriciousness in the historian’s neglect of the contemporary Hapsburgs who really did wear the crown of the Holy Roman Empire: Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, and especially Rudolf II, with his humanist court in Prague. R. J. W. Evans’s work on Rudolf not only demonstrates the active culture of Hapsburg humanism under his reign but also suggests the importance of such figures as Gerard van Roo and Octavio Strada for exploring the mystique and even the genealogy of the dynasty. These are precisely Tanner’s subjects, and it is difficult to understand why, after the abdication of Charles V, she follows Philip to Madrid, but has so little to say about the imperial courts in Vienna and Prague. Historiographically, one might also note Tanner’s strange neglect of Evans himself, whose work is not even mentioned in the select bibliography.⁴

In fact, Evans’s work is highly relevant for Tanner’s project, not only his study of Rudolf, but also his book *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700*, with its treatment of the “intellectual foundations” of the empire and concluding chapter on the “universal enterprise.”⁵ Evans describes a dynasty that, in the 17th century, could even recognize its own identity in the Jesuit Egyptology of Athanasius Kircher. Taken together, the separate studies of Tanner and Evans suggest that the Hapsburgs were perhaps not so “rigorously programmatic,” but were rather the double-headed magpies of ideological legitimacy, seizing upon whatever imperial materials caught the eye—Trojan or Egyptian, classical or Christian.

Yates, in her work on the imperial theme in the 16th century, offered a special explanation for the role of the images included:

The illustrations are not presented as art history; nor are they picture-book history. They are inseparable from the argument in the text, but do not so much illustrate the text as state the same argument in another medium. They use visual images as historical documents in their own right. Charles V’s device of the two columns makes a historical statement which could be made in no other way.⁶

Tanner’s book, which is all about images,

ought to be able to draw upon them to further her argument in just this mode, but, although the work is copiously illustrated, the illustrations are curiously ineffective. The brunt of the argument is powered by literary sources, and while pictures illustrate individual links in the chain of iconographical associations, few actually make the indicated connections that would serve to restate the argument "in another medium," as Yates proposed. Tanner pulls in big names with reference to the Hapsburg emperors, such as Dürer for Maximilian, Titian for Charles V, and even El Greco for Philip II, but the

commentary is often perfunctory, and there is some of the air of "picture-book history" throughout.

The cover is gorgeous, taken from the *Los Honores* tapestries, created to celebrate the imperial election of Charles V; inside the book, however, the series is reproduced in black-and-white, the tapestries reduced to the size of a page, with details barely discernible. A detail of one tapestry ("Fame") shows that behind the mounted figure of Julius Caesar there stands at attention none other than Jason, the hero of the Golden Fleece. One would otherwise never have noticed his

inconspicuous presence in the crowded composition; it is Tanner's argument that focuses attention upon him. Her book suggests that what mattered was not so much the figure of Jason individually, or even the image of the fleece, but rather the ways in which they were woven together with other images into an ideological tapestry that celebrated and vindicated the Hapsburg emperors.

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4. R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, Oxford, 1973.

5. R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700*, Oxford, 1979.

6. Yates (as in n. 2), xii.

MARY VIDAL

Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
250 pp.; 47 color ills., 133 b/w. \$50.00

Watteau scholarship has developed in the last two decades a remarkable momentum of its own. Moreover, with the exception of the polemic surrounding Jean Ferré's monumental but failed monograph (1972), the chief impulse stimulating research has not been connoisseurial but iconologic. The Watteau exhibitions of 1984–85 generated the usual amount of exhibition-related scholarship, crowned by a bulky catalogue and the two remarkable monographs by Marianne Roland Michel and Donald Posner. Symptomatic of the enormous growth of the literature on Watteau, and of the direction taken by this newly aroused interest, might be the fact that even such a relatively minor problem as that of the *statue vivante* present in some of his works was recently taken up by at least half a dozen shorter studies. The obvious limitations of iconographic procedures—Watteau's paintings seem to defy all attempts at definitively deciphering their topics—or of the always reiterated, but never satisfyingly substantiated, literary comparison with Marivaux have, however, stimulated the appearance of a new type of study combining art-historical methods with both a semiotic and a sociocultural attention to context. Jutta Held's little book on the Cytherea motif (1984) and Norman Bryson's chapter on the concept of reverie in his *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (1981) showed the possibilities and the problems inherent in this approach. The book under review here has combined a certain pre-iconographic premise with these new methodological impulses (although Mary Vidal refers neither to Held's book nor on the whole to recent German scholarship), and has constructed a larger

interpretative scheme based on the conviction that the concept of conversation lies at the core of Watteau's figural imagery.

The central thesis of the book is thus that aspects of conversational practices and customs, as described in the writings of French conversationalists from Montaigne onward and practiced in the Parisian salons of the 17th century, give meaning and cultural relevance to the comportment of Watteau's figures. In her first chapter, Vidal undertakes a thematic and visual reevaluation of some selected paintings in order to show that Watteau depicted conversation in a form both more extensive and penetrating than other painters of his time. Vidal then carries her argument through four main areas of investigation corresponding roughly to the structure of the book: the problem of the status of conversation in 17th- and 18th-century French society; the formative effects of conversation on the arts during this period; the attempts of Watteau to achieve an aristocratic status; and lastly, of course, the role of conversation in Watteau's visual universe of subjects and forms. The last problem is taken up both in the first chapter and in a closing, extensive analysis of the famous *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*.

According to Vidal, almost all *fêtes galantes* should be interpreted from the viewpoint of the conversational theme. Watteau, she argues, accepted the high status of conversation within society, and he paid homage to it through his artful construction of discursive situations and through the discreet but self-revealing conduct of his figures as they fulfill the overriding aim of aristocratic culture: a social definition and self-presentation based on aesthetic norms of *bienséance*. Vidal's concept of conversation is somewhat broad and includes not only the encounters in the *fêtes galantes* and the theater scenes, but also military and even religious paintings like the *Repos de la Sainte Famille*.

After examining the conversation as a theme within Watteau's paintings, Vidal moves on to consider it as an aesthetic equiva-

lent to Watteau's works themselves. Watteau's elevation of minor subject matter and the evidence of a demonstrative "impromptu" approach to painting lead her to conclude that the cultivation of an artistic "manner" through a specific type of aesthetic performance is in reality Watteau's principal objective. And this manner is analogous, she argues, to the elevated position ascribed to manner as such by conversational writers like the famous Mme de Scudéry or the Chevalier de Méré. The stress laid by Watteau on an artistic spontaneity unencumbered by scholarly references stands, in Vidal's opinion, for the artist's implicit acceptance of an aristocratic value system, a system praising the advantages of genteel dilettantism. Vidal finds further evidence for such an attitude in the self-portraits and the few posthumous portraits of the artist. Disdaining the standard atelier motif, they portray Watteau in a non-studio setting, dressed in sumptuous clothes, and every inch an *artiste-dilettante*.

There can be no doubt that the pinpointing of conversation as the one concept that gives meaning and cultural specificity to Watteau's figural scenes opens new interpretive vistas. It recognizes and formalizes a strand of intellectual and social history deeply connected with but not identical to the arcadian, bucolic, or theatrical framing or encompassing themes so often associated with Watteau. Vidal's analysis of the Dulwich *Les Plaisirs du bal* is stringent and incisive, providing an excellent starting point for the ensuing line of argument. Chapter after chapter, however, and *fête galante* after *fête galante*, the conversation concept gradually loses its original distinctiveness, strained as it is by an overambitious methodological frame.

