BULLETIN *of the* SOCIETY FOR RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Volume XXIX, Number 2 . . . . . October 2012

Typeset by Archétype Informatique, Camplong d'Aude 11200 France
Web site: www.archetype-it.com

ISSN 0264-8671

CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

REPORTS AND NOTICES

Bulletin *of the* Society for Renaissance Studies

Editors

Dr Ruth Ahnert,
School of English and Drama,
Queen Mary, University of London,
Mile End Road,
London E1 4NS
Tel: +44 (0)20 7882 5836
Email: r.r.ahnert@qmul.ac.uk

Dr Joanna Craigwood,
Sidney Sussex College,
University of Cambridge,
Sidney Street
Cambridge CB2 3HU
Tel: +44 (0)1223 338 839
Email: jeie2@cam.ac.uk

The *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* publishes articles, notes and reviews of general interest to the members of the Society. Members who are interested in writing articles (of approximately 2000 words) and notes should send proposals and typescripts (preferably via e-mail attachment) to the editors at the above addresses. Copy for the next issue should reach the editors by 15 February 2013. Contributions should be prepared in accordance with the MHRA style guide but please contact the editors with any queries concerning the length, format and style of contributions. Publishers who wish to have books considered for review should send copies to Ruth Ahnert.

Further information about the Society for Renaissance Studies can be found on the Society's website at http://www.rensoc.org.uk/

The Society for Renaissance Studies

Founded 1967

Membership of the Society is open to anyone interested in Renaissance studies and to institutions. All members receive issues of the *Bulletin*, which is published twice yearly, in April and October. The Society and its branches organize a full programme of events including an annual lecture, symposia and sixth-form conferences. Individuals and institutions interested in joining the Society should contact Dr Chloë Houston, Department of English and American Literature, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 218, Reading RG6 6AA. Email: c.houston@reading.ac.uk. The annual subscription is £20 for individual members, £35 for institutions, £25 for overseas members, and £15 for students. Copies of back issues of the Bulletin are available to members from the editors at £2 each.

Council of the Society for Renaissance Studies

(October 2012)

Dr Liz Oakley-Brown,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Lancaster University,
Bowland College,
Bowland A33a,
Lancaster LA1 4YD
e.oakley-brown@lancaster.ac.uk

Dr Miles Pattenden,
(Webmaster)
University of Oxford,
St Hugh's College,
St Margaret's Road,
Oxford OX2 6LE
miles.pattenden@st-hughs.ox.ac.uk

Dr Regina Pörtner,
College of Arts and Humanities,
Swansea University,
Singleton Park,
Swansea SA2 8PP
r.poertner@swansea.ac.uk

Prof. Jennifer Richards,
(Editor, Renaissance Studies)
School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics,
Percy Building,
Newcastle University,
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU
jennifer.richards@ncl.ac.uk

Dr Alexander Samson,
(Fellowship Officer)
Department of Spanish and Latin American Studies,
University College London,
Gower Street,
London WC1E 6BT
a.samson@ucl.ac.uk

Prof. William Sherman,
Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies,
University of York,
York YO10 5DD
ws505@york.ac.uk

Prof. Ceri Sullivan
(Conferences Officer)
School of English,
Bangor University,
LL57 2DG
els047@bangor.ac.uk

Dr Alison Thorne,
(Scottish Representative)
Department of English Studies,
University of Strathclyde,
Livingstone Tower,
26, Richmond Street,
Glasgow G1 1XH
a.thorne@strath.ac.uk

Dr Catherine Whistler,
(Exhibition Reviews Editor, South)
Ashmolean Museum,
Beaumont Street,
Oxford OX1 2PH
catherine.whistler@ashmus.ox.ac.uk

Letter from the Honorary Chair of the Society for Renaissance Studies

The Society's fifth biennial conference took place in Manchester on 9–11 July. As a full report appears elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin, there is no need for a detailed account here. I would like, however, to record our collective thanks to Dr Jerome de Groot and his team for all their hard work in making the event such a resounding success. The conference featured three stellar plenary speakers, Professors Bette Talvacchia, Roger Chartier and Alan Stewart, and papers from scholars based in the UK, Ireland, and Europe, as well as further afield, for example in North America, Israel, Australia, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan. As in York two years ago, there were also excellent contributions by a substantial cohort of doctoral and post-doctoral students. Intellectual stimulation was to be had in abundance, but we were also pleased and encouraged by numerous appreciative comments on the friendly and relaxed atmosphere. Lastly, I might mention the enthusiastic feedback received regarding the visits arranged by the organizers to view some of the many treasures of two of Manchester's best known libraries, the John Rylands and Chetham's.

As promised in my April letter, the result of the Society's first Biennial Book Prize was duly announced at the opening reception sponsored by Wiley-Blackwell. The winner, and recipient of a cheque for £1000, was Dr Sjoerd Levelt for his book, Jan van Naaldwijk's *Chronicles of Holland: Continuity and Transformation in the Historical Tradition of Holland during the Early Sixteenth Century* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011). Our congratulations to Dr Levelt who will be working this coming year in the Department of History at the University of Sussex.

The Society's three postdoctoral fellowships for 2012–13 were decided in the early summer. The Rubinstein Fellow is Dr Eleonora Carinci (University of Cambridge) with a project entitled '*Camilla Erculiani's Lettere di philosophia naturale*: A Critical Edition'. Erculiani was a Paduan apothecary whose text was published in Cracow in 1584, a unique scientific treatise by a woman in sixteenth-century Italy. The two SRS Fellows are Dr Jennifer Evans (University of Exeter) and Dr Sara Read (Loughborough University). Their projects are, respectively: 'Men's Sexual Health and Masculinity in Early Modern England', which deals with sexual illness, disorder and debility, and how these questions relate to wider patriarchal and other discourses about the male body, and '"Fat Women Wear It on Their Backs":

Women and Obesity in Seventeenth-Century England', which explores the medical understanding of obesity in a variety of discourses, with particular attention paid to its gendered dimension. Study fellowships went to Jacopo Gnisci (SOAS) working on the Passion and Resurrection in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ethiopian art, and to Victoria Van Hyning (University of Sheffield) for research into the English Convent of Nazareth in Bruges and the Chronicle of Santa Monica.

I am also delighted to announce the results of our newly launched Museums, Archives and Libraries Bursary Scheme. There were two awards. Peter Black, Curator at the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow, is to work on the Canzoniere of Enea Irpino, involving a visit to Parma in order to transcribe the manuscript and to conduct research in the Archivio di Stato. Xanthe Brooke, Curator of Fine Art at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, is to visit various UK libraries as part of a research project on William Roscoe in preparation for an exhibition to be held by the Gallery in 2016 on Roscoe as an art collector.

JUDITH BRYCE
HONORARY CHAIR

Society for Renaissance Studies
Annual Lecture 2012

The Lost Years of Edmund Spenser

When I agreed to give this lecture, and thought I would talk about Spenser's lost years, I was thinking about 1575–80, the period between Spenser leaving college and obtaining employment in Ireland – years that correspond to Shakespeare's lost years, when he was a schoolteacher, Catholic priest, apprentice playwright or incestuous son of the queen, according to your preference. However, on re-examining my subject, I realised that much of Spenser's life could be described as lost years, so little information about him remains outside his printed work and a number of legal references. This is unfortunately typical for late sixteenth-century England, and certainly for people of no more than 'middling sort'. In short, most of Spenser's biography consists of lost years.

Edmund Spenser, for those of you who do not know, was the most significant English non-dramatic poet of the Renaissance, and his work changed the course of English literature. He is generally considered a rather staid, conservative figure who spent his life praising his sovereign. In fact, his work reveals a much more confrontational, relentlessly experimental poet, whose every work was a new form of writing, and who appears to have liked nothing more than to insult the good and the great: William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester; Sir Walter Ralegh, his sometime patron; James VI of Scotland who demanded that Spenser be punished for representing his mother as the Whore of Babylon (perhaps James had a point); and, of course, Queen Elizabeth I. He probably lived from 1554 to 1599, a shortish but by no means brief life, went to the Merchant Taylors' School in London, then to Pembroke College, Cambridge. On leaving college Spenser probably lived with his tutor, Gabriel Harvey, in Saffron Walden, before working as a secretary to the Bishop of Rochester. In 1579 he married the elusive Machabyas Childe in St Margaret's Church, Westminster, undoubtedly a sign that things were looking up, and published his first poem, *The Shepheardes Calender*, in the same year. He went to Ireland in 1580, as secretary to the lord deputy, Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton, where he witnessed the notorious massacre at Smerwick, where 600 papal and Spanish troops were executed after they had surrendered, and worked in a

series of administrative positions in Dublin and its environs, before taking up a substantial estate on the newly established Munster Plantation, Kilcolman in 1589 or 90 (see figure 1), which he named, with rather overly-fitting irony, Hap Hazard. Having not published anything for ten years, a very unusual publishing career, Spenser produced a torrent of work, starting with the first edition of his magnum opus, *The Faerie Queene* (1590); the *Complaints* (1591), which got him into serious trouble and which were 'called in'; a sonnet sequence, the *Amoretti*, and a marriage hymn, the *Epithalamion*, detailing his second marriage to Elizabeth Boyle on St Barnabas' Day, 11 June, 1594, and other works, most of which would be better known had he not written *The Faerie Queene*, the second edition of which was published in 1596. He returned to England in 1589–90, and again in 1596–97 when he wrote his notorious prose dialogue, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, which recommended the extermination of vast numbers of Irish rebels, by which time the situation in Ireland had become especially dangerous for settlers as the Nine Years War accelerated to its climax. Spenser's house was overrun and ransacked, and he fled from Cork with a series of desperate pleas from the Munster Planters, arriving just before Christmas 1598. He died in Westminster on 13 January 1599. According to William Camden, poets threw poems and quills into his grave at his funeral service, though when the supposed site of the grave was dug up in the 1930s, nothing was found. His funeral monument, next to Geoffrey Chaucer's, established Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey.

In this lecture I want to give you some idea of what Spenser did from 1592 to 1595, after the publication of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*, when he was re-establishing himself as a major poetic force, and had just acquired his Irish estate and remarried. Unfortunately, there is little trace of what Spenser did at all in the next three years, a situation not helped by the loss of the Irish State Papers in 1922. We know from the reference in the dedicatory letter to Ralegh in *Colin Clout* that he was back in Ireland over the Christmas season. He might have been absent again from his estates in August to September 1592, possibly back in England, but there is no record of him returning to London. A document in the Irish State Papers, 'A particular of the number of English tenants inhabiting under each several undertaker', endorsed by the lord chief justice, Sir Robert Gardener, and the solicitor-general, Sir Roger Wilbraham, omits Spenser's name from the list of undertakers – or settlers in receipt of land – who have secured tenants on their estates; these include Sir William Herbert (thirty-five tenants), Sir Edward Denny (four tenants) and Henry Billingsley (sixty-six tenants), with the list recording 245 tenants in total. The others are sternly reprimanded

Figure 1. Kilcolman Castle, County Cork.

because they have not 'performed the plot of the habitation so well', especially in terms of 'any English building […] each one excused his default, alleging that they have time of respite to perform Her Majesty's plot till anno 1594'. The failing undertakers are reminded that 'each undertaker of 12,000 acres is by his letters patents bound to erect 92 families, English, upon his seignory before Michaelmas 1594; and so after that proportion rateably for other inferior segniories'. However, 'few or none will accomplish that convenant'.[1]

The document, produced at the behest of powerful, central figures in the Irish civil service, shows that the authorities were starting to become worried about the status of the Plantation quite early in its history, placing the blame squarely on the undertakers. Perhaps they were also realising that the task of making Ireland English would prove more difficult than they had first imagined. Clearly many undertakers did not have the time or the funds to erect English buildings and were finding it impossible to transplant English families to Ireland, undoubtedly through their lack of enthusiasm for a venture that was always likely to prove insecure and dangerous. They also faced the complex task of establishing their rights to the land and, consequently, their ability to evict existing Irish tenants and landowners. It suggests that Spenser's time in England in 1589–90 had seriously reduced his ability to transform his Irish estates, and he may not have fully transformed the Norman Castle into an inhabitable house by this point. It is possible that he had assumed that he would be able to return to England permanently in 1589, or had, at least, thought about this prospect, perhaps imagining that now that he had acquired an estate in one of the queen's kingdoms, he could exchange it for another elsewhere. This might have been his long-term plan all along, and his other recorded long visit to England in 1596–97 probably had the same aim, albeit in rather more desperate circumstances. If so, this would suggest that in 1589 he took his children, Sylvanus and Katherine, with him, and that Machabyas died before or during that prolonged visit.

It is unlikely that we will ever discover when Spenser met his second wife, Elizabeth Boyle, unless new evidence appears. But, as he married her on 11 June 1594, and he records the courtship in terms of a calendar year in the *Amoretti*, it is most likely that he met her in 1592–93, and she agreed to marry him at Easter 1593, as the sonnet sequence suggests.[2] The couple could have met through the offices of her relation, Richard Boyle, first earl

1 *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland of the Reign of Elizabeth (October 1592 – June 1596)*, ed. by Hans Claude Hamilton (London: HMSO, 1890), p. 58.

2 W. H. Welply, 'Edmund Spenser: Being an Account of Some Recent Researches into His

Figure 2. Tynte Monument, Kilcredan Church, County Cork.

of Cork, given the role he played in her life after Spenser's death, and since Spenser's daughter, Catherine, married William Wiseman, who was well-known to the earl's family. The fact that Elizabeth married three widowers in rapid succession would further support this conjecture and suggests that Boyle may have planned her life – and the lives of others within the family circle – perhaps rather more than she would have liked, as her surviving letters to him suggest. Boyle, who was closely acquainted with Geoffrey Fenton and who also knew Bryskett, would have known – or known of – Spenser, and would have realised that, as a widower with a family and an estate to run, he was probably eager to get married, as well as being a decent catch.[3]

Far more is known about Elizabeth than Machabyas, and a stone image of her survives (see figure 2). In 1636 Elizabeth's third husband, Robert Tynte, erected a monument with a stone effigy of himself and his two wives, one kneeling at his feet, the other at his head, in Kilcredan Church, just over ten miles from Youghal, on the estates that Richard Boyle purchased from Walter Ralegh in 1602, and on which he rebuilt and extended the medieval Lismore Castle as his principal residence. Tynte established the church in 1636.[4] Elizabeth died in 1622, so we cannot know how accurate the image of her is, but, as she had four children with Tynte, it is probable that she is the 'more staid and matronly' lady at Tynte's head.[5] Unfortunately the church was closed in 1917 and was vandalised, and the heads of Tynte's wives were knocked off, so that the once impressive monument is now a shadow of its original state, and has decayed beyond the possibility of proper restoration. One of the heads of the wives is visible in a photograph from 1927, although it has subsequently been lost.[6] This somewhat unclear and

Life and Lineage, with Some Notice of His Family and Descendants', *Notes & Queries*, 162 (1932), 128–32, 146–50, 165–69, 182–87, 202–06, 220–24, 239–42, 256–60 (p. 165).

3 Mary Anne Hutchinson, 'Boyle family', *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Toronto and London: The University of Toronto Press and Routledge, 1990), p. 109.

