



BULLETIN

OF THE SOCIETY FOR RENAISSANCE STUDIES

THE ANNUAL LECTURE

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

PARTNERSHIP LECTURE

GABRIELE NEHER

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Material culture has been a focal point for Renaissance studies in recent years. The return of literary scholars to the archive has brought with it a return to the artefact as the new philology has turned texts inside out by foregrounding marginalia and the physical act of reading a codex or early printed book. But the emphasis on materiality goes far beyond books and archives. Not only have scholars across disciplines sought to understand Renaissance material life by examining bodies and clothes, instruments and implements, paper and textiles, they have also revisited existing understandings of Renaissance spiritual, emotional, social and political life from a material perspective.

The contributions to this issue of the *Bulletin* highlight the ways in which research into the material Renaissance continues to deliver fresh insights. Alexandra Walsham's lecture for the Society explores the reach of the Reformation into domestic spaces through images depicted on household objects that bespeak a wider spiritual and political narrative. Whilst her lecture is concerned with materialised memory, Gabriele Neher discusses another material expression of time in her British School at Rome lecture: a map of Venice that depicts the city as existing in multiple temporal realities. Turning to material texts, one of our two featured conference reports advocates a social history of the archive to rival the social history of the book, while the other reminds us of the rich and understudied resources of Cathedral archives and libraries.

Getting the *Bulletin* to press is also a material business. This is the first issue that the current editors have page set in full and we would like to thank retiring editor Ruth Ahnert for her training and advice. Perhaps as you read it you will also be moved to perform a material act and note in your diary the date of the next Annual Lecture: it will take place on Friday 1 May 2015 at 5.30pm. Details will follow on the website (rensoc.org.uk) and in the April issue of the *Bulletin*. All members are warmly invited.

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(www.lacma.org).

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LETTER FROM THE HONORARY CHAIR

Renaissance literary scholars have been less successful than medievalists in emphasising the links between the literatures of Europe. For more than a generation Chaucerians have made outstanding contributions to the study of Dante, Boccaccio, Old French and Medieval Latin literature. Specialists in the English Renaissance tend to focus more on continental sources for English writers or on the Latin writings of Englishmen than on sixteenth-century European literature.

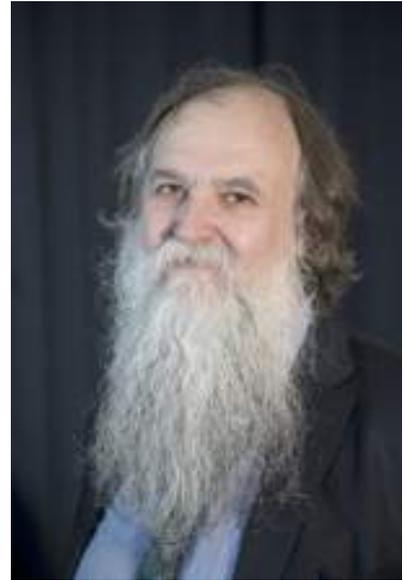
In the field of French Renaissance literature, a number of English literature-based scholars have recently devoted attention to the *Essais* of Montaigne, and to their influence (through Florio's translation) on seventeenth-century English drama, but almost no one on the English side reads or writes about Rabelais. And yet, as train journeys between conferences this summer have enabled me to appreciate, Rabelais is one of the richest and most instructive of all European writers. Rabelais plays games with genres as few other writers have ever done. What initially seems an outrageous scatological satire on scholasticism, Papalism or expansionism rapidly transforms itself into a much more profound and exuberant anatomy. Like Shakespeare, Rabelais exhibits an apparently limitless vocabulary and imagination, along with a firm grounding in the everyday speech of the tavern and – even more than Shakespeare – in the usually unvoiced realities of the human body. While students of Renaissance education can respond to the satire on medieval logic and the absurd yet affectionate parodies of humanist educational programmes in *Gargantua*, readers of Erasmus can luxuriate in the contribution of both kinds of *copia* to Rabelais' subject matter and style. Students of the Reformation can estimate the extent of Rabelais' theological daring in his admiration for Friar John's battling

collaboration with God's purposes. Rabelais enjoys the sophisticated ingenuity of Panurge's cosmological praise of debt at the same time as he demolishes it with Pantagruel's evangelical simplicity. In plot terms the work explores education, war, travel and the search for wisdom on the intractable question of marriage. In relation to character, Rabelais offers his readers a matchless cast of fools, rogues, militant priests and wise giants. And of course the book retains its power to shock, especially in *Pantagruel*. Indeed, *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* has often been on the verge of being evicted from the Chicago canon of the great Books of the Western World and has been relegated on more than one occasion.

As with any comic work from the past, some of the jokes require too much scholarly work on the reader's part for them to remain funny; understanding them often requires an immersion in Renaissance medicine, law and theology. As with other extravagantly talented writers, the reader will sometimes wish for more restraint and concision, though it might be contended that Rabelais' technique favours judicious skipping of paragraphs more than some of the great writers of the European tradition. All in all, though, the experiment of reading from the start of *Gargantua* to the end of the Fourth Book in a relatively concentrated time frame revealed Rabelais as a model of inventive and lively energy.

At our very successful conference in Southampton, Renaissance history, Reformation studies and French literature were relatively under-represented. Fine eating and good drinking were, as usual, in their element. A good dose of Pantagruelism all round would have made a festive, earthy and Rabelaisian marriage between what we enjoyed and those other good things we would have liked to have had.

The enjoyment of Rabelais is an interdisciplinary education. (This



would be a moment to thank Professor Michael Screech who read Rabelais in a wonderfully interdisciplinary way with his students in London in the 1970s.) British French departments have a superb record in the study of Rabelais, as is witnessed by the essays gathered in John O'Brien's excellent *Cambridge Companion to Rabelais* (2011) but that interest has not generally transferred into English or comparative literature. As changes in the school curriculum force teaching and scholarship in some university Modern Language departments to focus ever more intensively on cultural studies of the modern period, the responsibility for helping to preserve and invigorate the study of French, Italian and Spanish literature of the early modern period will need to be shared more and more by Departments of English. Since it gives us access to realms almost undreamed of in English, Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel* would not be a bad place to start. A wider reading of the great French writers of the Renaissance will encourage a necessary and important increased contribution of modern linguists to our society and our conferences.

SRS NEWS

SRS Sixth Biennial Conference

The University of Southampton's Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Culture hosted the Sixth Biennial SRS Conference on the theme of 'Performative Spaces' between 12 and 15 July 2014. With lovely sunshine on all four days, and about 200 delegates in total, the whole event was a great success. There were four inspiring plenary lectures by Lena Cowen Orlin (Georgetown University), Wendy Heller (Princeton University), Greg Walker (University of Edinburgh) and Simon Thurley (English Heritage). Around 170 established and rising scholars from all over the world also gave tremendous talks across more than 60 sessions, which mixed and balanced literature, music, history, material culture, art history and theatre.

