# BULLETIN

OF THE SOCIETY FOR RENAISSANCE STUDIES

## ANNIVERSARIES ROUNDTABLE

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME PARTNERSHIP LECTURE

CAROLINE CAMPBELL

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# LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

We introduced the last issue of the *Bulletin* with a note about the prodigious nature of 2016, given the number of noteworthy anniversaries related or relevant to Renaissance studies that could and would be celebrated this year. Our commemorative theme continues in this month's issue, not only in the form of several conference reports for gatherings held this year to mark significant anniversaries, but in a special 'roundtable' feature in which we have brought together a number of scholars to comment on some of the other figures and events vying for commemorative attention during 2016. Our choice of six such commemorations was made from a seemingly ever-growing list of potential candidates for celebration. There will be many more that we have left out but we invite you to continue the discussion (and roll-call) via our presence on Twitter and Facebook; you can find links to these below.

Of course, 2016 is surely going to be long remembered in and of itself beyond the sphere of Renaissance studies following the outcome of this June's referendum in which Britain voted to leave the European Union. All of us have our own ideas and opinions about the wisdom and implications of this decision, and on how 'Brexit' may impact the professions, disciplines and communities of which we are a part. Our attentions are thus likely to be turned as much to the present and future as to the past, and to speculation as much as commemoration or retrospection. Regardless of the fallout from this year's political tumults, the SRS is proud to remain committed to the international community of scholars of our period, and to serve as a focal point for a wide range of pan-European scholarly connections, communications, networks, gatherings and shared interests. It is therefore especially timely, though entirely in keeping with everything the society represents, that a number of the conference reports included in this issue have a particularly European dimension and discuss relationships between English, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese literature and culture. Elsewhere in this *Bulletin* you will find a conference report on the different kinds of communities fashioned across early modern Europe through epistolary culture.

Many of our sentiments here echo those found across the page in the letter by the new Honorary Chair of the Society, Andrew Hadfield. We would like to welcome Andrew into this role, and look forward to saying more in future issues about the events that he mentions in his letter that are being planned to celebrate another anniversary – this time of the SRS itself.

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# LETTER FROM THE HONORARY CHAIR

THIS IS MY FIRST MESSAGE as Honorary Chair of the Society and I would like to begin by saying how honoured I am to have been elected to serve such an impressive and important body. I am looking forward to working alongside the Vice-Chair, Richard Wistreich, as well as the excellent members of Council who work so hard to make the Society function as well as it does. I would like to pay particular tribute to two members whose terms of office expired at our last meeting: Piers Baker-Bates, who has acted as our Treasurer for the past four years with such efficiency and diligence, and Paul Botley, who has done such a splendid job as temporary Secretary while Jane Stevens-Crawshaw has been on maternity leave. I am looking forward to working with Jane again this autumn.

Thanks should also go to all at the University of Glasgow for hosting such an enjoyable, stimulating and varied conference, our seventh, in July. Tom Nichols, his right-hand man Luca Guariento, and the rest of the team helped make the event a memorable intellectual and social occasion. The three plenary speakers, Neil Rhodes, Willy Maley and Evelyn Welch, gave exemplary performances, discussing the late development of the Renaissance in England; the need to understand the history of seventeenth-century Britain in terms of the diverse constituencies of the island archipelago; and the significance of the skin in Renaissance art. These biennial events have become extremely important for us as a Society, enabling us to attract new members to expand and renew our base; to support and showcase the research of delegates from all over the world; and to gather as a Society and discuss important matters in our various groups, conversations that make people understand how vital it is to belong to larger groups and which we hope will feed into our future plans. It was especially pleasing to see so many young scholars taking the opportunity to discuss their research and ideas with old and new friends.

Next year is a particularly important year for the SRS as it marks our fiftieth anniversary. The Council has already started to plan some events for the autumn of 2017, which will be announced in the next issue of the *Bulletin*. After discussion with the Council we have decided to hold a series of celebratory events concentrating on the senses in the Renaissance. The aim is to be as inclusive as possible so that all our members who concentrate on literature, history, art, music and other cultural forms feel encouraged to contribute. We also decided that it would be appropriate to stage these events, which may be lectures and discussions, concerts, or exhibitions, throughout the British Isles and Ireland so that as many members as possible can be included. All events will end with a reception. Watch this space.

It is particularly important that the Society for Renaissance Studies works well and not only serves its existing members but expands to become even more inclusive in the coming years. Many of us were taken by surprise when Britain voted to leave the European Union. The ramifications of this decision are not yet fully known and will not be for some time to come as the slow process of political realignment takes place. Whatever one thinks about the decision it is surely vital for us as a Society to serve as a means of connecting people, a forum for scholarly debate throughout Europe and beyond. We have a first-rate journal, *Renaissance Studies*, which goes from strength to strength and attracts submissions from a particularly diverse range of scholars. Under the editorship of Jennifer Richards and Jill Burke the journal has also become notable for its imaginative and lively special issues. The most recent three have been on translation, psalms, and gossip and nonsense, an indication of the Society's commitment to an inclusive vision of the Renaissance. We also provide travel grants; fund conferences and other events; and judge prizes (the winner of the book award, Kate Van Orden, was a most welcome guest at the Glasgow conference and we are delighted that she took the time to attend the event to receive her well-merited award). The Society is committed to doing what it can to help, link and promote the work of scholars of the Renaissance.

I will conclude by paying tribute to the sterling work of my predecessor, Peter Mack, whose good sense, commitment to humane, humanist values and scholarship, and canny fiscal prudence, have left the Society in such good health after his three years as Honorary Chair. Peter will be around for the next year to provide advice and I will benefit from his insights, as I have learned from him in my role as Vice-Chair. I am looking forward to working with all of you for my period of office and I hope that we can ensure that the Society continues to play a vital role in maintaining our intellectual life.

**ANDREW HADFIELD**

# SRS NEWS

## Prizes & Fellowships

### Renaissance Studies Book Prize, 2016

The winner of the 2016 Society for Renaissance Studies' Book Prize is Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). In close second place was Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Both books were highly regarded by the judges for their academic excellence. A feature on the Book Prize will appear in the next issue of the *Bulletin*.

### Renaissance Studies Article Prize, 2015

We are pleased to announce the joint winners of the 2015 essay prize. These are Dr Dan Turello (Library of Congress) for his article entitled 'How much does it cost to be stylish? Ease, effort, and energy consumption in Benvenuto Cellini's *Vita*', *Renaissance Studies* 29.2 (April 2015), 280–293, and Rachel McGregor, '"Run not before the laws": Lily's *Grammar*, the Oxford *Bellum grammaticale*, and the rules of concord', *Renaissance Studies* 29.2 (April 2015), 261–279.

### SRS Postdoctoral Fellowships, 2016–17

Congratulations to Leah Astbury and Mark Baker, who have each been awarded one of this year's two Postdoctoral Fellowships.

Dr Astbury's project is entitled 'Marriage, Health and Compatibility in Early Modern England', and will investigate the relationship between marital harmony and health in early modern England. The project builds on her recently completed PhD, 'Breeding Women and Lusty Infants in Seventeenth-Century England' (University of Cambridge, 2015), which examined the experience of pregnancy, childbirth and afterbirth care.

Dr Baker's project is entitled 'Jacques Androuet du Cerceau and Sebastiano Serlio in Wales', and will look at the influence of the pattern books of du Cerceau (1510-1584) and Serlio (1475-1554) on Welsh country houses. Dr Baker completed his PhD on the impact and development of the Welsh country house at Cardiff University.

Both Fellowship reports will appear in the April 2017 issue of the *Bulletin*.

### SRS Study Fellowships, 2016–17

This year's Study Fellowships have been awarded to Katherine Fellows (Oxford), for her research into Rodrigo Borgia's time spent as Papal Vice Chancellor (1457-1492), and to Hannah Mazheika (Aberdeen), to support her work on confessional contacts and textual Exchange between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Britain. Their reports will feature in the October 2017 *Bulletin*.

## SRS 7th Biennial Conference

The Society's 7th Biennial conference was hosted by the University of Glasgow on 18–20 July 2016.

The conference was comprised of a wonderful, convivial series of panels, lectures and events, and the Society expresses its sincere thanks to Tom Nichols, Luca Guariento and their team for organizing and delivering such a memorable gathering of our scholarly community. We look forward to including in the April 2017 *Bulletin* full reports on the conference, the SRS book prize (awarded at the conference – see above), and the Annual Lecture, which was presented at Glasgow for the first time this year by Evelyn Welch (KCL) on the topic of 'Renaissance Skin'. Professor Welch's Annual Lecture was one of the three plenaries delivered at the Glasgow conference, the other two being delivered by Professor Willy Maley (Glasgow) and Professor Neil Rhodes (St Andrews).

## 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 under-taking 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/

# Roundtable: *Annus mirabilis* 2016 Anniversaries

## Hieronymus Bosch (1450—1516)

**Hieronymus Bosch, *Temptation of St Anthony* (fragment), oil on panel (oak), The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. © Noordbrabants Museum.**

2016 marks the quincentenary of the death of Jeroen van Aken (d.1516), the great Netherlandish artist who signed his works 'Hieronymus Bosch.' Of his paintings, the *Garden of Earthly Delights* and *Haywain* triptychs are among the best known. His pessimistic and highly eccentric renderings of favourite period subjects, such as Christ, the saints, folly, Hell, and the Last Judgment, have been subjected to intense analysis by all walks of critic, from antiquarians to alchemists. His paintings and drawings – few of which are signed, and all of which are undated – still challenge today's viewers with their unsettling syntheses of the sacred, worldly, monstrous and demonic; that they were immediate sensations is apparent from Bosch's elite patronage, numerous imitators and influence on subsequent artists. This year, two spectacular exhibitions have brought together nearly all of Bosch's oeuvre, first in the artist's hometown of 's-Hertogensbosch (Noordbrabants Museum, 'Jheronimus Bosch – Visions of Genius', 13 February–8 May), and next in Madrid, seat of his royal Habsburg patrons (Museo del Prado, 'Bosch: the Fifth Centenary Exhibition', 31 May–11 September). Important scholarly projects brought to fruition include a *catalogue raisonné*, several new monographs, and the Bosch Research and Conservation Project, which has overseen conservation of some of Bosch's most important paintings and has reattributed others, such as the *Temptation of St Anthony* fragment in Kansas City, now considered an autograph work. It is clear that, far from highlighting a neglected artist, this quincentenary has provided an opportunity for renewed consideration of an already celebrated master, whose art continues to provoke both admiration and discord.

DEBRA HIGGS STRICKLAND
(University of Glasgow)

## Thomas More, *Utopia* (1516)

It's hard to imagine the world without More's *Utopia*: from Rabelais to Bacon to Orwell, it has given writers a form with which to think and create. But when I return to *Utopia*, as I tend to do at least once a year, not in any way as an expert on More, but simply to teach the book to our graduate students at UEA, I'm always struck that something more complex emerges from it than can be boiled down to that 'Utopian' tradition. Perhaps that's got something to do with More's peculiar balance of the serio-ludic (my favourite kind of Renaissance writing), and the special possibilities of that mode which Erasmus had made available. Delightful paradoxes are the medium by which More's work thinks through (say) the proper weighting of the trivium's elements. With all its many dialogues, I find it the most beautifully poised work I know, which means it never stops being a wonderful prompt for conversation.

It would be tempting (and easy) to make a case for the work's contemporary 'relevancy' – that its Latinity encourages us to be more culturally European in the era of Brexit, say – but I don't want to do that, not only because it risks being reductive, but also because it gives a faint feeling of the utilitarianism of the Utopians themselves, who, as one of our graduate students pointed out to me this year, might not have had much time for the play of Utopia, even with all its seriousness.