4 W. H. Welply, 'More Notes on Edmund Spenser', *Notes & Queries*, 165 (1933), 92–94, 111–16 (p. 111).

5 Philip G. Lee, 'The Ruined Monuments of Sir Robert Tynte and Sir Edward Harris in Kilcredan Church, Balycrenane, near Ladysbridge', *Journal of The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 2nd ser., 31 (1926), 86–87 (p. 86). The quotation is from W. N. Brady, who saw the monument before it was mutilated.

6 Amy Louise Harris, 'The Tynte Monument, Kilcredan, Co. Cork: A Reappraisal', *Journal of The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 104 (1999), 137–44 (p. 139).

problematic image and Elizabeth's decapitated trunk are the closest we have to physical likenesses of Spenser's immediate family.[7]

Elizabeth was the daughter of Steven and Joan Boyle from Bradden, Northamptonshire, near to the large estates of the Spensers of Wormleighton and Althorp, to whom Spenser claimed to be related. Numerous branches of the Spenser family exist throughout the area: if Spenser's family were from Northamptonshire, as seems likely, the couple could have met through mutual connections, and might have known each other before their courtship began in earnest, given the importance of kinship and evidence that 'members of the propertied classes took care during this period to maintain a fairly broad knowledge of their kindred, going well beyond those with whom they were on close terms'.[8] In fact Elizabeth was related to the Spencers of Althorp by marriage, through her mother, Joan, née Cope, whose grandfather had married Jane Spencer, grand-daughter of John Spencer of Hodnell, Warwickshire, also the ancestor of Sir John Spencer, to whose daughters Spenser dedicated a number of poems. These three sisters were fourth cousins of his wife, a relationship that would have had some significance within Northamptonshire circles.[9] Elizabeth was also a distant relative of Richard Boyle, perhaps his cousin: she is not mentioned in his memoir of 1632, but he certainly showed a keen interest in her welfare.[10] Geoffrey Fenton, a rather more successful career civil servant than Spenser who had come to Ireland at the same time, became Richard Boyle's father-in-law in 1603, when his daughter, Catherine, became the second wife of the earl.[11] English settlers intermarried, as would be expected, especially second time around, but we cannot be sure whether Edmund and Elizabeth met in England or Ireland, although the Amoretti, which records a number of places and events in their courtship, makes no mention of a journey which would be expected if the couple had first met in England.[12]

7 A. C. Judson, *Notes on the Life of Edmund Spenser* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1949), p. 28.

8 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450–1700* (London: Longman, 1984), p. 39.

9 Ray Heffner, 'Edmund Spenser's Family', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2 (1938), 79–84 (p. 82).

10 Richard Boyle, 'Memoir', British Library Add. MS 19832, 23 June 1632.

11 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Geoffrey Fenton by Andrew Hadfield.

12 An opposite explanation is given by Ray Heffner ('Edmund Spenser's Family') who assumes that Spenser met Elizabeth in England and that her family moved to Ireland because of him.

The most likely explanation is that Elizabeth moved to Ireland because of her relation's conspicuous success in acquiring wealth and lands. Two of Boyle's sisters settled in the Youghal area, and Elizabeth moved to Ireland with her brother, Alexander, indicating that emigration to Ireland was often a family affair.[13] It is further possible that Sir George Boyle, knighted in 1624, who practised iron smelting on the earl's estate, was yet another relative who made the journey over from England.[14] Records show that Elizabeth later rented a house owned by the earl in Kilcoran, West Youghal, near the strand.[15] If she occupied this or a nearby house before her marriage to Spenser, then the opening line of *Amoretti* 75, 'One day I wrote her name upon the strand', and another line in the *Epitahalamion*, when the poet states that he will sing 'of the sea that neighbours to her neare' (l. 39), can be read autobiographically.[16] Moreover, as Ralph Houlbrook has pointed out, 'ties with relatives by marriage and maternal kinsfolk were often stronger than those with paternal kindred', providing further evidence that after his second marriage Spenser started to make use of his new connections within the wider Boyle family circle.[17] After all, some of his own family seem to have followed him over, notably his sister, Sarah, who married John Travers, another sign that members of the Spenser and Boyle families had moved over from Northamptonshire to Munster *en masse*.[18]

Youghal, a well-established and relatively affluent town which had received its charter of incorporation in 1209 and had acquired walls by 1275, was nearly as important a port as Cork in the 1590s, as figures for customs receipts, wool exports and livestock and cattle-hide exports demonstrate.[19] William Camden, although admitting that it was 'no great towne',

13 Dorothea Townshend, *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork* (London: Duckworth, 1904), p. 8; Welply, 'Spenser: Being an Account of Some Recent Researches,' p. 166.

14 W. H. Welply, 'Edmund Spenser: Some New Discoveries and the Correction of Some Old Errors', *Notes & Queries*, 146 (1924), 445–47, and 147 (1924), 35 (146 (1924), 446–47); Welply, 'More Notes on Spenser,' p. 116.

15 On Kilcoran, see Samuel Hayman, *Memorials of Youghal, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (Youghal: John Lindsay, 1879), p. 29.

16 Edmund Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999); further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text. Richard Boyle, *The Lismore Papers: Autobiographical Notes, Remembrances, and Diaries,* ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 2nd ser., 5 vols (London: Privately Printed, 1886), I, xv.

17 Houlbrooke, *English Family*, p. 19; Robert Day, 'Notes on Youghal,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th ser., 33 (1903), 319–25 (p. 325).

18 W. H. Welply, 'Edmund Spenser's Brother-in-law, John Travers', *Notes & Queries*, 179 (1940), 70–78, 92–97, 112–15.

19 Richard Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, from 1610 to 1659,*

nevertheless provided a positive description of an Anglicized settlement that was recognised as important in England: 'the fruitfulnesse withal of the Country adjoining, draweth merchants unto it, so as it is well frequented and inhabited, yea and hath a Major for the head magistrate.'[20] Cork's rise to prominence took place in the wake of the lapse of the Navigation Acts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as the development of Atlantic trade transformed the region and placed the city centre stage, its population increasing from about 3000 in 1600 to about 5000 by the late 1620s.[21] Youghal's importance in this period owed much to the presence of the Boyles, in particular Richard Boyle's ability to secure land for his followers, and his patronage of local merchants. It also benefited from an 'open policy towards prospective New English freemen (in contrast to the situation in Cork)', which helped to create its character as a loyal, Protestant city, and its strategic importance on the Blackwater made it a natural outlet for trade from the interior, especially from the Mallow area where Spenser lived.[22] Spenser would have had more reasons to be in Youghal than any other local town so it was where he was most likely to encounter a wife in Ireland.

Elizabeth was clearly a lot younger than Edmund, probably in her early to mid-twenties, perhaps even younger, given the number of children she had with Robert Tynte, after they married in 1612.[23] After Spenser's death, Elizabeth wrote a number of letters expressing her gratitude to the earl for supporting her, showing that she was literate, a relatively unusual achievement for a woman of her status in the 1590s.[24] One dated 22 December 1615 states her 'thankfullness for your ever wonted kindness towards me',

from 1666 to 1687, and from 1690 to 1800 (Surrey: Billing and Sons, 1878), p. xxv; Susan Flavin and Evan T. Jones, eds, *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent: The Evidence of the Exchequer Customs Accounts* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009).

20 William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adioyning*, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1610), p. 78.

21 Mark McCarthy, 'Geographical Change in an Early Modern Town: Urban Growth and Cultural Politics in Cork, 1600–41', *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, 106 (2001), 53–78.

22 David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630–1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), pp. 8, 18–19, 22; Henry F. Berry, 'The English Settlement in Mallow under the Jephson Family in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Cork History and Archaeological Society*, 2nd ser., 12 (1906), 1–26, and 13 (1907), 204 (12 (1906), p. 17).

23 Welply, 'More Notes on Edmund Spenser', p. 114.

24 See David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 144–45.

and, in the postscript, records a conversation Elizabeth had with Catherine Boyle in which she 'spake to your Lady conser[n]ing some bisnes which if you can do me the faviour I would put what monyes I can of my Childrine […] conser[n]ing some estates to setell upon them'.[25] The letter makes clear how much Elizabeth had come to rely on the earl for her welfare and well-being, along with that of her children. In another letter dated 19 November 1616 Elizabeth asks that Boyle keep her son – probably her son with Seckerstone, Richard, as her children with Tynte would have been too young, and Peregrine would have been grown up by now – 'for his better edicacion' and she asks Boyle to 'show [his] louinge favour & countenance towards him & his childes accions to excuses in regarde of his youeth & want of exsperiance'.[26] Boyle took a great interest in Richard, who was his godson.[27] We do not know what the boy did, but the letter again shows Elizabeth's dependence on her benefactor and the Boyles working as an extended family in Ireland in a manner that was probably only unusual in terms of the wealth and power that they possessed. These are the only personal letters connected to Spenser which survive.

The *Amoretti* appeared along with the *Epithalamion* in 1595, part of the second – and last – flurry of published work that Spenser produced (1594–96). The sonnet sequence itself is best known as a celebration of Spenser's marriage, a new departure in the recently established genre, which, following Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, first published in 1591, had charted adulterous love or unrequited passion.[28] Yet again, Spenser's intervention was designed to transform the state of English culture: using a number of mainly French and Italian models and examples, he invented a new style of English sonnet, now known as the Spenserian sonnet, based on a 'very demanding rhyme scheme, at least as difficult as the Petrarchan scheme (ABAB ABAB CDE CDE)'.[29] The Anacreontic poems that join the two

25 Chatsworth House, Cork MSS, vol. 6, no. 132; transcribed in Boyle, *Lismore Papers*, 2nd ser., II, 12–13.

26 Chatsworth House, Cork MSS, vol. 7, no. 184; transcribed in Boyle, *Lismore Papers*, 2nd ser., II, 60. On Richard Seckerstone, see the correspondence between H. W. Garrod and W. H. Welply, 'Spenser and Elizabeth Boyle', *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 May 1923. Garrod raises the possibility that Elizabeth was a widow when she met Spenser but is refuted by Welply.

27 Welply, 'Spenser: Being an Account of Some Recent Researches', p. 183.

28 Maurice Evans, ed., *Elizabethan Sonnets* (London: Dent, 1977); J. W. Lever, *The Elizabethan Love Sonnet* (London: Methuen, 1956), ch. 5.

29 Michael R. G. Spiller, *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 143.

major works are also an innovation in both style and substance.[30] In the *Amoretti* Spenser tells the story of his courtship of Elizabeth, the sequence culminating in another new form of English poem, the marriage-hymn, the *Epithalamion*, as no one had before combined 'the roles of bridegroom and poet-speaker'.[31] Although there were well-known classical precedents in the works of Claudian and Statius, Spenser's poem had yet another innovative stanza pattern, 'derived from the Provençal and Italian canzone, which Spenser introduced to England'.[32] Furthermore, as Kenneth J. Larsen has demonstrated, 'the eighty-nine sonnets of the Amoretti, as numbered in the 1595 octavo edition, were written to correspond with consecutive dates, beginning on Wednesday 23 January 1594 and running, with one interval, through to Friday 17 May 1594: they correspond with the daily and sequential order of scriptural readings that are prescribed for those dates by the liturgical calendar of the Church of England'.[33] Spenser narrates the course of his courtship and marriage of Elizabeth in terms of the prescribed Bible readings used by the established church, a token of his allegiance to that church, as well as a manifestation of the establishment of English culture in Ireland. In 1594 Spenser's life had reached a high point of stability and renewed purpose through his second marriage, something he celebrates in this volume, and in the revised *Colin Clout*, published in the same year after a significant hiatus, perhaps also brought over by Needham. Ironically enough, it was to prove a brief and false dawn, his hopes for the future dashed by the outbreak of the Nine Years War, leading eventually to the destruction of the Munster Plantation, Spenser's flight and death.

The volume shows that the Munster planters believed that they had established a civilised order in Ireland that could rival and even supersede the tired culture of the court. Spenser appropriates the language of the courtly lyric – in the main that of Sidney's sequence – in order to praise his bride-to-be, translating the tropes of courtiers to a conspicuously provincial, commercial scene:

30 See Robert S. Miola, 'Spenser's Anacreontics: A Mythological Metaphor', *Studies in Philology*, 77 (1980), 50–66.

31 Thomas M. Greene, 'Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention', *Comparative Literature*, 9 (1957), 215–28 (p. 222).

32 On Spenser's stanza see A. C. Partridge, *The Language of Renaissance Poetry* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1971), p. 86; for classical precedents, see Germaine Warkentin, '*Amoretti*, *Epithalamion*', in *Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. by Hamilton, pp. 30–38 (p. 35).

33 *Edmund Spenser's Amoretti and Epithalamion: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Kenneth J. Larsen (Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 1997), p. 3.

> Ye tradefull Merchants that with weary toyle,
> do seeke most pretious things to make your gain:
> and both the Indias of their treasures spoile,
> what needeth you to seeke so farre in vaine?
> For loe my loue doth in her selfe containe
> all this worlds riches that may farre be found;
> if Saphyres, loe her eies be Saphyres plaine,
> if Rubies, loe hir lips be Rubies found;
> If Pearles, hir teeth be pearles both pure and round;
> if Yuorie, her forhead yuory weene;
> if Gold, her locks are finest gold on ground;
> if siluer, her faire hands are siluer sheene,
> But that which fairest is, but few behold,
> her mind adornd with vertues manifold. (*Amoretti* 15)

Elizabeth is as beautiful as any courtly lady, and Spenser's sonnet may well have Astrophil's ornate description of Stella's face in mind, transposing the elaborate ironies of that poem to a new, middle-class setting and a different series of literary co-ordinates. Sidney's poem reads:

> Queen Virtue's court, which some call Stella's face,
> Prepar'd by Nature's choicest furniture,
> Hath his front built of alabaster pure;
> Gold in the covering of that stately place.
> The door by which sometimes comes forth her Grace
> Red porphyr is, which lock of pearl makes sure,
> Whose porches rich (which name of cheeks endure)
> Marble mix'd red and white do interlace.
> The windows now through which this heav'nly guest
> Looks o'er the world, and can find nothing such,
> Which dare claim from those lights the name of best,
> Of touch they are that without touch doth touch,
> Which Cupid's self from Beauty's mine did draw:
> Of touch they are, and poor I am their straw.[34]

Sidney's poem asserts that his lady has all these marvellous possessions as part of her substance; in pointed contrast, Spenser claims that his is better

34 Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet 9, quoted from *Elizabethan Sonnets*.

than these things, establishing a distance between her (middle-class) virtues and the riches that the merchants bring back from far flung lands, most of which, presumably, end up at court and in the possession of courtiers. Furthermore, Spenser's love is witnessed by merchants, not courtiers, and her commodified body serves to revitalise them, the real substance of society, not those at court who imagine that their actions run the country.[35] The opening quatrain, especially if read alongside the proem to Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, claims that foreign exploration is probably a waste of time, as more profit will be gained, financially and spiritually, by staying at home and securing England's possessions within the British Isles, a development that would involve the strengthening and proliferation of provincial society, not the spectacular voyages of explorers and empire builders which invariably disappointed investors.[36] In marrying Elizabeth, Spenser is achieving this aim, making him a better citizen than many of his more exalted counterparts. The sonnet may take another swipe at Ralegh, and is the sort of writing that would have done nothing to help the courtier regain his position at court or secure support for his Transatlantic ventures, suggesting that Spenser felt betrayed by his erstwhile champion in some way, perhaps for abandoning Ireland. The description is repeated in the tenth stanza of the *Epithalamion*, when the poet-narrator asks, 'Tell me ye merchants daughters did ye see / So fayre a creature in your towne before?' (ll. 168–69), followed by a similar depiction of Elizabeth in terms of a blazon invariably applied to court beauties.[37] Spenser reminds his readers that his bride has a radiance that puts them to shame, marking the couple out as both part of the community and yet also separate from it. When read alongside *Colin Clout* the marriage poems express a recommitment to making a life in Ireland and an understanding that the Spensers were choosing to adopt an Anglo-Irish identity in doing so.