Conversation as an *art de plaire* easily lends itself, of course, to aesthetic comparisons. Vidal inaugurates one specific line of thinking by propounding the notion that Watteau's rejection of specific subject matter should be seen in analogy to the "primacy of

role. At times he seems at pains to distinguish Ignatius from Erasmus (163, 256), while at other times he identifies their ideals and goals (90, 214, 314). The Jesuit emphasis on the mercy of God and on consolation and joy also has deep affinities with Contarini and the *spirituali*, as O'Malley notes. However, O'Malley demonstrates that the Jesuits consistently distanced themselves from Erasmus and the *spirituali* when they came under suspicion (262, 315-20), thereby disclosing one of the more disturbing elements of the early Jesuits' "way of proceeding": their commitment to the good of their Society was apparently greater than their loyalty to those who shared their ideals.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Randall C. Zachman

Marie Tanner. *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. xi + 333 pp. \$45.

Scholars have long noted that the Habsburg rulers of early modern Europe developed complex and sophisticated iconographic schemes to celebrate the illustrious heritage of their family. Marie Tanner embarks on a close examination of the symbols of empire employed by the Habsburgs and their imperial predecessors. Her story begins with Augustus Caesar as she chronicles the tradition of dynastic mythmaking through Byzantium, the Frankish kingdom of Charlemagne, the late Middle Ages and into the Renaissance culminating with the Spanish king Philip II. Tanner explores a wide range of literary and art historical sources to chart the fascinating process by which pagan symbols of classical antiquity were adopted and Christianized by successive generations of European monarchs.

Tanner claims that it was Vergil who fashioned the initial myth of empire for Rome. By conflating the legends of Aeneas and the Argonauts, he helped create a stockpile of images which could be used to bolster the authority and prestige of the Roman Empire. The Latin poet Prudentius (348-405 A.D.) revised Vergil and infused these pagan symbols with a new Christian meaning. The rulers of Byzantium followed his lead and soon employed an iconography which merged secular and sacred themes. In the West, Clovis and then Charlemagne revived the legacy of Rome and touted their

then Charlemagne revived the legacy of Rome and touted their imperial pretensions in the art of the church and literature of the court.

Moving through the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, Tanner investigates two intriguing aspects of imperial propaganda. Court genealogists sought to elucidate the connection between the early Caesars of Rome and the medieval rulers of Western Christendom. The most dramatic expression of these fabrications was the *Ehrenpforte* of Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519), a stunning visualization of the dynastic continuity between the sovereigns of antiquity and those of the sixteenth century. A prophetic tradition also played an important part in the development of imperial mystique. Apocalyptic prophecies and astrological calculations were effectively manipulated to champion the divine mission of the Habsburg house.

Tanner concludes her study with a detailed analysis of Emperor Maximilian's great grandson, Philip II of Spain. Philip's iconographic arsenal included the Order of the Golden Fleece, a chivalric honor which recycled the myth of the Argonauts. The clearest expression of the Spanish amalgam of spiritual and secular authority was the Escorial, an imposing palace/monastery complex commemorating a decisive victory over the French in 1557. Planned in part as a replica of the temple of Solomon, the Escorial spoke to Philip's claims as Christian Europe's true leader. Indeed, the Habsburg cult of the Eucharist and veneration of the cross helped cement the concept of sacred kingship which Philip trumpeted across the continent.

Tanner's project to chart the development of imperial iconography from antiquity to the sixteenth century is an ambitious undertaking. For this enterprise she has gathered an impressive collection of illustrations that chronicle the transformation of the images of empire. To cover 1500 years in such cursory fashion, however, is a venture fraught with peril. Patristic scholars, Byzantinists and medievalists will all have their small quibbles. The strongest portion of the book is certainly the close analysis of Philip II, but even here her arguments are vitiated by an occasional exaggeration and a critical lack of contrast. It was the Austrian Habsburgs and not Philip who retained the imperial title. Recent scholarship has highlighted their apologists who cast the image of empire in a somewhat different fashion. The distinctives of the Spanish celebration of imperial heritage could also have been highlighted in contrast to the

rival ideologies of the Tudor and Valois. Nevertheless, Tanner's important study opens up new vistas for the scholar tracking the power of myth and image in early modern Europe.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Howard Louthan

Marcia B. Hall. *Color and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 48 col. pls. + 83 b&w pls. + xiii + 273 pp. \$60.

Marcia Hall's account of color in Italian Renaissance painting gives priority to practice over theory, and this grounding in close examination of the paintings is surely to be welcomed. The book is divided into five sections, each of which ends with a discussion of paradigmatic examples. Of twenty of these, ten are by artists associated with Florence, four are sixteenth-century Venetians, and one, Jan van Eyck, is Netherlandish. It is essentially a Florentine story, running from Cennini and Alberti, through Leonardo to the Mannerists, which has shaped the author's approach.

The development of color is traced through changing conventions of modeling draperies, whereas the treatment of flesh, landscape and aerial perspective receive little attention. Much can be learned from the author's observations of paintings, which are always informed by the findings of conservators, and there are many sensitive accounts of figures who are not always given their due, such as Perugino and Sebastiano del Piombo. Sebastiano's use of a purplish-grey tint in the intonaco of his Farnesina frescoes is rightly highlighted.

It is the search for a clear line of development which raises difficulties. Much play is made of the shift from "up-modeling," where the full intensity of color is in the shadow, and the lights are desaturated with white, to "down-modeling," where it is the shadows which are desaturated by the addition of black. Such a distinction between pre- and post-Albertian practice does not allow for the many modeling combinations recommended in medieval handbooks that could be termed down-modeling. Flesh had long been painted with a range of pigment mixtures to shade in the darks—the *posc* of Theophilus and *verdaccio* of Cennini. By the fourteenth century inhibitions about mixing pigments were certainly on the wane. Dull colors, such as *bigio*, *berrettino*, and *cinerognolo*, are com-

creating one's own biography). Although each chapter builds upon the previous, most could be read as independent essays (and all should elicit discussions if assigned in literature and/or philosophy courses). The chapter (10) that I found most informative is "El amor personal." Marías convincingly argues that what goes by the name of "love" these days has little to do with persons, concentrating instead on the animal or even the vegetative dimensions of human living, and "no en vano la mayoría de los sexólogos son zoólogos (125)." Because of this reduction of the desire between the sexes to sexual desire we are at the lowest level in centuries in understanding love. Implied here is Marías's valuable distinction between the sexuete and sexual conditions. Of special importance is the role of the caress in all forms of love as "the personalization of the body" (or my consciousness that my body is mine, and an "ingredient" in "my life"). Marías's publisher would perform his readers a valuable service if it commissioned an anthology of his thoughts on love, as found in his various works over the years.

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Tanner, Marie. *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: the Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993. 333 pp. ISBN 0300054882.

Tanner traces the history of the idea of the Roman emperor and its manifestation in imagery. The image, she believes, developed seamlessly from its origins in antiquity through the early Christian period, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Her study culminates with the Hapsburgs' use of the image in the sixteenth century. The myth was changed and adapted to concur with major historic events and the location of the imperial seat. It originated in antiquity with the vision of Rome's divine destiny; in the early Christian period it synthesized gentile and Jewish divine history and was consolidated by the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century. Several elements—chronicles, visual imagery, mythical genealogy, among others—helped to form the image.