THOMAS ROEBUCK
(University of East Anglia)

**Utopia, from Thomas More's *Utopia*, engraving by Ambrosius Holbein (Basel, 1518). Image: Folger Digital Image Collection.**

## James VI and I (1566—1625)

The writing and publishing activities of James VI/I were unprecedented in a monarch. His career as a print author began in Edinburgh in 1584 with a collection of poetry and continued across four decades with works including scriptural meditations and political treatises. The culmination of that career came in 1616, the year of the King's 50th birthday and of his son Charles's creation as Prince of Wales. James informed the Stationers' Company that his works were 'to be reduced into one volume' in June. The King's Printers worked with extraordinary speed and *The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, James* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1616) was in circulation by early in 1617 (under our present calendar).

**Astrological birth chart for James I, King of Great Britain, also James VI of Scotland, copperplate from Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology* (c.1790). Image: Wellcome Library, London.**

Published in folio, with a frontispiece depicting the King sitting in state and an ornate title page, this was a prestige publication. James Montague, Bishop of Winchester, who helped to assemble the collection, wrote a dedication to Charles, advising him to 'Let these *Workes* … lie before you as a Patterne'. But Montague also contributed a preface to the general reader which affirms that 'though all other Monuments' fade these 'admirable Writings' will 'gaine strength and get authoritie'. James's *Workes* stand testament to the faith of the King and many of his contemporaries in the power of the printed word. In this the 450th anniversary of his birth, and the 400th anniversary of those *Workes*, we are enjoined to remember that faith.

JANE RICKARD
(University of Leeds)

## Jonson's First Folio (1616)

1616 saw Shakespeare's death, but it also saw the publication of a book which was crucial to his works' future survival. In that year, the printer William Stansby published a hefty folio volume: *The Works of Benjamin Jonson*. It included nine of Jonson's plays for the professional theatre; numerous court masques and occasional entertainments; and a collection of Jonson's lyric poems. When it appeared, Jonson was 46. He had been a successful professional playwright for nearly twenty years, and was also greatly in demand as a writer of masques and other forms of entertainment. Nonetheless, the Works marked a significant change in his status. For the first time, the plays and poems of a living, popular writer were printed in a luxury edition, and given, indeed, the trappings of a classical author, such as the two-column, folio presentation, and the acrostic poems in imitation of editions of Plautus and Terence. One contemporary offered a pithy summary of the assumption implicit in this claim to literary status: 'Ben's plays are works, when others' works are plays'.

**Mezzotint of Garrick, Burton and Palmer in a production of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (John Dixon: London [1772?]). Image: Wellcome Library, London.**

And yet to see the *Works* exclusively in terms of what has been called Jonson's 'possessive authorship' or 'bibliographic ego' is to miss their wider significance as a witness to a wider change in ideas of literature. Their most famous consequence, arguably, is not to do with Jonson's status as a writer, so much as that they broke the path, culturally and financially, for another publishing project seven years later: *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies.*

MATTHEW STEGGLE
(Sheffield Hallam University)

## Francis Beaumont (1584—1616)

In March 1616, Francis Beaumont was interred at Westminster Abbey, near the graves of Chaucer and Spenser. Like Shakespeare, who was to die a month later, Beaumont retired from writing in 1613; like Shakespeare, he was remembered in the decades after his death as a paradigm of literary excellence. In 1629, Robert Harvey commended Shirley's *The Wedding* by asking: 'Is Beaumont dead? or slept he all this while?/To teach the World the want of his smooth stile?', while in 1632, Aston Cockayne praised Massinger by comparing him to Spenser, Jonson, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher. Indeed, Beaumont's high reputation was only further enhanced by his association with Fletcher, with whom he wrote some of the blockbusters of the age. Beaumont and Fletcher's plays remained popular on page and stage, even during the interregnum, when commercial drama was officially outlawed, and plays like *The Maid's Tragedy* retained a powerful political charge in the Restoration. However, Beaumont's critical and popular reputation has since dwindled. Adele Thomas's 2014 Sam Wanamaker Playhouse production of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* – a play advertised in Beaumont's lifetime as a theatrical failure – has done much to show the merit of this brilliant writer but more work is needed for Beaumont to emerge from centuries of undeserved neglect.

EOIN PRICE
(Swansea University)

**Francis Beaumont, from *Worthies of Britain* by John Bowles (d.1784). National Portrait Gallery, London. Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

## The Great Fire of London (1666)

On 2nd September 1666, a fire broke out on Pudding Lane in London. The main fire was extinguished by 6th September, but the city continued to burn for days. It consumed approximately four fifths of the third-largest metropolis in the Western world. In his diary, Pepys documented attempts to extinguish the inferno and to preserve goods. When his own home looked under threat, he moved his valuables to safety, buried important documents and his parmesan cheese.

Ballads and newsbooks lamented the fate of the city and fast-day sermons discussed God's judgement upon sinners. Yet, in his lengthy poem *Annus mirabilis* (1667), John Dryden presents 1665–66 as a year of wonders. For Dryden, the fire is retranslated from disaster to purgation. The fire put an end to a plague that recorded 68,896 deaths in London compared to six casualties as a result of fire, though actual death tolls are likely to be far higher. Plans to rebuild the city chimed with Dryden's optimism that the future would rebuild and heal a ravaged nation, even if Restoration politics painted a less hopeful picture.

**Anonymous etching of the Great Fire from a German broadside, 'Abbildung der Statt London, sambt dem erschröcklichen brandt daselsten…' (1666). Image: © British Museum.**

The Great Fire of London meant the physical space of London was transformed, but the thousands of ballads, newsbooks, diaries, sermons and poems that documented the event in England and in other European nations attests to its impact upon culture and politics. The Great Fire is perhaps best recalled in Dryden's words of prospect: 'More great then humane, now, and more August … Her widening streets on new foundations trust, / And, opening, into larger parts she flies'.

RACHEL WILLIE
(Liverpool John Moores)

# Representing the Renaissance: Collection, Display and Scholarship at the National Gallery

CAROLINE CAMPBELL

**Paolo Uccello (c. 1397–1475), *Niccolò Mauruzi da Tolentino at the Battle of San Romano* (c.1438–1440), egg tempera with walnut oil and linseed oil on poplar, NG583 © The National Gallery, London 2016.**

THE NATIONAL GALLERY, Prince Charles' 'much-loved friend', is a central London landmark, facing Nelson's Column on Trafalgar Square. The Gallery is a crowded, friendly place, visited annually by over six million people. Founded in 1824 as a repository for great European paintings, the Gallery is now in its 193rd year, and, although its collecting remit has expanded to all painting in the Western tradition produced before 1900, the Renaissance remains at the heart of its collection and its visitor appeal. In my British School at Rome lecture I reviewed and analyzed how and why the Gallery collected and displayed Renaissance painting, focusing on two periods: from c. 1850 to 1880, when the National Gallery amassed most of its Renaissance art, and the years around 1991, when the Gallery thought programmatically about the display and presentation of Renaissance painting as distinct from the rest of its collection.

The foundation of the National Gallery was a very British fudge, a coincidence of like-minded people and the right circumstances. From the middle of the eighteenth century, calls were made for the formation of a public picture gallery to improve public taste, morals, and the state of British art. The aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars brought many great Old Master paintings to Britain; they also made the British ruling classes feel that a National Gallery was a prerequisite for a nation of high international status. And so, following the death of the banker and collector John Julius Angerstein, Parliament decided in early 1824 to buy his collection as the foundation of Britain's National Gallery.

For the first thirty years of the Gallery's life – although it was certain that the institution should welcome everybody, and its scholarship should be widely accessible – there was no clarity about what it should collect or what its remit should be. No other cultural institution endured three select committee reports in less than twenty years. In this context of the institution's initial identity crisis it is interesting to follow the Gallery's debates about what constituted the Renaissance. Everyone who was asked – from specialists, politicians, collectors, to the public – agreed that the Renaissance was central to the grand narrative of Western painting which the National Gallery was endeavouring to tell. But they could not agree on what the Renaissance really was. Did it mean Raphael, Leonardo and Michelangelo – the Vasarian 'Holy Trinity' – or was it artists who worked before the established canon of the 'High Renaissance'?

Thanks to this indecision, acquisitions such as Raphael's *St Catherine* (NG 168, purchased 1839) and Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG 186, bought in 1842) were haphazard rather than programmatic purchases. It was in the hope of such improvements that the painter and writer Charles Eastlake was appointed Keeper in 1843. Eastlake had lived in Rome, travelled extensively in Europe, and was wholly au fait with German professional and progressive art history. Eastlake, like his German contemporaries, saw value and beauty in the 'primitive' and 'Pre-Raphaelite' paintings of Giovanni Bellini, Paolo Uccello and Lorenzo Monaco. Eastlake's four years as Keeper were unhappy ones; but eight years later, in 1855, he returned to the National Gallery as its first director. In the intervening eight years Eastlake had been elected President of the Royal Academy, and had married a truly exceptional woman, Elizabeth Rigby, herself a formidable intellectual, translator and writer about art. Together they did much to shape the National Gallery.

Eastlake envisioned a comprehensive representation of the Italian Renaissance as being key to the Gallery's collection, and to the development of contemporary British art. He harried the government into providing adequate resources for this, including an overseas agent (whom Eastlake sometimes paid out of his own pocket) and convinced them that an internationally esteemed National Gallery would be a jewel in Britain's crown. Eastlake wanted to show the full development of Italian painting, and, although he bought from every regional school, he believed particularly in the preeminence of Florence. In 1857, he made perhaps the greatest single acquisition for the National Gallery when he purchased a number of important early Florentine paintings from the Lombardi-Baldi family, including Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* (NG 583), and Margarito d'Arezzo's *The Virgin and Child Enthroned* (NG 564, bought specifically because it demonstrated the poverty of Italian neo-Byzantine painting before Cimabue and Giotto).

Later on in his directorship, Eastlake acquired more non-Florentine painting, including Piero della Francesca's *Baptism of Christ* (NG 665, a painting he considered of borderline quality for the National Gallery), and Giovanni Bellini's *Agony in the Garden* (NG 726). However, the expansion of this part of the collection was one of the primary desires of his successor, William Boxall. Like Eastlake, Boxall was an artist, and under him, the National Gallery bought works by the greatest painters – Michelangelo's *Entombment* (NG 790) was a stellar acquisition – but also by far lesser known artists, to show the range of Italy's regional schools of painting. Thanks to Boxall, at the National Gallery we can now see fifteenth-century Venetian painting in a depth and range unrivalled outside Italy, including the works of 'regional' Venetian-trained painters such as Giovanni Martini da Udine and Carlo Crivelli.

By 1874, when the Irish painter Frederic Burton became the National Gallery's third director, it was much more difficult to transplant Italian paintings out of Italy. Most of Burton's Italian Renaissance purchases had been in England for some time: from the group of paintings by Botticelli and his associates owned by the London collector Alexander Barker, to Leonardo's second version of the *Virgin of the Rocks* (NG 1093) and Raphael's *Ansidei Madonna* (NG 1171). Burton's directorship, of twenty years' duration, was the high-water mark of the National Gallery as a buying institution. Although Burton was criticized in his later years, he obtained many masterpieces for the collection and greatly extended the remit of the Renaissance holdings. For instance, it is thanks to Burton and his acquaintance with the artist, collector and dealer Charles Fairfax Murray that the National Gallery has a core of great fourteenth-century Sienese works, including the *Annunciation* (NG 1139) from the back of Duccio's *Maestà*.

Burton retired in 1894. In retrospect, this marked the end of the National Gallery's comprehensive acquisition of Italian Renaissance painting. Prices became exorbitant and the market which had developed in the United States saw Renaissance paintings leaving British country houses in droves. But, in truth, the Gallery's collection of Renaissance works was now so strong that it could afford to concentrate its acquisitions on other schools and periods of art. This of course is not to say that the National Gallery stopped collecting Renaissance art after 1894. Important paintings continued to be added to the collection, including Masaccio's *Virgin and Child with Angels* (NG 3046), Leonardo da Vinci's *Burlington House Cartoon* (NG 6337), and Titian's *Diana and Callisto* (NG 6616) and *Diana and Actaeon* (NG 6611). Yet they have never since been acquired in such bulk and concentration.

**Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430?–1516), *The Agony in the Garden* (c.1465), egg tempera on wood, NG 726 © The National Gallery, London 2016.**

If the second half of the nineteenth century was a key period for collection building at the National Gallery, the later twentieth century has been crucial for shaping public perceptions of the Renaissance in Britain and indeed more widely. Following the munificent gift of the Sainsbury brothers to the National Gallery in April 1985, a competition was launched to build an appropriate home for the early Renaissance collections, defined as those works made before 1510. The Philadelphia-based architects Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown created a home for these works which was both historic and modern, respectful of their age, their evolving functions, and the needs of the modern visitor.

**Raphael (1483–1520), *The Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Nicholas of Bari* ('*The Ansidei Madonna*') (1505), oil on poplar, NG1171 © The National Gallery, London 2016.**

The Sainsbury Wing has been criticized for its alleged evocation of Florentine church interiors, most specifically those of Brunelleschi, and for imposing a neo-Vasarian and pro-Florentine gloss on the National Gallery's displays. But at the Sainsbury Wing's opening, the most striking fact for many visitors and critics was its integration of Italian and Flemish, Netherlandish and German art. One room, indeed, was devoted to Flemish-style painting throughout Europe. Even paintings made in England were included in the display, and those works made for English patrons were celebrated. Van Eyck, Memling and the anonymous painter of the *Wilton Diptych* were just as admired as Giotto, Bellini and Michelangelo.

Twenty-five years from the opening of the Sainsbury Wing, the curators remain committed to illustrating connections between the diverse branches of European Renaissance painting; not solely between North and South but between East and West. The collection now holds a number of works which draw attention to the creative stimulus that Byzantine art represented for painting in Western Europe, including Gentile Bellini's *Cardinal Bessarion with the Bessarion Reliquary* (NG 6590) and Giovanni da Rimini's *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin and other Saints* (NG 6656). The twenty-first century 'Renaissance' is very different to that of the 1820s. In the public view, the Renaissance may remain static, the acknowledged core of Western painting. Yet by tracing the history of the Renaissance at the National Gallery we can see how perceptions of the Renaissance itself have always been in a process of evolution.

*Dr Caroline Campbell is Curator of Italian Paintings before 1500 and Loans Curator at the National Gallery. She delivered this year's Society for Renaissance Studies – British School at Rome Partnership Lecture on 17 February 2016 in Rome.*

# CONFERENCE REPORTS

## Ariosto, the *Orlando furioso* and English Culture, 1516-2016

**JANE EVERSON, ANDREW HISCOCK, STEFANO JOSSA**

ONCE LISTED AMONG the preferred reading of British aristocrats – so much so that Tobias Smollett could describe it as 'pretty much used' in a gentlewoman's library in *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) – *Orlando furioso*, Ludovico Ariosto's chivalric masterpiece, is now largely forgotten by English-speaking readers and often neglected at an academic level in the UK. It was therefore highly appropriate and timely that the British Academy hosted a conference on the poem's reception in the English speaking world to mark its fifth centenary. The conjunction in the same year as the quatercentenary of the deaths of Shakespeare and Cervantes, as well as the quincentenary of Thomas More's *Utopia*, risked leaving Ariosto's poem in the shade. The conference thus offered a welcome opportunity to gather Ariosto scholars from around the world to trace the route of a classic that is much more present, and perhaps much more needed, in the Western tradition and in contemporary fiction, than is usually accredited. This is a real classic, if a 'classic', as Italo Calvino asserted forty years ago in *Why Read the Classics*, 'is a book that has never finished saying what it has to say'. *Orlando furioso* has continued to serve as a model of narrative technique to novelists in the centuries since its first publication. From Cervantes, who acknowledged its primacy in his ironical depiction of the crisis of the feudal world and its values, to Walter Scott – who proudly recalled 'old Ariosto's authority' when organizing various threads of his interlaced plots – Ariosto's epic has been an extraordinarily fruitful stimulus to the imagination for writers across the English-speaking world. Our conference aimed to reassess and reevaluate the relationship between Ariosto's poem and successive generations of writers in the English language.

**Ruggiero and the hippogriff, from Gustave Doré's edition of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (Paris, 1879). Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

The first session explored Ariosto's aims in the 1516 edition, the relationship of the text to the preceding tradition and the impact of the poem soon after publication. The second, third and fourth sessions were devoted to the overarching theme of the conference – Ariosto in/and Britain, examining the influence of the *furioso* on British writers from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and the ways in which the poem is linked to English realities. The fifth session was concentrated on the central place of Ariosto and his poem in nineteenth-century English literary culture, while the sixth and seventh sessions considered twentieth-century translation and criticism in the UK and US.

**From the 1568 edition of Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi). Image: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.**

The concluding session investigated the potential of Ariosto's poem in the digital age, tapping into recent interest in chivalric and epic stories with complex interlocking plots with films like *The Lord of the Rings*, TV serials like *Game of Thrones* and videogames like *Assassin's Creed*, and discussing its role in the now much-debated issue of the border between fiction and reality. The conference also supported a small exhibition set up by a team led by Lina Bolzoni (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, Italy), including digitized images of the poem's first illustrations and original photographs of the famous 1969 staging of the poem by Luca Ronconi in Spoleto. Overall, the conference opened up new themes and contested received ideas, including the intrinsic literary value of the poem's first edition as well as its place within contemporary chivalric narratives and its relation to its predecessor, Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Innamoramento de Orlando* (or, as previously known, *Orlando innamorato*). Among other topics raised were: the often ideological appropriations of Ariosto in British and American culture and the challenges posed to translators into English by Ariosto's style, metre and celebrated ironic humour. In a keynote address, Lina Bolzoni stressed that both the canonization and the internationalization of the *Orlando furioso* would not have happened without the overflowing stream of images that it immediately generated – not only those evoked by the text in the readers' minds, but also those put before their very eyes by the myriad paintings and illustrations it inspired. In Italy, illustrated reprints began to appear soon after the princeps of 1516, and virtually no early modern edition of Ariosto's poem was published without a visual paratext. Bolzoni analysed how the various illustrated editions of the poem differently approached and rendered the unfettered and exuberant narrative structure and its multiple games of perspectives, translating the text into images in a plurality of ways. Illustrations have shaped and reshaped the text, continuing to offer it a framework intended to influence the reading of the poem, as well as its wider reception.

In a dedicated lecture, Tim Carter (North Carolina at Chapel Hill) explored *Orlando furioso*'s life in the European imagination, most especially on the operatic stage. The remarkably high number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operas based on Ariosto's characters – not least by Handel and his contemporaries – prompt new ways of looking at an art form that was far more radical than often assumed, posing challenges to composers and librettists about how to treat Ariosto's heroes and evildoers (and what happens when music turns the latter into sympathetic figures), and how modern productions should grapple with the ensuing problems. It is well known that the reception of *Orlando furioso* in music begins with popular *cantastorie* interpretations and madrigal settings in the early sixteenth-century, when the poem was often performed to music by means of improvisation, and its ottava rima stanzas were also frequently set by madrigalists. In the second half of the century important developments in musical theory and practice paved the way for the transformation of materials from the

poem into forms suitable for the new Italian musical-dramatic stage. Ariosto's legacy in seventeenth-century Italian opera is vast, complex, rich, and endlessly fascinating. At that central moment in European musical history, poets and composers of many new recitative and *arioso* styles found a source of inspiration in the variety and depths of the stories of the *Orlando furioso*. The first Ariosto operas were those of Marco da Gagliano and Jacopo Peri (*Lo sposalizio di Medoro ed Angelica*, 1619) and Francesca Caccini (*La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina*, 1625). Thereafter, Orlando's passion for Angelica was the favoured subject; however, the tales of Atlante, Ariodante and Ginevra, Ruggiero and Alcina, and Olimpia also provided rich material for the 'magic' operas of the Baroque period. Ariosto was particularly popular in Italy up to the 1650s, in France in the second half of the century, then in Italy and England in the early eighteenth century, reaching a peak in Handel's three *Orlando furioso* operas of the 1730s. To the modern scholar the very range of their experimentation is a *meraviglia*, an irresistible invitation to historians of Italian and Renaissance literature to revisit musical drama of the period – all of which offers copious material for a future conference.

Issues of appropriation, adaptation, translation, intertextuality, memory, inter- and cross-cultural exchanges and transactions as well as thematic criticism, close reading and *Rezeptionsästhetik* were brought to the attention of scholars of the Renaissance during the course of this conference. Well aware of the dangers of commemorations (especially in a year so full of centenary celebrations), which may be at risk of simplifying and sacralising the past, the convenors were able to make rememoration (i.e. retracing the past) prevail over commemoration (or the monumentalising of the past), in the footsteps of Tzvetan Todorov's admonition that 'Rememoration is to try and grasp the truth of the past. Commemoration is to adapt the past to the needs of the present.' Rather than just a celebration, this conference emphasised that Ariosto and the *Orlando furioso* need to be appreciated with more critical awareness and deeper historical knowledge.

*Ariosto, the Orlando furioso and English Culture, 1516-2016, was convened by Jane Everson (Royal Holloway, London), Andrew Hiscock (Bangor University) and Stefano Jossa (Royal Holloway), and took place at the British Academy's premises in London on 28-29 April 2016. Bursaries funded by SRS, the English Association and the Society for Italian Studies, were awarded to postgraduate students from the UK and EU, two of whom, Nicola Badolato (Bologna) and Maria Pavlova (Oxford), gave useful suggestions for this report.*

ORLANDO FVRIOSO
DI M. LODOVICO ARIOSTO,
TVTTO RICORRETTO,
ET DI NVOVE FIGVRE
ADORNATO.

Con le Annotationi, gli Auuertimenti, & le Dichiarationi di Girolamo Ruſcelli,
La Vita dell'Autore, deſcritta dal Signor Giouan Battiſta Pigna,
Gli Scontri de' luoghi mutati dall'Autore doppo la ſua prima impreſſione.
Il Vocabolario di tutte le parole oſcure, Et altre coſe vtili & neceſſarie.

AGGIVNTAVI in queſta Seconda impreſſione la Dichiaratione di tutte le Iſtorie, et Fauole toccate nel preſente libro, fatta da M. Nicolò Eugenico.

CON PRIVILEGIO.

SICVT MOSES EXALTAVIT SERPENTEM IN DESERTO
VIN CENT

IN VENETIA,
Appreſſo Vincenzo Valgriſio, nella bottega d'Eraſmo.
M D L V I I I.

**Ludovico Ariosto, title page of the Valgrisi 1558 edition of the *Orlando furioso* (Venice). Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

# Shakespearean Communities

KATY GIBBONS

**Bed valance tapestry depicting a hunting scene, produced by the Sheldon tapestry workshops in Worcestershire and Warwickshire, c. 1600-1610, now at the V&A. Image: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.**

IN THE ANNIVERSARY YEAR of 2016, Shakespeare is everywhere! From TV to academic conferences and live performances, the world has been offered numerous fruitful and innovative ways to reflect on the continuing endurance and impact of Shakespeare's work. The convenors of the 'Shakespearean Communities' conference aimed for a deliberately broad approach to their stated theme in an effort to attract scholars and practitioners from a variety of disciplines, and to reflect the range of research ongoing amongst early modern scholars at the University of Portsmouth. The conference was also linked to the present-day urban community of Portsmouth, immediately preceding as it did the opening of the 'Much Ado About Portsmouth' festival (maap.port.ac.uk), emphasizing projects and productions with a positive legacy for the local community. The conference itself opened with a public event: we were delighted to welcome Neil Brand, renowned silent film pianist, to perform for a showing of the 1921 *Hamlet*, starring Asta Nielsen.