Spenser also repeats earlier works that place a high value on the religious significance of marriage as the holy state in which Christians were exhorted to live. Throughout the sequence the poet adopts the erotic language of the Song of Songs, most conspicuously in the 'garden sonnet' (*Amoretti* 64):[38]

35 Christopher Warley, *Sonnet Sequences and Social Distinction in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 110–12.

36 Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), ch. 1.

37 On the blazon, see Nancy Vickers, 'Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme', *Critical Inquiry*, 8 (1981), 265–79.

38 On the relationship between Spenser's sequence and the Song of Songs, see Noam

Coming to kisse her lyps, (such grace I found)
Me seemd I smelt a gardin of sweet flowres:
that dainty odours from them threw around
for damzels fit to decke their louers bowres.
Her lips did smell lyke vnto Gillyflowers,
her ruddy cheekes, lyke vnto Roses red:
her snowy browes lyke budded Bellamoures
her louely eyes lyke Pincks but newly spred,
Her goodly bosome lyke a Strawberry bed,
her neck lyke to a bounch of Cullambynes:
her brest lyke lillyes, ere theyr leaues be shed,
her nipples lyke yong blossomd Iessemynes,
Such fragrant flowres doe giue most odorous smell,
but her sweet odour did them all excell.

Spenser celebrates his forthcoming union with his bride in terms of the description of the beauties of nature employed to describe the marriage between the church and God in Canticles. Although the church insisted that this book be read allegorically, there was a long tradition of it being read in more obviously literal, erotic terms.[39] In the *Amoretti* Spenser represents his marriage as a sacred event, the impending first act of sexual intercourse as a holy rite of passage into the joys of Christian matrimony, the proper way of living and establishing the social order after the Reformation.

However, a dissonant note is struck in the concluding stanzas of the *Epithalamion*, just as the much anticipated act is about to take place. In bed the newly-weds look out of the window and spot an unsettled figure unable to find her own place of rest:

Who is the same, which at my window peepes?
Or whose is that faire face, that shines so bright,
Is it not Cinthia, she that neuer sleepes,
But walkes about high heauen al the night?
O fayrest goddesse, do thou not enuy
My loue with me to spy:
For thou likewise didst loue, though now vnthought,
And for a fleece of woll, which priuily,

Flinker, *The Song of Songs in English Renaissance Literature: Kisses of their Mouths* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 76–79.

39 Flinker, *Song of Songs*, pp. 12–19.

> The Latmian shephard once vnto thee brought,
> His pleasures with thee wrought,
> Therefore to vs be fauorable now;
> And sith of wemens labours thou hast charge,
> And generation goodly dost enlarge,
> Encline they will t'effect our wishfull vow,
> And the chast wombe informe with timely seed,
> That may our comfort breed:
> Till which we cease our hopefull hap to sing,
> Ne let the woods vs answere, nor our Eccho ring. (ll. 372–89)

It is not usually remarked when listing Spenser's poetic innovations that he appears to have been the first poet who imagined the queen looking into his bedroom on his wedding night. The image relies on a conventional understanding of the monarch as Cynthia, the imperial moon, continually watching over her subjects in order to protect them from any ills.[40] But here she is the one looking through the window, staring in jealousy at her subjects, reversing the normal hierarchical relations. This can be read as a particularly offensive stanza, especially given Spenser's track record, designed to provoke the queen – should she or anyone close to her read it – a strident revision of the genre, deliberately striking a discordant note and asserting, once again, that the poet was the really important figure.

The key word is 'envy', given Elizabeth's virginity, and the reminder that she once loved: *The Shepheardes Calender* had made a number of references to the projected Alençon match, so the 'Latmian shepherd' may be François, Duc d'Alençon, or, even, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester.[41] The queen is cast as a voyeur, peeping through the curtains, jealous of the joy of the lovers, an image that repeats the closing lines of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* with Britomart gazing enviously at the joy of the hermaphrodite created by the lovers Amoret and Scudamore.[42] There, we know that Britomort will have her time when she marries Artegall, leading to a dynasty of mighty kings.[43] Here we are told that Cynthia/Elizabeth has had

40 Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 174–80.

41 Paul E. McLane, *Spenser's Shepheardes Calender: A Study in Elizabethan Allegory* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), ch. 2.

42 Lauren Silberman, *Transforming Desire: Erotic Knowledge in Books III and IV of The Faerie Queene* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), ch. 3.

43 Bart Van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.

hers, and needs to bless the lovers and stop her envy. Spenser would appear to be commenting on her inability to rule effectively in Ireland, a theme he was developing in the second edition of *The Faerie Queene*, on which he would have been working at this time, and her failure as a ruler of men and women who have sexual desires, as Ralegh had discovered to his cost three years earlier.

It is possible, of course, that Spenser has this scandal in mind, as he celebrates his own marriage in a conspicuously bourgeois manner, as he was soon to publish an allegory of Ralegh's fate.[44] The stanza is also a *momento mori*, a cruel reminder that Elizabeth had failed to marry and produce an heir, when her duty, as Spenser clearly saw it, was to ensure the protection of her subjects. Instead they have to depend on her failing corpse-like body, wandering at night like a ghost, a parody of the true role that Cynthia should play.[45] Spenser has linked his own life and situation with that of the monarch, skilfully – and confrontationally – drawing together two of the main concerns articulated throughout his writing career. His personal life is seen at odds with, and more ordered than, the larger political state of affairs. The newly-weds appeal to Juno, the goddess of marriage, to bless their bridal bed, and to enable it to remain:

> Without blemish or staine,
> And the secret pleasures of theyr loues delight
> With secret ayde doest succour and supply,
> Till they bring forth the fruitfull progeny,
> Send vs the timely fruit of this same night (ll. 400–04).

The *Epithalamion*, a poem written as a numerological artefact in order to represent the 365 days of the year, as a counterpoint to the 52 weeks represented in the *Amoretti*, has often been read as if it were a work that expressed the divine order of the universe.[46] In fact, the harmony of both of the poems' structures is distinctly at odds with the anxiety and, in places,

37–48.

44 James P. Bednarz, 'Ralegh in Spenser's Historical Allegory', *Spenser Studies*, 4 (1984), 49–70.

45 Julia M. Walker, 'Bones of Contention: Posthumous Images of Elizabeth and Stuart Politics', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 252–76.

46 On the precise nature of the numerology, see Kent A. Hieatt, *Short Time's Endless Monument: The Symbolism of the Numbers in Edmund Spenser's Epithalamion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). On the *Epithalamion* as an expression of harmony, see, for

hostility represented in the content, which is full of sly and skilful reversals of expected norms. Spenser hopes for a bright future for the couple with children and stability in their home, but has to acknowledge that this does not depend on themselves alone, counterpointing his domestic bliss with that of a threatening world outside his domestic world.[47]

Amoretti and *Epithalamion* also provide the reader with more mundane details designed to anchor the works in the realities of the poet's life. Again, Spenser's model was probably Sidney in *Astrophil and Stella*, who, using the rhetorical technique of *occupatio*, referred to his keen knowledge of political events while ostensibly denying any interest, and quibbled on the name 'Rich', the name of Penelope Devereux/Stella's husband.[48] Sidney's death had been swiftly followed by his posthumous canonisation and, as his works were printed, the conditions of writing were transformed, because secular lyric poetry in print became far more socially acceptable and popular.[49] Such lessons were not lost on Spenser, and Sidney's influence is especially apparent in the poetry he published immediately after the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*.

In *Amoretti* 33 Spenser addresses his friend, Lodowick Bryskett, who published poems alongside Spenser in *Astrophel* later that year. He explains that he has neglected his duties to the queen in failing to finish *The Faerie Queene*, because he has been so tormented in his pursuit of his proud mistress that he will be unable to continue work until 'she vouchsafe to grawnt me rest, / or lend you me another liuing brest' (ll. 13–14).[50] When read in conjunction with sonnet 74, expressing his devotion to the three Elizabeths in his life – mother, queen and wife – the sonnet again demonstrates that Spenser's primary devotion was to his wife ahead of his sovereign. In representing Elizabeth Boyle as a cruel, tyrannical mistress until she submits to his suit, Spenser is adapting conventional poetic imagery in an unfamiliar manner – although he may well be consciously adapting Dante's represen-

example, Alastair Fowler, *Time's Purpled Masquers: Stars and the Afterlife in Renaissance English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 59–61.

47 On the anxieties in the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, see also Scott Wilson, *Cultural Materialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 64–82.

48 Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnets 30, 24 (see *Elizabethan Sonnets*). For further links between the sequences, see Jacqueline T. Miller, '"Love Doth Hold My Hand": Writing and Wooing in the Sonnets of Sidney and Spenser', *English Literary History*, 46 (1979), 541–58.

49 Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 229.

50 For comment, see Ted Brown, 'Metapoetry in Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti*', *Philological Quarterly*, 82 (2003), 401–17 (pp. 412–13).

tation of Beatrice in *La Vita Nuova* – emphasising the need he has for a partner in order to be able to live his life and work properly.[51] The *Amoretti* can be read as a critique of the 'pagan self-sufficiency' of Stoicism and a statement of the benefits of married life, casting the poet's wife in a more active role than that imagined for many unobtainable ladies in the poetry of Spenser's contemporaries.[52] It is likely that in his most famous sonnet, 'One day I wrote her name vpon the strand' (sonnet 75), Spenser is recalling an event that he wants the reader to note, as Elizabeth did probably live near Youghal strand, a significant feature of the town, suggesting that he spent some time in the area, probably through connections to the Boyle family. If she did not live in the house in Kilcoran already mentioned, Elizabeth might have lived with her brother-in-law, Sir Richard Smith, in a house on the estuary where the River Blackwater flows into the sea, which suggests that the topographical exhortation in *Epithalamion* is another carefully placed detail:

> Bring with you al the Nymphes that you can heare
> both of the riuers and the forests greene:
> And of the sea that neighbours to her neare,
> Al with gay girlands goodly wel beseene. (ll. 37–40)

The marriage must have taken place in Youghal, or nearby, not in Christ Church, Cork, as is often assumed.[53] If so, the ceremony must have been conducted in St Mary's Church, damaged in the Desmond Rebellion, but undoubtedly restored by 1594, where there is a large monument to Sir Richard Boyle and his family, of a similar style to the one in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.[54]

Epithalamion's plea that the couple be not disturbed by terrors of the night – goblins, witches, nightmares, owls, ravens and so on – concludes with 'Ne let th'unpleasant Quyre of Frogs still croking / Make vs to wish theyr choking' (ll. 349–50). The reference has a distinguished and obvious

51 Robert G. Benson, 'Elizabeth as Beatrice: A Reading of Spenser's *Amoretti*', *South Central Bulletin*, 32 (1972), 184–88.

52 For the first point, see Myron Turner, 'The Imagery of Spenser's *Amoretti*', *Neophilologus*, 72 (1988), 284–99 (p. 295); for the second, William C. Johnson, 'Gender Fashioning and the Dynamics of Mutuality in Spenser's *Amoretti*', *English Studies*, 74 (1993), 503–19.

53 Douglas Hamer, 'Spenser's Marriage', *Review of English Studies*, 27 (1931), 271–90 (p. 271).

54 M. J. C. Buckley, 'Notes on St. Mary's Church, Youghal', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th ser., 33 (1903), 333–44.

classical precedent in the *Georgics*, where Virgil describes the dangers and irritations that the farmer needs to be prepared to confront, culminating in the croaking of frogs:

> No, rain need never take us
> Unawares: for high-flying cranes will have flown to valley bottoms
> To escape the rain as it rises, or else a calf has looked up
> At the sky and snuffed the wind with nostrils apprehensive,
> Or the tittering swallow has flitted around and around the lake,
> And frogs in the mud have croaked away at their old complaint.[55]

In recalling this line in a marriage hymn Spenser situates bride and groom in a country setting, ready to run their estates together, suggesting that he now identifies himself and his future with his country estate at Kilcolman.

Given the ways in which Elizabeth is represented in the *Amoretti* as a beautiful, cruel tyrant, we might wonder whether she read Spenser's work. Most likely, she was party to his literary games and representation of their lives in fictionalised form, as it appears Machabyas was over a decade earlier, a privileged woman reader entering a male world of reading and writing together, shared books and manuscripts and the deft use of print.[56] A copy of *The Faerie Queene* exists, now in private hands, which, if it is authentic (a big 'if'), was the volume that Spenser must have given to Elizabeth. At the end, beside the 'Letter to Raleigh', is an earlier version of the first sonnet of the *Amoretti*:

A sa mistresse

> Happy ye leaves when as those lilly Hands
> That houlds my life in hir deaddoing might
> Shall handle yo^{u} and hold in Loves swete bandes
> Like captives trembling at y^{e} victors sight.
> Happy ye liues when as wth stary light
> Those lamping eies shall deigne on yo^{u} to looke

55 Virgil, *Georgics*, I, lines 373–78, in *Virgil: The Eclogues; The Georgics*, trans. by C. Day Lewis and ed. by R. O. A. M. Lyne, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 63–64.

56 On Elizabeth as a reader of the poems, see Brown, 'Metapoetry in Spenser's *Amoretti*', p. 402.

And reade the sorowes of my dieng spright
Written wth tears in harts close bleedinge book.
Happy ye rymes bathed in y^{e} sacred brook
Of Helicon whence shee derived is
When as you shall beholde y^{t} angels looke
My soules longe lacked foode my heavens blisse.

Leaves, lines & rymes seeke her to please alone
Whome if yo^{u} please I care for others none/.[57]

The printed version of the sonnet has been lightly but carefully revised. In line 2 'That' has become 'which'; in line 3 'swete' has become 'soft'; line 5 has been changed to 'And happy lines, on which with starry light'; in line 6, 'shall' has become 'will' and 'on you' has become 'sometimes'; in line 9 'Happy ye rymes' has been changed to 'And happy rymes' to parallel the structure of line 5; line 11 has become 'when ye behold that Angels blessed looke'; and in line 14, 'you' has become 'ye.' The possible revisions are plausible, although as there are no Spenser holographs, we know very little about his writing practices, and the revised poem could well be a fake.

But even if the inscription a fake, the point may not be seriously affected. In both versions of the sonnet Spenser casts Elizabeth as the most important reader of his poetry, making it clear that the references to her bewitching eyes made throughout the sequence signal not just her beauty but her ability to read the 'Leaues, lines and rymes' that he has written for her. Spenser claims that he is only happy when writing for her, anchoring his poetry in his private, domestic sphere, with the knowledge that in print the representation of that personal world takes on a different meaning as an alternative to the courtly mode that has dominated English poetry and that he has now appropriated and subverted. The point becomes all the more obvious when read alongside the references to the merchant families as the community in which the couple exist. In inscribing the first edition of his *magnum opus* for Elizabeth to read and to become his reader, Spenser includes Elizabeth within his circle of readers, inscribing the book to mark their new life together. It is likely, then, that the sonnet to Bryskett, describing his failure to complete the second part of *The Faerie Queene* because of his quest for Elizabeth's hand, was a shared joke between a married couple

57 Cited in Israel Gollancz, 'Spenseriana', *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1907), 99–105 (p. 100). Gollancz is the only scholar to have seen this copy and to have written about it. Its current whereabouts are not known, but it exists in a private collection.

rather than simply an address to a male friend about the malign effects of his love life on his work.[58] After all, Spenser had represented his married life in this way before.

