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**Grafton, Anthony. Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe**

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Italian tradition extends beyond mere source-hunting to address the larger philosophical challenge of translating textual narratives into the visual medium in the seventeenth century. As such, this publication is sure to be a necessary resource for any scholar looking to understand one of the most fertile and creative minds of the seventeenth century and the numerous influences that contributed to his endlessly compelling oeuvre.

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**Grafton, Anthony.**

***Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe.***

Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020. Pp. 392 + 6 ill. ISBN 978-0-674-23717-9 (hardcover) \$39.95.

Anthony Grafton has made many books on the making of books. His brilliant work has ranged from the footnote to ink. Here, the reader shares in inky fingers, the experience of making and reading, inking and blotting.

Grafton begins with the way of humanists: more specifically, in 1517, with a German humanist, Joannes Boemus, who was making an ethnography of Europe, Africa, and Asia, which employed the best sources, “the deft use of scissors and paste” (2), a traditional and bookish method rather than the apparent eyewitnessing that recent travel writers had claimed (3, see also 1). Knowledge by travel and by systematic reading vied. In his own book, Grafton uses Boemus as a frame for his “nine studies in the forms of scholarly authorship in Western Europe between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century” that “recreate lost ways of writing and publishing, tracing the ways in which the material worlds of reading, writing, and printing affected texts and their reception” (4). Grafton explores how humanists read, researched, and wrote; how they made and disseminated books; and how aspects of humanist scholarship connected.

The nine chapters set out an arc of Grafton’s work. The first three chapters describe printers and scribes and their effect on scholars and knowledge: the first analyzes textual criticism, what Grafton calls “the humanist art of arts” (26);

the second maintains that textual criticism had connections to the divination that witches and necromancers practise; the third explores the link between new forms of scribal work and paleography.

Moreover, the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters provide studies in compilation: the fourth demonstrates how the systematic compilation, and reused and older compilations, helped to make a new history of Christianity; the fifth considers the collector Matthew Parker and his idea of an archive; the sixth discusses the resilience of humanistic commonplacing in the Atlantic world.

The next three chapters explore collections of material reused and transformed for polemical ends: the seventh chapter looks at the imaginary histories of Annius of Viterbo, a forger, begun in opposition to the humanist's revival of ancient Greek historiography; the eighth examines John Caius and his elaboration of historical argument and fantasy; the ninth locates Baruch Spinoza's approach to the textual history of the Bible in the work of earlier scholars.

Grafton unifies his nine studies through the argument that textual and empirical, scholarly and artisanal approaches to studying the past or the contemporary world involve combinations of practice and habitus, method and attitude. He also investigates the work of these figures through the margins of their books and the fragments of the documents and images they collected. In addition to stressing the labour of early modern scholars, Grafton says memorably: "This book tries to put the inky fingers back into the story of learning" (28).

Discussing correctors, who prepared manuscripts, read proofs, and frequently made their own additions of original material and whom humanists either praised or blamed, Grafton views Theodor Zwinger, a scholar from Basel and "theorist of learned travel," as an ideal Vergil, a guide to the literary underworld (29). Grafton sees continuities through the history of authorship and scholarly editing for millennia, so that when authors grow cross with copyeditors, editors, professors, or agents and when editors protest that authors are not grateful for their work, "they are replaying a scene that is deeply embedded in the classical tradition" (55). According to Grafton, correction was not always strict and technical, but humanist editors dealt with texts with passages that scribes had rendered incomprehensible and that binders had in the wrong places, and with gaps, so sometimes, using their "philological imagination,"

the editors had to surmise what the author had written and whether their conjectures and those of others were believable. Among other things, Grafton discusses divination and conjecture in relation to Cicero, Isaac Casaubon, and others, examines Ficino and Erasmus on philology and divination, and explores the printing house and scholarship as well as ancient and modern divination, including conjectural emendation and Samuel Johnson's view of that in Shakespeare's text (76–77). Grafton argues that Jean Mabillon and his colleagues considered an ancient codex in a way that constitutes "a philological revolution" and maintains that Mabillon's *De re diplomatica* transformed the study of manuscripts and documents and that in the second edition he asked for "expert eyes" (79, 91). As Grafton observes: "Critical paleography began, not in humanistic philology, but in creative calligraphy" (104).

Furthermore, Grafton discusses the rabbi Jesus, telling how, in 1742, J. C. Schöttgen "argued that Jesus, when he came as the Messiah, had done so as a Jew" (105). I can only gesture here to the richness of Grafton's work. For instance, he states: "Like Boemus, Polydore Vergil extended the comparative method that he too had learned from Beroaldo and Biondo to include the Jews" (117–18). He elaborates on this contribution: "Polydore revolutionized the study of early Christianity, not by bringing new sources into play, but rather by turning what had become a standard method of self-education into one of composition" (119). Under Matthew Parker, Lambeth Palace was like an academy and his scholars, in creating an archive, tried to recover the knowledge of the monastic libraries (132). Parker's collections helped him "assess the nature of the traditions he collected" (151).

In America, Pastorius tells us about the practices of erudition and the roots of the Enlightenment that grew in "European learning and Christian belief" (185). Annius of Viterbo, a forger who knew Jewish scholarship through inventions, compilations, and intermediaries, helped inspire "Christian scholarship on Jewish law, history, and religion" (207). Caius, a medical doctor, scholar, and philologist, built up his college at Cambridge but "paid so little attention to the materials and ages of his sources" (231), preferring notarial to philological standards. Like "humanists and forgers, ecclesiastical historians and eccentric critics," Spinoza helped to bring about the Enlightenment (253). Grafton concludes "that the scholarship of the humanists was a form of work: one that required drudgery" (254) and they "were artisans as well as thinkers" (256).

Looking at humanists in their world, Grafton shows once more that despite the ongoing challenges to the humanities, he is a worthy successor to those he writes about and an exemplar for those of us fortunate enough to know him or to read him.

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**Graham, Kenneth, and Alysia Kolentzis, eds.**

*Shakespeare On Stage and Off.*

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. Pp. xv, 288 + 32 b/w ill. ISBN 978-0-7735-5925-7 (paperback) \$37.95.

In their introduction to this remarkable collection, editors Kenneth Graham and Alysia Kolentzis state their belief that the selected essays demonstrate how Shakespeare's plays enhance present-day culture, even as the experience of a Shakespeare performance allows twenty-first-century audiences the opportunity to ponder events within that culture. They further contend that the three divisions of the book allow us to probe inescapable dichotomies of human society, such as unity and diversity, tradition and experiment, and performance and identity, among others. The idea for this collection transpired from the first and second Shakespeare Conferences held in Stratford, Ontario in 2015 and 2017. As they demonstrate "the variety and vitality of Shakespeare's interaction with contemporary life and culture" (3), the essays attempt to answer the query: "Shakespeare 401: What's Next?" The essays discuss live global stage productions, live theatre broadcasts, films and television shows, and several written modes, including close readings, personal reflections, and careful analysis of staging practices. In the space that follows, I will offer further explanations of the ideas in each division of the book and will discuss several essays more thoroughly.

Because the five essays in section 1, "Playing with Shakespeare," move from discussions of words on the page to actions on the stage, the authors engage with verbal and performative language analysis. In addition, theatrical interpretations involve assessments of decisions about casting, including, but