It all started off on the afternoon of Saturday 12 July with a fascinating visit to the Mary Rose in Portsmouth that included a lecture on making music at sea. In addition, on Sunday 13 July, delegates enjoyed a fabulous concert at Turner Sims Concert Hall of 'Cut Down Comus' with words by Milton, music by both Lawes brothers, and performed by five

professional musicians and four young actors. This was followed by a reception generously sponsored by the Society's publisher Wiley, rounded off with a conference dinner at a local restaurant. On Monday 15 July delegates were treated to a private view and reception at the Hartley Library of the exhibition 'The Early Modern Image: Patronage, Kings and People', which focuses on one of the library's own holdings, an album of 163 sketches by Frances Cleyn (1582–1658). At the reception, the Chair of the Society Peter Mack also presented Alec Ryrie (Durham University) with the 2014 SRS Book Prize (see notice below).

Feedback from delegates indicates that everyone had an intellectually stimulating and socially convivial time in Southampton, and that they are already looking forward to the Seventh Biennial Conference in Glasgow in 2016. The Society would especially like to thank the organisers of the Southampton Conference, Claire Jowitt and Ros King (Southampton University) for putting together such an enjoyable event. A full report of the conference will feature in the April 2015 *Bulletin*.

Prizes and Fellowships

Biennial Book Prize, 2014

The winner of the 2014 Society for Renaissance Studies' Book Prize is Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (OUP, 2013). The book asks a simple, central question that is of interest to anyone working in this period: what did it feel like to be a Protestant immediately after the Reformation? From this follows a series of other questions that structure the book: How did you have to change your thinking? What forms of worship did you feel you could adopt? How might you have thought

of your Catholic neighbours and your ancestors? What did it feel like to learn that you could talk directly to God without the intervention of the church? How did you read? What was the household in which you lived like? All the judges commented with admiration on the winning book's ability to combine serious ideas and a breadth of vision with meticulous attention to detail.

Two other books were highly commended: Guido Alfani, *Calamities and the Economy in Renaissance Italy: The Grand Tour of the Horsemen of the Apocalypse*,

FUNDING & PRIZES

The Society funds a number of initiatives to support scholarship within the field of Renaissance Studies including:

- Postdoctoral Fellowships
- Study Fellowships to assist doctoral students undertaking research visits
- Grants for conference organisers
- A biennial book prize
- The *Renaissance Studies* Article Prize
- An undergraduate essay prize
- A bursary scheme to promote research by curators, librarians and archivists in museums, libraries and archives in the UK and Ireland

Details of how to apply for these schemes will be advertised in this section of the *Bulletin* when the competitions open. For further information, please also see the Society's website: <http://www.rensoc.org.uk/>

translated by Christine Calvert (Palgrave, 2013); and Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Ashgate, 2012). The judges were impressed by the high standard of all the books entered for the prize and were extremely grateful to all the many publishers who sent in their books to the committee.

SRS Postdoctoral Fellowship, 2014–15

Congratulations to Holly James-Maddocks who has been awarded this year's Postdoctoral Fellowship for her project "Medieval" Illuminators in "Early Modern" Books: The Transitional Book Producers of England, c. 1455–1500'.

Holly completed her PhD, 'Collaborative Manuscript Production: Illuminators and their Scribes in Fifteenth-Century London', at the University of York in 2013. For that project she constructed more than 25 'limner profiles' for the period 1430–1500, identifying regularly collaborating illuminators and scribes. Her research challenged the widespread application of an 'ad hoc' theory of book production for this period. As part of this discussion of trade organisation she was able to localise small groups of illuminators and to examine, by community, the trends for specialisation in certain texts and the differing solutions to the problem of supplying demand.

Holly will use the incunabula collections of the London and Cambridge libraries to pursue her related SRS-funded postdoctoral project. She will investigate the extent to which the account of early printed books in England should be an account of the illuminators who decorated these books, currently known only from their work in manuscripts. From the arrival of the first copies of Gutenberg's Bible after 1455 to the products of the English printing presses after 1476, the presence of border-work in the English style indicates that some illuminators diversified their income through ornamentation of both media. She will explore the identity of these individuals, the continuity in their craft and organisation before and after printing, and the transformations printing made to the manuscript culture that gave it shape.

The first aim of her postdoctoral work will be to attribute the illumination in English incunables and in imported incunables (undecorated at the point of arrival) to illuminators based in England and known from

their work in manuscripts. Her second aim will be to determine if there is a correlation between the different geographical locations and trade categories of illuminators (guild/foreign/peripatetic) and their decoration of English or imported incunables. Thirdly, she will assess how continuities and changes in production practice relate to modern narratives of epochal change, including notions of the emergence of modernity. This project will form the 'coda' to a larger study which localises illuminators, and the texts they decorated, to different urban centres in England. A report on the project will appear in the April 2016 issue of the *Bulletin*.

SRS Study Fellowships, 2014–15

This year's Study Fellowships have been awarded to Elizabeth Norton (King's College, London), for her project 'Cadaver Tombs in Elizabethan England'; Gillian Jack (University of St Andrews), working on 'Converted Prostitutes in Renaissance Florence'; and Christine Knaack (University of York), for her research on 'Ideas of commonwealth to 1553'. Their reports will appear in the October 2015 issue of the *Bulletin*.

SRS-Funded Conferences

Between Apes and Angels: Human and Animal in the Early Modern World

University of Edinburgh
4 December 2014

The history of human-animal relations has expanded enormously in recent years, and with it has come a renewed focus on questions concerning humanity, animality, society, culture and nature. Since early works in the field, such as Clarence Glacken's *Traces on the*

Rhodian Shore (1967) or Keith Thomas's *Man and the Natural World* (1983), attitudes to animals have been interpreted as reflecting, as well as constituting, social, cultural and intellectual currents. More recent work, at the hands of such diverse scholars as Erica Fudge, Virginia deJohn Anderson, Mary Fissell, Harriet Ritvo, and Donna Haraway, has expanded this range of perspectives into intellectual, philosophical, cultural, biological, social, medical and technological spheres, and this shows little sign of slowing down.

This field of inquiry is now sufficiently broad and mature to warrant a gathering of interested scholars with two key purposes. First, to survey the range and establish the extent and likely future direction of scholarly activity in human-animal relations. Second, to reflect critically on the methodologies, sources, challenges, and research and teaching strategies in the field.

'Between Apes and Angels' will examine the theme of human-animal relations and related topics, such as race, sexuality, zoology, natural history, theological and philosophical perspectives (to name but a few), between c.1500 and the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859).

This conference is part of the interdisciplinary research project 'Apes and Angels' based at the University of Edinburgh. The project seeks to explore the history of early modern human-animal relations in conjunction with the rich collections available in Edinburgh.

For more information see: <http://apesandangels.wordpress.com> and <http://www.apesandangels.ed.ac.uk>

Notices

RSA Berlin 2015

Under our reciprocal arrangement with the RSA, SRS members are entitled to attend the RSA's annual meeting in Berlin next year without paying an annual subscription to the RSA (normal conference registration fees still apply).

Delftware, Domestic Piety and Memory in Post-Reformation England

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM



Figure 1: Delftware dish depicting the Protestant reformers Wyclif, Luther, Calvin and Beza, seated around the candle of the Gospel, 1692.

British Museum, item no. 1891,0224.3; image no. AN1305850. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

tradition and legend as a momentous event. An investigation of both its medium and its message illuminates the inter-connections between material culture, memory and confessional identity in the early modern period.