Vergil accommodated the Trojan myth to Roman history producing the vision of Rome's divine destiny. During the Byzantine period the myth was christianized by amalgamating Judeo-Christian topoi with their pagan parallels. In Prudentius's *Psychomachia* Christ is the new

Aeneas and Rome the new Jerusalem. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance epic narrative and mythic genealogy advanced the image. Mythical genealogy, providing a fictive ancestry for the emperor, was the most important element in the formation of the image. Biblical figures had already been interpolated during the early Christian period. The genealogical pretensions of the emperors were advocated in monuments and in pictorial and literary works having biblical, historical and mythological subjects.

Prophecy, unlike genealogy, focused on the eschatological to designate the Holy Roman emperor as the last descendant of Aeneas. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish monarch had become the last world emperor and Spain the last world monarchy, ideas put forth by the philosopher Tommaso Campanella who took into account Spain's role in the discovery of the new world, the expansion of its domains and the signs of the political and religious union of humankind.

The concluding chapters of Tanner's book dealing with the Hapsburgs in Spain should be of special interest to hispanists who can apply the material to their own research. Among the topics discussed in the context of Hapsburg rule are the mystical and dynastic significance of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the title to Jerusalem, Columbus's discovery of the Americas, and the monarch's solar identity. In Hapsburg mythology the Escorial is viewed as Solomon's Temple, the heavenly Jerusalem and the fulfillment of Rome's imperial legacy.

Philip II supported the arts to spread the message of Hapsburg piety which was based on devotion to the Eucharist and the Holy Cross. By casting the light of religion on the unknown half of the globe Philip was seen as Christ-Apollo. Philip identified the Eucharist with the sun to the extent that within Hapsburg realms the Eucharist was displayed in a monstrosity having the form of a radiating sun. By identifying himself with Apollo, the sun, and then the sun with the Eucharist, Philip drew to himself as emperor the adulation given the Eucharist.

Tanner's research is impressive. She consulted important libraries in Italy, England and Spain, among them the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome, the Warburg Institute, the British Library, and the Escorial Library. In contrast to previous studies, Tanner concentrates on the mythical bias and the political motivations of the Renaissance epic narratives. In her treatment of mythic genealogy her special contribution to scholar-

ship goes beyond local issues. The book's notes, select bibliography and copious illustrations add to the scholarly value of the text. Tanner invites other scholars "to fill out the lines of inquiry suggested here with knowledge from their special fields." Hispanists, in particular those in Golden Age studies, certainly have much to contribute.

James C. Murray
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Terry, Arthur. *Seventeenth-Century Spanish Poetry: The Power of Artifice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 300 pp. ISBN 0521444217.

The blurb on the jacket of Arthur Terry's book on seventeenth-century Spanish poetry proclaims it "the first comprehensive study in English of one of the most important bodies of verse in European literature." To succeed, such a book could only be the result of many years of research, thought, and love of its subject, which is the case here. Integrating modern theoretical concerns and the traditional scholar's broad familiarity with the poets and their works, Terry has accomplished the two goals he set forth in the preface: (1) to provide a text for students and scholars that goes beyond the few poets normally covered in classes on the subject, and (2) to furnish "an accessible and reasonably detailed account" of seventeenth-century Spanish poetry to readers even less familiar with the literature (ix).

Limiting his topic to the years 1580–1650 (plus Sor Juana), Terry divides the book into nine chapters. The first sets the historical context for the poetry, tracing the Castilian, Italian and classical traditions, and is followed by a discussion of the poetics of the period. He devotes a chapter each to the "major" poets—Góngora, Lope de Vega, Quevedo and Sor Juana. Terry provides good analyses of Góngora's longer works and poetic practice in general; for example, he points out that in the *Soledades* the readers "are made to follow out its constantly shifting perspectives, actively taking part in the production of meaning, rather than simply assenting to something we already know, and never settling into a final sense of order" (87). In the chapter on Lope, subtitled "Re-writing a life," he focuses on the artistic transformation of that life, taking pains not to overemphasize "the man at the expense of the conscious artist" (95). He explains Quevedo's poetics in terms of a serious rhetorical conservatism: a "suspicion

of change, of running counter to what he takes to be the genius of the language" (154). Sor Juana retains her place in the peninsular canon as the last of the period's major figures in Terry's treatment, which draws heavily on Octavio Paz's work. Two chapters are devoted to "minor" poets, divided into those whose major work predates the *Soledades* and those whose work comes after. The poets and poems discussed here are, for the most part, the same ones found in Terry's 1968 *Anthology of Spanish Poetry 1500–1700: Part II*, where they appeared with little commentary. Women poets other than Sor Juana (except for brief mention of Santa Teresa) are notably absent in this treatment, which otherwise admirably attempts to bring the discipline up to date. There is also a welcome chapter on epic poetry, highly valued by the poets of the period but relatively neglected now.

More than readable, the text is interesting, with good illustrations of Terry's analysis and translated quotations. The thorough notes, index and selected bibliography will be appreciated by the serious student. For what it sets out to do, this will be a useful text for years to come.

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Trapero, Maximiano, editor. *La décima popular en la tradición hispánica: Actas del Simposio Internacional sobre La Décima.* Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria/ Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1994. 412 pp. ISBN 8481030376.

This volume contains the proceedings of the "Simposio Internacional sobre La Décima," held in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria in December, 1992, which brought together scholars from Caribbean countries (including the United States) and their Spanish counterparts from the Canary Islands and Andalusia. In connection with the Symposium a musical festival was held in which popular *decimista* groups performed. The introductory remarks of the *Actas* promise a forthcoming recording of the musical performances. These events were designed to bring together philologists, musicologists, and performers to promote interchanges not only among researchers from different disciplines but also among investigators and authors/ performers of *décimas*.

The volume is divided into three principal sections. The first includes inaugural remarks,

preach 'whoever believes and is baptized shall be saved.'" This early evangelical, personal understanding of the church was later modified by the practical demands for structures and administrative power. Yet with the need for structures and powers, Bucer always tried to maintain the evangelical emphasis and to differentiate the yoke of Christ from the "papal yoke" of medieval Catholicism.

Bucer did not identify the yoke of Christ or discipline with punishment. The "yoke of Christ" was a way of ordering the church's life and more especially of internalizing the Christian faith and life. To this end, Bucer emphasized pastoral care and Christian conversation. Catechizing the young was especially important and a condition for confirmation and admission to the Lord's Supper. Confirmation was to take place in the presence of the congregation. The children were to answer questions concerning the chief elements of Christian faith and "submit themselves publicly to Christ and the church."

The emphasis on Christian discipline as the internalizing of Christian faith and life makes a study of Bucer very important for our time. Bucer lived in "Christendom" and had to contend with the "Christian" magistrate, who, having gained freedom from Rome, did not want to relinquish control of the church to the ministers. Moreover, church members shared the magistrate's fear of church authority. Our society, which is secular, and churches that are organizationally voluntary and free, are very different from Bucer's situation. Yet our problem is the same: the internalization of Christian faith and the norms of the Christian life by participation in the church as the people of God. We, no less than Bucer, have to struggle with how this internalization can take place in our time. For this reason, we can learn from Bucer.

This study has all the marks of its winning the Brewer prize of the American Society of Church History. It is an excellent resource for students of the Reformation. Sadly, pastors, who need to know the results of this study, are not likely to read it. Hence the church will be served by articles summarizing its content. All students of the Reformation and those whose life and society have been enhanced by the Protestant Reformation should be grateful that this important work is now available.

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The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor. Marie Tanner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. 141 b&w illus., 333 pp. \$45.00.