The concept of Shakespearean communities was approached in several different ways, and papers considered both influences on and of Shakespeare from beyond England/ Britain; communities formed by non-theatrical versions of Shakespeare's work; and the impact of locality and materiality on community formation. Looking to the first of these, beyond the oft-stated role of Plutarch in shaping Shakespeare's plays, Alison Passe (Aberdeen) shed light on French influences, exploring the run of French language plays on Cleopatra which predate *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Carlo Lorini (Shakespeare Institute) argued for the influence of the *Commedia dell'arte* in the characterisation and role of Tranio in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Meanwhile, Ian Burrows (Bristol) considered the input of Shakespeare's contemporary compositors in creating meaning in his printed works. The translation/ adaptation of Shakespeare's work into contexts other than British theatre was fruitfully explored in presentations that ranged from the use of Shakespeare in creating a communal experience in Dutch and Friesian communities since the Second World War (Helen Wilcox, Bangor), the deployment of Shakespeare in schools to tackle and explore human rights questions (Paulina Bronfman Collovati, York); to the ways in which Shakespeare adaptations can open up contemporary practices such as honour killings and violence in Pakistan and Kashmir (Muazzam Sharif, Southampton). Thus the ways in which different groups find their own meaning in Shakespeare's work becomes part of the process of community formation and definition. Adaptations, it was suggested, offer a new approach that is not necessarily possible in the English language. In the broader context of Shakespeare's twenty-first-century communities, Anna Blackwell (De Montfort) highlighted the inclusiveness of #ShakespeareSunday on Twitter to create a new Shakespearean community, opening up short quotations from Shakespeare to a wide range of meanings and uses, whilst Caroline Heaton (Sheffield Hallam) discussed the effect of Shakespeare on the community of the RSC and Stratford.

The possibilities and opportunities offered by different uses or the absence of the English language in adaptations also emerged in discussions of Shakespeare on film. Russell Jackson (Birmingham) proposed that only about 25% of Shakespeare's original dialogue is needed for a successful film adaptation. The communities created by cinema, whether local, national or global thus may be constituted on different grounds from those bound by the 'original' format of page or stage. From early on, an assumption amongst the film-making community that film should be about action rather than dialogue posed challenges to those attempting to present Shakespeare on the big screen.

In many senses, the advent of the 'talkies' raised this problem in a way that had been absent from silent film adaptations. Often dismissed as a more limited medium, silent film was in fact capable of tackling a wider spread of Shakespeare's work in creative ways, and to communities of audience that were more likely to be international. The subtlety and creativity of Silent Shakespeare was resoundingly demonstrated by the film screening and performance of *Hamlet*, which sparked lively discussion about how we might respond to Shakespeare when his words are not present. The interpretative communities for silent film can of course respond in different ways, but the film and performance acted as a welcome reminder that even the best known of Shakespeare's plays can be looked at afresh.

It was interesting, too, to note the emergence of two themes that have provoked lively historical scholarship in recent decades: localities and space; and the material and monetary. Felicity Heal (Oxford) revealed the complexity of religious communities in Shakespeare's London, from the established parish communities to those seen as more destabilising, including the Stranger Churches and non-conformist minorities. The complexity of this urban scene significantly complicated assumptions about the parish, and other communities in Shakespeare's England, a suggestion borne out by other papers on the Inns of Court and Southwark. Secondly, as John Drakakis (Stirling) observed, money has the ability to cut into the moral heart of a community – or perhaps a range of communities – and he explored the complexity of approaches towards money, from discussions of the debasement of coinage to the presumed link between money and liberality in a social setting. In a period of rapid social change and stratification, the symbolic work that 'money' in its different forms did was likewise increasingly complex, and caused contemporaries theoretical, practical and moral dilemmas. If the entire social order depended on 'right exchange' in its full range of meanings, the changing contemporary world presented a host of challenges, which can be seen played out on the stage. Laura Beattie (Edinburgh) reminded us that reputation and household honour, as seen through *The Comedy of Errors*, was particularly important for merchants, in a world where credit and trust were precarious and required constant negotiation. Trade was also discussed in a wider context. Katrina Marchant examined the place and status of foreign merchants in the English economy and its impact on an emerging sense of English identity, and considered the potential use of drama in the community consciousness to increase conflict between communities, highlighting the employment of Marlowe's plays in inciting anger against strangers.

*Jessica Dyson, Katy Gibbons, Fiona McCall and Bronwen Price (Portsmouth) convened Shakespearean Communities on 15-16 April 2016. The conference was hosted by the University of Portsmouth, with support from the Centre for Studies in Literature and the Centre for European and International Studies Research at Portsmouth. SRS provided further support in the form of bursaries for postgraduate and recent post-docs.*

# Shakespeare's Friends and Rivals

**EVA GRIFFITH**

In the entertainment world of Shakespeare's day when drama, as an economically interesting enterprise, was just beginning, shape-shifting companies of varying kinds were coming to terms with new professional possibilities. There had been players touring England before, of course, performing in public and private spaces with some remuneration. By the time the Warwickshire actor William Shakespeare arrived on the scene, however, new ideas had developed concerning ways to legitimize what was done via patronage, with an end result that actors could gain real profit from what they did. One way of doing this was through personal investment in a company by ploughing capital into practical needs (for example scripts and costumes). This gave an actor the right to claim back a percentage of what he had put in. Another opportunity arose for players, however: investing in the venue in which they performed. Why be at the mercy of a venue-owner like Philip Henslowe when you could have your own theatre and make your own financial rules to benefit yourself? Bricks and mortar (or its Renaissance equivalent) together with the rights to what was taken at the door with no middleman was where the real money lay. Whether we discuss the development of an amorphous troupe or the consolidated 'company' of actors, what we are discussing in the end are people. In many ways much of what was explored and illumined on 9 April 2016 at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) in this, the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's death, was the nature of people associated with early modern playing. At one moment friends as they performed together, at another moment rivals as they grew into different groups, what succeeded and what failed economically in relation to drama became crucial at this time of development for the English stage.

While enjoying the opportunity to speak about evidence in an environment defined by documents the day began with an exposition of material deposited at the LMA with the documents discussed on display in the event room. 'Crime, Punishment, Revenge: Sixteenth-to Seventeenth-Century Actors in Early London Records' told the story of actors in trouble, with recusancy, theft, rape and manslaughter as examples of just how human both actors and audience members could be. Through this primary evidence, the narrative of the rivals in focus could begin, namely Queen Anne's

**'Passing Alley', next to St. John's Square (site of the Revels Office). Image: author's own.**

men performing at the Red Bull in St. John's Street. Characterised by such examples as Martin Slatiar – actor, ironmonger and tourer who was accused of assaulting a man at the door of the Curtain in 1613 – it is important to understand that Slatiar is also an important figure for the history of the Red Bull. Alongside him we might place Christopher Beeston, once a player with Shakespeare's troupe, then a Worcester's/ Queen Anne's man accused of being a rapist in 1602, who came to manage the Queen's Servants and went on to build the Cockpit near Drury Lane.

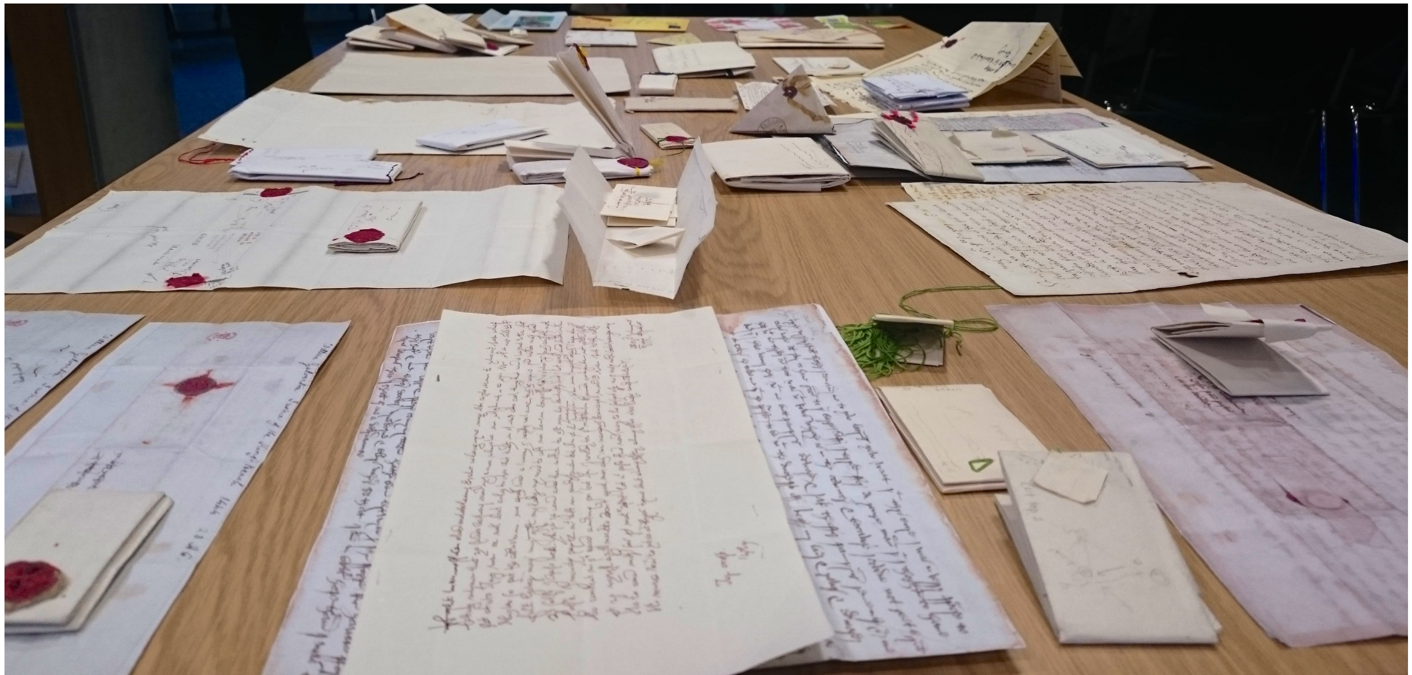
The day continued exploring a subject that (strangely) nobody else was discussing in April in this commemorative year of Shakespeare's death: the death of Shakespeare. Other more famous rivals of the Stratford playwright were presented (Ben Jonson and Michael Drayton) via a scripted presentation written by Eva Griffith. John Ward, vicar of Holy Trinity in the 1660s, was played by Sonia Ritter, and theatre historian Sam Schoenbaum was brought to life by the actor Michael Palmer. This was scholarship that hinted at ways in which an anecdote of Shakespeare's death could be validated by new records (Jonson's 'Foot Voyage' of 1618) while at the same time warning against narratives themselves. A dot-to-dot picture of Shakespeare freely available on the internet was used to show how once the numbers are erased (leaving it without chronological coordinates) we have no idea how to sketch out the true picture of our subject. However, many useful data points remain on offer. As the dot-to-dot picture proved, once Michael Palmer finished his numberless interpretation during the session, we can all make a mess of history. Eschewing the opportunity to look at her own career vis-à-vis the subject of rape and her two productions of Thomas Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*, actor and director Sonia Ritter discussed the telling of this extraordinarily harsh tale via Heywood's puzzling work and the use of song in *Lucrece*. But the actors who brought the entertainment to life for those assembled demonstrated the success of this play, as the London Metropolitan Archives became itself a drinking-song haven, where everyone in the room, singing too, became part of the historical event itself.

Having experienced primary evidence to do with entertainment, the dangers of interpreting data concerning drama's contexts, and one economically successful drama that came from the stable of a non-Shakespearean company, the gathering ended with a guided walk around the environs of the Red Bull playhouse. With the site of the theatre less than a third of a mile away from the LMA, the walk was able to include a marking of the bounds of the Seckford Estate where the playhouse was built with, in effect, some field-work: measuring and observing with the use of a seventeenth-century survey and a ruler. Again actors presented scenes from John Cooke's *Greene's Tu Quoque* and Webster's *The White Devil,* this time on relevant sites such as the Red Bull and the New Bridewell in Clerkenwell. The walk also took in the site of the Revels Office, only a stone's throw from the Red Bull, with those attending reading relevant pieces from court records and plays on site and en route. The day was full to capacity with literature scholars, historians and the public in attendance, and the feedback from LMA regulars was that it was excellent. A Red Bull plaque campaign is underway and a similar event is now 'in production' concerning the Curtain playhouse in Shoreditch.