The origins of tin-glazed earthenware lie in maiolica imported from Italy and Spain before 1500. Dutch and Flemish craftsmen copied and adapted the technique, turning the cities of the northern and southern Netherlands, notably Delft, into leading centres of its production, especially after 1620. In

THE CENTREPIECE OF THE 2014 Annual Lecture was a remarkable object in the possession of the British Museum: a tin-glazed earthenware (or delftware) charger made in the Netherlands in the late seventeenth century (figure 1). It shows the figures of four religious reformers – John Wyclif, Martin Luther, Jean Calvin and Theodore Beza – seated at a table upon which stands a lighted candle symbolising the gospel. These men represent four separate generations of Protestant and proto-Protestant reform. Opposing them on the other side of the table are the pope, a cardinal, a bishop and a monk, desperately attempting to extinguish the flame. The Dutch inscription reads ‘The candle is lighted’, while

the texts that stream from the mouths of its enemies ‘we cannot blow it out’. The reverse is decorated with symbols of scissors or clippers, pliers or compasses, and nails, possibly indicating the tools of a trade. The plate appears to commemorate the marriage of Jan van Deninge and Jannetie van Wyn Bergen in 1692.

This is at once a highly personal and a public object, intertwining remembrance of a private event with remembrance of an international movement that permanently ruptured medieval Christendom. It is an artefact that testifies to the long afterlife of the European Reformation: the creative process of selective remembering and forgetting by which it entered into the realm of popular

1567, two Antwerp potters settled in Norwich, one of whom later moved to London. The industry that developed in England in subsequent decades centred on Lambeth and Southwark, though it later stretched its tentacles into the provinces, including Bristol and later Liverpool. Foreign expertise continued to play a key part, not merely in the form of immigrant ceramic workers but also as exporters of the decorative patterns and images with which delftware objects were embellished. A flourishing market developed among affluent merchants, professionals and landed gentry, but consumer desire for such ceramic items also filtered down the social scale to yeomen and artisans. Delftware pieces could be



Figure 2 (left): Plate with Scene of the Temptation of Adam and Eve by Pierre Courteys, Limoges, France, ca. 1560. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection 48.2.9. Image: LACMA (www.lacma.org).

Figure 3 (below): Posset pot with crown cover, Lambeth, ca. 1685. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.85.143a-b. Image: LACMA (www.lacma.org).



expensive commissioned artefacts, but ready-made versions could also be purchased comparatively cheaply. They took a variety of forms: plates, dishes and bowls; posset pots, tankards and jugs; tiles and plaques to adorn fireplaces and walls; vases, hand-warmers and flower holders. Reflecting the general rise in living standards, these objects complemented a range of other household accessories: decorated chimney breasts; embroidered boxes and book-bindings; plasterwork ceilings and cast-iron firebacks. Many were functional items intended for practical use, but others were designed as ornaments for display on walls, dressers, cupboards and mantelpieces.

Dating mainly from ca. 1650–1750, many surviving examples have a commemorative purpose. Often they mark an important transitional event such as a birth and baptism, a marriage, or more rarely a death. Handed on as heirlooms down the generations, such objects forged a physical link between the living and the dead and brought men, women and children into the presence of their own past. The very act of handling them honed them as tools for remembering. Sometimes their mnemonic function was made quite explicit, as in the case of one mug inscribed ‘Mary Fayerthorne When this you see remember Mee anno 1647’.

Delftware also attests to the penetration of the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century home by godly Protestant moral values and biblical knowledge. Some carry images of Old Testament stories, such as the Temptation of Adam and Eve (figure 2) and Abraham and the Sacrifice of Isaac, derived from popular European prints. Others were inscribed with didactic and scriptural verses: ‘Fear God Honor God’, ‘Fast and Pray’ and ‘Drink to thy Friend but Remember thy Ende 1641’. ‘Speaking crockery’ of this kind helped fervent Protestants to internalise the lessons laid out in dozens of guides to practical divinity and handbooks of household government. It also functioned as a badge of belonging to the reformed religion.

Other delftware was a vehicle for patriotic feeling and displays of loyalty to the English monarchy. The earliest known example is a charger from 1602 around which circles the verse 'The Rose is red the leaves are grene God save Elizabeth our Queene'. Dating mainly from the Restoration period, however, the majority commemorate the later Stuarts. There are dozens of jugs, plates, flasks and mugs featuring Charles II, usually showing a bust of the king and his initials C. R., while his wife Catherine of Braganza is the subject of other pieces. A number of items are linked with the reign of the ill-fated James II and his consort Mary of Modena, but even more were produced after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and show the royal couple William and Mary, individually or as a pair. The accession of Queen Anne in 1702 produced another crop of royal memorabilia. Later delftware items attest to anti-Jacobite sentiment. Celebrating the defeat of the Jacobite army at the Battle of Culloden in 1745, some chargers and plates were explicitly partisan, marked with the words 'God save the King' or blatant slogans like 'No pretender'.

These artefacts may offer insight into popular royalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (figure 3, previous page). But they also carry an undercurrent of subversive baggage with them and in the context of the constitutional and political turmoil of the period their connotations could easily alter overnight. After 1688, for instance, delftware plates and mugs bearing the image of James II acquired a different resonance: those who supported the Revolution may have hidden them in the back of a cupboard in embarrassment, but those who opposed it and yearned for the return of Bonnie Prince Charlie might have kept them as a talisman of the ejected Stuarts.

Some delftware artefacts also evoke the memory of the providential deliverances of the English monarchy and state from its enemies which were the subject of official thanksgivings, public celebrations

involving bonfires and bells, and popular engravings and prints. One such dramatic event was the story of the Boscobel Oak in which the future Charles II hid from the pursuing Parliamentary forces after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, which entered into legend and became a symbol of the restored Stuart monarchy. A number of chargers commemorating Charles II's miraculous escape survive, including a lead glazed earthenware dish dating from ca. 1670–1690, now in the Henry H. Weldon Collection (figure 4). The Popish Plot in 1679–80 likewise left an imprint on delftware objects, as it did on decks of playing cards. Displayed on walls, dressers and mantelpieces, these Protestant plates and pots are the ceramic counterparts of the paper 'monuments' and embroidered memorials of the scattering of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by heaven-sent winds and the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 by the all-seeing eye of God. Fusing pious commemoration with royal propaganda and interweaving fashion and faith such items fanned the flames of sectarian sentiment and laid the foundations for an enduring and resilient tradition of anti-Catholic prejudice. So too did those that recalled to mind the excoriating experiences of the Protestant martyrs burnt at the stake during the reign of Mary I, whose stoicism and heroism found graphic expression in the woodcuts in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* and even on firebacks.

All of these items offer insight into how confessional identities were forged. They cast light on the process by which the symbols and sentiments of reformed Protestantism penetrated and shaped the decorative schemes of early modern homes. The striking scene that appears on the Dutch delftware charger of 1692 (figure 1) provides another example of this process, which finds compelling parallels across Northern Europe. It too derives from a well-known engraving, the earliest prototypes of which were German, but which proliferated in Scandinavia and the Netherlands during the seventeenth

century. This one is clearly based on a version produced by Cornelius Danckert entitled *t'Licht is op den kandelaer geselt* sometime between 1620 and 1656. In these prints, Wyclif, Luther, Calvin and Beza sit alongside a host of other European reformers: Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, Philip Melancthon, Huldrych Zwingli, Henry Bullinger, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Martin Bucer, Hieronymus Zanchius, Johannes Oecolampadius, Matthias Flaccius Illyricus, the Scottish firebrand John Knox and the Cambridge Calvinist William Perkins. Such images are a visual retort to the mocking question repeatedly thrown at Protestants by their Catholic enemies: 'where was your Church before Luther?' Depicting late medieval heretics in juxtaposition with the sixteenth-century reformers was one way of demonstrating the existence of an unbroken chain of believers who had defied the papacy and kept the candle of the truth alight throughout the Middle Ages.