Marie Tanner's book is a welcome contribution from art history to our understanding of the confluence of history, myth, and politics. For many literary critics, however, Tanner's material sounds all too familiar: European monarchs adapted a combination of classical and pagan imagery to legitimize and represent their power. Trojan heroes, their descendants, and the Argonauts were the most prominent forebears for mythical genealogy. In fact, the Habsburgs are only one among many European dynasties who bolstered their claim to the throne with an amalgamation of such images. This ambitious book—each chapter could furnish material for a separate book—retells the story of the emergence, Christianization, and development of this complex of images.

Tanner's aim is to show the continuity of royal image making from Augustus to Philip II and Louis XIV, the Apollonic *Roi Soleil*. In the trajectory she traces, the stories of the Argonauts and the fall of Troy begin a "seamless development" that becomes a "syncretistic heritage" of monarchical self-definition and image making. Given her emphasis on continuity, it makes sense, though disappointing sense, that Tanner has no problem with Aeneas' and Augustus' problems. She is not concerned with criticism or subversion of her ideologically

loaded topic. Therefore, she tries to disentangle the maze of imagistic and ideological connections rather than critique their efficacy and acceptance. More importantly, the interpretative emphasis on continuity prevents her from acknowledging contemporary criticism and debunking. The first half of the book seems thin, precisely because the author is more concerned with piecing together a picture that is, after all, not all that unfamiliar. Especially in the first two chapters on the Argonauts and Troy we find little more than summary of these stories which gives way in the following chapters to a frantic tracing of all the possible offshoots that a single image (the Sun, for example) or cluster of images can have.

A reader might miss discussion of the antihistoricity of history making myth, or of the ironies involved, for example, in claiming Trojan descent. Though Tanner mentions specific historical contexts, such as the building of an *Argo* to lead Philip's navy into the battle of Lepanto, the relationships between the emperor's mythic image and historical exigencies are often not clear. For example, Charles V's crafting of his elaborate emperor image, which Francis Yates has brilliantly analyzed, reflects more than devotional or mythic cunning, as Tanner herself intimates: "The material reality of Charles's wealth and territorial strength insured his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, and that title sustained the mystique of his inherited divinity" (109). A reader might wonder about the uncomfortable yoking of wealth and divinity in this sentence without finding a satisfying clue as to its relevance. Just what is the interconnectedness between *Realpolitik* and mythic image, or between historical context and historical ambition? Even the brutal world of the Conquest can fit nicely into Philip's "increasingly sophisticated syncretism" as either a lost or a new Eden.

The very breadth of Tanner's study prevents it from being a cogent analysis and often limits her to schematic summaries and lists of the proliferation of particular myths. Nevertheless, the many illustrations, which supply the visual dimension of this primarily art historical study, are valuable. Tanner's erudition and a wealth of material from the well-known classics, Prudentius and Berosus, Alain de Lille, numerous chroniclers, and esoteric writers make this book exciting reading.

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Die Einheit der katholischen Kirche: Calvins Cyprianrezeption in seinen ekklesiologischen Schriften. Anette Zillenbiller. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte (Mainz), Abteilung Religionsgeschichte Mainz, Bd. 151. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993. 182 pp. DM 58.—

There have been studies on Calvin's use of and relation to many of the Church Fathers, but this is the first to appear on Calvin and Cyprian. As the title indicates, the focus of the study is not Calvin's appropriation of Cyprian in general, but more specifically, his relation to Cyprian's ecclesiological teaching. This has the advantage of giving a distinct focus to the study. But there is also the drawback that one is not left with an impression of Calvin's overall use and assessment of Cyprian. The author makes passing reference to the other use of Cyprian, but one is not told, for example, whether the ecclesiological use of Cyprian constitutes a majority or a minority of the whole. Again, discussion of the possible sources of Calvin's other Cyprian citations would have given added strength (or otherwise!) to the conclusions reached on the source of his ecclesiological citations.

The first chapter outlines Cyprian's teaching on the unity of the church, succinctly and clearly. There is also an examination of availability of Cyprian after his time, focusing especially on the *Decretum Gratiani* and the sixteenth-century editions of Cyprian's works. The

children. In studying apes, naturalists attributed familiar gender roles to the two sexes. In distinguishing between the human races, they focused almost exclusively on the characters of males. In identifying sex differences, they only studied whites. Schiebinger credits the anthropologist Johann Blumenbach with refusing to rank the different races along a single scale of being, but she also points out how he identified "Caucasians" as the original human stock on the aesthetic grounds of the race's "beauty." Although one may perhaps be amused by Erasmus Darwin's enshrining of Linnaeus's botanical system in a book of erotic poetry, one can only be appalled by the voyeurism of Georges Cuvier and his colleagues at the Paris Museum of Natural History as they sought to get a look at the genitalia of the "Hottentot Venus," Sarah Bartmann.

Although this book is rich in detail, it does not offer any clear sense of what the overall aims and practices of eighteenth-century natural history were. The study thus leaves the reader convinced that problems of gender found abundant expression in naturalists' writings but uncertain as to the extent to which gender "shaped" the enterprise of natural history as a whole. Sweeping generalizations do not solve the problem. Schiebinger writes that botany and anatomy were both "subject to the imperative to find and analyze sex (and gender) differences that dominated scientific communities in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (p. 37), but this claim of "domination" remains unsupported in the absence of any discussion of the other concerns that naturalists pursued, such as providing names and inventories of plants and animals from other lands, searching for the "natural order" of classification, and constructing natural theologies. Inventorying nature's products and constructing natural theologies were both informed by broad, sociopolitical considerations (natural theologies indeed afforded special opportunities to endorse the social order), but it is not obvious that problems of gender "dominated" other concerns. The author's analysis needs more balance here, but one can still endorse her suggestion that the episodes she has selected might well have been different had there been women or people of color prominent among the naturalists of the eighteenth century.

Reading sociopolitical preconceptions into nature (a constructed category itself) is a problem that continues to the present. Among the special merits of this engaging and important book is its demonstration of just how prevalent and insidious such practices have been.

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MARIE TANNER. *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp xi, 333. \$45.00.

The legend of Troy has long fascinated the Western mind. Its enduring influence in the history of Western culture has seldom been studied as a general theme. This work is unique in its attempt to do so. Marie Tanner's main interest is to show how the legend of Aeneas's flight to Rome and the promise of world empire was adapted to the purposes of Christianity, Constantine, Charlemagne, and eventually to the claims to world empire made by Charles V and Philip II. Tanner skillfully combines her talents as iconographer and literary historian to produce a handsome volume of cultural history. It is profusely illustrated with black-and-white photographs of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance paintings, frescoes, illuminated manuscripts, sculptures, and tapestries to document the argument of the text.

Few historians would associate Philip II of Spain with Aeneas, the legendary Trojan exile, and even less with Constantine, Charlemagne, or the Eucharist. Tanner has placed them into a continuous mythic tradition linked to the premodern four-monarchies theory of history. The lore of Hellenistic culture was merged with that of Christianity in the Roman empire of the fourth century. Aeneas was viewed as the ancestor of all Roman and Christian emperors. These also descended from Adam and Noah and were even related to Jesus Christ. Tanner has made the history of these beliefs abundantly clear. The documentary evidence was drawn mostly from the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. Tanner's training in iconography has enabled her to open new vistas for the political historians of Roman and Holy Roman imperial history.