*Shakespeare's Friends and Rivals held at London Metropolitan Archives on 9 April 2016, was organised by Eva Griffith.*

# Epistolary Cultures: Letters and Letter-writing in Early Modern Europe

**FREYA SIERHUIS AND KEVIN KILLEEN**



**A selection of early modern letters on view at the Epistolary Cultures event. Image: authors' own.**

RECENT YEARS HAVE SEEN a surge of interest in early modern letters and letter-writing practices and an almost exponential growth of studies on the topic. Letters are, by definition, crossers of generic and other boundaries – this is what makes them fascinating objects of study and also what constitutes them as an expressly interdisciplinary field. Letters cross boundaries between the oral and the literary, since the dictating of letters to a scribe allowed people without formal education, or even without literacy, to participate in textual culture. Or, think of the so-called memorial letter: a brief condensation in a letter form, to be expanded orally upon delivery by the bearer. Negotiating absence and distance, entrusted to the perils of travel, and dependent on the trustworthiness of the bearer, they are frequently couched in a rhetoric that expresses anxiety and awareness of the potential of failure. And yet they are as frequently figured as a superior form of communication. The idea that the epistle is a better conveyor of someone's thoughts and feelings than his/her speech is a trope going back to Cicero's familiar letters, one taken up with enthusiasm, as Kathy Eden has shown, by Renaissance imitators of the ideal of epistolary *familiaritas*; 'More than kisses, letters mingle souls' as John Donne wrote to his friend Henry Goodyere. Letters were material bearers of social connection, instruments by which social ties were initiated, negotiated and consolidated. They often went accompanied by gifts, and letter-writing culture existed in a close symbiosis with gift-giving culture. They came to be, of course, valued material objects in themselves: cherished by their recipients, copied out, often carried closely to the body. Printed letter collections, as epitomes of literary fluency and facility, themselves became status objects. Thousands of Neo-Latin letters were printed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Montaigne owned nearly a hundred letter collections, all from Italian printing presses.

While it is a commonplace of epistolary scholarship that the boundaries between Neo-Latin and vernacular letter-writing cultures are permeable and fluid, rather than solid, and that vernacular letter handbooks such as Angel Day's *The English Secretarie* and John Hoskins' *Directions for Speech and Style* were largely dependent on Latin epistolary manuals like Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis*, and Justus Lipsius's *Institutio epistolica*, there is still, perhaps, a lingering sense that these are two cultures. One of the conference's main aims was therefore to attract scholars of both the Neo-

## CONFERENCE FUNDING

The conferences featured in this section all received Society for Renaissance Studies conference grants.

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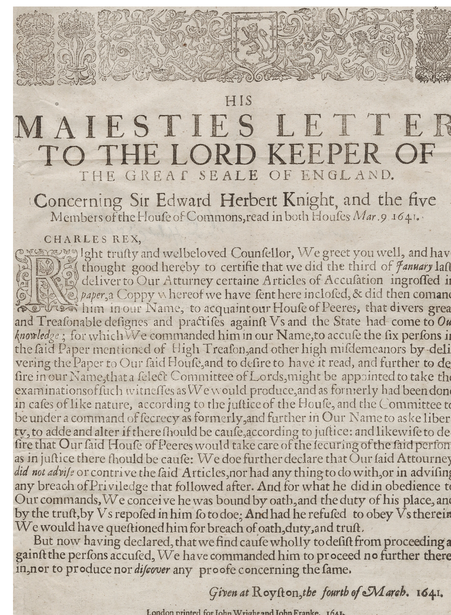
Latin Republic of Letters, represented here by papers on Erasmus, Comenius, Lipsius (Jeanine de Landtsheer, KU Leuven) and Isaac Casaubon (Paul Botley, Warwick), as well as of a variety of vernacular communities including women, monarchs, diplomats, doctors, scholars and scribes, including Edmund Spenser, Francis Bacon, Samuel Hartlib, Kenelm Digby and Richard Baxter. Brian Cummings (York) discussed how Erasmus took the idea of letter-writing more seriously as a literary form, and began to collect his letters for publication. Luke O'Sullivan (Durham) discussed the presence of classical letters in Montaigne's *Essais*, and Jan Cižek (Olomouc) the character of letters in the humanist educational programme. In the process, the humanistic letter becomes a consciously literary artefact, imitating the classical models of the familiar letters of Cicero and the moral letters of Seneca, and creating a mimetic mode of self-representation.

Questions of classical, in particular Ovidian reception, figured prominently in a panel that raised fascinating questions on appropriations of female voice in Turberville's *Tymetes and Pyndara* (Lindsay Ann Reid, Galway) and Thomas Heywood's *Heroides* (Katherine Heavey, Glasgow), and of performativity in relation to the posting of poems in letters (Dianne Mitchell, Pennsylvania). A similar theme was developed in a panel on 'Epistolary Fictions', which encompassed poetic letters in Spenser (Stephanie Childress, Texas) and rhetorical modes in diplomatic letters of the Ottoman Empire (Fatima Essadek, Mazoon University College). Elsewhere, Jaska Kainulainen (Helsinki/York) demonstrated the standardization of epistolary style in the Jesuit order, and Hélène Miesse (Liège) showed how letters of the ecclesiastic Goro Gheri transferred between worlds of diplomacy, politics and the patronage of the visual arts.

The question of the reception and circulation of early modern women's letters formed a running thread of inquiry of the conference, which demonstrated the central role of women in both Catholic networks, and in those of the non-conformist, moderate godly that formed the subject of contributions by Alison Searle (Sydney) and Joanna Harris (Exeter). Eleonora Carinci's exposé about the *Lettere di philosophia naturale* of pharmacist, philosopher and *femme savante* Camilla Erculiani demonstrated how the literary conventions of the scientific letter enabled its author to negotiate differences of status between herself and her academically trained correspondents. Guillaume Coatalen's (Cergy-Pontoise) presentation on Elizabeth I's holograph letters in the Imperial library, St Petersburg offered a tantalizing glimpse into different stylistic registers employed by this rhetorically gifted monarch; a topic which resonated with Mel Evans's (Birmingham) linguistic examination of Tudor royal epistles. The study of letter networks – be it humanist, medical or philosophical – is an area within epistolary studies where the digital humanities have given a vital impulse to our understanding of the social geography of learning. Several projects were presented at the conference which opened up new archives, and new ways of understanding transmission of ideas. Peter van de Hooff (Utrecht), for example, offered fascinating insights at the medical networks panel about ways in which patient reports found in looted seventeenth-century Dutch letters (currently held in the Prize papers collection) can tell scholars about popular knowledge and experience of illness and disease. Other papers addressed aspects of the material practices of letter-writing, as illustrated by William Cecil's protracted (seemingly futile) struggle to educate his son in the etiquette of letter-locking (Samueli Kaislaniemi, Helsinki), or the epistolary practices of Bacon and his scribe Ralph Crane (Amy Bowles, Cambridge). The materiality of letter-writing practices took centre-stage during the letter-locking workshop, organized with great enthusiasm by Daniel Starza Smith (Oxford) and Jana Dambrogio (MIT).

Andrew Zurcher's plenary on Thomas Browne's habit of including curious objects such as the 'ureter &



HIS
MAIESTIES LETTER
TO THE LORD KEEPER OF
THE GREAT SEALE OF ENGLAND.

Concerning Sir Edward Herbert Knight, and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons, read in both Houſes *Mar. 9. 1641.*

CHARLES REX,

Right truſty and welbeloved Counſellor, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie that we did the third of *January* laſt, deliver to Our Atturney certaine Articles of Accuſation ingroſſed in *paper*, a Coppy whereof we have ſent here incloſed, & did then comand him in our Name, to acquaint our Houſe of Peeres, that divers great and Treaſonable deſignes and practiſes againſt Vs and the State had come to *Our knowledge*; for which We commanded him in our Name, to accuſe the ſix perſons in the ſaid Paper mentioned of High Treaſon, and other high miſdemeanors by delivering the Paper to Our ſaid Houſe, and to deſire to have it read, and further to deſire in our Name, that a ſelect Committee of Lords, might be appointed to take the examinations of ſuch witneſſes as We would produce, and as formerly had been done in caſes of like nature, according to the juſtice of the Houſe, and the Committee to be under a command of ſecrecy as formerly, and further in Our Name to aske liberty, to adde and alter if there ſhould be cauſe, according to juſtice: and likewiſe to deſire that Our ſaid Houſe of Peeres would take care of the ſecuring of the ſaid perſons as in juſtice there ſhould be cauſe: We doe further declare that Our ſaid Attourney *did not adviſe* or contrive the ſaid Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in adviſing any breach of Priviledge that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to Our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the truſt, by Vs repoſed in him ſo to doe; And had he refuſed to obey Vs therein, We would have queſtioned him for breach of oath, duty, and truſt.

But now having declared, that we find cauſe wholly to deſiſt from proceeding againſt the perſons accuſed, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor *diſcover* any proofe concerning the ſame.

*Given at* Royſton, *the fourth of March.* 1641.

London printed for Iohn Wright and Iohn Franke, 1641.

***His Maiesties letter to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England…*** **(London: J. Franke and J. Wright, 1641). Image: Beinecke Library.**

*vesica* or bladder, such as it is, of carp which wee had this day', in his letters to friends and family raised the question of letters and materiality on the level of epistemology, scientific knowledge and doubt. Why did Browne feel the need to share and transmit 'things' accompanying his 'words'? Did accompanying objects act as a kind of 'proof'? Perhaps Browne's habit of sending material objects to accompany his letters could be viewed as a way of 'materialising intentionality', offering a route to exploring the relation between the 'thing' represented by language and the 'thing' itself accompanying the letter by locating the act of judgment or decision not in the mind but in the object itself. Henry Woudhuysen's closing lecture took us into a mental detective story in two parts: the modern history of identifying scribal hands in epistolary collections; and the particular story of Fulke Greville and his extraordinary literary manuscripts.

*Epistolary Cultures: Letters and Letter-writing in Early Modern Europe was held on 18-19 March 2016 at CREMS, University of York, and organized by Freya Sierhuis and Kevin Killeen. SRS provided financial support for registration fees and travel bursaries.*

# Self-Commentary in Early Modern European Literature

**FRANCESCO VENTURI**

IN THE PROLOGUE TO HIS *Commentary on My Own Sonnets* (1480-88), Lorenzo de' Medici wrote that the elevated subject of his poems had inspired him to accompany them with an extensive self-exegetical prose. Rather presumptuously, he considered himself the only one who could fully clarify his own texts and make them intelligible to his reader: 'No one can do this with a clearer expression of its true sense than I myself'. Such an assertion has been challenged by contemporary critics who have queried the role and primacy of authorial voices and disregarded the importance of authorial intent in the interpretative process. Nonetheless, in the early modern age, self-commentaries enjoyed unprecedented diffusion and appeared in a wide array of forms that departed from the medieval practice of academic glossing. Behind this development lay a series of simultaneous and interrelated processes: the legitimation of vernacular languages across Europe, the expectation of an ever more varied and widespread reading public, the construction of literary canons, and the self-representation of modern individual identities.

Whilst a symposium on medieval auto-commentary took place in Geneva in July 2014, early modern literary self-exegesis has received little critical attention to date. The international conference held at Durham University (Palace Green) on 26-27 February 2016, under the aegis of the Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies (IMEMS), specifically aimed to bring together researchers working on diverse Renaissance literary traditions and redress this lack through a pan-European approach. Far from representing an external or scholarly apparatus, authorial commentaries actively interact with the primary texts, thus affecting notions of authorship and readership. A number of crucial questions were addressed by the speakers who charted a path from Latin humanism through to seventeenth-century English, French, and Italian literatures. How do auto-commentaries mimic standard commentaries? If commentaries ordinarily aim to bridge the gap between a text and its readership, in what ways can this be true of authorial commentaries as well? What further strategies are at work? How do they expand the possibilities and places of textual meaning, and how do they influence critical interpretation and reception of the works?