English versions of this pictorial pantheon of Protestants also appeared both as single-sheet prints and in the form of oil paintings: at least fifteen examples of the latter survive and there are copies in the Society of Antiquaries in London, Glasgow, Hertford College, Oxford, Lewes and Perth. The four figures which appear on the delftware plate – Wyclif, Luther, Calvin, and Beza – all featured prominently in the empowering story of Protestantism's origins which John Bale and John Foxe laid out in the sixteenth century. These writers were largely responsible for creating Wyclif's reputation as the 'morning star of the Reformation' and for transforming him into a key weapon in the reformers' quest to define their own pedigree. Widely revered as the spiritual grandfather of the brand of Protestantism that was dominant in England until around 1625, Calvin assumed iconic status as a marker of English Protestant identity. Mocked as the patriarch, apostle and idol of the reformed religion by Catholic polemicists, he became an emblem of the terrible evils engendered by extreme heresy. But in many ways

the Calvin remembered by the godly was himself a caricature. His long legacy as a symbol of second-generation Protestantism has served to eclipse the complexity of his theology and ecclesiology, as well as his personality. In fact English Calvinism probably owed a greater debt to his successor, Beza, who effectively invented the experimental predestinarianism which became a hallmark of puritan piety and which found influential expression in the writings of William Perkins. The presence of Martin Luther in the Dutch and English prints upon which the delftware plate is modelled is slightly anomalous. In both countries, despite the early appeal of Luther's teachings on justification by faith, the tide turned against a Reformation shaped primarily by his thinking. Nevertheless the pioneering Wittenberg reformer was not completely forgotten. His writings continued to be published and he was frequently invoked as a famous doctor and learned father, as a 'Noah' and a 'Hercules of God's glory'. He increasingly became a hero of symbolic power rather than a source of specific theological and exegetical wisdom.

The Candle is lighted and its visual cousins not only engage in making memories, they also entail acts of pious forgetting. In particular, they are images that efface the profound frictions that erupted within Protestant ranks in the course of the sixteenth century: the bitter schisms over such difficult issues as the Eucharist, ecclesiastical government, and liturgical rituals which exposed the Reformation to another set of Catholic taunts about its diabolical disunity. The delftware dish and its paper progenitors project an idealised picture of Protestant ecumenicity in which representatives of Europe's multiple and competing Reformations talk cordially with each other. Another set of conspicuous omissions are representatives of the radical wing of the Reformation: figures such as Luther's Wittenberg colleague Andreas Carlstadt and the Anabaptist leader Thomas Munster. This is an image from which the



Figure 4: Lead-glazed Earthenware Charger of Charles II in the Boscobel Oak. English, ca. 1685. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 86.151. Image: LACMA (www.lacma.org).

unruly elements have been neatly and silently excised.

What the circulation of *The Candle is Lighted* via the media of paper, paint and tin-glazed earthenware arguably reveals is an earnest desire for pan-European Protestant unity in the face of the resurgent threat presented by the Church of Rome in the era of militant Counter Reformation. English, Dutch and German Protestants continued to feel a sense of affinity with the 'sister Reformations' of churches abroad, and with their brethren who suffered under the papists' whip. In the context of the British Isles, these objects and images are an emblem of the fact that the English Reformation was idiosyncratic but not untouched by European religious currents, and that it was both cross-fertilised by and contributed actively to them. They belie the distorting insularity

that has dominated its historiography until very recently and demonstrate how memory of this event infiltrated the household and became entangled with the growing desire for consumer goods. They help to illuminate the process by which, both metaphorically and literally, Protestant England was made.

Alexandra Walsham is Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Trinity College and of the British Academy. She delivered the 2014 Society for Renaissance Studies Annual Lecture at the Warburg Institute, on 2 May, following the Society's Annual General Meeting. This essay is an abridged version of her talk, which she intends to publish in an extended form elsewhere. She is grateful to Dr Aileen Dawson of the British Museum for her assistance and advice.

Space and Time: Another Look at Jacopo de' Barbari's *View of Venice* (ca. 1500)

GABRIELE NEHER

THE YEAR 2014 opened on a high for me, because on 15 January I had the pleasure and privilege of delivering the Annual British School at Rome – Society for Renaissance Studies Partnership Lecture. For me, as a German scholar, delivering the Partnership Lecture provided the opportunity for my first ever visit to the British School at Rome, and I

relished every aspect of it. Entering the building via Edward Lutyens' magnificent façade made the hairs on the back of my neck stand on end. And then there is the library. Who needs a room? A hammock in that wonderful library would have been more than sufficient.

Arriving the day before the lecture allowed me 48 hours to roam and

make the most of being in Rome. There are stories I could tell of torrential downpours and papal blessings on St Peter's Square but the curious can find those on my blog, *Renaissance Issues*.

I had chosen an ostensibly Venetian topic for my lecture: a discussion of Jacopo de' Barbari's magnificent *View of Venice* (ca. 1500), with extant



Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice* (ca. 1500). Woodcut from six blocks on six sheets of paper. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R.

copies in the Museo Civico Correr, Venice, the British Museum, London and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (the copy pictured). The idea was to build on the magisterial scholarship on this image, notably by Juergen Schulz and Deborah Howard, and look not just at its depiction of space and place but also think about time.

I wanted to propose that Barbari's portrayal of Venice as a *paradiso terrestre* extends to the temporal construct of the image. The artist depicts Venice as an anachronic and utopian earthly paradise. Thinking about time in the *View* gives us a fresh look at an image that is so

familiar that we may have stopped seeing it properly. In other words, shifting the critical focus away from an emphasis on *what* is depicted in order to concentrate on *when* is depicted reconfigures and deepens our understanding of the image.

It was within Venice and its *stato da terra* that clock towers became an ubiquitous architectural feature of city squares in the fifteenth century. Time – both secular and spiritual – was important to Venetians, and this is manifest in Barbari's *View of Venice*. While much of the scholarship on the image has referred to it as an astounding exercise in mapping, I

suggested that it was not just space, but time as well, that was being mapped. I argued that this image expresses a sophisticated, technologically-refined and above all Venetian concern with time.

And when time changes, place changes and becomes a more fluid kind of space. In the *View*, Barbari's anachronic and utopian city can be anchored in neither one time nor one place, and yet remains comfortingly solid and real, as Barbari reassures us. He visualises Venice as existing in multiple temporalities – past, present and future – but the city retains its identity throughout.