Tanner argues that the mythic image of the emperors enjoyed an unbroken tradition from ancient times to the sixteenth century. Philip II's manipulation of the image in the paintings commissioned by himself and his father, Charles V, expressed the Christianized forms of this myth. The architecture of the Escorial palace indicated a link with King Solomon, Philip's alleged ancestor, and was constructed according to the imagined plan of Solomon's temple. Philip II was the first king to rule four continents, and perhaps that went to his head. His absolutism, the model for later forms of European absolutism, is given a new interpretation focused on its relation not to administrative forms but to the mythic image of the Apollo (Christ), of the sun-god ruler whose coming heralds the age of the last and fifth monarchy.

It is within the context of such a continuum that Tanner reiterates the Golden Fleece *topos*. The Burgundian order, founded by Philip the Good, conveyed an identification with the Argonaut heritage that passed to Philip II by primogeniture. Because the Habsburgs divided their territories, one wonders whether the Austrian branch of the family rejected this tradition entirely. It might be noted that Maximilian I was the first Holy Roman emperor who did not journey to Rome to be crowned by the pope. Nor did Charles V. Philip II, who was to have succeeded his uncle Ferdinand I as emperor but was rejected by

the German electors, identified kingship with a priestly role. He developed much stronger sun-god imagery than his ancestors and thus influenced the divine-right absolutism of Louis XIV of France, a descendant.

Although the Christianized Aeneas legend came down through Constantine, Charlemagne, and the Hohenstauffen to the Habsburgs, its influence on the Austrian branch of the family is apparently of less interest to Tanner. Ferdinand I is almost entirely ignored because King Philip II appeared to hold more geopolitical power in Europe. One might comment that Ferdinand I's acquisition of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary could hardly have weakened his own political power. Philip II's ideology was supported by legend and astrology, but his kinsman Rudolf II could always make similar claims. Perhaps the Austrians were more open to the future and to science. Rudolf supported Johannes Kepler's researches, while Philip is identified with the Inquisition.

Most historians assume that history has meaning. The critical historian has to uncover the deeper structures on which the obvious rests. Conjectural history and imaginary genealogies began to lose their credibility among kings once the Enlightenment began. The yearning for the mythical past did not. But, for the modern critical historian who appreciates the meaning of legends in a social-science context, the insights to be gained from this inspiring analysis of some of the more profound aspects of European art, literature, and culture, are immense. Tanner has aptly demonstrated that the irrational aspects of political legitimation may be transformed into rational historical realities.

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MARIE-CHRISTINE LEPS. *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse. (Post-Contemporary Interventions.)* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. 262. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, Marie-Christine Leps argues in this suggestive but uneven book, a radically new stance toward crime and criminals crystallized in the West. Crime, once regarded as a sign of severe social trauma, became normalized, a simple fact of life to be regulated by newly modified laws, punished in recently established penitentiaries, and ultimately controlled by the emerging science of criminology, which took "criminal man" as the object of its investigations.

Rejecting what were to their minds the speculative metaphysics of their predecessors, such late-nineteenth-century founders of the discipline as Cesare Lombroso, along with his English (and, to a lesser extent, his more sociologically inclined French) antagonists, turned to facts, assiduously measuring criminals' skulls and exhaustively describing their physi-

ognomies and natures. The "criminal man" that resulted from their labors, a man apart from the rest of humanity by reason of his degenerate nature, was an object not only of scientific but also popular knowledge. Leps traces the consolidation of this image in the pages of the daily press and in crime literature, engaging in "discourse analysis" (p. 9) to highlight appropriations and transformations across genres. The readings she offers of a variety of texts—criminological works, crime reports, detective fiction—are deft and for the most part quite persuasive.

Leps's handling of the larger issues that inform her study is less satisfactory. Why was it, she asks, that knowledge that was not particularly novel (much of what the new criminologists preferred can be found in earlier medical, sociological, and political treatises) caused such commotion, constituting, in her words, "a discursive event" (p. 36)? Conversely, why was criminology never successfully instituted as a discipline?

Here, as elsewhere, Leps's questions are better than her answers. In a functionalist vein, she suggests that criminology emerges "when the state lets it" (p. 43), when its structures of authority are threatened. Not a science but a form of, in her suggestive characterization, "intertextual *bricolage*" (p. 43), criminology, she argues, logically drew on other disciplines' prefabricated knowledge, the tenor of its own discourse "entirely determined by intertextual ideological maxims on race, sex, class, and morality" (p. 47). Elsewhere she posits that interests converge, sees the press serving established power relations and "leaving the social order intact" (p. 118), and, most puzzling, argues that the press created "a kind of nonunderstanding of the world" (p. 115) against which one might presumably juxtapose a truer account, such as those Leps favors involving "social structures" (p. 121). Leps examines the epistemology that underlay criminal man's emergence, arguing that it held reality to be given, truth absolute, and discourse transparent. Yet throughout she confidently tells readers whose interests were being served by what ideological move, suggesting, when it comes to history, that she may be working within the epistemology she critiques. The established power-knowledge relations that Leps argues criminology consistently honors, in both its scientific and popular manifestations, might more fruitfully have been conceptualized in constant relation to (instead of outside of) the processes of knowledge production that she chronicles. Historical truths are no more transparent than those produced by science.

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ABRAHAM BOXHOORN. *The Cold War and the Rift in the Governments of National Unity: Belgium, France, and Italy in the Spring of 1947; A Comparison.* (Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, number 25.) Amsterdam: Histo-

Reviews

The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor. By Marie Tanner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. 333 pp. \$52.50.

During the three-sided war that would turn Henry of Navarre into Henry IV of France, one argument used against him was his genealogical deficiency compared to those scions of Hercules, Henry III and Henry of Guise. Navarre's supporters sometimes retorted that he did indeed have the right ancestors: Charlemagne, Pharamond (France's legendary first king), and the Trojan Francus, but more resonant for the future was a Huguenot pamphlet, probably by Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay, translated into English as *A Necessary discourse concerning the right which the house of Guyze pretendeth to the Crowne of France* (1586). Members of the Guise family, it scoffs, think themselves "undertwigges" of Charlemagne, and if you doubt one ancestor, they fetch "others readie crowned out of the bellie of the Troyan horse" (Mornay forgets that the horse was in fact full of Greeks).

Marie Tanner's riveting and beautiful book recounts the evolving claims of the Hapsburg dynasty to just such an inheritance, and hence to a world empire explored and exploited by modern Argosies that recall the journeys of another ancestor, Jason. Although she has little to say on the French kings' own obsession with Troy (Ronsard's *Franciade* goes unmentioned) and even less on similar Tudor fantasies (Spenser's *Faerie Queene* receives a nod only for treating the solar Philip II as a mere Phaethon), her work would intrigue and instruct anyone monitoring the intersections where literature meets political myth-making, imperialism, politicized cosmology, or courtly arts. Although Tanner's tendency to crow about her originality can seem gauche, she does indeed considerably ex-

For example, Ovid does not begin the *Fasti* with Aries and March (286) but in January. It is not true (257) that since the first century A.D. the sun has entered Libra on September 23 (Augustus' birthday), for by Charles V's day, before the Julian calendar of 1582, the equinox had slowly edged back to about the fourteenth. Nor is the sun at its peak in August (229, in a passage that I think muddles Augustus' reasons for choosing his namesake month): as any Roman astronomer have known, whatever the dogday heat of late summer the days shorten after the solstice. On 279 we are told, without comment, that one authority began "Maximilian's Greek heritage" with Hector (if true, the hero's ghost, I think, would be entitled to drag the hapless genalogist three times around the ruins of Troy). A pedant might point out that Aeneas was not, strictly, the founder of Rome (254). And the "Chi-rho" initials represent the first two Greek letters of "Christos," not of what Tanner calls "the Greek word of His name, 'Xpouros'" (295), which is neither English nor transliterated Greek. We all make mistakes, but such errors are worrisome.