**Portrait of Lorenzo de Medici by Girolamo Macchietti (1535-92); sixteenth century, undated. Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

Two keynote speeches showed how self-commentary can be intertwined with autobiographical issues and self-representation. Martin McLaughlin (Oxford) examined Leon Battista Alberti's Latin comedy *Philodoxeos fabula* whose second redaction (1434) contained a prologue entitled *Commentarium*. Here Alberti asserts his authorship of the play and qualifies himself as a serious humanist providing details on his life. John O'Brien (Durham) proposed a

**Michel de Montaigne, engraving by J. C. G. Fritzsch, from Johann Daniel Tietz's German translation of the *Essais* (Leipzig, 1753). Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

reinterpretation of Montaigne's *Essais* in the light of the author's prefatory claim that he is himself the matter of his book.

Owing to the author's privileged view of his/her text, self-commentaries offer revealing insights and thereby influence subsequent interpretations of the work. Yet authorial commentaries may also slip into self-praise or apology, ascribing the text a biased meaning or an entirely new, super-imposed articulation. As shown by Jeroen De Keyser (Leuven), advertising and propaganda strategies are at stake in the manuscript notes that the prolific Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) appended to both his translations of Greek classics and his own works. Self-authorizing strategies were detected by Ian Johnson (St Andrews) in the learned notes and reflective prologues that Gavin Douglas added to his 1513 *Aeneid* translation.

The lyric genre was subject to various forms of self-exegesis during the Renaissance. Federica Pich (Leeds) presented innovative corpus-based research on different typologies of rubrications and other paratextual elements accompanying Italian poems in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints and manuscripts. Russel Ganim (Iowa) analysed the over 2500 annotations with which Jean de La Ceppède equipped his poetic collection *Théorèmes* (1613, 1622), and focused in particular on the twenty-five page long note explaining Christ's sweating of blood that was integral to the text's devotional project. The peculiarities of the fictive narrative prose that frames the collections of George Gascoigne, George Whetstone and Nicholas Breton were explored by Harriet Archer (Newcastle). In these latter cases self-commentary may become a sort of idiosyncratic anti-commentary, deceiving the reader and ultimately complicating rather than clarifying the text. This tendency is even more evident in Italian Baroque poetry, as Carlo Caruso (Durham) demonstrated by examining the erudite, witty notes attached to Alessandro Tassoni's mock-heroic *La secchia rapita* (1622, 1630) and Francesco Redi's *Bacco in Toscana* (1685).

Concerns over reception may lead authors to compose retrospective self-commentaries. Gilles Bertheau (Tours) highlighted that George Chapman viewed himself as 'master' of his 'owne meaning' and aggressively defended his poetic choices from malicious criticism in *A Free and Offenceless Justification of 'Andromeda Liberata'* (1614). In publishing all his plays to date in 1660, Pierre Corneille accompanied each of them with a short analysis alongside three lengthy discourses on dramatic theory. Joseph Harris (Royal Holloway, London) argued that Corneille proved to be an astute critic giving responses and rational explanations to the negative and unexpected reactions of theatre audiences. By considering a multiplicity of genres and literary traditions over an extended period of time, the conference offered a new perspective on pre-modern and modern forms of critical self-consciousness, self-representation and self-fashioning. In response to the success of the event, an edited volume is now in preparation that will expand the research to Spanish, Dutch, and Polish literatures.

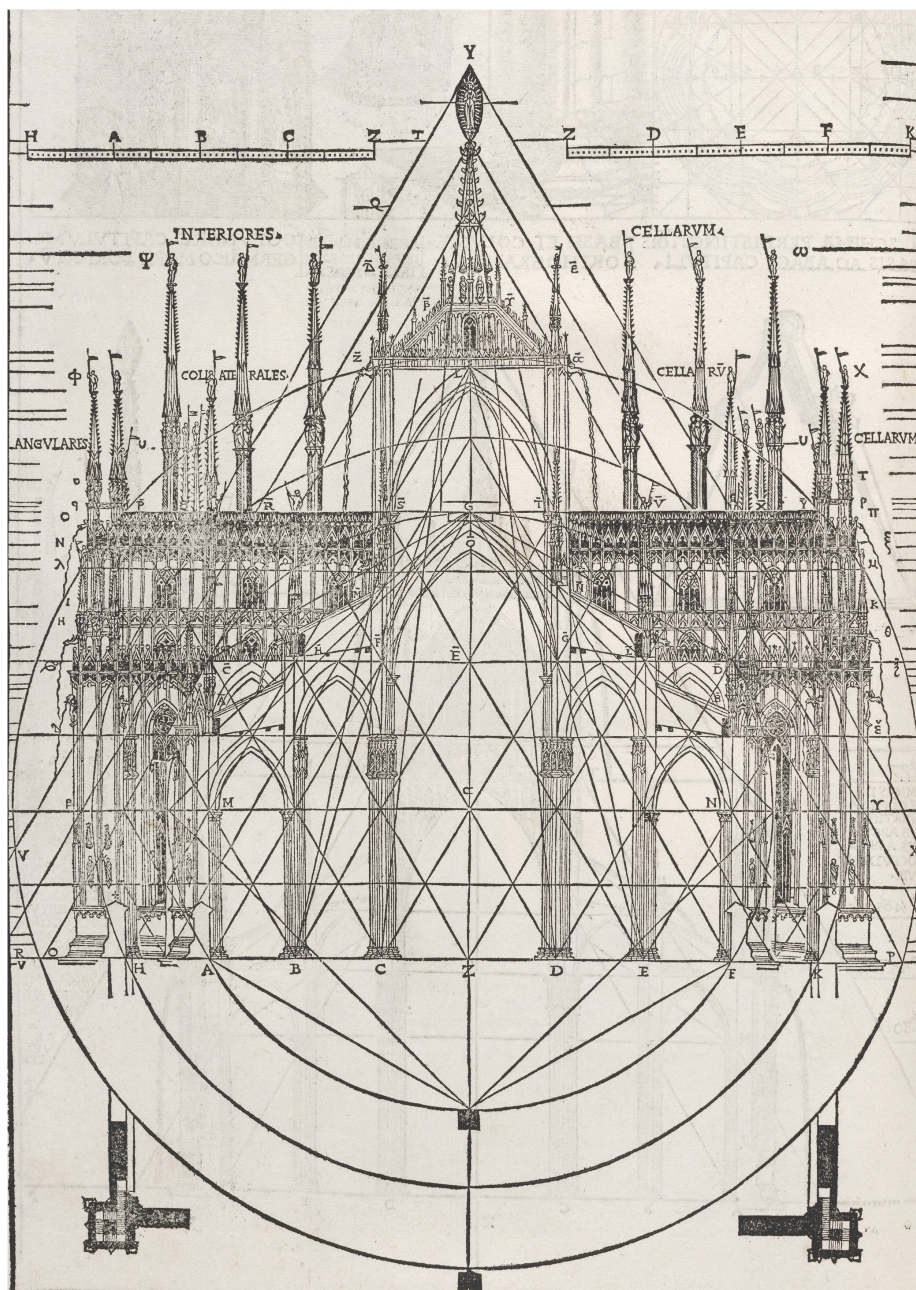
*Self-Commentary in Early Modern European Literature was held at Durham University on 26-27 February 2016, organized by Francesco Venturi. It was supported by the SRS, SIS, and Durham's Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, School of Modern Languages and Cultures, and Department of English Studies.*

# Sharing Space in the Early Modern World (1450-1750)

MARTIN CHRIST

HISTORIANS HAVE OFTEN employed spatial frameworks to organize and analyse the past. The 'state' or the 'nation' are both terms frequently used by historians that indicate an understanding of the spatial dynamics of the past. Despite an historical vocabulary that described both geographical and cultural spaces, it is only in the last few decades that theorists have consciously explored space and its construction, recognising it as an important analytical tool for historical study. Scholars have benefitted from the works of sociologists such as Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre and, more recently, Martina Löw, who have deconstructed what the term 'space' can mean. Their methodologies have brought more clarity to historical understandings of space; it is not purely a physical and geographical reality with an inherent meaning, but a human construct whose meaning is constantly negotiated by those that use, regulate or perceive it. Space, then, does not have a fixed meaning, but is part of a broader network of associations that affect people's experiences of the world. It is a valuable field of historical investigation since actions cannot be divorced from the space in which they were performed.

As the conference explored, most space in the early modern world was shared in some way. There were two types of sharing space: those shared between different ethnic groups, genders, social statuses; or those spaces shared between different practical functions and sensory stimuli. Sacred spaces might be shared by multiple confessions in those bi-confessional towns where there was no possibility to build an additional church; native communities and foreigners in the New World shared geographical or cultural spaces creating liminal spaces through their actions; different social groups encountered and challenged each other in courts or in taverns; domestic rooms, such as the bedchamber, might provide a space for different public and private functions. These sites of contact were spaces in which ideologies and religious beliefs were tempered by practical considerations. While there has been significant research on space, this conference focused specifically on the shared experience of early modern spaces: what did it mean to share a space with other people, objects, and even animals? How did this impact upon the function of the space and its meaning? How can scholars approach sites that changed their meanings dependent on user? In the case of multi-purpose sites, how can we investigate the temporality of spatial meanings? These broader methodological questions give us insight into the spatial dynamics of early modern communities and their relationships with one another.




**Iconographic view of Milan Cathedral from Cesare Cesariano's Italian translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura* (1521). Image: Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library.**

Studying shared space sheds new light on the mechanics behind the dynamics of toleration and intolerance in the early modern world, frequently demonstrating that in practice communities were more tolerant than didactic literature might suggest. In early-modern Ireland, for example, burial practices were codified in contracts which made society increasingly tolerant of religious ambiguities. Considering shared spaces also brings greater nuance to the binary oppositions that often structure the study of early modern space (Sacred/Profane, Public/Private, Urban/Rural). Church music, experienced by multiple confessions could also be used in a worldly context, and sounds in a household setting might bridge the gap between public and private worlds. Focusing on shared spaces also adds a new dimension to other methodological approaches. Objects which were used by multiple confessions in a shared church space can enhance our understanding of material culture, while the sea understood as a shared space emphasizes the connectedness of the early modern world.

The conference considered shared spaces along two axes. Firstly, it explored the experience of individuals within shared spaces. Not only did groups define space, but space defined group identities. Early modern communities used shared space to define themselves and their relationships with one another. The sensory construction of a shared space could transgress temporal and physical boundaries. For example, the clamour made in princely gardens by servants, confined to their own space, could travel and be audible to dignitaries in another space. Smells, sounds and visual stimuli were not always easy to regulate in spaces, yet formed an integral part of the experiences people had. In shared churches, a congregation would constantly see liturgical objects belonging to another confession. Such experiences could also depend on limits imposed by regulatory problems. It was difficult, for example, to monitor spaces in which libertine poetry circulated in seventeenth-century France. A second axis considered the boundaries of shared spaces negotiated between competitors. These constructions become particularly apparent in shared clerical spaces. Lutherans and Catholics, for example, had to negotiate with each other about the use of a shared church and define clearly what was permissible within the space. Negotiations could hinge on seemingly mundane details: hymns which could be sung, times in which a space could be used, or who was allowed to lead negotiations. Importantly, such negotiations illustrate the power structures at work in the early modern world and illuminate problems surrounding control and ownership of a space. Princely patronage of a given space could enable that space to be more welcoming of outsiders than other spaces, for example. The conference also demonstrated the utility of interdisciplinary approaches to shared spaces. Archaeologists and historical geographers show that in many cases, towns were specifically planned to accommodate multiple confessions, ethnicities or classes. A word of caution is also in order. While it might seem remarkable to us that churches were shared between confessions, literary genres transgressed or churchyards shared between traitors and urban dignitaries, it might not have been so for inhabitants of the early modern world, and we should thus be careful not to impose anachronistic categories or norms. Sharing space, in all its guises, was as commonplace as it is today.

*Sharing Space in the Early Modern World was held at the University of Oxford, Faculty of History on 24-25 June 2016, convened by Martin Christ (Oxford), Róisín Watson (SRS), Lucy Rayfield (Oxford). SRS funding supported postgraduate and postdoctoral bursaries.*

## Fate and Fortune in Renaissance Thought **OVANES AKOPYAN**

While having a significant medieval background in theological texts, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and other philosophical treatises, the concepts of fate and fortune received new life during the Renaissance period due to a renewed interest in Cicero's treatises, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Stoic philosophy. Fate and fortune continued to play an important role in artistic, political and astrological debates of the time.