Van Derlip Fund 2010.88. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

The two seminal studies on Barbari's *View* remain Juergen Schulz's 1978 piece, 'Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500' (*Art Bulletin*, 60), and Deborah Howard's response in her 1997 article 'Venice as a Dolphin' (*Artibus et Historiae*, 18). The main concern of these studies has been establishing the context and meaning of this astonishing piece, and it is worth reminding ourselves of just what it is we are looking at. First of all, the image is 134cm high and 280cm wide. For the *View* to be assembled, it had to be printed on six large sheets of irregularly sized paper that had been specially manufactured for it. As a result, it traded for three ducats, an astronomical price-tag for a paper-based work that also brought with it the not-insignificant challenge of where to display it. Barbari's *View* can only have been manufactured for a highly select and well-educated elite with both an interest in mapping and particular iconographical needs. To borrow Stephen Greenblatt's terminology, the *View* was produced as a sophisticated piece of Renaissance self-fashioning.

Barbari's *View* also benefits from comparison with other, contemporary works, notably its closest predecessor, the Florentine *Carta della Catena*, which is often dated to the 1480s and commonly attributed to Francesco Rosselli. In this Florentine view, for all its topographical accuracy, much emphasis has been placed on constructing a Medici narrative, highlighting key sites of civic engagement. The *Carta della Catena* creates a social hierarchy by placing people either inside or outside the city. It portrays place as Michel de Certeau theorises it, that is to say, as a construct of power and authority. Florence's places and spaces are carefully, even jealously guarded, as the *Carta* expresses visually through its depiction of padlocked chains.

Place understood as a construct of power in this way has been one of the primary analytical tools for the discussion of the *View of Venice*. Indeed 'place' is at the heart of any interpretation of a city, both from the

point of view of social geography, the social importance of who lives where and where buildings are located, and from the perspective of 'symbolic geography', that is, the uses to which the city spaces are put, for example in civic rituals. Drawing on these categories, Edward Muir and Robert Weissman have argued that internal civic organisation offers a privileged insight into the social order and political workings of Renaissance cities such as Venice and Florence. In their essay on the subject, 'Social and Symbolic Places', they suggest that "'place" [should be] understood as the geographies of sociability and ritual, central to understanding Renaissance cities and Renaissance society' (see Agnew and Duncan, eds, *The Power of Place*, p. 81). Muir and Weissman conclude that among the characteristics of the social and symbolic urban landscapes of Renaissance Italy was a tendency towards centralising loci of power.

So far, so good, but place and space are only part of these images. We need to look at time, too. There was a precedent for cartographical engagement with time, and for all their visual novelty, both the *Carta della Catena* and its even more sophisticated descendant, the *View of Venice*, remain deeply indebted to their medieval predecessors, the *mappae mundi*. Take, for example, the British Library in London's Royal MS 14 C IX. This manuscript book of maps offers a splendid example of a medieval *Historia Polychronicon*, in literal translation, a history of many ages. Such medieval precedents do not just map one conception of time but instead exhibit the 'temporal plurality of the work of art', to use a phrase coined by Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood in *Anachronic Renaissance* (p. 9). These maps seek to encapsulate within themselves a universal history applied to a general geography of the whole world.

In the great maps of the fifteenth century, there is a temporal and geographical shift. These artworks remain temporally plural but become geographically specific: the universal histories of the Middle Ages become locally diverse and highly politically

distinctive. In the *Carta della Catena*, for example, the narrative is driven by Medici signifiers, whose intervention locks the city into perpetual high summer and noontime, presenting a city and ruling dynasty at its zenith.

The anachronism of the *View of Venice* must also be read as a temporal panegyric that celebrates the ideal city at the apogee of the Venetian Republic's power. Barbari's accuracy in recording the topography of the city invests him with authority as a narrator. This ultimately lays the foundation for more theoretically and conceptually challenging narratives that are anchored in the physical spaces of the city but transcend its material and architectural reality.

Renaissance time, and especially Renaissance Venetian time, was not a chronological measure of a forward-moving temporal process. Time was an umbrella term for multiple, co-existing temporal realities. Time was in the eye of the beholder, and of all its possible means of measurement – astrological, calendrical, solar – the right one applied at the right time. Time was fluid, relative, and often present in several simultaneous measures. Barbari's *View* shows us an encyclopaedic depiction of an ideal Venice that is not portrayed realistically at a measurable moment of chronological time, but rather held in a temporal web. In the process this image asserts the ability of visual art to express extraordinarily complex concepts. Nagel and Wood sum things up nicely when they write that 'no device more effectively generates the effect of a doubling or bending of time than the work of art, a strange kind of event whose relation to time is plural' (*Anachronic Renaissance* p. 9). Time for a new look at Jacopo de' Barbari? I think so.

Dr Gabriele Neher is the ex-officio Honorary Secretary of the Society for Renaissance Studies and Assistant Professor in the Department of History of Art at the University of Nottingham. She delivered this year's Society for Renaissance Studies – British School at Rome Partnership Lecture on 15 January 2014 in Rome.

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Transforming Information

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM, KATE PETERS AND LIESBETH CORENS

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD saw a surge in record keeping. The profound social and economic changes of the period – burgeoning state bureaucracies, expanding global trade, a growth in literacy and advances in technology – all necessitated an increasing reliance on physical documentation. This was a process that had roots and parallels in the medieval period, as Michael Clanchy’s seminal study of the shift ‘from memory to written record’ showed long ago. But although the upsurge in records, and the increasing sophistication of record-keeping, have long been evident to historians, only recently have we become interested in the process of record keeping, and its profound implications for historical and literary study.

In the early twentieth century, the archival profession prided itself on the impartiality of the archivist, whose role was to preserve the archive as an organic entity, reflecting the original order in which the records had been created. Just as Leopold von Ranke argued that the authentic truth of historical events was retrievable from the institutional records of government, the archival profession developed around a similar philosophy: that, in preserving the authenticity of records in their care, archivists should be impartial and invisible agents who would offer up a reliable historical record to posterity. And these were assumptions that were projected back into the past, obscuring the distortions created by historic record-keeping processes.

More recent cultural and historical trends, as well as the seismic impact of digital technology, have challenged these assumptions: archivists now argue that a fundamental part of their role focuses on decisions about the creation and preservation of records and on defining future documentary initiatives beyond those of institutions and governments. Historians are



Jan Gossaert (c. 1478 - 1532) *Portrait of a Merchant*, c. 1530 oil on panel, 63.6 x 47.5 cm, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1967.4.1, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Image courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington.

interested in the multiplicity of meanings invested in archives, and in the interpretative potential of non-documentary sources. It is no longer possible to assume that archives are neutral or impartial, nor that they provide unmediated access to the past.

In April a conference at the British Academy sought to investigate some of these issues in an early modern

context. *Transforming Information: Record Keeping in the Early Modern World* highlighted early modern record keeping as a significant act in its own right and investigated the ways in which record keeping, and record keepers, have shaped and constrained the surviving archival evidence. Speakers from Europe and North America presented on a spread of topics ranging from the creation of



Grootboeken Wisselbank, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Copyright Restauratie Nijhoff Asser.

noble records in the fifteenth-century Low Countries, to the complex traditions of information gathering in early modern Japan at the turn of the eighteenth century, and the use and misuse of papers at the epicentre of the Spanish empire. Over the course of two days, participants explored how, and more importantly why, the archives that underpin much of our historical research came into being.