So are allusions that go unexplained. *Why* do the Pillars of Hercules make part of Jason's legend (7)? *How* is Gideon Jason's "Old Testament counterpart" (8)? How can the words Tanner often quotes from Anchises, "parcere subjectis" ("spare the humble/conquered"), be construed as an injunction to subdue the world? This phrase from *Aeneid* 6.851–53 would be less baffling to those with a smattering of Latin if she explained that it is shorthand for lines she indeed quotes and translates once (but omitting this bit in the Latin) that do indeed say "remember to rule the nations—(*regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*). This may seem a minor point, but it is symptomatic of Tanner's willingness to ignore the dangerous illusions in the mythmaking she so well describes. *Parcere subjectis!* The irony of the New World's conquerors exploiting such a phrase is worth at least a brief salute. Irony is not, though, Tanner's strong suit, perhaps because she is almost too beguiled by the powerful myths she examines. Referring to the French "roi soleil," she notes the "imagery by which France was catapulted into a primary position in world history" (245). As any competent spin doctor knows, imagery is important to the world's movers and shakers, but as a geopolitical catapult it eventually fails unless, as even spin doctors also know, there is wealth and force to give it torsion and momentum. PR is not enough.

There is, furthermore, a confusion in the myths themselves that Tanner nowhere addresses but on which her thoughts would be welcome. She states repeatedly that Greek successes in Colchis and Troy were thought to "signal the toppling of Asia's power" (17) and the movement of empire westward. Fair enough, even if Tanner exaggerates the extent

to which Roman writers before Valerius Flaccus connected the two conquests (her frequent claims that Virgil's Fourth Eclogue reads Jason's victory as anticipating the fall of Troy is based on no firm textual evidence, and despite her assurances I cannot find much, if any, treatment of the matter in *The Aeneid* or Catullus). And yet, as Tanner herself stresses in other contexts, the Trojans were themselves already European: their founding ancestor, Dardanus, came from Italy. Aeneas is simply going home, as for that matter is the golden fleece on its long way back to the Grecian lands from which it had taken off for the Black Sea when still attached to its ram. Nor does Tanner ever quite explain how a tale about recovering stolen gold eastward in Colchis could, in the minds of European monarchs, justify going west to steal it from Peru. My difficulty is less the European exploitation of myth and genealogy as such, which Tanner explains well, than how the myths' geopolitical implications relate to fantasy genealogy and real geography. Nor does she mention why the Hapsburgs, born into the house of Aeneas, were so pleased to be descended from Greeks who twice destroyed Troy. Did Greek glory, like Roman grandeur, prove irresistible to ancestor-hunters? Did they have an admirable hesitancy to take sides?

All this said, and despite a too-frequently sloppy use of sources (mistaken line numbers, citations of passages such as one to Virgil in note 31 [255], that do not say what she says they say), *The Last Descendant of Aeneas* is a fascinating book. It is useful not least for allowing us to read Renaissance texts with an eye better able to perceive analogous mystifications and skeptical subversions. To Tanner's readers, Ronsard's *Franciade* will seem more than ever a work of rivalry not just with Virgil and Homer but with Philip II's aim to establish an empire on which the sun never set ("Nec Occidet Ultra" 239) while virtually claiming to be that same sun. And as with competition, so with skepticism. Rabelais' sendup of Charles V in the figure of bilious king Picrochole, who hopes to keep going "plus outre" until his conquests circle the earth, like his novels' parodic genealogies, mocks a large complex of assumptions concerning lineage, glory, empire, sacerdotal kingship, and syncretic mythography. Similarly, Mornay's entertaining image of ancestors huddled in the "bellie of the Trojan horse" anticipates a collapse of one sort of political legitimacy. Tanner's book shows why such laughter, like the royal myths she traces, can matter.

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original *Histoire de l'Empire des Habsbourgs, 1273-1918* (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1990) by C. A. Simpson (London: Longman, 1994; pp. xiii + 407. £42; pb. £16.99) is not really a comprehensive history of the Casa d'Austria, either. But it goes a long way to fill the lacunae in our knowledge of the origins of the house and of its Austrian branch. The author's command of the necessary languages for such a history is entirely admirable and his learning is prodigious, both as regards the sources for this long history and the extensive and international modern historiography. He concentrates on political history, but he has illuminating pages on the economic and social structures of the different Habsburg dominions and of their development. He is chary of generalizations, but there are a few which run like red threads through the texture of his story. One is, inevitably and rightly, Habsburg marriage policy, which he likens to the policy of twentieth-century international corporations taking out options on other companies. Perhaps he might have made it clearer that the Habsburgs neither invented this policy nor that they were its only practitioners. But, at least by implication, he also stresses that it often took a lot of fighting to make good and hold on to the inheritances. The *bella gerant alii* was a wildly optimistic assessment. Much more realistic is Professor Bérenger's own assessment that the Habsburg multinational system worked only as long as there were no attempts to introduce rational principles of religious or political uniformity, with the policies of Ferdinand II and Joseph II cited as cautionary examples. The case of the latter will, no doubt, be discussed at some length in the promised second volume. It is a pity that neither the sloppy proof-reading nor the translator's knowledge of French and German do justice to the erudition of the author of this very useful book.

London

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Marie Tanner's *The Last Descendant of Aeneas. The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven/London: Yale U.P., 1993; pp. xi + 333. £35) is a useful addition to the fast-growing literature on the public images of early modern European monarchs. The Habsburgs appear to have been unusually publicity-conscious, from the time of the Emperor Maximilian onwards, as a series of studies has shown, from Anna Coreth and Glen Waas to Jonathan Brown and John Elliott. Tanner is an art historian working within the tradition of Aby Warburg and his followers (most obviously Frances Yates). Her book is in effect a series of essays which traces the myth or legend of the destruction of Troy and the expedition of the Argonauts from classical times to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, before turning to the uses of these stories to legitimate Habsburg political claims. Chapters are devoted to the idea of the Last World Emperor, to Philip II, and to the Escorial. Most of the material Tanner discusses is well known, and some of her topics have inspired whole shelves of studies, as any visitor to the Warburg Institute will know. The main value of her book is in providing a synthesis, a general discussion of some recurrent themes in Habsburg propaganda and of their inter-connections. Particularly interesting are her remarks on the significance of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip the Good and supported by his Habsburg descendants in order to defeat the Turks, recapture the Holy Sepulchre, and establish a world monarchy, objectives which were perceived as a re-enactment

of the expedition of the Argonauts. Tanner appears to have missed some of the most significant recent contributions to the myth of the Habsburgs, notably the work of Fernando Checa, John Headley and Jan-Dirk Müller. On the other hand, she has devoted more attention than most of her predecessors to visual sources, and the 141 illustrations and her comments on them are among the most valuable features of her book.