This interdisciplinary conference brought together both early career and established scholars from art history, political history, humanism, Renaissance philosophy and literary studies. While keynotes by Dilwyn Knox (UCL) and Stephen Clucas (Birkbeck) dealt with Renaissance philosophy, session papers by Marina Gorbunova (Moscow) and Ovanes Akopyan (Warwick) broadened our focus to examine the significance of early modern fortune iconography in Western Europe and seventeenth-century Russia. Donato Verardi (Paris) shed new light on fatalistic debates in astrological controversies, with a particular focus on Gabriele Pirovano, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Elisabeth Blum (Loyola University, Baltimore), who recently prepared a new annotated German edition of Giordano Bruno's *Dialogues*, explored the *fortuna* question in Bruno's *Lo Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*. Anthony Ellis (Bern) and Orlando Reade (Princeton) revealed the reception of fate and fortune in Henri Estienne and English Renaissance poetry, respectively. The conference clearly showed the complexity of Renaissance thought, and the multi-faceted nature both of the concepts under discussion and of their dissemination within different philosophical, theological and artistic contexts. A proposal to publish proceedings of the conference is currently under negotiation with Brepols.

*Fate and Fortune in Renaissance Thought was held at the University of Warwick on 27 May 2016, organized by Ovanes Akopyan. SRS funding supported bursaries for postgraduate student attendance.*

# Iberian Literature and Culture in Early Modern England

HARRIET ARCHER

SCHOLARSHIP SEEMS TO HAVE exhausted *Cardenio*. The lost play *Cardenno* or *Cardenna* (1612-13) attributed to John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, whose eponymous hero is assumed to have stepped out of the pages of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, hints at a tantalising intersection of these titanic figures' lives and work. A flurry of recent studies and imaginative reconstructions has probed this relationship. The 2010 publication of Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood, or The Distrest Lovers* (1728) for the Arden Shakespeare series, edited by Brean Hammond, dared to hope the author was telling the truth when he claimed an original Shakespearean manuscript as its source. Meanwhile, Stephen Greenblatt and Charles Mee's *Cardenio* and online *Cardenio Project* have extended public awareness and acceptance of a series of reconstructed *Cardenio*s in performance as Shakespearean productions. Barbara Fuchs's 2013 *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* devotes chapters to *Cardenio* and '*Cardenio*s for Our Time', situating the play's reclamation as a Shakespearean, rather than Cervantine, achievement as a symptom of the damagingly appropriative dynamic at work in the Anglo-American reception of Spanish literature and culture from the sixteenth century to the present day.

Thanks to the quatercentenary of *Don Quixote*'s English translation in 2012, and that of the play in 2013, *Cardenio* fatigue had arguably taken hold by the quatercentenary year of both Shakespeare and Cervantes' deaths, which were on the same date in 1616 though ten days apart, as the Protestant English calendar lagged behind that of Catholic Europe. Little could be further from the minds of delegates at 'Iberian Literature and Culture in Early Modern England'. Indeed, Shakespeare and his stage Spaniards were entirely absent from the programme. Fuchs's *Poetics of Piracy* naturally served as a point of departure for the conference, where discussion sought to nuance the discourse of piratical plunder, and foregrounded cooperation and affinity more than plagiarism or difference. Various canons were also vigorously reframed, with authors like Barnabe Googe, Leonard Digges, Fletcher and Anthony Munday directing our conversations, while the currents of influence between authors like Edmund Spenser and Lope de Vega across and within national boundaries were rethought, and the primacy of Spain in the Iberian bloc was challenged.

*Cardenio* might not have been on our minds, but Brexit was. While we were still trying to process the practical ramifications, from its impact on future scholarly collaboration to the exchange rate on conference travel grants, the referendum result also informed our thinking about the multiplicity and mutability of transnational perspectives. Alexander Samson (UCL) underlined the need to recognise the 'glocal' nature of early modern communities, embodied by the pockets of hispanophilia within English recusant culture which signified both the fierce defence of 'true', historic Englishness and a worldly cosmopolitanism. Many papers emphasised the two-way traffic of texts, people and culture between England and the Iberian Peninsula, a dual perspective which, in turn, was shown to inflect the reception of Iberian culture in English writing. Samson and Deborah Forteza (Notre Dame) focused on Renaissance Spain's 'translational interest' in the writing of early modern England, and the confessional granularity of specific texts' transformations. Yet more prominent was the acknowledgement that this two-way traffic was mediated by these texts' and their authors', translators' and traders' transit through other continental European nations – predominantly, but not exclusively, early modern France.

**Vasco de Gama, wearing his English hat, from *The Lusiad, or, Portugals Historicall Poem*, trans. Richard Fanshaw (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1655). Image: National Library of Portugal, public copy.**

Thus our sense of direct emulation or appropriation of Spanish literary modes or content by English writers was modified to encompass a wider range of possible transmissions, with the frequent paratextual play on travail/ travel in printed translations coming to the fore. 'Spanicity' emerged as a container for a shifting dialectic between reckless adventure on the one hand, and educative journeying on the other. Attention was also paid to the often startlingly recent formation of purportedly immutable touchstones of national identity: Victoria Muñoz (Ohio State) explored the complicated transnational pedigree of St George and his insignia, relocating Spenser's Redcrosse Knight within an allusive matrix of appropriations and disguise, while Tiago Sousa Garcia (Kent) showed how the politics of Anglo-Iberian exchange fed into the

iconography of Richard Fanshaw's 1655 translation of Camoes's *Lusiad*.

Elizabeth Evenden-Kenyon (Brunel) emphasised the productive opportunities in Portuguese literature which had hitherto been 'academically annexed', and with Mike Pincombe (Newcastle) called for a pan-European approach that would integrate the vibrant existing cultures of research in Anglo-French, Anglo-Italian, and Anglo-Dutch exchange, and bring early modern Portugal, Poland and Hungary, for example, into dialogue with English texts and each other. Beyond the scope of a single conference, this discussion nevertheless laid productive foundations for future work. The development of digital resources is beginning to enable valuable 'big data' approaches to comparative work on European print cultures, and mobilise tools like network analysis to track the movement of and relationships between texts and their printers, owners and dedicatees. But we found that this was a useful supplement, not a replacement, for discussion, analysis and performance, when trying to understand, say, João de Escovar's *Auto de Florença*; a play staged at the Portuguese court in 1561, whose context, a bit like that of Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc* (1561/2), could help to open up new conversations about the interplay of texts and politics across early modern Europe.

*Iberian Literature and Culture in Early Modern England took place at Newcastle University, on 14-16 July 2016. The SRS Small Conference Grant funded postgraduate attendance and participation of students from France, Germany and the USA.*

## Pilgrimage, Shrines and Healing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe **ELIZABETH TINGLE**

On 24 June 2016, as the UK came to terms with the result of the EU Referendum, scholars from Europe and North America met at the University of Chester for a one-day symposium on 'Pilgrimage, Shrines and Healing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe'. The central questions asked by the participants were those of continuity and change in material and spiritual pilgrimage, and its representation and practice, across the late medieval and early modern periods. Recent histories have begun to trace the enduring nature of pilgrimage as a devotional practice in early modern Catholic Europe, as pilgrims continued to flock to shrines to venerate relics and sacred sites in return for pardons, healing and spiritual comfort. If the Reformation brought this tradition of Christian pilgrimage into question via its attack on saints' cults and indulgences, it nonetheless proved resilient. The celebration of sacred landscapes through promotion and veneration of local and regional shrines was characteristic of pre- and post-Tridentine Catholicism. For the literate elite, mental pilgrimage was also advocated as a meditative technique to facilitate interior journeys to more distant holy sites.

An important theme of the symposium was the materiality of pilgrimage. The infrastructure to support pilgrims on their journeys, the physical nature of pilgrimage sites and the souvenirs acquired there and kept as sacred possessions, were discussed. The symposium opened with a lecture by Anthony Bale (Birkbeck, London) entitled 'Pilgrimage and Collective Memory: The Flowery Field near Jerusalem'. The visual and sensual experiences of pilgrims in the Holy City and their representations of them in writing set out some of the day's themes. Sam Johnson (Birmingham City) then spoke on pilgrims and guild hospitality in early modern Florence; Michael Tavinor (Hereford Cathedral) spoke about the cathedral shrines of England and their fate after the Reformation; Diane Heath (Canterbury Christ Church) presented some remarkable collections of pilgrimage tokens sewn into a fifteenth-century French *Horae*. The physicality of the journey and the holy site, maintained through locally-acquired objects, grounded prayer and devotion in real place and time. A second theme was that of pilgrims' motives. A principal objective was the search for healing, and cures remained an essential function of shrines. Annie Thwaite (Cambridge) examined healing and pilgrimage in early modern England; Kathryn Hurlock (Manchester Metropolitan) spoke on bardic literature on shrines and healing in late medieval North Wales and the March, and Jenny Hillman (Chester) examined spiritual healing in female communities and the shrine at Puy-en-Vélay. Personal devotion was also central to pilgrimage, as shown by Matthew Coneys (Warwick) in a paper on devotional approaches to the *Book of John Mandeville* in fifteenth-century Italy, and Allison Stedman (North Carolina) speaking on pilgrimage and individual agency in seventeenth-century France. Each pilgrim had his or her own reason for travelling. Pilgrimage and gender was a third area of discussion: Ella Kilgallon (QMUL) spoke on Angela of Foligno and Einat Klafter (Geneva) examined Margery Kempe. Masculinity and pilgrimage was then considered in the concluding lecture by Elizabeth Tingle (De Montfort), on sacred journeys to Mont Saint-Michel 1520-1750.

In hosting this symposium, our objective was to use the event to set up a research network comprised of researchers across the UK, Europe and North America. We are now preparing a bid for an AHRC networking grant. If any SRS member is interested in collaborating in work on pilgrimage, please contact Jenny Hillman at the University of Chester or Elizabeth Tingle at De Montfort.

*Pilgrimage, Shrines and Healing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe was held at the University of Chester on 24 June 2016, organized by Jenny Hillman and Elizabeth Tingle. SRS provided bursaries to enable post-graduate students to attend.*

# STUDY FELLOWSHIPS

## Jamie Cumby

IN OCTOBER 2015 I was able to relocate from St Andrews to Lyon thanks to the generous Study Fellowship awarded to me by the Society for Renaissance Studies. Changing my location of studies for the 2015-2016 academic year enabled me to realize a comprehensive program of archival and bibliographic research on Lyon's publishing industry in the first half of the sixteenth century. Over the course of the year, I completed surveys of the municipal library, the departmental archives, and the municipal archives in Lyon, and was able to conduct supplemental research trips to other libraries and archives in Continental Europe.

My doctoral thesis examines Lyon's development into one of Europe's most productive print capitals. Lyon's status in the early modern book world corresponded to its role as a commercial and banking hub with four major trade fairs. The city chiefly produced books for export, especially large format editions of legal texts. My research concentrates on the economic structure of jurisprudential publishing in Lyon, with particular focus on the rise of its law book cartel, the *Compagnie des libraires*.

During my time in Lyon's archives, I built up a diverse body of sources on Lyon's bookmen. The notarial, personal, and tax records I gathered supplement the documents already signaled in Baudrier's *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*. Taken together they reconstruct the organization of the book trade from production to distribution.

The bulk of my library research involved augmenting my catalogue of the design features of Lyonnais law books. I have developed a set of quantitative data on changing trends in ornamentation, *mise-en-page*, and typography, which charts the evolution of the genre's branding. I presented some of the findings from my typographic research at the Society's 2016 Biennial conference in Glasgow.

**Detail from *The Sack of Lyon by the Calvinist Reformers in 1562* (1565), formerly accredited to Antoine Caron (1521-1599). Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

I also scrutinized the expense accounts of Lyon's city council to uncover what was perhaps my most exciting find of the year: evidence of municipal print commissions from as early as 1494. In addition to payments for documents that do not survive, I identified two heretofore uncatalogued broadsheets from the first half of the sixteenth century.

