

mass and found spiritual support from their chaplains. This gave rise to incidents and controversies, but also to much thinking on extraterritoriality. London serves as an example here, as in the time of James I: in 1623, when hundreds of people were attending a Jesuit's preaching at the French ambassador's house, the floor collapsed and ninety-five people died (Roberta Anderson). Charlotte Backerra analyzes the situation in London in the first half of the eighteenth century, where there were seven embassy chapels, and compares it to the case of Salzburg, where the archbishop expelled Protestants from his principality in 1731–32, causing diplomatic upheaval but no lasting crisis. A fertile investigation revealed the installation of chapels for imperial ambassadors in Protestant lands: in Stockholm, where this led to the arrest of a chaplain in 1671; in Copenhagen, where the Catholic minority enjoyed relative freedom; and finally in Dresden. After first working with Jesuit missionaries who knew the country and the language well, the imperial diplomats chose their chaplains from the Austrian and Bohemian clergy instead (Martin Bakeš and Jiří Kubeš).

The Protestant world displayed similar solidarities. Thus, Steve Murdoch shows that, despite Sweden's strong Lutheran identity, its diplomacy did not hesitate to employ Calvinist Scots in the early seventeenth century. In the same way, the links between Sweden and Transylvania remained strong, as shown by Pál Ráday's missions to Charles XII at the time of the Rákóczi insurrection in the early eighteenth century (Gábor Kármán). These remarks highlight just some of the contributions of these prolific studies that explore an important subject in a new way.

Lucien Bély, *Sorbonne Université*
doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.362

“Neither Letters nor Swimming”: The Rebirth of Swimming and Free-Diving.
John M. McManamon.

Brill Studies in Maritime History 9. Leiden: Brill, 2021. xvi + 467 pp. €129.

The past decade has seen a surge in scholarship about oceans and human engagements with water. Various terms coastal studies, ocean history, or the blue humanities, this mode of analysis includes efforts to recontextualize literary cultures and broad historical analyses such as W. Jeffrey Bolster's *The Mortal Sea: Fishing in the Atlantic in the Age of Sail* (2014) and Helen Rozwadowski's *Vast Expanses: A History of the Oceans* (2018), among others. Most recently, Bloomsbury's six-volume *Cultural History of the Sea* (2021), under the general editorship of Margaret Cohen, collects multiple scholarly perspectives on this long human history. To this academic blue wave John M. McManamon's *Neither Letters nor Swimming* makes a dense and erudite contribution.

McManamon's history mines traditional scholarly archives for descriptions and examples of two practices, swimming and free-diving. While noting that these terms are not always distinguishable in the archival record, he takes *swimming* to refer to locomotion across the surface of a body of water, and *free-diving* to mean movement beneath the surface. He takes his title from a much-repeated Greek proverb that "defined abject ignorance" (5) as being both illiterate and unable to swim.

Scholars of the early modern period may turn directly to the final third of the volume for its descriptions of two Renaissance swim manuals: Swiss humanist Nicholas Wynman's *Colymbetes* (1538) and the Cambridge Don Everard Digby's *De Arte Natandi* (1587). It is primarily through these authors, as well as figures such as Castiglione and Erasmus, that McManamon asserts his claim for a rebirth of ancient aquatic arts. The first two sections of McManamon's book, however, provide thorough and detailed explorations of aquatic practices in the classical period, in a section called "Ancient Legacy," and the Middle Ages, under the title "Medieval Impoverishment." As those section titles suggest, McManamon hews closely to traditional ideas about classical flourishing, medieval loss, and Renaissance rebirth.

The value of his book, however, lies less in its rearticulation of this familiar historical structure than in his detailed and precise enumerations of traditional sources. His exploration of the practical functions of swimming and free-diving, which include diving for pearls and coral from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and later the Caribbean, and also diving and swimming in salvage and military operations, opens up a wealth of materials for further study. He traces classical and medieval swimmers from open oceans to rivers and lakes, and from the balmy Mediterranean to Beowulf's cold and monster-filled northern waters. The section on medieval swimming leans heavily on legendary figures but also engages with "Medieval Salvage Diving in Law and Practice," as well as a careful description of Dante's simile of Geryon swimming through Hell (*Inferno* 17).

In his third section, "The Renaissance Conceptualization of Swimming and Free-Diving," McManamon provides close summaries of Wynman's *Colymbetes* and Digby's *De Arte Natandi*. The appended table of Digby's "agile movements in the water" will be particularly useful for anyone working with that text. Emphasizing that Digby seems not to have known Wynman's earlier work, McManamon contrasts the humanist theological structure that animates *Colymbetes* with Digby's focus on technical proficiency. For Wynman, in a somewhat Erasmian mode, swimming can be "an allegory for Christian faith" in which the practice represents "the space accorded human freedom" (267). Digby, by contrast, highlights swimming as skill, as the woodcut images of human swimmers employing different strokes and maneuvers demonstrate.

Scholars who engage in blue humanities or oceanic studies will find much of value in these pages. McManamon notes only briefly important recent work by Kevin Dawson, Molly Warsh, and others that emphasizes the proficiency of African and Native American peoples in aquatic skills and labor. A thorough reconsideration of how much Europeans learned about water practices from beyond Europe remains outside

the scope of this volume. As we await more of that essential work, this book represents a thorough summary and presentation of traditional European materials about an increasingly central topic.

Steve Mentz, *St. John's University*
doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.363

Origins of the Witches' Sabbath. Michael D. Bailey.

Magic in History Sourcebooks. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021. viii + 128 pp. \$21.95.

This book presents a handful of texts, all written in the 1430s around the arc of the western Alps, that helped to strengthen the negative efficacy of *maleficium*, or harmful magic. The texts uphold the generally held belief that these wicked people could meet as members of organized heretical sects or as agents of a sinister conspiracy to undermine Christian society.

In this book, the translator gives a version in English of five primary texts from the mid-fifteenth century. Each work is preceded by an introduction that serves as an examination of the relative text within the framework of the evolving perceptions on witchcraft in Europe. The introductory discussion of the texts evaluates key features of witchcraft trials in the fifteenth century. First, Bailey highlights the fact that the Christian authorities associated most magic forms with demonic power. So, witches were perceived as agents of an evil conspiracy. This concept had been developing since the thirteenth century and may be found in the inquisitorial legal structures, which emerged to root out heresies. Second, by the early fifteenth century, many theologians used testimony obtained mainly from threatened or tortured witches to prove the physical reality of demonic actions. The sources collected in this book and published in chronological order reveal this concept in its nascent stages.

The first text is a brief report of the Valais witch trials compiled by the Swiss chronicler Hans Fründ. These trials led to the execution of hundreds and may have launched witch-hunting in Europe. The second is a short treatise by Claude Tholosan, the *Dauphinois* chief magistrate of the region. Bailey indicates that Tholosan's main concern was to justify secular over ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The third text, *The Errors of the Gazarii*, is ascribed to an Inquisitor. It highlights the diabolical horrors of witchcraft and witches' assemblies, which Bailey tends to link to the Aosta trials. The fourth is mostly extracted from Johannes Nider's *Anthill* and deemed to be a long moralizing treatise of the theologian monk. Finally, the last translated text, *The Vauderie of Lyon*, was possibly written by a Dominican Inquisitor hailing from the same order as the friar Nider. It describes the dire actions of witches around Lyon in France and links conspiratorial witchcraft directly to horrific practices considered abhorrent to the