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The question of how the reforms decreed by the Council of Trent subsequently affected the diocese of Trent itself is an aptly chosen one. Cecilia Nubola attempts to form an answer in *Conoscere per governare. La diocesi di Trento nella visita pastorale di Ludovico Madruzzo, 1579-1581* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1993; pp. 647. Pb. L60,000). She provides less and more than the title suggests. Despite the length of the study, the readily available evidence is agreed to be far from complete. The whole of the prince-bishopric is in general terms surveyed, with naturally less information provided on those areas which fell within other dioceses. But within and beyond the overlapping territory of the principality and diocese of Trent a further selection is made, to concentrate on the larger area of Italian, Latino and mixed-language population, as opposed to the most northerly area of German speech. Enough is said about the latter, however, to suggest some telling contrasts, reminiscent of those in Piedmont-Savoy, between conditions in the prince-bishopric and those in Tyrol. The ecclesiastical frontier of the Italian Church, rather than the political boundary of the Empire, once again emerges as important, despite the presence of German nobles in the cathedral chapter and the absence of the Roman Inquisition in the prince-bishopric. Moreover, the work is in no way confined to the two years of the visitation, but begins to trace the often very slow changes between the pre-Conciliar period and the early seventeenth century. Many remarks indeed suggest that more real improvement was at last achieved by the 1590s, compared with the relatively unchanged conditions of 1580. It is thus a pity that the author did not make a more concise review of a rather larger period.

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Sixteenth-century Europe's preoccupation with the problem of poverty provides the justification for Robert Jütte's valuable general study *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: U.P., 1994; pp. xvi + 240. £27.95; pb. £9.95). Concern for the poor may have owed much to the Reformation. This is not to endorse any simplistic idea of either Catholicism or Protestantism doing more for the poor but because the new focusing of dogma brought about reconsideration of the role of civil government. The poor have to be seen as two groups: a hard core of those incapable of supporting themselves – young children, the very old, the crippled or blind, here estimated rather over-generously at 5–10 per cent of the population, and a vast number of potential poor, families who could be thrown into destitution by famine, war, new tenurial systems, industrial changes, or altered patterns of trade. The separate nature of the two groups became obscured by the tendency to use the word 'poor' for all

not to say colorful. At different times and places, people recognized a pseudo-Umayyad pretender, invoked a genuine but dead Umayyad caliph, accepted a non-Umayyad caliph, declared allegiance to a caliphate without an actual incumbent, or did without the institution altogether. The discussion of these shifts, though nuanced, is not always illuminating—largely because the surviving literary evidence gives us little indication of the rationale behind the various moves made by the actors in this confused drama.

The reader who is interested in pursuing the issues in detail would do well to look for specialist reviews, including those by numismatists. Readers who are interested only in the general issues will find much of the book unreadable. The exceptions are the introduction, which is short and clear, and the first and last chapters, which deal with the Umayyad assumption of the caliphate in 929 and the somewhat problematic end of the Umayyad caliphate in Cordoba in 1031.

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The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor. By Marie Tanner (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993) 334 pp. \$45.00

Juan de Herrera: Architect to Phillip II of Spain. By Catherine Wilkinson Zerner (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993) 216 pp. \$50.00

The more scholars from a variety of disciplines delve into the reign of Philip II of Spain, the more remarkable a man and ruler he becomes. The received view—Philip as an archetypal tyrant, rooted in the hostilities of his age and surviving into the first years of this century—has, at least among historians, largely evaporated.

The two studies under review enlarge our understanding of Philip, though Wilkinson Zerner in *Juan de Herrera* shows him more in the rational tradition of the Enlightenment, whereas Tanner in *The Last Descendant of Aeneas* suggests another side, a fascination with the occult. Herrera's architectural world occasionally overlaps with the conceits of far-fetched genealogies that Hapsburg rulers like Philip used to link themselves with historic Byzantium and Rome, mythic Troy, and biblical Israel.

Wilkinson Zerner has pursued the career of Herrera (c.1530–1597) with prodigious effort and built a convincing case for his talents, achievements, and influences as royal architect. Before discussing his greatest achievement, the Escorial, she reconstructs Herrera's and Philip's ideas on architecture and Spanish building from an impressive variety of sources and examples. She, too, considers the controversial case for Ramón Lull's proportions for the Escorial, and asserts that the homoge-

nous result and classic severity was ultimately Herrera's achievement, although, at the same time, Philip's. Yet "the personal stamp of the king's authorship, which everyone since Sigüenza has seen in the Escorial, is finally due to the singularity of Herrera's style" (115).

The Escorial was hardly Herrera's only achievement. He had a hand in alterations to palaces, public squares, and buildings in Toledo, Granada, and Lisbon; he designed the Merchants' Exchange (*Casa Lonja*) in Seville and the never-completed cathedral of Valladolid and he laid out gardens. Town planning, especially the problems of booming Madrid, provided another dimension of his work. Relying on contemporary texts, Wilkinson Zerner shows how Philip, Herrera, and others perceived harmonious architecture, rational city planning, and the well-ordered state, as reflections of the divinely ordained cosmos. In all, her study is eminently sensible—an outstanding product of thirty years' labor.

With Tanner, we enter the realm of conceit. Mythic genealogy has a long pedigree and perhaps, in Homeric or biblical times, affected relationships and behavior. But was there anything more than flattery and conceit behind the Julians' divine descent from the gods through Aeneas in Virgil's work? It certainly did not stay the Praetorians, who butchered Caligula and hounded Nero to death. Yet Christian courtiers and monks continued the tradition. The parallels with the Savior's descent from David are obvious. From the Carolingian to the Italian Renaissance the bookish flattered their brutish masters with contrived genealogies and fictive histories that may well have swayed the more credulous among them.

Since both imperial and territorial claims depended mainly on legitimate inheritance, the fabrication of family trees became a business. For Hapsburg claims to universal Christian empire, what better evidence than a family tree that reached through Charlemagne and Constantine back to Aeneas on the one side and King David on the other? Emperor Frederick III (1440–1493), who crowned poets but could not defend Vienna, was flattered to think as much, as was his equally captivated son, Maximilian I (1493–1519), whose fortunate marriage to Marie of Burgundy resulted from the hard-headed politics of Flanders, not fictive family trees. But, if no one else, artists cashed in with Maximilian's tomb in Innsbruck, surrounded as it was by statues of his dubious ancestors. Maximilian became grand master of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which had its share of conceits, including an association of Jason and the Argonauts with *Agnus Dei*.

Both the dynastic power struggles, in which Tanner is not interested, and the conceits, in which she is, continued into the reigns of Charles V and his son Philip II. The fabricators continued to receive small sums for their work, and art, architecture, and pageantry continued to display it. Philip liked to think of himself as one of the cognoscenti. He appreciated the references to family and mythic history, and even incorporated into the Escorial some of the more obvious examples, such

as King Solomon. Tanner calls him “the most significant theocratic ideologist of the modern era” (133).

Neither bibliography nor notes indicate what sources Tanner has for her knowledge of Philip II, save for Braudel, which is hardly a biography of the king.¹ Her Philip and the Philip that appears in most recent historical literature have little in common, which should not surprise us, since she claims that “Genealogical mythmaking and prophecy . . . [are] so remote from twentieth century rational thought as to be disregarded by modern historians” (119). The evidence of state papers in archives and chronicles from the period (apart from dedicatory matter) suggests that Philip’s contemporaries also disregarded genealogical mythmaking and prophecy in matters of state, leaving such concerns to art, pageantry, and entertainment. When Philip justified the political order to his subjects, he expressed his ideas strictly in biblical and Christian theological language. But holding to her argument, Tanner concludes with mentions of the Romanovs, whose imperial ideology failed, and the 1989 funeral of Empress Zita in Vienna, in which Habsburg symbols evoked enthusiastic responses.

The reach of Tanner’s book into the nooks and crannies of both the arcane and the familiar is staggering, if uneven, but at the end I had little doubt that it remains the history of a conceit.