Little survives of Spenser's life but his poems exhort and tease us time and again to read his work in terms of who he was and what he did, constantly alluding to the life of the poet and so making him significant in the process, despite his relatively lowly status. Even when evidence is scanty, as is the case for the years 1592–95, we have enough to reconstruct Spenser and to understand where he thought he was going.

ANDREW HADFIELD
UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Professor Andrew Hadfield (University of Sussex) gave the Society for Renaissance Studies Annual Lecture on 4 May 2012 at The Warburg Institute, University of London, following the Society's Annual General Meeting.

58 See Gollancz, 'Spenseriana', p. 101, who makes a similar point.

Fifth Biennial Conference of the Society for Renaissance Studies

University of Manchester, 9–11 July 2012

The Society's fifth biennial conference was held at the University of Manchester this July and organized by a committee led by Dr Jerome de Groot. The international conference brought together around 220 early modern scholars working in the fields of literature, social and religious history, politics, philosophy, art history and classical studies, who discussed topics covering early modern Europe and the wider world. The event was based at the Martin Harris Centre for Drama and Music, while keynote lectures, workshops, and receptions made use of Manchester's significant cultural and architectural treasures. The conference included over sixty sessions and workshops. For full details of the many fascinating speakers and papers that could not all be included in this report, please see the conference programme and abstracts, still available online at http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/srsnc/.

Over the course of the three days, the papers reflected a great variety of sources, methods and approaches in relation to a wide range of topics. The combinations of papers and proposed panels allowed for common themes to emerge across sessions, sustaining creative dialogue between the speakers throughout the conference. The 'Materiality, Book History and Textual Culture' strand of the conference produced many individual and panel contributions which explored the book for its religious and aesthetic value, for its participation in channels of intercultural circulation and exchange, and as an object of market value and thus open to decorative and visual enhancement. This strand included panels such as 'Religion and the Material Text', 'Form and Editing', and 'Book Negotiations: Disseminating and Collecting within and across Nations'. The panel on 'Thomas Nashe and the Arts of Language' offered a stimulating exploration of Nashe's writings, in particular against Gabriel Harvey, which enlightened our understanding of reading habits and practices, rhetorical strategies, and authorial identity. Materiality was not confined to textual matters: it was also represented by panels on 'Clothing' and 'Moralists, Clothes, and Investments in Fifteenth-Century Italy', in which dress, fashion and luxury were discussed as material manifestations of moral conditions.

Conference delegates blissfully unaware of the beast in the background at Manchester Museum.

The conference also brought together many scholars working on early modern spaces under the strand on 'Cities, Topographies, Urbanisation and Visualising the Urban'. A panel on 'Ben Jonson's "foot-voyage" to Scotland, 1618: Perspectives on a New Source' showcased an AHRC-funded project on Ben Jonson's walk from London to Edinburgh. The conveners of the project (Dr James Loxley, University of Edinburgh; Professor Julie Sanders, University of Nottingham; and Dr Anna Groundwater, University of Edinburgh) offered an interdisciplinary approach to the manuscript describing Jonson's journey, considering the editing challenges of the manuscript, its significance for cultural geographies of the early modern period, and its social and political context. A panel on 'Constructing the City' focused on the economic spheres and intercultural natures of Venice, Messina and Florence, while 'Renaissance Florence' analysed the role of gifts, family and political allegiance in the construction of the city's image. The panel entitled 'The Marketplace of the World: Contested Topographies in Renaissance Rome' stressed that the elevation of Rome to the marketplace of the Mediterranean was not purely positive since the public space of Renaissance Rome was often in conflict.

A number of panels engaged with dramatic texts, providing a range of fresh and insightful methodologies for studying this material. The panel entitled 'Thomas Middleton: Lust, Sex and Diplomacy' inevitably drew a large crowd, with each paper offering a variation on the theme – through the biography of figures allegorized in the plays, the sexualisation of space in *Microcynicon* or the sexualised punning of *Hengist, King of Kent*. The panel '1621 Revisited' aimed to place the dramatic productions of that year more firmly in proximity to each other as well as within their political and cultural context, to illuminate the ways in which drama interrogates the circumstances of its own production in specific, localised resonances. A similar contextual approach was taken by the panel 'Seventeenth-Century Theatre and Aesthetics: Legacies, Space and Text', which engaged with the idea of performance both in terms of the theatrical space and also in the choice of text for reproduction. This panel considered the selection of texts for performance or revival, by repertory companies and playwrights, as a key part of the theatrical aesthetic, as well as offering new understanding into the construction and design of theatres derived from the Worcester College Drawings. The panel on 'Early Modern Friendship' debated the conditions of homosociality, culminating in a reading of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tragedy of Mariam* as producing 'queer' relationships between men as a result of adultery (real or imagined).

Also prominent throughout the conference was the idea of translation

and intercultural exchange. There were two panels devoted to 'Forms of Translation', the first focusing on Italian-English books, and interrogating how their production not only distinguished them as translations, but also how that presentation challenged the reader to become, in various senses, culturally hybrid. The second panel extended these concerns, offering a wider perspective on the cultural impact of specific translations, as well as the culture of translating more broadly. Similar questions were asked in the panel 'Publishing, Marketing, Translating and Circulating the Classics (*circa* 1500–1650)', which sought to identify the impulse behind the translation and dissemination of Ancient Greek texts. The panel on 'Thomas Churchyard' explored the career of a lesser-known travel writer as a means of examining the fashioning of Tudor identities – not least autobiography – through cultural exchange and travel. This theme was continued in the panel on 'Diplomacy and Literary Exchange', which outlined the ways in which career diplomats also worked as writers and translators, and suggested that their productions should be read as commentary both on the foreign culture in which they worked and on the relationship between the foreign and domestic represented by the diplomat abroad.

All three keynote lectures complemented and contributed significantly to the themes of material and textual culture, print and identity that dominated the conference. Professor Bette Talvacchia (University of Connecticut) gave the first plenary lecture of the conference on 'Gender and Genre in Renaissance Representations of Women'. In the apt setting of the beautifully lit Whitworth Art Gallery, Professor Talvacchia offered a stimulating interpretation of Renaissance paintings depicting women traditionally regarded as lascivious. Urging us to discard the tendency towards moral categorization of the portrait sitter, she argued against the genre of the 'courtesan portrait', and vividly suggested that the sitter's sexualized posture or motifs – such as the bare breast – might in fact be inviting an allegorical reading of the portrait's subject as a powerful and exceptional female figure.

Professor Roger Chartier (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris / Collège de France / University of Pennsylvania) gave a virtuoso plenary entitled 'Printer's Mind and Author's Hand: Writing and Printing in Early Modern Europe' that neatly combined the minutiae of printing history with broader questions of authorship and authority. Examining the placement of punctuation during the printing process, Professor Chartier offered fresh insight into the roles of printers and typesetters as textual or authorial interpreters. The lecture suggested that the focus on the 'authorial copy' as the primary source of textual authority was misplaced, since these were routinely adapted or defaced to fits the needs of the compositor or

printer; early modern book production, he argued, valued the needs of the printer above the wishes of the author. The lecture challenged us to re-think the interpretive value placed on various stages of composition, as well as further enhancing our understanding of the varied practices and multiple operations of the early modern printing houses.

History, politics, libels and drama were all brilliantly intertwined to form the last keynote lecture of the conference delivered by Professor Alan Stewart (Columbia University) on 'The Strange Friendship of Edward and Gaveston: English History / French Politics / English Literature'. Comparing the French libels' vehement attack against the devilish figure of the favourite in the court of Henry III of France, Duke of Epernon, to Christopher Marlowe's Gaveston in *Edward II*, Professor Stewart highlighted ways in which Marlowe's drama is indebted to contemporary French politics. Demonstrating the presence of such political context in a play previously thought predominantly inspired only by Holinshed's account, Professor Stewart's exceptional lecture invited a reading of England through France and a reconsideration of the fine line between history and literature.

One of the unique features and strengths of the conference was the number and variety of accompanying events that ran parallel to the sessions and augmented the delegates' knowledge and experience of archival work, manuscript and print culture, publishing, and outreach agendas. Professor Gabriel Egan (De Montfort University) delivered a workshop on JISC Historic Books (JHB) database, introducing JHB and discussing its advantages over EEBO and ECCO, especially in the area of improved full-text searching. Julie Parry and Craig Horner (People's History Museum, Manchester) welcomed delegates at the museum's archives, explaining how the archives were used to excite public interest and outlining associated challenges of preservation and public viewing. Dr Esther Gomez-Sierra (University of Manchester) led the Renaissance Hispanic Music and Poetry Event, which brought together texts and their English translations, musical scores and high-quality recorded performances. The conference also included a workshop on using early modern material as a part of outreach activities. This discursive session, led by Harriet Knight, Kate Ash and Kathryn Westwood, covered the challenges of school and university collaboration, including the use of PhD students to deliver outreach sessions, and the virtues of presenting a research-led approach to complement the A-level syllabus and engage sixth form students. Conference participants were also given the option of touring the historic Chetham's Library founded in 1653. The tour included a history of the library and its beginnings as a charitable venture by Humphrey Chetham, a sample of the collections,

and a demonstration of how the Chetham's small printing press works. A publishing workshop was offered by Kim Walker, commissioning editor for Manchester University Press, and Professor Jennifer Richards (Newcastle University), editor of *Renaissance Studies.* These events widened the scope and impact of the conference while showcasing some of Manchester's important cultural institutions.

The wine receptions on the first two days of the conference were generously supported by Blackwells and Manchester University Press. Thanks are also due to the Whitworth Gallery and Manchester Museum for hosting those receptions, and providing unusual and provoking spaces for discussion, together with an exceptional guest in the shape of a Tyrannosaurus Rex named Stan (pictured). The Society for Renaissance Studies provided generous funding for a number of postgraduate and postdoctoral attendees and speakers, and supported a postgraduate mixer, allowing emerging scholars the chance to make connections and discuss their work.

The SRS seeks to encourage and celebrate outstanding research in the field through its awards and prizes, and the reception at the Whitworth saw the announcement of some of these by the Society's Honorary Chair, Professor Judith Bryce (University of Bristol), and Fellowships Officer, Dr Alexander Samson (University College London). The Society's inaugural biennial Book Prize was awarded to Dr Sjoerd Levelt and his book entitled *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicles of Holland: Continuity and Transformation in the Historical Tradition of Holland during the Early Sixteenth Century* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011). Congratulations are also due to Dr Jennifer Evans (University of Exeter) and Dr Sara Read (Loughborough University), winners of the Society's Postdoctoral Fellowships, and Dr Eleonora Carinci (University of Cambridge), winner of its Rubinstein Fellowship.

The conference was staffed by a number of volunteers from the University of Manchester, and thanks are due to them not only for their time, but also for their efficiency and energy throughout the conference. Overall, the conference was a great success, presenting a wide range of challenging ideas and scholarship that will have advanced the understanding of the period for all those who attended.

LIAM HAYDON AND NAYA TSENTOROU
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

Conference Reports

Opening the Vaults: Researching Welsh families and their Archives, *circa* 1500–1850
Gloddaith Hall, Llandudno
23 August 2011

Hosted at one of the most spectacular gentry houses surviving from early modern Wales, this one-day symposium was held under the auspices of the Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (IMEMS) at Aberystwyth and Bangor Universities and provided a forum for a broad range of case study presentations relating to early modern Welsh families and their archives. The event featured presenters from the fields of history, literature, creative writing and information studies. Our keynote speaker was Miles Wynn Cato, an independent art dealer who specialises in the portraiture of the Welsh gentry and art works relating to Welsh country houses and estates. Speakers considered the issue of what constitutes a Welsh family archive and suggested ways of approaching and utilising the divergent items within these collections. The event was open to all and a large audience was in attendance, comprising academics, members of local history societies and other interested members of the public. The Society of Renaissance Studies generously funded the postgraduate bursaries offered at this event.

Lord Mostyn, whose ancestors resided at the hall for centuries, commenced the proceedings with a few opening remarks, before Dr Gwen Saunders Jones (Bangor University) delivered the first paper. This focused on the life and works of the Welsh-language poet Alis ferch Gruffudd (flourished 1540–70), a young woman with a unique and independent poetical persona. Dr Saunders Jones considered the wider contexts of Alis's poetry, including family influences and religious and cultural developments. Shaun Evans (Aberystwyth University) then delivered a presentation oriented around the heraldic display surviving within the architecture of Gloddaith hall from the sixteenth century. One of the points highlighted was that images and items, as well as words, played a major part in the self-expression of the gentry, and should be considered as important features of family archives. This focus on visual and material culture was continued by Miles Wynn Cato in his copiously illustrated presentation entitled 'Welsh paintings as historical evidence'. Similarly, in her talk based on the papers of the Aberglasney

estate and its owner Thomas Philipps, Dr Lowri Rees (Bangor University) considered the issue of 'conspicuous consumption' and its relationship with social mobility in eighteenth-century Wales.

Dr Julie Mathias, from the Department of Information Studies at Aberystwyth University, delivered an extremely helpful paper on the strengths and pitfalls of using finding aids for family and estate archives, using the Cefnbryntalch/Buckley Jones Collection – housed in the National Library of Wales – as her example. Dr Rhys Morgan (Cardiff University) was unable to attend the event in person but sent a paper centring on the pedigree roll of the regicide Colonel John Jones of Maesygarnedd (*circa* 1597–1660). This pedigree roll, dated January 1650, was analysed to challenge the traditional view of Jones as a republican zealot, strongly opposed to the monarchy and stripped of any Welsh identity. The final panel considered the experiences of women controlled, affected and represented by Welshmen during the long eighteenth century. Marian Gwyn (Bangor University) gave a fascinating and powerful paper focusing upon the Penrhyn archive and the accounts of the experiences of female slaves on the West Indian sugar plantations owned by this Welsh estate. Elin Ifan, a poet from North Wales, considered the complementary roles of archival material and 'active imagination' in creative writing. Her talk was interspersed with extracts from a story she had written based on her own eighteenth-century ancestors. Mary Chadwick (Aberystwyth University) delivered the final paper of the day in which she considered three poems from the archive of the Griffiths of Garn in the contexts of representations of women in male-authored poetry and the challenges of working with anonymously authored manuscript poems.

Mary Chadwick and Shaun Evans
Aberystwyth University

The Gascoigne Seminar
Lincoln College, Oxford
23 September 2011

The organiser, Dr Gillian Austen (University of Bristol), was delighted to be able to offer bursaries to support a postgraduate speaker and nine postgraduate attendees, generously funded by the Society for Renaissance Studies. Because Gascoigne is still less well-known than his significance warrants, the funding by the SRS was invaluable in encouraging postgraduates to pursue their interest in his work when it had either direct or indirect relevance to their research. The themes of the 2011 Gascoigne

Seminar centred around Gascoigne's relationships with his contemporaries and predecessors; Gascoigne's literary influence; and – most excitingly, since it introduced a strongly inter-disciplinary element into the proceedings – Gascoigne and music.

