

No account has been taken, to cite two points merely, of Mr Russell's demonstration that supposedly country MPs like John Pym were trying to put the King's revenue on a sure footing and Professor Hirst's persuasive argument that court and country depended on each other for their mutual well-being.

Could a comparative study of early-modern rebellions have been made to yield more interesting results? There seems every reason to think so. Buried in the narrative presented here of such movements as the Tudor rebellions in England, the Croquants and the Comuneros, one finds numerous aspects that prompt curiosity and cry out for detailed comparative analysis. In the first place there is the vital question of leadership and spontaneity, blurred in this book by some confusion in the use of social categories. There is also the problem of the role of ritual and social derision as alternative forms of expression to open violence, which is entirely neglected. Other matters ripe for consideration in the wide geographical context that Mr Zagorin has employed include the significance of myth and rumour, methods of mobilization and the role of oaths, slogans and sobriquets. We are left with tantalizing glimpses of what might be possible. Meanwhile this book provides a convenient entry to the world of rebellions and civil wars between 1500 and 1660. Its strength lies in its well-judged summaries of a mass of monograph and article material. These make the publication of a paperback, besides the hardback edition, an admirable decision.

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Scienze Credenze Occulte Livelli di Cultura. Edited by GIANCARLO GARFAGNINI. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, for Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1982. n.p.).

THIS fat volume contains twenty-three of the papers given at a conference held in Florence in June, 1980, omitting four that appeared on the original programme (including one by François Secret). It has been edited by Giancarlo Garfagnini, on the whole accurately (apart from a total confusion on p. 283), and is handsomely printed and illustrated.

It is a difficult volume to summarize, since it lacks any coherent organizing principle. The vagueness of, and absence of punctuation in the title, are symptomatic of a collection that reaches out towards various goals without satisfying any of them. At times one feels that contributions intended for a number of different journals – *Medical History*, *Hispanic Studies*, *Quaderni Storici*, *Cultura e Scuola*, *Speculum* – have got bound up together by some accident at the printers. The catch-all nature of the section-titles – ‘Scienze e uomini senza lettere: il Paracelsimo’; ‘Maestri, medici, e colportori’; ‘Acculturazione nel nuovo mondo e nell’ Europa riformata e controriformata’; ‘Riti demoniaci nella controversia confessionale’; ‘Credenze occulte, filosofia della storia e propaganda’; ‘Miti nello spettacolo e nelle immagini’; ‘Collezionismo e enciclopedismo’ – gives some idea of the range of interests covered here, and of the impossibility of co-ordinating them. The best that the reviewer can do is to survey them *seriatim*.

The first section contains Charles Webster's paper ‘Paracelsus and demons: science as a synthesis of popular belief’, which claims that

Paracelsus' links with 'the common people' and 'popular experience' are 'sensitive and authentic', while his knowledge of erudite sources was 'limited and secondhand'. Webster summarizes Paracelsus' ideas on the *Geistesmenschen* supposedly found in mines, with his usual thoroughness and careful documentation, yet without any explanation of why the subject should be worth studying. Paracelsus' importance is taken for granted, and he is written up as a popular hero, at the expense of 'humanistic philosophers and theologians' who relied on 'literary sources' instead of 'vernacular experience in the field of magic'. This seems to me an instance of identification with one's author, accepting his account of things uncritically, which in the case of Paracelsus could be seriously misleading. The other two papers study Paracelsus' reception in Italy. Marco Ferrari gives a general account, based on the 'Libri di Secreti', miscellaneous collections of remedies and recipes, while Paolo Galluzzi concentrates on the Tuscany of Cosimo II, especially Don Antonio dei Medici (son of Francesco I and Bianca Cappello), who spent most of his life incarcerated in the Casino di S. Marco, where he built up a large occult library and made alchemical experiments. The author has done valuable bibliographical work, but tends to over-estimate Paracelsianism as a 'sintesi teorica profondamente rivoluzionaria', and describes John Dee as the 'celebre intellettuale inglese', following Yates and French as to the importance of the Rosicrucians. Certainly in Italy Paracelsian medicine attracted nothing like the controversial attention it had in London and Paris with the feud against the Galenists.