Peter Pierson
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Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. By Robert D. Putnam (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1993) 258 pp. \$24.95

This account of the durability of civic traditions in particular regions of modern-day Italy (1970s and 1980s) is flattering to a medieval historian. The potency of civic sensibilities, especially in north and central Italy, is for Putnam a leading clue for charting Italian public life from 1970 to 1990.

From the matrix of the medieval commune emanated a political culture the vigor of which is celebrated in the third chapter of this inquiry. Employing surveys, questionnaires, and interviews characteristic of techniques of the political scientist, Putnam seeks to determine the effectiveness of regional governments. Yet he has a healthy respect for history. In his quest, he is led back to medieval forms of associative life that he locates in the eleventh century, and then follows through into the world of city-states in north and central Italy. This historical quest must perforce be conducted by relying on a skimpy sampling of historical writings. Moreover, the author is almost always sanguine concerning the burgeoning of associative life in those areas where success smiled on

¹ Fernand Braudel (trans. Sian Reynolds), *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1973).

MARIE TANNER, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*. New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1993. Pp. xiii, 333; frontispiece, 141 black-and-white illustrations. \$45.

This ambitious book undertakes to survey the survival of Roman imperial mythology and imagery in the empires and monarchies of medieval and Renaissance Europe. Tanner spends about half of her book examining and explaining the importance of the Trojan myth (and the related myth of the Argonauts) for Rome and for the imperial revivals of the eighth, tenth, twelfth, and fifteenth centuries. She covers ground that is often well known in general, summarizing the literature in Spanish, Italian, French, and German, and citing many of the Latin sources, but she is right to assert that no other study provides the sweeping survey offered here in just 252 pages of text (with another 70 pages of notes and bibliography). The most striking aspect of this remarkable book, however, is the 141 plates, many of them full-page illustrations, that document the amazingly long-lived tradition of reconstructing imperial and royal lineages back to the house of David or even Noah, on the one hand, or back to Constantine, Aeneas, and even Dardanus, the founder of Troy, on the other. Emperors and petty rulers alike did not blush in connecting their regimes to the Olympian gods and thereby assimilating themselves to the gods. Tanner provides a useful way of reading the heraldic and iconographic details of Renaissance prints by such diverse masters as Hans Burgkmair, Leone Leoni, Giulio Romano, Titian, and Dürer, pointing to the often strange juncture of pagan and Christian elements, such as the two-faced Janus/Noah by H. Gebwiler (1530). Tanner also documents in considerable detail the importance of such dynastic motifs in the lavish "Los Honores" tapestries woven at Brussels in 1519 to celebrate Charles V's election as emperor, tapestries that associate Charles with the "New Man" created to overcome vice, arrest the wheel of fortune, and guarantee that virtue would take possession of the world. Such lofty aspirations were only possible, Tanner argues, because Charles was the legitimate heir of Noah and Aeneas, new men in an almost literal sense. Johan Marignola's *Chronicon* (*Kronika Marignolova*, ca. 1355-62) had gone even further in giving Emperor Charles IV direct descent from "the pagan gods Saturn and Jove" (p. 97). Fanciful genealogical trees proved the same point graphically while poets and humanists tried to show that the Argonauts, for example, had sojourned in Germany or that, indeed, Troy was a Frankish settlement and that German was the original language of Adam.

Tanner's treatment culminates not in a Holy Roman Emperor but in Philip II of Spain, who felt cheated of his rightful claim to the empire and who commissioned countless works of art, architecture, and military hardware to remind contemporaries of his exalted lineage. Tanner provides excellent brief sketches of Philip's leadership of the Order of the Golden Fleece, his extraordinarily complex pagan-Christian program for the Escorial, his attempts to establish his dynasty's special veneration for the Holy Cross and for the Eucharist, and his sense of himself as the "last world emperor," an apocalyptic role in which Philip tried to cast himself as the sun king, the messianic restorer of the Regnum Apollonis.

As a study of the oddest forms of royal and imperial mythology, Tanner's book makes an undoubted contribution. Even the most charitable reader must wonder, however, in just what sense a Christian king could claim to be descended from a pagan god or to be, himself, divine. Tanner seems surprisingly unfamiliar with the elaborate penances and mortifications undertaken by Philip II, pious gestures that surely evince his conviction that he was not "divine" at all. The author does not do her argument any good by loosely throwing around such terms as "sovereignty," "theocracy," and "absolutism," in apparent disregard of more than a century's work on the history of political theory. Almost as disturbing is her loose and colloquial usage of "mystical" to mean, roughly, "religious."

For all of Tanner's sharp attention to visual and genealogical detail, therefore, one must regret her apparent deafness to the nuances of theology and political theory.

And then there is the issue of reception. Tanner proceeds all too often on the assumption that if humanists and artists presented the king in Trojan armor or with Virgilian mottoes, then that is how he was perceived. Startlingly, she does little or nothing with the well-known fact that basically all the monarchies of western Europe claimed a Trojan connection. Some Britons, for example, argued a Trojan origin (through Brutus) for their race. But if that was so, then obviously the claim for any given royal house cannot be taken in isolation from the others, as Tanner seems to do. By the sixteenth century, moreover, critics had begun to debunk the Trojan myth and to laugh at the silly genealogies presented in previous centuries. Remember the humorous tone with which Shakespeare presented Hector of Troy as played by Armado, the "fantastical Spaniard," in the gently mocking skit featuring the nine worthies in *Love's Labour's Lost* (act 5). Tanner takes her imperial mythology more seriously than did many contemporaries of Philip II. Her handsome book recalls for us the lost world of mythical genealogy but fails to place that world in its appropriate contexts of Renaissance power and wit.

H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT, University of Virginia

HENK VAN OS, with EUGÈNE HONÉE, HANS NIEUWDORP, and BERNHARD RIDDERBOS, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*. Trans. Michael Hoyle. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994. Pp. 192; color frontispiece, color plates, black-and-white figures. \$49.50.

The Art of Devotion is the title both of this book and of an exhibition held at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (November 26, 1994–February 26, 1995). Henk van Os, that museum's director and this volume's principal author, has attempted to present an overview of objects—paintings; sculptures in ivory, stone, and polychromed wood; manuscripts; works in precious metal; and prints—that functioned in a devotional context throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages.

"Works of art the size of which clearly demonstrated that they had been made for a private room, be it a nun's cell or a layman's bedroom" (p. 8), was the vague requirement that allowed a work to be considered under the rubric "devotional art." Van Os's lively introductory essays casually bring together a wide-ranging group of these intimate objects in order to explore the various devotional contexts in which they were used. Narratives from popular texts such as the *Golden Legend* and the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* and prayers such as the *Salve sancta facies* and the hymn *Salve regina* are effortlessly drawn into his sensitive and illuminating descriptions of the images. Unencumbered by footnotes and other scholarly apparatus, van Os's animated and anecdotal text demystifies these often elusive and forbidding works and draws the modern reader into a casual intimacy with them that is often lost in the more monumental museum settings in which they are now seen.

The scope of the essays in this well-illustrated and handsomely produced volume moves beyond the core objects in the museum's exhibition to consider a large and eruditely selected number of secondary works. These not only help to contextualize the exhibition's material but present the astonishing artistic range of medieval devotional art. Although very informative, this contextualization can at times be exceedingly confusing. Little effort is spent analyzing what, beyond scale, distinguishes devotional art from other religious imagery. Can it be termed devotional even when the devotion is only assumed and not made explicit? Can distinctions be drawn between the devotional and the mnemonic and empathic? Should stylistic and formal considerations be reformulated when talking about