The morning session consisted of four papers. First, Professor Mike Pincombe (University of Newcastle) took a fresh look at the prefatory verses in Gascoigne's *Posies* (1575). Professor Pincombe demonstrated some innovative poetological techniques for assessing the authorship of the various commendatory verses, as a starting point for thinking about Gascoigne in relation to his contemporaries. Next, Dr Gillian Austen (University of Bristol) spoke on the evolution of Gascoigne's posthumous literary reputation through successive shifts in critical taste through the centuries, developing work she presented at the first Gascoigne Seminar (2007) on his literary status at the time of his death. Dr Jane Griffiths (University of Bristol) then spoke eloquently on Gascoigne and John Skelton. Dr Griffiths gave a detailed account of Gascoigne's 'Praise of Philip Sparowe' and argued that Gascoigne was quite intimately familiar with a wide range of Skelton's work. Yet the main connections between the two writers were shared writing practices and habits of mind: in particular, the ways in which they each reflect and encourage thought about the processes of writing and reading and the nature of the relationship between author and reader. The final paper of the morning was given by Michael Hetherington (University of Cambridge), our SRS-funded postgraduate speaker. Mr Hetherington is developing his doctoral research on the composition of Elizabethan miscellanies and in this paper he explored the idea of aesthetic 'satisfaction' as manifested in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* and some of the other miscellanies of the period.

Following an excellent cold buffet lunch, the first session of the afternoon – with two musical papers – was a highlight of all three Gascoigne seminars to date. Chris Goodwin of the Lute Society gave an exquisite recital of some of Gascoigne's short poems set to familiar lute tunes of the period. He showed how this form of *imitatio* was entirely typical: many writers of the early 1570s would have composed short poems and verses with the metrical scheme of a known tune already in mind. To hear these poems – including 'Gascoignes Lullaby' and 'In Prime of Lusty yYears' – sung so beautifully, and accompanied so beautifully on the lute, brought them to life in an unprecedented and delightful way. Dr Gavin Alexander (University of Cambridge) followed the performance with a paper on music in Gascoigne's prose fiction, *Master F.J.* Dr Alexander proposed that the courtly exchanges in the fiction were tightly choreographed and that music provides one of

the key structural devices in the fiction as well as some key metaphors in Gascoigne's vocabulary. He illustrated many of his points on the viola, making this session a uniquely courtly and inter-disciplinary one.

Following a short tea break, Professor Bill Kerwin (University of Missouri) spoke on 'Gascoigne and Marston', focusing on Gascoigne as a satirist and drawing out some interesting connections and contrasts between the two writers. In particular, he observed the ways each writer uses temporal references to prompt the reader 'to consider the uses of the past or visions of the future in their critiques of the present'. Professor Kerwin's paper was a salutary reminder of the sheer range of Gascoigne's work, as well as the extent of his influence to the later Elizabethans.

The final paper was given by Dr Andy Kesson (University of Kent), who had also appeared as an SRS-funded postgraduate speaker at the Gascoigne Seminar in 2009. This time, Dr Kesson gave a paper on 'Gascoigne's *Supposes* in Performance', proposing that Gascoigne's translated comedy influenced Lyly, Shakespeare, Chapman and Jonson, among others. Focusing largely on the practicalities and implications of performance, Dr Kesson's paper provoked a lively exchange of views between all the participants. It was a suitably energetic, well-informed and dynamic way to conclude the day's proceedings.

GILLIAN AUSTEN
UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

Writing the Lives of People and Things, AD 500–1700
Chawton House Library
1–2 March 2012

This conference organised by postgraduate researchers at the University of Southampton Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Culture brought together early-career researchers from across the humanities disciplines to share the fruits of their biographical research. The conference delegates were united by an interest in recovering and understanding medieval and early modern lives, whether of individuals or groups, well-known figures or obscure and little-studied ones. The conference was designed to be as inter-disciplinary as possible and showcase the benefits of engagement between scholars from backgrounds in art history and archaeology, musicology, and religious and literary studies.

The conference opened with an address by noted biographer Charles Nicholl (*The Reckoning*, *The Lodger*) who stressed the centrality of primary

documents as a means of bridging the gulf between the lives of historical figures and the researcher. Contending that wherever historical traces remain they can allow us to rediscover the personalities of historical figures, Nicholl explained the importance to his own work of the human and emotional factors that connect us to the past – an overarching theme of the conference. There followed a panel in which three speakers discussed ways in which their subjects had sought to shape the material legacy they would leave to future generations. Gabriel Byng (University of Cambridge) discussed the steeple of St Mary Magdalene at Bolney, Sussex, a project intended to restore the standing of the Bolney family; Alexandra Greer (University of Edinburgh) examined the influence of Marie de Medici on the compositional history of Reubens's *Medici Cycle*; and Helen Draper (Courtauld Institute) discussed a case of female Renaissance self-fashioning and networking in Mary Beale's art and literature.

Subsequent panels examined the varieties of medieval religious experience and stages in the 'lives' of books in the early centuries of printing. Amongst others, Dr Amanda Power (University of Sheffield) argued for a reorientation of the historiography of the Franciscan order away from a focus on 'falling away and return' in relation to the ideals of St Francis, while examining progressive features in the lives of Adam Marsh and Roger Bacon; and Natalie Aldred (independent scholar) showed how a study of the physical features of his books could yield biographical details about the printer William White. In a panel on early modern homes and journeys, Mooréa Gray (University of Calgary) offered a new reading of early modern country house poetry for its value as a source for the biographies of patrons, and Rosalind Johnson (University of Winchester) retraced the steps of early Quaker missionaries in order to understand the experience of travel and nonconformist mission in the Commonwealth period.

The focus on rescuing forgotten lives continued in the first panel on the second day of the conference by Michael Gale (University of Southampton), whose paper constructed a biographical framework for the anonymous author of the 'Dallis lutebook', a product of Trinity College, Cambridge in the 1580s. Kitrina Bevan (University of Exeter) presented the conference with the results of her extensive research into provincial scriveners in the later middle ages, demonstrating their often crucial importance in civic administration and justice. The lives of objects were also discussed: in a paper on early English ethnicity as revealed in the archaeological record, Toby Martin (University of Sheffield) explained how some objects, specifically early medieval Anglian cruciform brooches, act as biographical texts and signifiers of various kinds of social identity for their owners, and because of

their importance must undergo symbolic deaths when their owners' lives end.

In all, nineteen research papers were given, and the conference also heard Cheryl Butler of Eastleigh Borough Council explain the Southampton Tudor Revels Project, an online research project which, during its first phase, will produce a public database of the biographical records of seven thousand inhabitants of Tudor Southampton. Lindy Richardson (Edinburgh College of Art) also gave an extremely thought-provoking presentation on her art installation inspired by the story of St Ursula and her martyred companions, which provoked a stimulating discussion on the ethics of using human remains for decorative and devotional purposes. The conference was a highly successful event, and the convenors (Gemma Watson and Robert Smith, University of Southampton) wish to acknowledge the generous funding received from the Society for Renaissance Studies, the Royal Historical Society, the Music and Letters Trust, Oxford University Press and Ashgate Publishing, which enabled young researchers without institutional financial support to attend at discounted rates and partially recoup their travel costs.

ROBERT F. W. SMITH
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Space on the Elizabethan Stage, 1576–1599
University of Leeds
30 March 2012

With the opening of The Theatre in 1576, an innovative relationship developed between the imaginary space of the stage and the physical place of the new theatres. The possibilities were quickly grasped by the first professional Elizabethan playwrights. In performance, the language of their play-texts combined with the physical presence of the players and playgoers, the actual theatre building and the technologies of the playhouse to produce a new sense of space and place: it was this dynamic that our conference 'Space on the Elizabethan Stage, 1576–1599' sought to investigate.

On 30 March 2012, this conference brought together scholars and postgraduate students from various disciplines to consider the diverse processes that created a new sense of space and place in the early modern theatres. The conference papers identified a wide range of factors, from the linguistic encoding of space within play-texts to the actor-audience dynamic. In particular, these papers highlighted the complex dialectic between the physical

place of the Elizabethan theatre and the imaginative performance of space within it. With some delegates examining the clues to performance found in sixteenth-century writings, and others evaluating how recent experiments in theatrical reconstruction might shed light on the early modern staging of space, the relationship between the performing *of* space and performing *in* space remained a central preoccupation of the conference; during the course of the day, an exciting interdisciplinary dialogue developed between the various papers.

The conference opened with a keynote speech by Professor Tim Fitzpatrick (University of Sydney) on 'Storytellers, Poets, Playwrights: the Issue of Space'. Professor Fitzpatrick proposed a conceptual framework for exploring the early modern staging of space, comparing the sixteenth-century playwright to a storyteller, and argued that spatial representation must be considered in terms of off-stage as well as on-stage performance; his paper provoked much discussion. It was followed by the first panel of the day, which opened with a talk by Te-Han Yeh (Shakespeare Institute) on contested narrative space in Robert Greene's drama. Dr Sarah Dustagheer (Shakespeare's Globe) then gave a fascinating account of the sound effects used in the Globe plays *A Larum for London* and *Julius Caesar*, arguing that the Chamberlain's Men created a sonic vocabulary for their new open-air playhouse that enriched and enlivened the dramatic performance.

The second panel considered how the physical presence of players and playgoers influenced the spatial dynamics of the early modern theatres. Bret Jones (Queen Mary, University of London) suggested that the way spectators were admitted to the physical place of the theatre induced certain ritual expectations, while Dr Simon Benson (University of Hull) argued that the movements of the players themselves generated an imaginative stage space: with reference to the experience of performing at the reconstructed Shakespeare's Globe, Dr Benson posited that the ensemble practices of the sixteenth-century playing companies similarly exploited and defined the physical space of the playhouse. The third paper of the panel extended this focus on modern reconstructions: Frank Whately (Kingston University), a founding member of the Kingston Rose Theatre, discussed how consideration of the actor-audience dynamic at the Kingston Theatre might help us to better understand the interaction between players and playgoers at Henslowe's 1587 Rose.

After these thought-provoking papers came the final panel, which focused on how early modern play-texts negotiated the relationship between theatrical place and imaginative space. A paper by Nicholas Collins (University of Warwick) intriguingly complemented Professor Fitzpatrick's keynote

talk, proposing that regular references in 1590s drama to an off-stage Ireland created the ominous sense that English space is surrounded. The next paper continued this theme of entrapment, with Emma Whipday (University College London) suggesting that the relationship between public and private space in *Arden of Faversham* acquires a new resonance as the play's spectators take on the role of the judgemental, prying neighbours. The conference concluded with a move into indoor theatre space: Dr Gary Bowman (independent scholar) argued that John Marston, in his early drama, sought to transform the spatial dynamics of the Paul's playhouse and create a new compact with the audience.

The richness and variety of the papers presented made for a lively and inspiring event, and we now hope to develop a special journal issue based on the themes of the conference. We are very grateful to the Society of Renaissance Studies for generously funding travel bursaries for all our postgraduate speakers, and to the University of Leeds for hosting this conference.

Chloe Kathleen Preedy, University of Cambridge
Laurence Publicover, University of Leeds

Popular Fiction and the English Renaissance
Newcastle University
14–15 April 2012

This two-day conference, open to graduate students and faculty alike, explored a wide range of approaches to early modern literature, popularity, authorship and commercialism.

The first day focused on early modern texts that were frequently reprinted or seem to have been especially widely read and imitated, and also on the tropes and approaches that were most popular among early modern authors. Emma Kennedy (University of York) opened proceedings with a discussion of how classical mythology, and in particular the myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece, was employed to entertaining and didactic effect by the authors of London's mayoral pageants, including Thomas Middleton and Thomas Heywood. Dr Louise Wilson (University of St Andrews) followed this with a paper on the adaptation of vernacular, rather than classical, sources, concentrating on Anthony Munday's hugely ambitious project of Iberian romance translations. The second session explored the popularity of the short prose tale in sixteenth-century English literature: Professor Neil Rhodes (University of St Andrews) discussed the evolution of one of the most influential Elizabethan prose collections, William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, while Professor

Mike Pincombe (Newcastle University) followed this with a paper on various early modern versions of the 'tragical tale' of *Titus and Gysippus*. In session three, Agnes Ecsedy (University of Toronto) and Susan Royal (Durham University) spoke on the intersection of religion and popular writing, the former exploring how late medieval devotional writing was adapted and assimilated into early modern broadside ballads, and the latter examining the presentation of the Lollards in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. The first day of the conference was closed by an immensely entertaining and informative keynote lecture from Dr Andy Kesson (University of Kent). Entitled 'Euph Culture: John Lyly's Euphues as Early Modern Celebrity', the lecture complemented previous papers in its discussion of adaptation and the art of the early modern sequel, while also providing a fascinating insight into the influence that Lyly, and his hugely popular creation Euphues, wielded over the works of contemporaries and successors such as Robert Greene.

On the second day of the conference, the focus shifted from the popular in early modern literature, towards modern popular adaptations of early modern works. The first session reflected the diverse ways in which early modern drama has been incorporated into modern film, television and drama. Dr Amritesh Singh (University of York) began the day with a stimulating exploration of how the Bollywood film *Omkara* (2006) adapts and also challenges its model, Shakespeare's *Othello*. Dr Sarah Olive (University of York) provided a fascinating paper on the use of a fictional early modern revenge tragedy in an episode of the detective drama *Lewis*: in her absence, this was very kindly delivered by Dr Peter Kirwan (University of Nottingham). Finally, Jitka Štollová (Charles University, Prague) discussed Václav Havel's use of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, in his play *Leaving*, with particular emphasis on how both the modern and the early modern dramas can be seen to reflect Havel's personal and political life. The fourth session demonstrated how the modern novel has also found inspiration in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Natalie Moore (Durham University) discussed Herman Melville's deep admiration for Shakespeare's works, and how this was reflected in his greatest novel, *Moby Dick*, while Dr Anne-Marie Einhaus (Northumbria University) gave an entertaining demonstration of how *Macbeth*, in particular, was used to comic metafictional effect by Terry Pratchett, in his fantasy novel *Wyrd Sisters*. The conference closed with a screening of *Anonymous* (2011) which was engagingly introduced by Dr Kirwan, and was followed by an animated and extensive discussion of adaptation, literature on film, and (of course) the Shakespearean authorship question.

This conference was made possible as a result of generous funding from

the Leverhulme Trust, and also the Society for Renaissance Studies, which provided travel bursaries that allowed two postgraduate students to attend and present their research.

Katherine Heavey
University of Glasgow

Louis XIV, Outside In: Reactions and Response to the Sun King Outside France
Maison Francaise d'Oxford
3–4 May 2012

This conference was called to address a lacuna in the historiography of late early modern Europe. Although there have been many excellent studies of Louis XIV, by both French historians and scholars from other countries, and although the impact of the Sun King on other countries has been studied by scholars interested in the past of those particular other places, there has been no real attempt to take a more rounded view of the influence of the French king abroad. Therefore, the chance to take a comparative view of his wider impact, or come to an overall assessment of his image beyond France, has been missed. This event made an admirable start on filling this gap. Over two days, speakers from the UK, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, the United States, Poland and Germany talked about Louis XIV as he had been seen from England, Ireland, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Poland, Germany and the East and West Indies. Speakers also addressed how the Sun King had been perceived in comparative and Europe-wide perspectives, particularly with regard to his constitutional symbolism, his military competences and his place in competing iconographic propaganda. The types of impact considered ranged from fears of his potential universal monarchy in geo-political thinking, fashions at foreign courts, to understandings of his 'imperialism' outside Europe, and on to satirical renderings of the Sun King in songs, pictorial prints and medals.