A number of papers highlighted the significance of archival interventions, and the important, if often shadowy, role played by record keepers. Arnold Hunt (British Library) explored the underrated role of secretaries, whose handwriting could even become indistinguishable from that of their masters, yet who helped to shape their masters' ideas and made numerous textual interventions. These secretaries also, crucially, organised papers and helped to determine what should be made public and what should remain 'secret'. Jesse Spohnholz (Washington State University) showed how a variety of archival

interventions had created a document which, remarkably, purported to describe a foundational meeting of the Dutch reformed church that had never actually taken place. Other papers unpicked intricate stories of forgery, displacement and concealment which demonstrated that neither the archivist nor the archive are historically neutral. The contexts of retention and preservation of archives are crucial to the historical narratives to which they give rise.

But while historians tend to assume that archives have been kept for posterity and largely for their own benefit, it also became clear during the course of the conference that early modern archives were busy places, peopled with users and officials for whom access to documentary evidence was part of their daily business. Markus Friedrich (University of Hamburg) described the vibrant profession of the *feudistes* who managed their noble lords' estates and clarified their genealogies in pre-revolutionary France

(entertainingly, these largely bourgeois record officials survived the revolution and continued their professional work afterwards). Filippo de Vivo (Birkbeck, University of London) described the busy Venetian archives, peopled by any number of users keen to find out about legal precedents, fiscal duties and property rights. Archives were places of conflict and contestation: they contained the legal documents which defined political power and title; access to them could be of crucial importance and was itself the subject of conflict.

One of the most invigorating aspects of the conference was the mix of archivists and historians in the audience, and throughout the event discussion revealed differences of emphasis in our concerns. One of these differences focused on the definition of a record. For records professionals a record (as opposed to a document) is defined by its transactional nature: it records a transaction made, and thus archival description must also capture the

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institutional contexts of the transaction. Yet increasingly scholars (including archivists) are interested in a much broader canvas of record keeping. Thus a number of speakers described a more private and personal impulse to keep records: as Jacob Soll (University of Southern California) showed, account books were concerned with accountability and reckoning before God, as well as man. Jason Scott-Warren (University of Cambridge) explored notions of the self in account books, and Judith Pollmann (Leiden University) the chronicles kept by a surprisingly large number of middle-class men across early modern Europe, rich sources which are explicitly outside the tradition of institutional records. Early modern record keeping was a diverse and diversifying practice, from the medical case books detailed by Lauren Kassell (Cambridge), to the votive offerings described by Mary Laven (Cambridge) as forms of record.

Many speakers at the conference called for a social history of the archive, in the same vein as the highly influential social history of the book. Record keeping was a deeply political act: decisions about what was kept and what was destroyed tell us a great deal about changing

notions of political legitimacy and the exercise of power. Records kept beyond the purview of formal institutions paint a broader picture of political participation and human agency. A public panel discussion held during the conference brought together archivists and historians to discuss our shared perspectives on the relationship between archives and society, past and present. The advent of the internet and digital technologies has revolutionised the archival profession: digital records can exist in multiple forms and social media profoundly undermine conventional expectations of what is a record. Yet despite their potential for improving access to archives, digitisation projects may themselves perpetuate old problems: which records are made available; and how are they interpreted for the public? The conference produced much enthusiastic discussion, including occasionally divergent views, and it was clear that a social history of archives would be of great value to historians and archivists alike. Plans for publishing the proceedings of the conference are currently in train.

Professor Alexandra Walsham, Dr Kate Peters and Liesbeth Corens (University of Cambridge) convened



Notarial document, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz. Credit: John-Paul Ghobrial.

Transforming Information: Record Keeping in the Early Modern World on 9–10 April 2014. The conference was hosted by the British Academy, with further support from the SRS, Past and Present, the Cambridge Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), and the Royal Historical Society. Full details can be found at: http://www.britac.ac.uk/events/2014/Transforming_Information.cfm

Cathedral Libraries and Archives in the British Isles

BILL SHERMAN

THE YORK MANUSCRIPTS Conference is now a venerable tradition stretching back more than twenty years. Previous meetings have considered the role of regionalism, the relationship between Latin and the vernacular, the interactions of manuscripts and readers, and the transmission of religious and poetic texts. This year's conference on Cathedral libraries and archives – the thirteenth in the series – marked something of a departure from its predecessors. It was the first to move into the world of the printed book and the first to involve cooperation between York's Centre for Medieval Studies and its Centre for

Renaissance and Early Modern Studies, along with the newly created Cathedral Libraries and Archives Network (CLAN).

The timing and topic of the conference were designed to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the re-founding of the York Minster Library. Those who exit through the giftshop of the York Minster today are hardly aware of the small rectangular extension they are passing through, and few if any know that it was the original building constructed to house the bequest – in July 1414 – of a large library of manuscripts gathered by the Minster's canon treasurer, John



A reconstruction of the interior of York Minster Library when first fitted out after the bequest of John Neuton (1414). (Drawing by Allan T. Adams.)

Neuton. When it was joined by the bequest of Archbishop Tobie Matthew in the seventeenth century,

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it became the country's largest cathedral library, reviving the Minster's identity as a seat of bookish learning first established in the eighth century by Alcuin.

Neuton's collection and the building they were kept in have been painstakingly reconstructed in a collaboration between the University of York and the York Minster, and the resulting web resource sets out both to celebrate Neuton's historic gift and to put it in context, combining source materials, scholarly articles and images of books and buildings. The first day of the conference (held at the Old Palace, the current home of the York Minster Library) launched this website and shared its findings. It culminated in a visit to the original upstairs library space – now used as the choir's practice room – where we caught our first glimpse of Allan T. Adams' drawings taking us back to the chained library as it would have looked in the wake of Neuton's bequest. And the conference was welcomed to a Choral Evensong at the Minster, where the anniversary of Neuton's death and the modern library's birth were commemorated with special readings.

If the conference had its origins in a local anniversary, it also served to showcase the resurgence of interest in the bibliographical and historical riches housed in the country's cathedral libraries and archives. The Cathedral libraries and archives of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland constitute one of the most remarkable and least explored treasures in the world of books and letters. They contain beautiful manuscripts produced before the

Reformation, many thousands of copies of early printed books (including rare and even unique items), and archives of institutional and personal papers of national significance, stretching from the Middle Ages to the present. While predictably strong in scriptural, liturgical, devotional and theological texts (manuscript and printed), these collections also preserve many scientific, literary and even irreligious texts.

All of the cathedrals of Britain and Ireland have at one time or another possessed their own collections, from the famous medieval foundations of Canterbury, York, Durham, Lincoln or Winchester, to the newer dioceses of Manchester or Guildford. Some collections, such as Peterborough and Ely, have come to be looked after elsewhere, and others remain where they have been for centuries. There is also the special case of Lambeth Palace Library, the historic library of the Archbishops of Canterbury, which serves as the official library and record office for the history of the Church of England. Cathedrals in the Church of Wales, the Church of Scotland and the Church of Ireland have similarly intricate histories.