The section on education begins with a paper on Ramism and the 'quotidiano' by Guido Oldrini, stressing its claims to be of practical utility, and the effect that this may have had on science. Curiously missing from this discussion is a sense of the relevance of a different tradition, that of the *vita activa*, so much hymned by the Florentine humanists, and so important in Renaissance education. Schools and teachers are the focus of the next two papers, both based on a remarkable document of 1587 in the Venetian archives, the 'Professioni di Fede' of some 258 schoolmasters, which gives unique evidence of the existence of two levels of education in that city. Of the 4,500 boys who went to school in Venice then some 46 per cent attended the grammar schools, and had the conventional Humanist education in Latin, based on the *trivium*, taught by monks. The remaining 54 per cent, at ages ranging from six to twelve, went to the 'scuole volgari', where instruction was in Italian, the teachers were laymen, and the curriculum was based on reading, writing, and practical arithmetic. Paul F. Grendler studies the textbooks used in these schools, notably the *Fior di Virtù*, dating from the early fourteenth century, and consisting of forty chapters describing the virtues and vices, with definitions from Aquinas and illustrations from medieval bestiaries. School texts have often been conservative, but this is as if the Renaissance had never happened! At the 'scuole volgari' other popular texts were Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*, with its moral and rhetorical emphasis, and the chivalric romances, which boys would bring to school at their fathers' insistence, such was the craze for *Orlando Furioso* or *Buovo d'Antona*. The complementary study of these schools by Piero Lucchi is less lively and notably lacks an ending, but surveys the mathematics teaching and the work of one textbook writer, Domenico Manzoni.

From education we move to medicine, with Daniela Pescatini's study of teachers, doctors, and barber-surgeons in seventeenth-century Pisa. The latter category, itinerant medical men who had little training but much practical experience, performed operations for the stone, the cataract, and such complaints. Detailed archival study enables the author to compute terms of employment and salaries, and to draw a 'map' (in the manner of Carlo Cipolla) of the distribution of doctors *per capita* of the population. A parallel study of 'Medical Practice in Norwich 1550-1640' is presented by Margaret Pelling, based on the larger study that she prepared at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine and published jointly with Charles Webster in *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979). Admirably documented, the paper shows that a very high proportion of the Norwich physicians were barbers, surgeons, and women, and that this to our eyes unorthodox crew included one 'glover, astrologer, empiric'. While rural Pisa, in 1671, had eleven doctors and eleven barber-surgeons for 40,000 inhabitants, in Norwich between 1600 and 1620, with a population of 17,000, at least 100 people practised some form of medicine, including '55 surgeons, barber-surgeons and barbers, 17 apothecaries, 12 women practitioners and midwives, 9 physicians, and 7 miscellaneous'. By something resembling 'archaeology' as she calls it, the author succeeds in re-constructing the existence of five of these practitioners.

After these well-organized exercises in social history we are confronted with an analysis by Margaret Spufford of the contents of Samuel Pepys's collection of chap-books, which she compares with the material used by Robert Mandrou for his *De La Culture Populaire Aux 17^e et 18^e Siècles* (1964). Such collections range from the religious to the bawdy (the latter misleadingly over-stressed by some recent writers): as she neatly puts it, Death is 'the hero of the "godly" books, . . . Cupid the hero of the "merry" ones'. Some titles are of popular astrology and almanacs, a genre studied here by Bernard Capp, who provides an undocumented summary of his *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (1979). Here again an author seems to have become over-identified with his subject, claiming that astrology 'reached a peak of vitality and influence in the mid-seventeenth century', and asserting that astrology 'took up the challenge' of the new science, and showed 'a strong reforming, experimental streak', even adapting itself to 'the new Copernican/Galilean universe'. It seems to me that another study might well reach entirely opposite conclusions. But he is on safer ground discussing the almanacs' role as diaries, sources of information on religion and current events, sometimes with a polemical or sensational edge.

Three interesting papers which are hard to relate thematically to the rest of the collection concern acculturation. In 'A Question of Acculturation' Peter Burke surveys the history of the term in recent work, amassing an alarming number of titles, before analysing the implied models of culture-change that the word carries with it - the two cultures must be of unequal power and status; the recipient culture selects which features it needs (not always, surely?); the process 'cannot be understood without taking into account each culture's image of the other'. If this paper analyses the general issue with clarity and brevity, the two other studies of acculturation are more detailed and conventional. Richard C. Trexler's 'Aztec Priests for Christian

Altars: the theory and practice of reverence in New Spain', suffers from an unwieldy formulation of its argument ('the Spaniards' operational theory of reverence . . . was a complex amalgam of attitudes sociological rather than culturological, trans-theogonic rather than merely Christian'), although its topic, the Christianization of Montezuma's people, is of interest. A similar ethnocentrism is revealed, ironically enough, by Adriano Prospero's account of Counter-Reformation attitudes, where Jesuit 'missionaries', coming from the 'high culture' of Rome, described the people of Corsica or Calabria as 'savages', culturally backward and easy meat for the devil. Such a split, in part one between Latin and Italian, is not unconnected with the division between the 'scuole di grammatica e d'umanità' and the 'scuole volgari', and with the lack of education in Southern Italy.