Although participants reported that their thinking about Louis had been enhanced in many different ways by the cross currents the conference encouraged, two themes perhaps emerged most clearly. First, it became clear how flexible the image of Louis was in other countries. He was widely held up for admiration or vilification, but the precise content of such polemic was determined primarily by the internal rhetorical context of each foreign state where he was discussed. This meant there were many different 'Sun Kings', many having only the flimsiest base in any reality at

Versailles. Second, attitudes could be dramatically inconsistent within each national audience, or even within an individual commentator. Those who expressed horror at Louis might, in a different context, or at only a slightly later moment, advocate emulation (or *vice versa*). These conclusions stand as warnings against overly simple views of the French monarch, perhaps especially the assumption that he was very widely reviled as a potential universal monarch and persecutor – an interpretation which has provided too-easy an explanation for the consolidation of the alliance against him.

The conference benefited from the generous support of the Society for Renaissance Studies, who paid for the travel and accommodation expenses of the postgraduate participants; but also from sponsorship by the Institute of Early Modern and Medieval Studies at the Universities of Aberystwyth and Bangor; the Centre Roland Mousnier at the Sorbonne (Paris IV); and the Maison Francaise d'Oxford. The organisers, Professor Tony Claydon (Bangor University), Dr Charles-Edouard Levillain (Université Lille II) and Professor Luc Borot (Maison Française d'Oxford), are very grateful for this support. We are also grateful to our four plenary speakers, Professor Tim Harris (Brown University), Professor David Hayton (Queens University Belfast), Professor Hendrik van Nierop (University of Amsterdam) and Professor Hendrik Ziegler (University of Hamburg) for their excellent papers which set such a stimulating tone for discussion.

ANTHONY MICHAEL CLAYDON
BANGOR UNIVERSITY

Art in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Context, Practices, Developments A Conference in Honour of Peter Humfrey School of Art History, University of St Andrews 3–6 May 2012

This conference, which was being held to coincide with the retirement of Professor Peter Humfrey from the School of Art History at St Andrews after thirty-five years, explored aspects of Venetian art in the period from the mid-fifteenth to the late-sixteenth centuries. A distinguished team of international scholars presented papers on Venetian painters from Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni Bellini to Titian, Tintoretto and Bassano, and also on the wider relationship between Venetian art and its historical context. The conference also featured a day trip to the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, on Sunday 6 May, to visit the exhibition *500 Years of Italian Art*, which

showcased forty-five of the finest Italian paintings belonging to Glasgow Museums. Professor Humfrey has been working for several years preparing the catalogue for this collection, and its publication coincided with the opening of the exhibition on 6 April.

The conference opened on the evening of Thursday 3 May with a lecture by Professor Deborah Howard (University of Cambridge), entitled 'Arts or Crafts in Renaissance Venice?'. This inaugural lecture, sponsored by the O. E. Saunders Fund, focused on the difference between 'Fine Arts' and 'Applied Arts' in the study of Renaissance Venice. Professor Howard asked whether 'artists' had superior status to master craftsmen, or whether they were just a particular kind of craftsman, and explored what factors determined the relative value of products in the various creative media.

The first session of the conference, chaired by Professor Brendan Cassidy (University of St Andrews), started with a paper by Professor William Barcham (State University of New York, Fashion Institute of Technology) entitled 'Deferential or Formulaic? Antonio Vivarini and the Sacred Image of the Man of Sorrows'. It asked whether we could re-evaluate the art of this artist by examining multiple versions of a single image he and his workshop painted several times during the 1440s and into the '50s. The second paper, by Dr Beverly Brown (independent scholar), was focused on Mantegna's Vienna *Saint Sebastian* and Giovanni Bellini's *Blood of the Redeemer*, two small devotional panels, in which – as Dr Brown explained – the pagan past is used as a reminder of the Christian present. This was followed by a paper entitled 'Bellini's Frick St Francis and the Poetics of Devotional Painting' given by Dr Keith Christiansen (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which discussed many problems of interpretation of Bellini's painting of Saint Francis in the Wilderness. The concluding paper, by Dr Carolyn Wilson (independent scholar), was entitled 'St Joseph and the Process of Decoding Vincenzo Catena's *Warrior Adoring the Infant Christ and the Virgin*', and was focused on this large horizontal canvas in the National Gallery, London, thought to have been painted during the 1520s for the *portego* of a Venetian *palazzo.*

Professor Salvatore Settis (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) chaired the second session, which opened with a paper by Dr David Brown (National Gallery of Art, Washington), on 'Art and Espionage: Michael Straight's Giorgione', about the issues raised by the double portrait of *Giovanni Borgherini and his Tutor* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington. Professor Mauro Lucco (Università di Bologna) then presented his research on the painter Stefano Cernotto, proposing new attributions and identifications. The paper of Dr Philip Cottrell (University College Dublin) was focused

on Bonifacio de' Pitati's paintings of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* (*circa* 1545), a subject which frequently appears in the art of the period, mostly in the form of tapestries, prints or small-scale panel paintings such as *cassoni* and *deschi da parto*. 'Lorenzo Lotto's Dissimulation' was presented by Professor Paul Hills (Courtauld Institute of Art, London), and was centred on the use of draperies and cloths as agents within this artist's paintings. Professor Patricia Fortini Brown (Princeton University) talked about the tomb of Alvise della Torre, which still stands on the wall of the right-hand aisle of the Frari above the door leading to the cloister, while Professor Tracy Cooper (Temple University, Philadelphia) presented her research about 'Keeping it in the Family: Dynastic Agency in Renaissance Venice'.

The third session, chaired by Professor Deborah Howard, began with a paper by Dr Allison Sherman (Queen's University, Kingston) entitled 'Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti *St Lawrence* as a Family Peace Offering', which returned this innovative work to its original physical context in the lost church of the Crociferi, and presented new archival evidence for the circumstances of its commission. Dr Józef Grabski (International Institute for Art Historical Research, Krakow) talked about 'The Contribution of Collaborators in Titian's Late Works', while Dr Miguel Falomir (Museo del Prado, Madrid) gave a paper on 'Titian, Jacopo Bassano and *The Purification of the Temple*'. The conference ended with a talk by Dr Andrea Bayer (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) focused on Jacopo Bassano's last altarpiece, the *Baptism of Christ,* which has recently entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

More than 120 delegates attended the event, which has been generously funded by the Society for Renaissance Studies, the Russell Trust, and the Italian Institute of Culture in Edinburgh. The papers, together with a collection of further scholarly essays, will be published in a special issue of *Artibus et Historiae* (http://artibusethistoriae.org/) in honour of Peter Humfrey.

LAURA MORETTI
UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

Religious Lives: Catholic Culture in Early Modern Europe
St Edmund Hall, Oxford
18–19 May 2012

Written, spoken, painted, or performed, the life stories of Catholic men and women – particularly members of religious orders – dominated the culture of early modern Catholicism. With representatives from history, literature,

music, theology and art history departments from the UK, Europe and the USA, this conference engaged with a wide range of early modern Catholic creators of auto/biographies. The conference was organised by Dr Clare Copeland (University of Oxford) and Victoria Van Hyning (University of Sheffield)

Proceedings opened with a richly illustrated plenary by Dr Cordula Van Wyhe (University of York) about the spiritual diaries of Sister Margaret of the Mother of God, of the Royal convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns, Brussels. Sister Margaret was a lay sister and her diaries, written by mandate of her confessor, are a rare instance of writing by a nun at the bottom of the conventual hierarchy. Dr Van Wyhe's edition of these fascinating diaries (translated by Susan Smith) is forthcoming with The Other Voice Series of Toronto University Press.

Six panels followed over two days. The first considered auto/biographies written by English confessors and nuns in exile, exploring how these texts could, to quote Dr Nicky Hallett (University of Sheffield), both 'cut across and embrace different affinities', be these international, national or religious orders. Ms Van Hyning and Dr Elizabeth Ferguson (University of Oxford) gave papers concerning textual production in English Augustinian convents. In the second panel we crossed the confessional divide with a paper from Dr Kat Hill (University of Oxford) who spoke about cartography as a biographical genre used to memorialise Luther after his death. Papers from Dr Jan Machielsen (University of Oxford) and Dr Philip Endean (University of Oxford) examined the articulation of Ignatian ideas of holiness, obedience, and apostolate within the first biography of Martin Delrio, and the fifty-panel painted life of Mary Ward, respectively. In the third panel Dr Lucy Underwood (University of Cambridge) and Josh Rodda (University of Nottingham) explored English confessional conflict through the lenses of patriotism, martyrdom and conversion.

The second day opened with a panel that took listeners on three journeys. The first was with musicologist Dr Owen Rees (University of Oxford), who discussed the diary kept by Franciscan Arthur Bell as he travelled from Brussels to Toledo and Lisbon, full of keen observations on the musical culture of continental Franciscan houses. Dr Copeland examined the development of Carmelite Maria Maddelena de' Pazzi's cult and cause for canonisation in Florence and beyond. And Fabien Montcher (CCHS-CSIC, Madrid) took us from France to Spain by examining the reinvention of St Louis as a Spanish symbol in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the penultimate panel Chiara Mainardi (Università degli Studi di Torino) presented on polemical

anti-religious portrayals of convent life in the work of Chauvigny de La Bretonnière. Professor Petr Osolsobe (Masaryk University) followed with a passionate consideration of Edmund Campion's 'Bohemian' life in Brno and Prague, and Andrew Drenas (University of Oxford) portrayed the life of Capuchin Lorenzo da Brindisi in Prague in his role as 'spiritual fighter' for lost souls. In the final panel Andrew Cichy (University of Oxford) surveyed the musical talents of various English nuns in exile and Hannah Crummé (King's College, London and UCL) concluded by comparing Henry Clifford's biographical portrayal of Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria, with the portrait emerging from Dormer's own writings. Professor David Wallace (University of Pennsylvania) concluded with a thoughtful reflection on conference proceedings, interwoven with insights drawn from his recent study of Mary Ward in his monograph *Strong Women* (OUP: 2011).

Conducted by the esteemed Jeremy Summerly, Oxford Baroque brought a lively musical dimension to proceedings with an historically-informed performance of *Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi*, a little-known oratorio by Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier, composed for Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili. The piece inspired moving performances from soloists, Esther Brazil (mother), Joshua Copeland (father), Elizabeth Drury (Maria Maddalena), and David Lee (*Amor Divino*). With haunting musical beauty, Lulier's composition tells the story of Maria Maddalena as she argues with her parents to be allowed to enter a convent. The music traces her subsequent spiritual trials, before depicting her ultimate triumph with the help of divine inspiration. Dr Copeland and Mr Summerly opened the concert with short talks on the historical and musical significance of the *oratorio* which broadened audience members' understanding of biography within early modern Catholic culture. The performance attracted a large public audience and was well received by reviewers. A recording of the piece is currently in production.

This conference would not have been possible without the generous support of the Society of Renaissance Studies and the John Fell Fund of Oxford University Press. Bursaries funded by the SRS enabled a significant number of graduates to participate. Their contributions added considerably to the interdisciplinary nature of proceedings and suggested many new avenues of research going forward.

VICTORIA VAN HYNING
UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

Working with Neo-Latin Sources: A Postgraduate Workshop
Wellcome Library, London
31 May 2012

This workshop, supported by the Society for Renaissance Studies, was the inaugural event of a new collaboration between the Society for Neo-Latin Studies and the Wellcome Library. There had been a number of fruitful meetings and discussions in advance of the workshop, and the organization was shared between officers of the Society, particularly Dr Sarah Knight (President, University of Leicester), Dr Ingrid de Smet (Treasurer, University of Warwick), Dr Victoria Moul (Vice-President, King's College London), and Professor Gesine Manuwald (Member of the Executive Committee, University College London), and representatives of the Wellcome Library, Dr Richard Aspin (Head of Research and Interpretation) and Ross MacFarlane (Research Engagement Officer). The Wellcome Library did a great job in facilitating the event; they provided their Viewing Room as the venue and prepared various seventeenth-century editions for consultation.

The workshop was advertised widely on a number of websites and mailing lists for classicists and early modernists, and it immediately attracted huge interest. In the end it was attended by fourteen postgraduates, working at both MA and PhD level, twelve of them attached to various institutions within the UK (Kent, KCL, UCL, Reading, Royal Holloway, Cambridge, Queen Mary, Birkbeck, Bristol) and two PhD students working at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies in Innsbruck (Austria), an institution affiliated with the Society for Neo-Latin Studies. The students' research covered a wide range of aspects of Neo-Latin studies, including translations, philosophical and political literature, medical texts and poetry.

The workshop format created an informal atmosphere, encouraging open and wide-ranging discussion between students, academics and librarians. A brief introductory and concluding session framed the main part, talks by two academics on material in the Wellcome Library. The afternoon was opened by Dr Knight, who welcomed participants and explained the purpose and structure of the day. This was followed by an introduction to the Wellcome Library by Dr Aspin, who described the Library's holdings, the catalogues, the electronic resources and the services on offer and encouraged everyone to become a member of the Wellcome Library to enjoy the full range of facilities, emphasizing that the collection covered more than the history of medicine.

Then it was time to look at material from the Wellcome Library by means of two presentations with question and answer sessions. First Dr

Karin Ekholm (University of Cambridge) talked about Nathaniel Highmore's *Corporis humani disquisitio anatomica* (1651). Dr Ekholm pointed out that this edition, which participants had the chance to inspect in the original, was one of the few technical works with an emblematic title page. She went on to show the many allusions and implicit statements on the title page and to illustrate the way in which they are picked up in the body of the work. It became obvious that the page was a prime example of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, since connections to famous ancient predecessors like Galen were emphasized as well as the advance on their theories generated by Highmore's work. There was a lively discussion after the talk, participants raising a number of perceptive detailed points and coming up with their own suggestions for interpretation.

After some refreshments in the nice surroundings of the Wellcome Collection Café, with the opportunity for more informal conversation, Dr Guido Giglioni (The Warburg Institute) discussed William Harvey's *De circulatione sanguinis* (1649). He had selected an example where the various printed editions of the work, also available for inspection by participants, had different textual variants for the same passage (with or without negation). Dr Giglioni considered the publication history, the difficulties a modern editor or translator of the text faces and possible ways of discovering what Harvey might have originally written. Again this was an interactive session with participants responding to the problems posed and offering possible solutions.

The two talks complemented each other well in that they both showcased areas in which the holdings of the Wellcome Library are especially strong and presented two writers, Highmore and Harvey, who worked broadly within the same intellectual tradition. At the same time the talks addressed very different methodological issues and demonstrated that, in order to work on Neo-Latin texts with a scientific focus, one does not need to be an expert in medicine, but rather to be familiar with the principles of interpreting literary texts and works of art as well as the techniques of palaeography and textual criticism. The afternoon was concluded with a short summary, suggestions for further developments and some more browsing of the books on display.

Feedback from postgraduates so far has been very positive. Students particularly enjoyed the opportunity to meet fellow researchers in the area of Neo-Latin and the chance to discuss general problems of method and approach. The Society for Neo-Latin Studies intends to build on this event and to hold further postgraduate workshops in future; students have already suggested some interesting topics. The organizers agree that it was a success-

ful event, and further ways to extend the collaboration between the Society for Neo-Latin Studies and the Wellcome Library will be explored.