Each of the papers offered at the conference taught us something new about at least one of these collections and delegates came away with a strong sense that we have only begun to discover and explore the sources and stories. The plenary lectures were offered by the field's leading scholars, and each in its way managed to be both magisterial and open-minded. Nigel Morgan

(University of Cambridge) offered a wide-ranging survey of manuscripts of the Use of York. Rodney Thomson (University of Tasmania) proposed a compelling new model for the size and format of the libraries in secular cathedrals, contrasting them with those found in monastic establishments. Magnus Williamson (Newcastle University) gave us a glimpse of the sources available for the study of musical texts and practices.

The success of the conference owed much to the organisational energies of Linne Mooney and Hanna Vorholt of York's Centre for Medieval Studies, and enjoyed the blessing of a number of important individuals at York Minster, including Librarian Sarah Griffin, Archivist Peter Young, Canon Christopher Collingwood and Dean Vivienne Faull. For more about John Neuton and the York Minster Library see the 1414 Project Website: <http://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/yml1414.jsp>. For more information on the Cathedral Libraries and Archives Network see www.clan-uk.org.

Bill Sherman is Head of Research at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Professor of Renaissance Studies at the University of York. The Thirteenth York Manuscripts was held at the York Minster Library and King's Manor, York, 2–4 July 2014. Financial support was provided by the SRS, which funded bursaries for postgraduates, the Departments of English and Art History at the University of York and the Association for Manuscripts and Archives in Research Collections (AMARC).

'BritGrad' 2014 RICHARD O'BRIEN

Every year the British Graduate Shakespeare Conference provides a friendly and supportive environment for graduate students to share their research with their peers. This year 'BritGrad' once again welcomed a number of students giving their first-ever conference papers, along with many returning delegates, amply demonstrating the event's commitment to professional development and early-career networking. Papers by early-career delegates from a wide

range of national and international institutions gave a snapshot of emerging scholarly trends in the field of Shakespeare and early modern studies. This year's approaches included work exploring political theory and papers on performance and reception, from theatre history to film adaptation to original creative responses. Plenary sessions featured (among others) performance history experts Professor Grace Ioppolo (Reading) and Professor Tony Howard

(Warwick), members of the creative team behind the Royal Shakespeare Company's 'Roaring Girls' season, and the archaeologist Richard Buckley (Leicester), whose team unearthed Richard III's bones.

The sixteenth annual British Graduate Shakespeare Conference took place at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, 5–7 June 2014. The SRS funded five fee bursaries for postgraduate students.

Annotated Books **PAUL WHITE**

The John Rylands Library in Manchester holds an abundance of unstudied annotated copies of early printed books. In March the library hosted a one-day workshop on the names, notes, marks and underlining that reveal how generations of readers used their books. Delegates enjoyed a keynote lecture on early modern note-taking by Professor Ann Blair (Harvard); a report on recently developed spectral imaging technologies for the study of faded, washed or concealed annotations; and discussion of the *Annotated Books Online* website and research network hosted by the University of Utrecht (see image). The day culminated in a handling session featuring printed books with

manuscript annotations from the Library's own special collections. Disciplinary boundaries and the diversity of research skills and specialisms required for the study of annotations (palaeography, philology, material bibliography, digital humanities, and so on) tend to isolate research in this field. The one-day workshop also served as an exploratory meeting for the development of a larger, international network of researchers working on annotated books, and there are plans for future events of a similar nature.

Annotations in Early Printed Books was convened by Paul White (John Rylands Research Institute) at the John Rylands Library, Manchester,



Heavily annotated copy of Juvenal, *Satirae* (Paris, 1498), Universiteit van Amsterdam, Inc. 272. Featured on *Annotated Books Online* (www.annotatedbooksonline.com) courtesy of Universiteit van Amsterdam.

29 March 2014. It was funded by the John Rylands Research Institute and the SRS, which provided post-graduate travel bursaries.

Katherine Philips at 350 **MARIE-LOUISE COOLAHAN AND GILLIAN WRIGHT**



Portrait of Katherine Philips from her *Poems* (London, 1667).

This year is the 350th anniversary of the publication of Katherine Philips' *Poems* in 1664 and the poet and translator's death later the same year. In June, Marsh's Library, Dublin held a conference assessing the writing, reputation and legacy of this English-

born poet who passed most of her life in Wales – the topic of one plenary talk – and visited Dublin in 1662–63. That visit saw the first performance of Philips' successful *Pompey* (1663), a translation of Corneille's *La mort de Pompée*, at the newly opened Theatre Royal in Smock Alley, Dublin, and the conference also featured a plenary on the theatre's archaeology, a tour of the recently restored theatre buildings, and a panel on Philips in Ireland. A third plenary on the ownership and annotation of early Philips editions and a panel on publishing and editing reflect the notable textual history of her oeuvre: the 1664 edition of the *Poems* was apparently unauthorised and was followed by an enlarged, posthumous edition of her works in 1667, while

the many manuscripts of her poems form one of the best surviving examples of seventeenth-century manuscript circulation. An international group of delegates also participated in panels on Philips' literary contexts, translation, religion and memory, friendship and – suitably for a commemorative conference – the poet's afterlives.

Katherine Philips 350: Writing, Reputation, Legacy was convened by Marie-Louise Coolahan (NUI, Galway) and Gillian Wright (Birmingham) at Marsh's Library, Dublin, 26–28 June 2014. The SRS funded postgraduate fee waivers and the SRS Ireland fund contributed towards the expenses of one plenary speaker. The School of Humanities, NUI Galway and Marsh's Library provided further support.

Godly Governance **EMMA KENNEDY**

Religious and political thought have seldom been entirely separable, but this was especially the case following the seismic changes that characterised the early modern period. These transformations affected the relationship of the religious and the political, blurring the

boundaries between sacred and secular, public and private in ways previously inconceivable. These two sources of power met on a large scale in wars of religion or the establishment of national churches. But this period also witnessed the internalisation of godly governance:

manuals describing self-regulation, covering topics as diverse as child-raising, managing the home, ordering the diet and dying well, abound. Intersections between these two facets of early modern life fill the period's literature, music, art, and material culture, in the spaces of high

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culture and the quotidian, in performative and textual expression. Recent work has established that both religion and politics intersect with confessional identities, material culture, the spatial imagination, intellectual and patronage networks, and across manuscript and print culture. The Godly Governance

conference held at the University of York in June showcased new work in this established field of research. Scholars from many disciplines, from literature to military history, art history to theology, illuminated the entanglements and confrontations between God and government, in sites ranging from the French Wars of

Religion to women's visionary writings.

Godly Governance: Religion and Political Culture in the Early Modern World was held at the University of York, 27–28 June 2014. A grant from the SRS funded 34 postgraduate bursaries.

Stereotypes in the Public Sphere KOJI YAMAMOTO



William Hogarth, 'Emblematical Print on the South Sea Scheme' (1721).

Stereotypical representations of figures and events were ubiquitous in early modern public life. Early modern historians all agree that much, but are only now beginning to compare the patterns and functions of stereotyping across different spheres of political, social, cultural and religious life. This June a conference on stereotypes sought to

facilitate that comparison by inviting historians to think of their research and writing as a form of fieldwork which could benefit from, and in turn enhance, more recent fieldworks concerned with stereotyping.

Through a series of case studies, participants discussed how stereotypes served the negotiation of power in politics, religion, the

economy and science in seventeenth-century England. These papers were followed by commentaries from twentieth-century historians and social psychologists interested in the role of stigma and stereotypes in modern societies.