The work I completed thanks to the Society's funding will enable me to combine the surviving evidence of the economic lives of Lyon's publishers, printers, and booksellers with bibliographic data of the books they produced and marketed. I am extremely grateful for the Society's support, which has made my research goals possible.

*Jamie Cumby is a doctoral candidate at the University of St Andrews. Her PhD thesis examines the Lyonnais book industry from 1502 to 1562.*

## Giacomo Giudici

IN AUTUMN 2015 I UNDERTOOK the final fieldwork session necessary for the completion of my PhD thesis, which I submitted for examination in April 2016, passing my viva in July with no corrections. This fieldwork was enabled by my SRS Study Fellowship. The thesis, entitled 'The Writing of Renaissance Politics: The Chancery of Francesco II Sforza (1522–1535)' is small in scope but – hopefully – large in significance. It aims to rethink Renaissance institutional history by approaching 'bureaucracy' less as a rigid tool that a well-defined authority used to impose its will on mostly passive subjects, and more as a socio-political practice that foresaw multiple exchanges between the inside and outside of institutions themselves.

One of the key assumptions underpinning this thesis is that the processes of document-making were much more fluid and inclusive than their descriptions (as surfacing from official chancery ordinances) and representations (as 'crystallized' in the most immediate, authoritative form of chancery documents) suggest. Looking at the materiality of documents more analytically than classic diplomatics has the potential of opening a new perspective on the workings of Renaissance politics. It shows the surprising extent to which chancery records, still often considered as the ultimate materialization of top-down princely power, could in fact be negotiated, co-created textual objects. In other words, the authorship of chancery documents, despite being always highly individualized (in the case of my thesis in the person of Francesco II Sforza, duke of Milan between 1522 and 1535) could in fact be pluralized and open to sharing. Many different characters could have access to it if they had an authority (more or less legitimate) to do so.

The funding provided by the Society for Renaissance Study allowed me to travel to the State Archives of Milan (where the Sforzesco archive is housed), Mantua and Trent (where some of the most important series of original dispatched Sforza documents are preserved) to investigate how the complex epistolary identity of Francesco II worked.

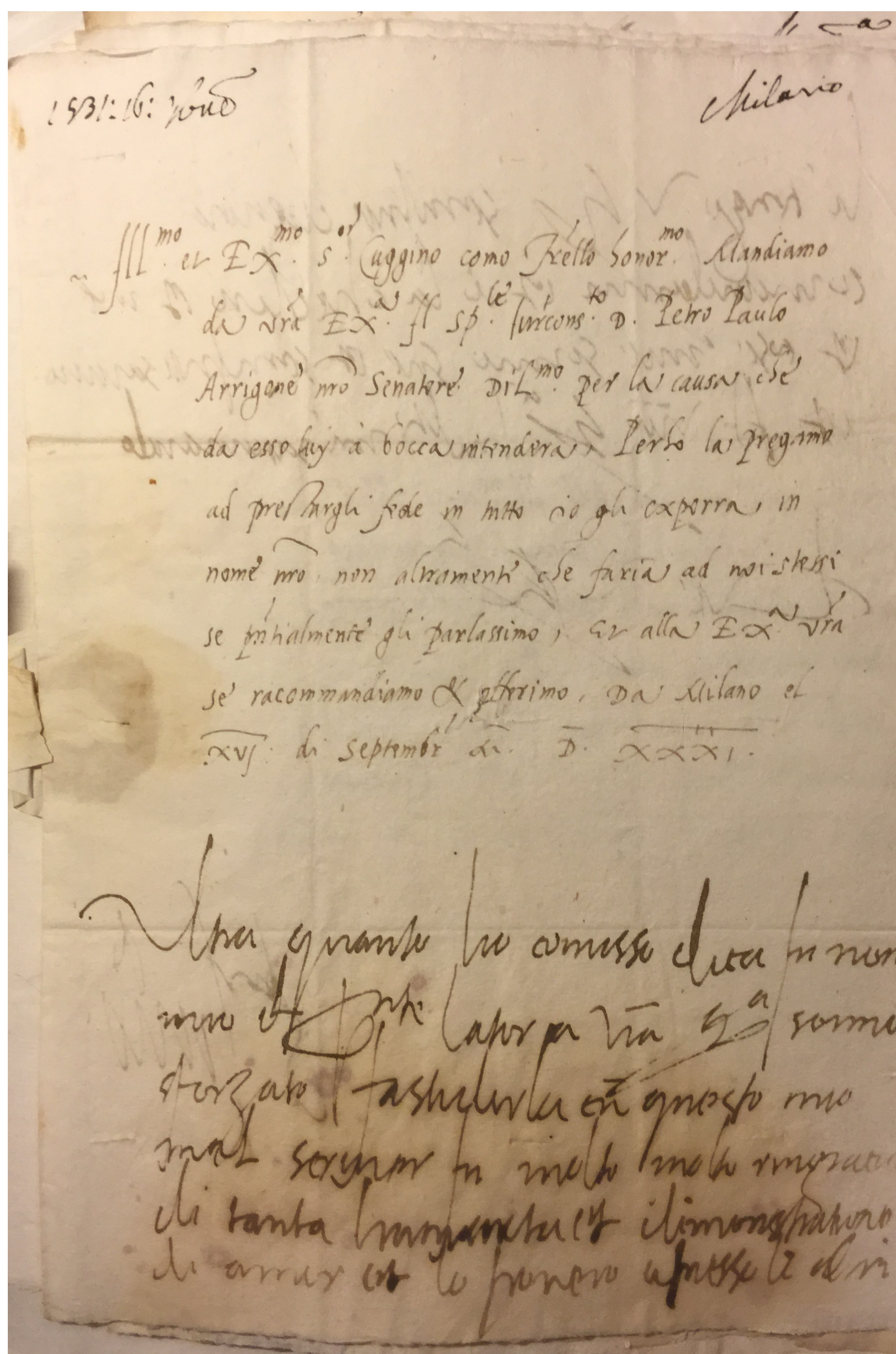


**Fig. 1: Archivio di Stato di Mantova, *Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere di Signori*, Milano, folder 1618. Image: author's own.**

Some of my research questions were: how extendable was the authorship of ducal letters close and letters patent? Were there specific graphic devices that the duke and his chancery used to signal whether the recipient of a letter was dealing with the personal or collective version of Francesco's epistolary persona? Did Sforza-chancery letters patent have a standardized procedure of production, or were they textual objects constructed ad-hoc?

By cross-checking documentary evidence in Mantua and Trent, for example, I was able to ascertain that in February 1522, while Francesco wrote letters with his own hand from the German town of Worms, his secretaries, then based in Trent – that is, 650 kilometres southwards – wrote and dispatched letters simulating Francesco's authorship and even bearing his autograph signature. This means that they were allowed to

manage Francesco's epistolary identity independently from his physical presence, and also to use pre-signed papers available in the chancery (or to imitate Francesco's signature). In response to these "centrifugal" epistolary practices, Francesco developed a nuanced graphic language to signify how personally he had been involved in the making of a letter. When he wrote full statements with his own hand underneath a chancery-hand text, for example, the secretarial signatures that normally found themselves at the bottom-right corner of a letter systematically disappeared, so as to clearly state that Francesco took control of the process of document making.

Moreover, Francesco, who was able to write in a neat italic hand, chose to perform a very informal script, which would look much more personal (fig. 1). As far as letters patent are concerned, in Milan I found a number of fully authenticated documents that were certainly dispatched, but

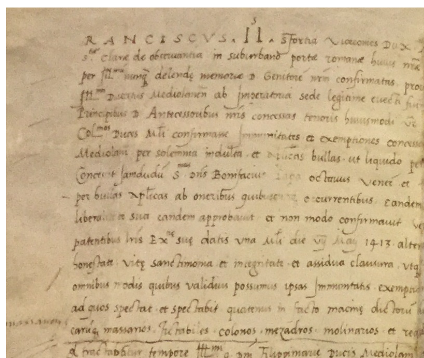


**Fig. 2: Archivio di Stato di Milano, *Diplomatico, Diplomi e Dispacci Sovrani, Milano*, folder 13. Image: author's own.**

interestingly show a blank space where a miniature with the 'F' of 'Franciscus' should have found its place (fig. 2). This means that the chancery could leave the opportunity to illuminate a letter patent to its recipient. Sometimes those recipients did so, following their own programs of self-promotion; sometimes they did not, which is equally meaningful, because they evidently refused to turn a letter patent into an object of display. In any case, they became co-authors of the documents, as they actively contributed to its meaning.

Ultimately, the Study Fellowship allowed me to furnish two key chapters of my thesis with exceptional evidence, and to pay for the tens of pictures that have made my work much clearer. I am immensely grateful to the Society for Renaissance Studies for this opportunity.

*Giacomo Giudici has recently completed his PhD on 'The Writing of Renaissance Politics: The Chancery of Francesco II Sforza'. He is now about to take up two visiting fellowships in the United States (at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and at The Huntington Library) and beginning to work on an historicization of bureaucracy in the city of Milan between the Renaissance and Counter-reformation. For further information on his work, please visit www.giacomogiudici.com.*

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## Katarzyna Kosior

The Study Fellowship I received from the Society for Renaissance Studies in September 2015 allowed me to spend two weeks in Poland researching my doctoral thesis, which adopts a comparative approach to early modern Polish royal marriage ceremonies in order to bring Poland's vibrant court culture and politics into European context. I have previously undertaken research in Paris (using French ceremonies for my comparison), Kraków and Warsaw, investigating formerly neglected documents, such as the description of Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation in 1550 at the Polish National Library. By September 2015 the only archives containing substantial collections of sixteenth century documents left on my list were located in Poznań and its environs.

Upon my arrival, spurred on by a sense of adventure, I decided to head first into the Polish countryside to visit the Kórnik Library. The archive is located in a beautiful mid-nineteenth century palace and holds the previously unstudied MS BK 00478 among its famed collection. This is a manuscript of Stanisław Koszutski's epithalamion written in March 1548 to celebrate the marriage of Sigismund II August of Poland and Barbara Radziwiłł. Contracted in secret between the king and his mistress, the union caused a scandal, provoking strong opposition from the nobility. Koszutski's epithalamion is the key to understanding the interplay between the Polish political system and culture, as well as placing the Polish royal court in the European context. Explicit about the gendered roles in marriage, the text fits neatly into the canon of central European wedding songs. However, it also contains references to the necessary consent of the Polish nobility for a royal marriage. The poem cleverly places Barbara and Sigismund's marriage in the context of socially acceptable marital roles, classically romanticised cultural references, and Polish parliamentary culture. Coinciding with the announcement of the marriage during Lent 1548, the poem might have served as a propaganda stunt to avert a political storm. The epithalamion spans thirty folios, but due to the library's strict protection policy, I was only allowed to photograph images from the microfilm. Other finds at the Kórnik Library included a speech by Lodovicus Restio Vordinganus welcoming Bona Sforza to Vienna in 1518 on her way to become the Polish queen.

**Kórnik Library, part of the National Library of Poland. Image: author's own.**

I also visited the Raczyński Library in Poznań and browsed its voluminous paper catalogues (written

in at least four languages), finding documents related to the marriage between Władysław IV Vasa and Cecilia Renata of Austria in 1637 as well as Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and Eleanor of Austria in 1670. Written in Polish and thus less accessible to international scholars, they are indispensable for tracing the development of royal ceremonies under the impact of the increasing republicanization of the Polish political system.

Writing on Polish history necessitates setting aside time during research trips for catching up with the latest Polish literature in the field. I visited the Adam Mickiewcz University's library to read the newest contributions, for example, on Alexander Jagiellon's courtiers.

The research trip contributed a wealth of both primary and secondary material to my doctoral dissertation. I am grateful to the Society for Renaissance Studies for the Study Fellowship, which has already borne fruit in the shape of a chapter published by Palgrave in a volume on royal motherhood, entitled *Royal Mothers and their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era*, which is edited by Ellie Woodacre and Carey Fleiner.

**Portrait of Prince Władysław IV Vasa by unknown artist (N.D.). Image: Wikimedia Commons.**

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