GESINE MANUWALD
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Early Modern Merchants as Collectors
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
15–16 June 2012

This conference brought together scholars working across a very broad geographical spectrum, allowing speakers and delegates alike to step out of their scholarly comfort zone and consider fresh approaches to trade, collecting, ownership, globalisation and individual responses to objects, among other things, within the period 1450–1650. Dr Christina Anderson (University of Oxford) introduced the conference with a survey of early modern merchant manuals, portraits and collections. She discussed the consciousness that merchants developed concerning their role within society in this period and the significance of their collections in supporting that role.

Provenance as motivation for acquiring objects formed the basis of the first panel. Dr Susan Nalezyty (independent scholar), Anne-Lise Tropato (University of Rome II 'Tor Vergata') and Amy Hwang (Princeton University) spoke about Venetian merchant Bartolommeo della Nave's acquisition of the Pietro Bembo collection; the 'paper museum' of the Lyonese merchant Gaspard de Monconys; and the acquisition of Chinese imperial treasures by the Ming merchant Xiang Yuanbian, respectively. The second panel looked at collecting through the lenses of ritual, religion and community. Louise Cort (Freer and Sackler Galleries, The Smithsonian) used tea diaries to demonstrate the reaction of Japanese merchants to individual objects used during the tea ceremony. Dr Henk Looijesteijn (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam) spoke about the library of a Dutch Mennonite merchant, arguing that the types and number of books – particularly bibles – suggest that this collection functioned as a lending library for young Mennonite preachers.

The first day ended with a panel investigating mercantile collecting within both expatriate and native environments. Dr Aleksandra Lipińska (Instytut Historii Sztuki, Wrocław) spoke about Thomas and Jacob Rhediger in Silesia; Dr Tarnya Cooper (National Portrait Gallery, London) about the commissioning and collecting of merchant portraits in England and the influence of the Low Countries on these activities; and Professor Theo van Lint (Uni-

versity of Oxford) read a paper on behalf of Dr Amy Landau (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore) about the patronage of Armenian merchants in New Julfa and their role in transmitting Western European artistic influence to Safavid Persia.

The second day began with a keynote speech by Professor David Howarth (University of Edinburgh) on the East India Company's efforts to infiltrate existing trade networks within the Indian Ocean, and the goods that were traded as a result. The fourth panel then examined collecting in relation to Iberian trade and alchemy and objects from the natural world. Dr Heather Dalton (University of Melbourne) spoke about the Thorne/Withypoll syndicate, while Professor Sven Dupré (Freie Universität Berlin) and Dr Christine Göttler (Universität Bern) delivered an excellent joint paper on the Portuguese merchant-banker Emmanuel Ximenes in Antwerp. Dr Barbara Karl (Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna) finished the session with a presentation on Filippo Sassetti's collecting of Indian medicine and plants in Goa, both for himself and for the Medicis. The final panel looked at the art dealer as a collector, beginning with Dr Barbara Furlotti (The Warburg Institute), who presented the dealings of Roman merchants in antiquities, and juxtaposed them with their own collecting interests. Taryn Zarillo (Columbia University) spoke about Marco Boschini, Paolo del Sera and Nicolas Régnier, Italian and Flemish art dealers and advisors in Venice. Dr Anderson finished the panel by questioning the fine line between stock and collection in the cases of Daniel Nijs and Karel Helman, two Flemish merchants in Venice.

A roundtable discussion closed the conference. Dr Elizabeth Lambourn (De Montfort University) gave an alternative perspective from Islamic art history, suggesting that in bridging the gap between scholarship on Eastern and Western art, it might be more fruitful to think about types of ownership than collecting. Professor Evelyn Welch (Queen Mary, University of London) deconstructed some of the terms of the conference and highlighted the difference between a merchant (someone who made money) and the gentry/aristocracy (those who inherited wealth). Finally, Dr Stephen Johnston (Museum of the History of Science, Oxford) emphasised the importance of reaction to objects, and the language used to express that reaction, as well as the way in which objects helped to retain or define a sense of self. The support of the Society for Renaissance Studies was instrumental in providing impetus for this well-attended and stimulating conference, for which the organiser is extremely grateful.

CHRISTINA M. ANDERSON
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Renaissance Old Worlds: English Encounters from the Levant to the Far East
The British Library
29 June – 1 July 2012

The aim of the three-day Renaissance Old Worlds Conference was to investigate English interactions with Asia and the Middle East in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Jointly organised by Dr Nandini Das (University of Liverpool) and Oliver Urquhart-Irvine (the British Library), it featured a host of lively and thought-provoking papers which revealed how such cross-encounters may have shaped not only the literature, art and cultures of England and the host nations, but a broad range of intellectual, political, cultural, religious and economic determinants of England's relationship with the wider world. It was supported by the University of Liverpool, the British Library, Columbia University, and the Society for Renaissance Studies. Three SRS postgraduate bursaries were offered to international postgraduate students presenting papers at the conference.

The proceedings of the first day were opened with a keynote lecture by Professor Andrew Hadfield (University of Sussex) entitled 'The Sensible Observations of George Sandys', in which he explored the meanings appended to the terms 'traveller' and 'tourist', in a reflection on the intellectual and bodily experience of travel. This was followed by two workshops led by British Library archivists, which allowed delegates to examine a selection of material from the East India Company archives and early modern maps respectively. The first day also saw two paper sessions. The first of these addressed the notion of travel to 'antique' lands such as Persepolis (Professor Ladan Niayesh, Université Paris Diderot), the relationships between Old World romance and New World empire (Dr Jane Grogan, University College Dublin), and the use of antiquity in 'classicizing' the orient (Dr Jerry Toner, University of Cambridge). The second panel featured an exploration of cultural memory and travel encounters in the Eastern Empires, with papers on pre-Islamic Persia on the early modern stage (Dr Chloe Houston, University of Reading), the categorisations of ethnicity in the Ottoman Empire (Dr Eva Johanna Holmberg, Queen Mary, University of London), and the role of the Persian Empire in the conceptual construction of Great Britain (Kate Arthur, University of Exeter). The day concluded with Professor Felipe Fernández-Armesto's (University of Notre Dame) public lecture on 'Eurasian Renaissance: Intellect, Art and Exchange', which opened a series of wide perspectives on multi-lateral cultural exchanges between Europe and Asia.

The second day saw a series of concurrent panels, the first set of which covered topics such as the networks of trade and diplomacy at Edward VI's court (Susanne Bayerlipp, Ludwig Maximillians University), and early modern piracy and trade (Dr Laurence Publicover, University of Leeds; and Juliet Claxton, Queen Mary, University of London). The next set of panels focussed on Constantinople and eastern Europe (with papers by Professor Anthony Parr, University of the Western Cape; Dr Alex-Drace Francis, University of Amsterdam; and Dr Stephan Schmuck, University College Cork) and on 'Old Worlds and English Patronage Networks' (papers by Dr Matthew Dimmock, University of Sussex; Dr Matthew Day, Newman University College; and Dr Matthew Birchwood, Kingston University London, which featured discussions of Elizabeth I's secretaries, Hakluyt's Catholic sympathies, and transacting Old World knowledge in Stuart England). The second keynote lecture was delivered by Dr Margaret Makepeace, Lead Curator for the East India Company Records at the British Library, in which she gave an introduction to the materials relating to the EIC's response to cultural encounters (1600–1660), housed in the collection. The last set of concurrent panels of the day was split between 'East/West' and 'Heretics, Travellers and Scholars'. The former panel opened with Professor Ken Parker (Institute of English Studies, University of London), who spoke about Islamophobia and anti-Catholicism, followed by Hafiz Abid Masood's (International Islamic University) paper on schism in Christianity and Islam, Jennifer Royston's (Michigan State University) exploration of early modern gardens and the aesthetic borders of East and West, and a discussion of Shakespeare and Evliya Çelebi by Professor Gerald MacLean (University of Exeter). The latter panel addressed issues such as the Italian heretical diaspora and the continental background of 'Elizabethan orientalism' (Dr Diego Pirillo, University of California, Berkeley), Franciscan friars of Jerusalem and their Anglican guests (Professor Felicita Tramonana, University of Palermo), and English manuscript collectors in early seventeenth-century Aleppo (Dr Simon Mills, University of Cambridge). Professor Jonathan Gil-Harris (Washington State University) closed the day with an eloquent keynote on 'Roe and Coryate's Scene, Ajmer 1616: Theatricality, Antitheatricality, Ethnography, Becocming-Indian', which was followed by the conference reception, generously sponsored by Columbia University Seminars.

The final day of the conference began with two concurrent panels. 'Writing India' featured an exploration of merchants, translators, and the East India Company by Dr Amrita Sen (University of Oklahoma), and a discussion of Ralph Fitch in Bengal by Professor Supriya Chaudhuri (Jadavpur

University). 'Imagining Travel' was made up of a diverse range of papers, from the national geography of *Old Fortunatus* (Dr Chi-fang Sophia Lee, National Sun Yat-Sen University), Milton and Empire (Amrita Dhar, University of Michigan), and the nexus between speed, cultural mobility and knowledge in *New Atlantis* (Johannes Schlegel, University of Gottingen). These panels were followed by a plenary session comprised of Professor Jyotsna Singh's (Michigan State University) paper, 'In search of Tamburlaine: Marlowe's protagonist in non-European histories', and Dr Joan Pau Rubiés's (London School of Economics) discussion of 'The idea of civilization in seventeenth-century English travel writing: Henry Blount and Paul Rycaut'. This was followed by the final paper panels of the day, the first of which addressed the themes of cross-cultural contact and knowledge transfer in the East India Company (with papers on exchange and the establishment of EIC by Edmond Smith, University of Cambridge; ethnographic discourse and EIC approaches to cross-cultural trade by Guido Meersbergen, University College London; and local insurers and the EIC by Adrian Leonard, University of Cambridge). The second concurrent panel was entitled 'Spices, consumptions, and the aesthetics of sense: domesticating India', which featured Dr Susan Anderson's (Leeds Trinity University) lively paper on India and the senses on early English stages, Cui Su's (University of Southampton) investigation of feasts and famine in Deccan, and Dr Liam Haydon's (University of Manchester) look into the cultural impact of foreign foods in the early seventeenth century.

The conference was rounded off with a discussion on 'Renaissance Routes: A new research network', in which Dr Das and Mr Urquhart-Irvine introduced plans for a new research network and invited thoughts and comments from the conference participants. The expertise and wide-ranging research interests of the papers presented at the Renaissance Old Worlds was suggested as a starting point for further conversations and collaborations between researchers and institutions world-wide, in order to facilitate a global research network.

Maria Shmygol
University of Liverpool

The Fairfax 400th Anniversary Conference
Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester
30 June – 1 July 2012

This conference investigated the impact of Thomas, Third Lord Fairfax (1612–71) on his time and contemporaries and was held on the occasion of

his 400th birthday. Forty-five delegates from the UK and North America reassessed Fairfax's memory, image and reputation in art, literature, media and film. The exciting weekend conference included a tour of Naseby, expertly conducted by members of the Naseby Battlefield Project, and was attended by Edward Fairfax, son of Nicholas, the current baron Fairfax of Cameron.

Dr Philip Major (Birkbeck, University of London) gave the first paper, entitled '"Oh how I love these solitudes": Thomas Fairfax and the Poetics of Retirement'. Dr John Callow (The Marx Library, Clerkenwell) followed with 'In So Shifting a Scene: Thomas Fairfax as the Lord of Man, 1652–1660'. Next, delegates heard from Rory Tanner (University of Ottawa), speaking on 'An Appleton Psalter: The Shared Devotions of Thomas Fairfax and Andrew Marvell'. After lunch, Professor Jacqueline Eales (Canterbury Christ Church University) spoke on 'Anne and Thomas Fairfax, and the Vere "Connection"', followed by Keith McDonald (University of Leicester) on '"The Genius of the house": Andrew Marvell's Private Lord Fairfax'. Professor Richard Nash (Indiana University) presented a paper on 'Fairfax as a Horse Breeder', while in the final paper of day one, Dr Andrew Hopper (University of Leicester) spoke on 'Images of Fairfax in Modern Literature and Film'.

On day two, papers had a more military focus. Robert Barcroft (Keele University) gave a paper entitled 'Sir Thomas Fairfax and Siege Warfare during the English Civil Wars', while Dr Ian Atherton (Keele University) spoke on 'Remembering (and Forgetting) Fairfax's Battlefields'. The final paper was given by Dr Mandy de Belin (University of Leicester) on the subject of 'Naseby: Landscape of a Battlefield' before delegates headed for Naseby by coach.

ANDREW HOPPER, UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER
PHILIP MAJOR, BIRKBECK, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Reading Early Modern Studies Conference
Early Modern Research Centre, University of Reading
12–14 July 2012

The 2012 Reading Early Modern Studies Conference, organised by the Early Modern Research Centre at the University of Reading, took place from 12 to 14 July. Approximately 120 delegates attended across the three days, with speakers coming from all over the UK and Europe as well as Taiwan, Korea, Canada, the USA and Australia. The conference brought together early modern scholars working in the fields of history, art history,

politics, and literature, who engaged in a wide-ranging discussion during a series of panels and plenary papers.

The conference focused on a series of strands, rather than a single theme. The main strands were 'Negotiating Women's Writing', 'Politics and Biblical Interpretation', 'The Gathered Text: Print and Manuscript' and 'Making Publics'. The first plenary lecture, from Professor Paul Yachnin of McGill University, one of the co-investigators of the international 'Making Publics: Media, Markets, and Association in Early Modern Europe' project, engaged with this final theme in its analysis of 'A Midsummer's Dream of the Public Sphere'. The second plenary, which was given by Professor John Morrill of the University of Cambridge, examined the question of 'The Peoples' Revolution in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Ireland'. For further information about the conference and a full programme of the many fascinating papers, please see: http://www.reading.ac.uk/emrc/conferences/Archive/emrc-2012emrc.aspx.

Thanks to the support of the Society for Renaissance Studies, the conference was especially well attended by postgraduate students, and we hope that future events will enable Reading to maintain its growing tradition of encouraging the involvement of postgraduate and postdoctoral scholars as well as more established researchers. The 2013 Reading Early Modern Studies Conference will be held 9–13 July. As in previous years, we welcome proposals for individual papers and panels on any aspect of early modern literature, history, art, music and culture relating to Britain, Europe and the wider world. Panels have already been proposed on the following themes: plague and disease in early modern Europe; crime, punishment and the law; the Dutch Golden Age and Anglo-Dutch relations; varieties of Protestantism; memory and history; beyond republicanism – paradigms and traditions in early modern political thought; literature and sociability; drama and theatre culture – spectacle, performance spaces and practices; making and using books; global renaissance. Further panels or individual papers are also invited on these topics or any other aspect of early modern studies. Enquiries should be directed to Dr Rachel Foxley (r.h.foxley@reading.ac.uk).

Chloë Houston
University of Reading

Book Reviews

Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611–2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). 368 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0199557592

In *Bible: The Story of the King James Version*, Gordon Campbell's main assertion is that the KJV is 'the most celebrated book in the English-speaking world' (pp. 1, 273). He contends that his book is different from previous histories of the KJV because he has used the *American National Biography* (*ANB*) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*), both recently updated and available electronically, to write the biographical material. Campbell supports his thesis by presenting the KJV's religious, print, and cultural life stories. By the end of the book, Campbell succeeds in demonstrating how the KJV has become the centre of the English-speaking world's religious culture. The book's style makes it easily accessible to a non-academic audience and palatable to religious and non-religious readers.