This transhistorical dialogue brought together established and emerging scholars from the humanities and social sciences interested in the nature of public discourse. The goal of the exchange was to give greater precision to studies of the early modern public sphere developed by Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, especially when accounting for the lack of Habermasian rationality, and its repercussions, in politics, religion and culture. It also aimed to integrate the analysis of stereotyping into studies of the negotiation of power, as pioneered by Michael Braddick and John Walter. The organisers are now planning to edit a volume of essays arising from the conference.

Stereotyping in Early Modern British Public Spheres: History as Fieldwork was convened by Dr Koji Yamamoto (King's College London) and Dr Vlad Glaveanu (Aalborg University, Denmark) at Senate House, London, 16–17 June 2014. It was supported by an SRS conference grant.

Reshaping Sacred Space MEREDITH CROSBIE

Following the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, the religious demands of the Counter-Reformation led to architectural and visual renovations in Catholic as well as Protestant churches. Sessions in the 'Reshaping Sacred Space'

conference at St Andrews this June showcased current trends in research on these changes. Panels focused on new interpretations of post-Tridentine architectural alterations to Italian church interiors; theatrical design concepts and creations in a sacred

context; and the changing uses and meanings of church furniture and objects in light of new types of post-Tridentine patronage. The rich discussions that followed each paper opened new pathways for research into the logistics of these church

reconstruction projects, the liturgical or theological implications of the new projects, and how we might approach similar case-studies in different eras or locations. The proceedings will be published in a special print and online edition of *The North Street Review*, the journal of the School of Art

History at the University of St Andrews. To receive a print copy and/or access to the online edition, please contact: nsreditor@st-andrews.ac.uk.

Reshaping Sacred Space: Liturgy, Patronage and Design in Church

Interiors c. 1500–1750 took place at the University of St Andrews, 14 June 2014. It was convened by Meredith Crosbie (St Andrews) and Emanuela Vai (Università degli Studi di Torino and St Andrews). The SRS donated funds to reimburse the travel costs of postgraduate speakers.

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Giorgio Lizzul

Last July, following the receipt of a generous Society for Renaissance Studies Study Fellowship, I undertook a three-week long research trip to the state archives of Milan and Florence. The objective was to gather materials for a comparative analysis of economic languages utilised in documents relating to fiscal exaction in different constitutional settings in fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italy, with a particular focus on state borrowing. The award enabled me to commence my first round of archival research in Italy and collect a substantial body of photographs of documents, which will be central to the final part of my doctoral project.

My doctoral thesis explores the genesis and development of economic and moral discourse surrounding the creation and growth of consolidated public debt in the Italian Renaissance states. The dissertation especially concentrates on the languages of fiscal morality in republican regimes from the Black Death to the creation of the papal public debt in 1526. The fiscal instruments and innovations of the early Renaissance state were often controversial: the running of funded public debts, resorting to merchant loans, or direct exaction on private patrimony, frequently ran the risk of accusations of usury or injustice, and thus required justification.

My project explores not only the learned discourses of humanist and scholastic writers on fiscal morality, but also seeks to place them within the broader context of languages used in day-to-day legitimisation and administration. The last part of my thesis – to which this research trip

contributed – maps the language utilised in legitimising forced loans, and seeks to draw discursive contours of usage between differing constitutional settings.

During the archival visits I gathered copies of a wide range of chancery documents from Milan and the Republic of Florence concerning the levying of extraordinary impositions to finance military expenditure. Here, my specific focus was to collect evidence to uncover the patterns of use of moral commonplaces found in the discussion and demanding of forced loans, and compare their use in a republican and a seignorial context. I explored a range of sources, from legal preambles on new financial measures to diplomats demanding forced loans, as well as governmental debates on fiscality.

These archival sources are an important source for excavating the languages of legitimisation used in enacting financial measures. Impositions were frequently justified through common moral and juridical topoi that appealed to a higher moral end, such as *ad publicum utilitatum*, *ad pietatem*, and *pro communi salute*, as well as the powerful appeal to *necessitas*. These commonplaces represent a striking point of contact between learned discourse and broader ‘popular’ language.

The research undertaken over the summer will enable me to integrate chancery documents with discursive traditions not typically considered in surveys of economic thought, yet crucially important in the debate over the legitimacy of public debt and other fiscal impositions. I am most grateful for the Society’s support in this research, which has made a huge contribution to the shape and focus of my doctoral dissertation. I will be



Detail from Cristoph Murer, *The Roman Emperor Valens Pours Money into a Coffers* (1622). Wellcome Library no. 26679i. Image: Wellcome Library, London.

continuing this research with further archival visits in the coming year.

Giorgio Lizzul is a doctoral candidate at King's College London. He is the convenor of the Institute for Historical Research History of Political Ideas Early Career Seminar, and treasurer and convenor of the London Society for Medieval Studies. From January to March 2015 he will hold a Rome Award at the British School at Rome.

Rachel Scott

My research project explores the ideological significance of one of the ‘bestsellers’ of sixteenth-century Europe: the late medieval Spanish work *Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas (1499). *Celestina*’s reception has been traced through a variety of sources (allusions, commentary,

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imitations and adaptations, censorship); however, no study has yet sought a broad interpretative analysis of its continued appeal. It is my view that *Celestina* continued to be a significant work because it engaged with one of the central concerns of European culture in the Renaissance, namely the human condition, and the topos of the misery and dignity of man.

My comparative approach brings together literary analysis, social and cultural history and the history of the book. I view reception as a fluid process in which meaning evolves according to the 'horizon' in which a work is read (to use H. R. Jauss's term). I therefore set *Celestina* in dialogue with contemporary Spanish and Italian texts that engage with this ideological enquiry into humanity – including Fernán Pérez de Oliva's *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre* (1546), Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528), and Pietro Aretino's *La vita delle puttane* (1534) – and consider the text's material

forms. Whilst analogous, these texts have not previously been examined in detail alongside *Celestina*. This comparative approach foregrounds new and alternative meanings and nuances that go beyond those of the moment of the text's conception.

In June 2013 I undertook a research trip to Spain, generously funded by the Society for Renaissance Studies. Its purpose was to consult primary materials held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) in Madrid. The BNE holds twenty sixteenth-century Spanish and Italian editions of *Celestina* that are not currently accessible in UK libraries or digitally, including eleven published in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Since my project spans the whole of the century it was vital that I consult this full range of editions. Over the course of the week I was able to look at almost all of the twenty editions, as well as several copies of my comparison texts.

The findings from this trip developed my thesis, providing me

with empirical data to support my interpretation of *Celestina*'s reception and ideological significance. It provided me with a greater overview of the development of *Celestina*'s printed form throughout the sixteenth century, and how it was appropriated by Renaissance textual traditions. The research also brought up some interesting findings about the use of imagery, suggesting avenues for post-doctoral research on the function of the woodcuts in *Celestina*'s Spanish and Italian reception. Moreover, the time spent in Spain allowed me to meet with several established scholars whose work has been an important influence on my own. I am grateful to the Society for its support.

Rachel Scott is a final year doctoral candidate currently completing her thesis at King's College London. During 2014–15 she will be Lecturer in Medieval Hispanic Studies at Queen Mary, University of London.

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