

those that involved not only kings and queens but also their courts, the nobility, the clergy, their subjects, and the territories under their control.

Ritual and *ceremony* are used to describe both the tangible expressions and intangible mindsets that affected people's actions throughout their lives. While the two words are not synonymous, investigating their precise meanings allow the authors of this volume to dig deeply into Bohemian society. What emerges is a picture of a society in which life, from beginning to end and at all levels, was punctuated by well-defined gestures and actions that people performed, often without being consciously aware that they were performing: it was through rituals and ceremonies that their lives came to exist.

Not only kings and queens' lives were shaped by rituals and ceremonies. Going down the social ladder, we meet the royal courts, the nobility and clergy, royal subjects, and townspeople. Their lives, too, were defined by rituals and ceremonies, using objects from swords to simple belts, and spanning attempts to hold festivities according to church rules and with greater freedom. No one escaped from the demands of ritual—every action performed and every piece of clothing worn had its meaning, the authors argue, because ritual and ceremony were so intrinsic to people's lives that they were not necessarily even able to recognize it.

Despite the different hands that wrote this book, *Festivities* is so harmonious that it could have been written by a single author. It is not easy to describe every essay, because each one is deeply connected with the others. Above all, the book's authors have been able to use their sources not only to make a precise historical investigation but also to create a real painting of the Bohemian environment between the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. We can clearly see every image of each ritual and ceremony, of every street or space where festivities took place, and of every object used by people of that time, from kings to subjects. The authors have created more than a historical book—they have crafted a scenography that allows the reader to live inside the story. Even more, it is essential reading for everyone who wants to investigate Eastern European society, because of the sources used and referenced and the book's methodology in the study of human behavior.

Enrica Guerra, *Independent Scholar, Italy*
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The Perfection of Nature: Animals, Breeding, and Race in the Renaissance.
MacKenzie Cooley.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022. xiv + 337 pp. \$110.50.

This learned and elegant book is a history of the science of animal breeding in the late fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries across the Spanish Habsburg world, from Italy to Mexico. With meticulous scholarship, Cooley surveys materials touching on the lineage of animals (*razza* in Italian, *raza* in Spanish, *race* in English) while at the

same time remaining alert to those early modern European discourses of human diversity and hierarchy that eventually became modern racialism and racism. Cooley is very cautious in her approach. She does not assume that *razza* or *raza* are the same as modern race, but she is also reluctant to label race a solely modern invention. Nevertheless, on the basis of a wide survey of very disparate primary sources (breeder's studbooks and reports to their patrons, dictionaries, ethnographic studies, natural histories, ethnographies, and physiognomic studies), Cooley does take up a position in relation to the existing historiography. This book is very skeptical of any direct transition between animal *raza* or lineage and human race. Ana Gómez-Bravo and David Nirenberg have argued that there was a transition between *raza* and *race*. But examining the reports of breeders to patrons and records of stables at Mantua and Naples, Cooley finds a lack of theoretical introspection on breeding (Aristotelian or Galenic university sciences rarely if ever appear in these sources) and the practical acceptance of the fact that family resemblances held sometimes but not always in breeding interactions. The book of *pallio* victories that belonged to Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, focused on the characteristics and virtues of champion horses but not on the purity of their descent. This does not look much like a strong doctrine of heredity that could generate a modern racism.

The structure of Cooley's book is wide-ranging and complex. Part 1 emphasizes the importance of artisans (horse breeders in this case) to the production of knowledge, and attends to branding as part of their practice. Part 2 deals with collections of human and animal beings at the courts of Mantua and the Emperor Montecuzoma Xocoyotzin's court at Mexico-Tenochtitlan, as well as Mexican notions of breeding. Part 3 charts the emergence of *mestizo* (mixed) dog populations in New Spain, as well as the surprisingly tense Spanish encounter with the llama. Part 4 turns to the world of the papal court and the Roman Inquisition, taking in José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* of 1590, as well as the studies in physiognomy that Giovanni Battista della Porta pursued in southern Italy in the 1580s and 1590s.

Cooley's argument does not generally touch on theology, except briefly when treating Della Porta's encounters with the Inquisition. It is certainly unlikely that the horse breeders whom she introduces to the reader, or the marchioness of Mantua who chatted to a cousin about the dwarves that she employed at her court, ever gave a thought to what the church would think of their notes and letters. And yet theologians belonged to Habsburg society just as much as stable masters and noblewomen, and theologians often dominated the universities of Europe and the New World. The Dominicans and Jesuits who followed Thomas Aquinas, Franciscans who followed John Duns Scotus, and Protestants who improvised from both those traditions all saw heredity as part of the problem of the origin of the human essence, the human soul. Strong doctrines of heredity (which raised troubling theological problems about original sin as well as free will) were thus difficult to transform into an ideology of hierarchy and abuse that could be taught in universities. However, when in 1758 Carl Linnaeus published a

strong and recognizably modern division of humanity into races that included allegations of African inferiority, it was framed by a science that denied the human ability to perceive essences, both in animals and in humans. Humans could thus be characterized by external characteristics allegedly gathered by empirical observation, but in fact tentatively selected. This racist science was adopted quite quickly in European universities. Europeans could invent a strong race doctrine only when they succeeded in isolating that doctrine from questions about heredity and the human soul.

Ian Campbell, *Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland*
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England's Second Reformation: The Battle for the Church of England, 1625–1662.
Anthony Milton.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. xiv + 528 pp. \$44.99.

In this magisterial work, Anthony Milton demonstrates that the English Reformation was not, despite the probable intentions of Elizabeth I, “placed . . . as upon a square stone to remayne constant.” Rather than the substratum of the Church of England, the religious settlement of 1559 was an “incoherent and haphazard jumble,” enshrining deep ambiguity over the precise location of authority over doctrine, church government, liturgical conformity, and canon law. Instead of viewing the period of the English Civil War and Interregnum as an unfortunate and embarrassingly violent hiatus in the history of Anglicanism, Milton demonstrates that the decades of turmoil in the mid-seventeenth century were rather the “climax” of the English Reformation, when the fortunes of the Church of England were radically reconceptualized in a bewildering variety of plans, projects, and proposals. Amidst the bloodshed trauma of the civil wars, and the extraordinary political experiments of republic and Interregnum, England experienced a “second Reformation,” “moreover, a Reformation that was more thoroughly debated, over a much longer period, and by larger numbers of people, than any of England’s earlier Tudor Reformations” (217). While Tudor Protestants imported their theology and most of their ecclesiology from Reformed divines in Zurich, Strasbourg, and Geneva, the tumults of the mid-seventeenth century engaged a huge cast of homegrown English laity and clergy who sought to design and control the unfinished Reformation of the English Church.

After a brilliant scene-setting chapter on the “unresolved Reformation” of Elizabeth, Milton explores the phases of the second Reformation in chronological order, giving equal attention to the Laudian church, the experiments of 1640–42, the Westminster Reformation, the Royalist church of the Interregnum and the “failed reformations” of 1659 and 1661, and culminating with the Caroline Reformation of 1661–62 whose conservative character was, Milton argues, far from inevitable.