Divisions between churches form the background to D. P. Walker's study of 'Demonic Possession used as propaganda in the later Sixteenth Century', which touches on one case of anti-semitic exorcism before concentrating on the Catholic use of exorcism to convert or confute the Protestants. He concentrates on the extraordinary events of 1585-6 when six demoniacs were exorcized by twelve Catholic priests in the houses of various recusants in southern England, as recorded by Samuel Harsnett in his *Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), a book used by Shakespeare for the names of the devils and other details of the pretended 'possession' of Poor Tom in *King Lear*. An even more famous case of possession being used for propaganda purposes is that of Marthe Brossier, which Walker describes as 'the first case where accusations of fraud are backed up by detailed evidence'. The question of truth or fiction is important to Elisabeth Labrousse's study of 'Le démon de Mâcon', the demon which, the priest François Perreaud claimed, haunted his house at night in the winter of 1612. This paper, as lucidly written as Walker's, gives a vivid narrative of the events and of their after-life, culminating in the publication of Perreaud's *Demonologie* and *Ensemble l'Antidemon de Mascon* in 1653, which were translated into English (and indeed Welsh). The English reaction to Perreaud, as witnessed by the great interest shown by Boyle, Glanvill, Meric Casaubon, and John Webster, sheds more light on the curiously divided attitudes to the truth of demons and witchcraft in the circles of the Royal Society.

After demonology the main occult science studied in this book is astrology. Paola Zambelli and Ottavia Niccoli both contribute papers on the universal deluge which had been prophesied by Johannes Stöffler, in his *Ephemerides* of 1499, as being due to occur in 1524 as a result of an extraordinary conjunction of the planets, a repeat of that which prevailed in the time of Noah. Paola Zambelli, who has identified 160 publications relating to this prophecy, exhibiting some fifty of them at the 1980 Florence conference on the Medicis in the sixteenth century, now delivers a monograph-length study of the whole issue, extensively documented and illustrated, which is impossible to summarize. I would like to mention one sequence of more general interest, her discussion of Agostino Nifo, whose attempt to restore Ptolemaic astrology, purged from the accretions of Arabic astrology, sparked off a major dispute about Arabic astrology, in which Pico's attack on astrology re-emerged with new contemporary relevance. The prophecies aroused widespread panic, and a mass exodus to the hills took place in many parts of Italy, as before the plague. When the deluge did

not arrive, relieved feelings were expressed in a rash of satirical poems directed against the astrologers, who were abused with culinary metaphors, as Ottavia Niccoli puts it, and became a theme for carnival. Yet, in the next generation, as Stefano Caroti shows, Philipp Melanchthon defended astrology, described it as 'the most important part of physics', and took part in many controversies in the role (according to Aby Warburg) of 'umanista, teologo e giornalista astropolitico'. Melanchthon based his claims for the truth on Aristotle and Ptolemy: J. A. de Chavigny, studied here by Jean Céard, based his on a rather weaker authority, the prophecies of Nostradamus, to which, as Déard puts it, 'il est possible, tant son langage est ténébreux, de lui prêter n'importe quelle révélation'. The collocation, in this volume, of one of the most spectacular failed prophecies of the astrologers with Chavigny's wholly arbitrary manipulation of Nostradamus, arouses questions in this reader's mind, at least, as to what the *Preceptor Germaniae* really thought he was doing. The spirit of Pierre Bayle is invoked a few times in the course of these proceedings, usually in a knowing way as an instance of the excesses of rationalism; yet it seems to me that in many recent studies of the occult, especially in Italy, a little more scepticism might be healthy.

Perhaps, too, organizers of conferences might be more self-critical about defining the goals of their meetings. What exactly are they promoting, or collecting, and why? I feel sorry for the four authors who make up the tail of this team: Lucia Lazzarini discusses the 'Preistoria degli zanni', and should have done so in a journal of theatre-history; Giorgio Stabile adds to the literature on the wheel of fortune, while Gigliola Fragnito and Krzysztof Pomian describe the Renaissance interest in antiquities. It is not only the sense of 'let them bring up the rear' that one objects to, but the equally unfair fact that collections as diverse as this can never be dealt with adequately by the annual bibliographies. *Isis* can be relied on to catch the astrological items, but heaven knows where and how some of the other items will be noticed. Only rarely does a journal have tastes catholic enough to grant such an enterprise even this much attention.

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The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World 1606–1661. By JONATHAN I. ISRAEL (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. £22.50).

IN a way, we have always known that the Dutch–Spanish struggle between 1621 and 1648 was the core of the Thirty Years War; yet, perhaps even more than the Polish–Swedish and the Polish–Russian struggles, it has remained extraordinarily obscure. Polišensky has made some suggestive but oversimplified points about the clash between a bourgeois-capitalist and a feudal society; Parker has investigated the logistical problems of the Spanish army; and for the rest we have had some articles and a very few monographs in French and Spanish, the splendid but untranslated books by Poelhekke on William Henry of Orange-Nassau and on the Peace of Münster, and general histories of the Thirty Years War, of Spain, or of the Netherlands.

Dr Israel's full study – much more than a monograph – goes a long way to fill the gap. It is based to a large extent on unpublished sources from the