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favor, gain support for a particular policy, or simply boost sales. As time went by, some royal servants discovered that their loyalty to the Crown came at a price. Charles I pushed more duties on the shoulders of his sheriffs, particularly the collection of his novel and hated taxes. Consequently, they found themselves caught between their loyalty to the Crown and their natural affinity with their neighbors. Scottish Royalists were caught in a similar dilemma with the added complication of the National Covenant.

As the Civil War approached, radicals discovered new definitions of loyalty. The Puritan martyrs John Bastwick, William Prynne, and Henry Burton adopted the tactic of denying royal authority by comparing their situations to that of the apostle Paul before the tyrannical Roman emperor Nero. At their trials they claimed that they owed loyalty to a heavenly Caesar, not an earthly one. The martyrs' claim that they were loyal to the Crown, just not to the policies of this particular king, may have assuaged their tender consciences, but it was denied by rulings in courts of common law. In *Storie's Case*, courts ruled that loyalty was established at birth and was irrevocable. Storie had argued that he had previously revoked his obligation to Queen Elizabeth and sworn allegiance to Philip of Spain and thus could not have been deemed guilty of treason. *Calvin's Case* further established that not only did loyalty begin at birth but it was also determined by the place of birth. The lawyers may have been satisfied that natural law confirmed in common law that subjects owed perpetual loyalty to the Crown from birth, but kings learned, or should have, that having the law on their side was not sufficient. In their separate essays these authors have demonstrated that effective kingship required more.

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Nicolaus Mameranus: Poetry and Politics at the Court of Mary Tudor.
Matthew Tibble.
Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 220. Leiden: Brill, 2020. xii + 390 pp. $188.

The word *courtier* can bring to mind what Hamlet called "waterflies," mere social climbers hoping to survive palace politics. A more accurate portrayal of these court functionaries emerges in this study of Nicolaus Mameranus (1500–65), a Catholic scholar born in Mamer in southwestern Luxembourg, whom Holy Roman emperor Charles V named a Count Palatine and poet laureate in 1555. Matthew Tibble does not offer a complete biography but narrows his focus to Mameranus's work at the court of Mary Tudor and her husband Philip II during his English visit from March to July 1557. The result is an insightful look at the life of a working courtier who was indeed upwardly mobile but nevertheless adroitly navigated the cross-currents of patronage, politics, and

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theology in mid-sixteenth-century England. Tibble seeks to "contextualize the marriage [of Mary and Philip] within a wider conversation about Imperial dynasty and Catholic Reformation" (8), and to "question the current argument that the Marian church developed a Catholic Reformation theology and spirituality that was completely unified with that which was developing throughout Europe" (10).

Mameranus, sometimes derided by contemporaries for flaunting his laureate status, displays, in Tibble's view, "the anxieties of an unrecognized poet suffering under the realities of the early modern patronage system" (23–24). His humorous *Beso las Manos* (I kiss your hands) is thus "a complex satire of the poetic trade" (16), later revised in a more serious vein for presentation to Mary and presenting the poet as *vates* and "imparter of divine wisdom" (30). With likely an inflated sense of his own importance, Mameranus sought to benefit Mary's administration by commenting on "intercultural relations at court, the progress of religious reformation, the balance of power within the royal couple's co-monarchy, and even monetary policy" (33). Such a broad range of topics was no doubt intended to impress the queen and hopefully lead to greater royal favor.

The new English monarchy was for Mameranus an opportunity to reinvigorate the Catholic church in Northern Europe, a purpose that lay behind his encomiastic marriage poem *Gratulatorium*, completed a year after the wedding of Mary and Philip II of Spain, in which the queen is portrayed as leading England's reconciliation with Rome. Tibble contrasts Mameranus's epithalamion for them with that of contemporary Dutch poet Hadrianus Junius, the *Philippeis* (1554). Mameranus alters the generic convention to stress the agency of both partners, effectively raising Mary's political profile. Hardly the submissive virgin, she poetically welcomes Philip to England with a full panoply of her autonomy. Mameranus gives weight to their "co-monarchy of equality" and "deliberately obfuscates any division of roles" (63), privileging the political functioning of both king and queen and opening a poetic consideration of "the Spanish expectation that Philip would be crowned and the English fear of foreign interference in their polity" (68). Mameranus emerges here as both energetic courtier and polymath eager to influence royal views.

Tibble argues that a celebratory English mood in 1557, buoyed by the victory at St. Quentin, elevated Mary's Catholic agency. His *Psalmi Davidis Quinque* translated five psalms and offered reflections on topics such as "The Duty of a Prince" and "The Vices of the Court." Together they reveal his pre-Reformation Catholic emphasis and a responsiveness to humanistic influences. Clearly adopting the role of learned advisor to princes, Mameranus does not hesitate to guide the monarch with "spiritual instruction, [a] polemical defense of the institutional Church, and patristic scholarship" (136). A lengthy chapter on his defense of Catholicism reveals the courtier's immersion in the theological disputes affecting London and Cologne.

Tibble's monograph commands a large array of contemporary sources and contains several appendixes offering English translations (by Tibble and Gary Vos) of

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Mameranus's *Beso las Manos*, *Gratulatorium*, *Psalmi Davidis Quinque*, and *Oratio Dominica*. The bibliography of Mameranus's complete publications and of primary and secondary sources also will make this work a useful springboard for further research into the interface of politics, literature, and religion during the Marian era in England.

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Spain, Rumor, and Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Jacobean England: The Palatine Match, Cleves, and the Armada Scares of 1612–1613 and 1614.
Calvin F. Senning.
Routledge Research in Early Modern History. New York: Routledge, 2019. xiv + 254 pp. $155.

Despite its contribution to English self-mythology, the Spanish Armada of 1588 did relatively little to settle matters between England and Spain. Elizabeth emerged as a great wartime leader, at least in this instance, and Spain was temporarily halted in its ambitions. But the war continued until 1604, and Spain would retain its imperial superpower status for decades to come. Not least, English victory did not lead people to believe that the country was at all free from other armadas on the horizon. Even if Spain had no plans for sending another naval force across the Channel, events such as the death of an English prince or the marriage of the king's daughter could precipitate a chain of rumors, propaganda, diplomatic tensions, and anxiety that made a pending Spanish invasion appear all too real. Nearly twenty-five years after England's providential scattering of Spanish ships to the winds, two such armada scares erupted once more; previously overlooked or sidelined by historians, they serve as the subject of Calvin Senning's excellent *Spain, Rumor, and Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Jacobean England*.

Drawing upon an impressive range of diplomatic, political, and literary sources, Senning provides an outstandingly written narrative account of the rumors and popular panic over Spain's alleged preparation of a new armada in 1612 and 1614, respectively. By 1611 and into 1612, relations between the two countries had already deteriorated in the wake of a new détente between Catholic France and Spain, and the proposed marriage between James's daughter Elizabeth and the Protestant Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine. Fear of Spanish political and financial might and rumors of suspicious naval activity were further accompanied by renewed anti-Catholicism and persecutory measures against English recusants. The sudden death of Henry, Prince of Wales, and "Protestant champion," however, came as an especially acute "psychological shock," stoking rumors even further that Spain would take advantage of the loss and target Virginia or invade through the always-suspect Ireland, for example (66, 70).

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