Campbell's book begins with his presentation of the KJV's religious life-story. Chapter one is structured in the form of brief cameos in which Campbell reviews each of the eight English Bible translations that preceded the KJV. He discusses the circumstances under which they were produced and introduces the translators who made them. Unfortunately for those who are already familiar with these subjects, chapter one is perfunctory and not particularly satisfying. However, since Campbell's ultimate purpose is to explain the KJV's prime position in the English-speaking world, this chapter's superficiality is necessary and therefore, understandable. Perhaps what is more disappointing for knowledgeable readers is the presence of scholarship that is outdated and speculative. For example, Campbell's assertion that William Tyndale was a Lutheran has been repeatedly discounted in the most recent scholarship about his theology and Campbell's insistence that John Rogers named the Matthew Bible after the French Calvinist Matthieu Gramelin needs stronger evidence to make it plausible.

Chapters two through four address the commissioning of the KJV, how the work of translation was conducted, and the style of English that was used. Like chapter one, this portion of the book is most suitable for a readership that has no prior understanding of the subjects covered. For those

with more knowledge, these chapters continue the cursory review begun in chapter one. There is, however, a bright spot in chapter four where Campbell discusses the language of the KJV. He points out many of the archaic elements of the Bible's text, such as the use of 'ye', 'thee', and 'thou' and the absence of the neuter possessive pronoun 'its' and explains the reasons for these elements (pp. 73, 75). Campbell's proficiency with the English language is evident in these discussions and this is where more knowledgeable readers will glean something of greater value from the book.

Chapters five through nine comprise Campbell's treatment of the printing history of the KJV. This is where Campbell's expertise as a Renaissance and seventeenth-century specialist begins to shine and where the tone and tempo of the book pick up. Chapter five provides an introduction to the first printed edition of the KJV, setting the stage for subsequent discussions of the evolution of the text in later chapters. It also contains detailed and perceptive explanations of the elaborate artwork printed in the 1611 edition. Campbell successfully demonstrates that the images 'reflect a curious mixture of Protestant and Catholic sensibilities' (p. 100). Chapter six is similar in its structure to chapter one. It too is divided into small vignettes where the many editions of the KJV are addressed. Throughout each sketch Campbell continues to note, with much wit, the printing errors in each edition of the KJV and uses the errors as a thread to connect the many calls for revision of the text. Chapter seven provides a thorough examination of how the standardization of the KJV text came to be. Campbell brings Benjamin Blayney, 'the single most important individual in the history of the KJV', out of obscurity by illustrating how Blayney established the modern text of the KJV and how he may have influenced the way English is written and printed today (p. 136).

Chapters eight and nine follow the KJV into the nineteenth century where an American version of the text was created. Chapter eight focuses mostly on Bible societies, such as the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, and their impact on the text and on the distribution of the KJV. One problem with chapter eight is that the reader can easily become bewildered by the many versions of the KJV. A table would have been a very valuable reference to aid the reader in keeping the versions straight. In chapter nine, Campbell addresses the Cambridge Paragraph Bibles. He argues that 'By the measure of textual scholarship, there are no better editions of the KJV' (p. 177). He goes on to prove why this is so, explaining in detail the editorial process involved in the treatment of printing errors, translation errors, punctuation, and spelling. Campbell believes that though the Cambridge Paragraph Bibles are excellent, they

will never be able to dislodge the text as standardized by Blayney in the eighteenth century.

Chapters ten through thirteen constitute Campbell's arguments about the literary history of the KJV. These chapters are focussed on the United States because Campbell believes that the KJV has had a 'central and prolonged' presence in the religious and cultural life of the nation (p. 193). He notes that post-war England, unlike the U.S., has become largely secular and that the KJV no longer holds a central place in British life. He also argues that the centre of the English language has moved from England across the Atlantic. Unfortunately, due to the enormity and complexity of the subject, chapter ten presents a superficial treatment of the KJV's presence in the religious, cultural, and political history of the U.S. However, Campbell demonstrates his awareness of the chapter's limitations by acknowledging that it is designed to provide context for the two chapters that follow.

Chapters eleven through thirteen review the many revisions of the KJV that were made between the late-nineteenth-century and the twenty-first century. As with chapter eight, it would have been helpful had the author included a table of the many revisions of the KJV, their acronyms, and their relationship to each other. In chapter twelve Campbell addresses the Bible as literature of debate. After reviewing the arguments of the principal players in both sides of the controversy, such as John Livingston Lowes, George Saintsbury, T.S Eliot, and C.S. Lewis, Campbell concludes that 'by the middle of the twentieth century, literary adulation of the KJV had faded' (p. 258). He notes that though the KJV is still honoured in literary circles today it is seldom read. In chapter thirteen, the author continues discussing new revisions of the KJV, pointing out that though the text itself has ceased to change the 'packaging' continues to do so. The KJV is still sold in hundreds of different versions by commercial, religious, and academic publishers and numerous Bible societies continue to give it away. Campbell also reviews the KJV's role as a conduit for particular sixteenth- and seventeenth-century phrases that have survived into modern English, though he believes that people no longer associate them with the KJV. These include 'at their wits' end' from Psalm 107, 'riotous living', and 'go the second mile' both from Matthew 5 (p. 271).

For newcomers to the subject, Campbell's book serves as a solid and well-written introduction to the history of English Bible translation and the complexities associated with transmitting the Biblical text. A knowledgeable reader will find the book to be exactly what Campbell describes it, 'an affectionate biography', rather than an 'academic exercise' and may be less satisfied with it, at least up until chapter five (p. vi). The main problem with

the book lies in the difficulty of adequately covering such a large portion of history in one short volume. The book had a consistent 'glossed over' feel. A second problem was with appendices that repeat what is already covered in more depth in the body of the text when other resources, such as a chart of the relationship of all the KJV editions, would have been much more useful. Campbell did not succeed at making it evident that the *ANB* and the *ODNB* made his book significantly different from other histories of the KJV. However, in addition to his expertise on the English language, one of the best things about Campbell's book is that he is able to convey an enthusiastic sense of the majesty and value of the KJV without being inconsiderate to the views of others.

Jan Martin
University of York

Suzanne Gossett, ed., *Thomas Middleton in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). 416 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0521190541

Suzanne Gossett has brought together a wealth of contributions to Middleton scholarship, providing a welcome opportunity to rethink and resituate the dramatist. This book successfully impresses on the reader Middleton's range, versatility, and experimentation with different modes of authorship. As he becomes more visible to early modern scholarship, he is already encouraging these qualities in his critics.

For this reader, some of the book's most interesting moments were when a very new Middleton emerged and challenged critical truisms. Again and again, this book yields unexpected and exciting insights: Ian Munro on the onstage representation of crowds and the relationship between onstage and offstage bodies; Aaron Kitch on Middleton's representations of the city in comparison to Dekker or Jonson; and Alastair Bellany on news culture at court. Janet Clare's sustained close reading uses small details to ask big questions about censorship, Sylvia Adamson and her collaborators explore the Jacobean nature of Middleton's supposed linguistic modernity, and Anke Bernau offers a view of the writer in the opposite direction, describing the 'medievalizing tendency in this most modern of Jacobean playwrights' (p. 251). Caroline Bicks discusses different representations of pregnancy amongst different playwrights, whilst Sonia Massai explores Middleton's distrust of print. These are some excellent transitions in material, as when Jennifer Low's explication of civic violence is followed by Subha Mukherji on early modern law, each tracing the taming of aristocratic privilege. It is

especially exciting to see Roslyn Knutson challenge lazy binaries between elite and citizen culture.

There may be room for fruitful disagreement with Mark Hutchings' reading of the phrase 'daylie accompaninge the players', which he says 'suggests rather more than play*going*, rather less than play*writing*' (p. 25). On the contrary, 'accompanyinge' may well function as a contemporary synonym for playwriting here, describing less the modern concept of authorship and more the early modern practice of collaborative apprenticeship. Heather Hirschfeld poses similar questions about the meaning of authorship with her final sentence: by writing a part for Rowley in *Game at Chess*, Middleton ensured that 'his collaborator, if not collaborative writing, was a part of Middleton's most successful solo composition' (p. 228). Massai demonstrates the modern politics of early modern bibliography, his uneasy critical reception resting on the lack of an early collection of his work. Diana Henderson shows how, because of and in despite of his invisibility, 'Middleton has often been performed without our conscious knowledge', his authorship celebrated in modern times under the guise of Tourneur, Beaumont and Fletcher or Shakespeare (p. 325).

There are a number of problems with this book, however, and they relate to what appear to be unintended repetitions, contradictions and infelicitous comments about sexual abuse. The first section, on London, is repetitive in content and structure: two-thirds of context followed by a final third on Middleton, and usually on the same two or three texts. The controversies surrounding Frances Howard are introduced to the reader, as if for the first time, on pp. 3, 26, 65, 120–1, 180 and 238, and there are similar problems with topics such as Anglo-Spanish relations, the Myddletons and Anne Middleton. Civic pageants are also mentioned repeatedly, and here confusions creep in: Middleton's role as City Chronologer concerned City Corporation entertainments, not Lord Mayor inaugurations as Elizabeth Furdell claims (p. 63); Ceri Sullivan thinks the Lord Mayor selected Middleton to write mayoral shows, when this was in fact the Grocers' Company's decision (p. 86). Sullivan has the 1613 show reprinted in 1615: this stems from an error in EEBO's citation. Perhaps because of the same mistake, some contributions seem to confuse and conflate different civic events as one. Because of the number of contributions to this volume, the book's introduction is dominated by paragraph-length summaries of each chapter. Whether or not edited collections need such introductions is, perhaps, a wider question, but certainly in a book this full, attempts to redact its contents make challenging reading.

The book includes a number of unfortunate statements about rape.

Hutchings tells us that, for Middleton, 'sexual violence is very real, bodily, and inseparable from power – as well as gender – relations' (p. 24). Whilst there certainly may be other ways to represent rape, this seems a strange thing to claim as unique to Middleton without further argumentation. In her essay, the book's editor Gossett tells us that *The Spanish Gypsy* 'ends happily, with the finding of a lost child, marriage to the rapist, and recovery of the wounded' (p. 241). From either an early modern or modern perspective, it's problematic at best to describe 'marriage to the rapist' as a happy ending. Finally, Michael Neill describes Shakespeare and Middleton's Lucrece as a 'virginal suicide' (p. 295). As the archetypal faithful wife, it seems odd to think of Lucrece as virginal anyway, but surely the defining moment in Lucrece's biography, and reason for her suicide, is her enforced loss of fidelity.

Many of the ideas in the book would benefit from additional thinking. Andrew Gurr strangely assumes that Middleton chose the theatre companies he wrote for, rather than the other way around (pp. 156, 158 and throughout): this must surely have been, at the very least, a two-way process. Similarly, Heather Hirschfeld asks why Middleton chose Dekker and Rowley as collaborators, but does not ask the same question in reverse (p. 223). Gossett's chapter on dramatic genre talks of Shakespeare's early plays as 'models of the traditional forms', but genre was much less stable in early commercial theatre than this implies (p. 235). Farah Karim-Cooper's exploration of disguise and identity includes a discussion of the succubus in *A Mad World* who impersonates Mistress Harebrain, but surprisingly fails to ask which player represented the succubus. The obvious assumption is that the same boy performs both woman and her demon (as Michael Neill assumes, p. 296), which lends weight to Karim-Cooper's otherwise exciting examination of 'the mechanics of impersonation' (p. 282). Contributors also unknowingly disagree. Although Ian Archer warns against equating Calvinism and Puritanism on the one hand and either religious term and Middleton on the other (p. 137), the book's editor and other contributors routinely conflate these identities. There is no reason why different contributors should agree, of course, but the book might have been improved had its readers - and contributors - been made aware of these disagreements.

These problems come to a head in the book's final essay, by Simon Palfrey, which theorises historical ideas that have already been disproven by earlier chapters. Palfrey contrasts Middleton the multi-company writer with Shakespeare the single company man to argue for the former's lack of 'intimate relations' with acting companies and actors (p. 348), in direct contradiction of Heather Hirschfield's argument that Middleton's working relations

with various companies and writers were intimate, working with Dekker and Prince Henry's Men as a team, for example (p. 222). Palfrey then gives us a Middleton whose collaborative authorship forced him into a writing style reliant on the plot scenario, which 'turns the full play into a repetition - a backward-casting *execution* of the predicative model' (p. 348). Palfrey accordingly reads Middleton's writing practice – all of it – in the light of this 'habitual scenic teleology', telling us that, 'Compared with Shakespeare, Middleton's intersubjective spaces can often seem inert' (pp. 351-3). This is amongst the book's last sentences, and seems a reductive and unexpectedly Shakespearean place to leave him.

ANDY KESSON
UNIVERSITY OF KENT

Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). 256 pp. ISBN-13: 978-1403974266

It has become something of a critical orthodoxy in recent years to observe that the categories with which we have become accustomed to approach the history of colonial encounter, following *Orientalism*, largely fail to apply in the early modern context. As Edward Said himself acknowledged in *Culture and Imperialism,* conceptualisations of an orient reconstructed in its totality by an appropriative Western gaze are necessarily predicated on the existence of colonial power structures and an enumerative ontology inherited largely from the eighteenth century. In the case of, say, England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries – a culture only beginning to conceive of what colonialism might entail, and with the Enlightenment still far in the future – such conceptualisations are markedly unhelpful in trying to imagine encounters with, and responses to, the exotic. This critical move has been productive of some groundbreaking work by scholars such as Richmond Barbour, Daniel Vitkus, Mary C. Fuller, Jerry Brotton and Lisa Jardine, Matthew Dimmock and others. Linda McJannet's *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* is a solid addition to this strain of scholarship, and whilst it does not make any major critical interventions, it does contribute new perspectives and aggregates some extremely interesting material.

McJannet's central move is to apply a Bakhtinian understanding of dialogics to her reading of how her source material fits into the complex matrix of

interests, encounters and transculturations that characterizes early modern relations between England and the Ottoman world. Although the author acknowledges that she 'extend[s] Bakhtin's concepts and insights further than he was prepared to do' – he had little to no interest in extending his theory beyond the modern bourgeois novel – she does argue convincingly for his applicability of certain of his theories to the early modern drama, and more convincingly still for their use in reading historical narratives (p. 8). Most significantly, the conceit allows McJannet to draw into fruitful juxtaposition a range of materials: rendering dramatic texts and the histories, travel narratives and pulp literature that may have inspired or informed them subject to the same critical methodologies, and making full use of the metaphorical parallel between 'dialogue' as a mode of literary representation and 'dialogue' as a process of scholarly and cross-cultural circulation and exchange. Approaching such a complex subject from this angle, she argues, helps avoid 'proto-Orientalist' analyses, and enables a more nuanced reading of texts that might otherwise be read as univocal expressions of cultural/religious panic, geopolitical anxiety, or visions of a 'demonic other' (pp. 7-13). This taps into another counter-movement in this emergent strain of scholarship: the push back against the criticism of cultural encounter, centred largely around Stephen Greenblatt, which took as its paradigm Atlantic and New World empires in which encountered peoples were afforded little chance to engage in dialogue in any way which European cultures were able (or willing) to either understand or record. The Muslim world, of course, talked back abundantly, and McJannet joins Dimmock and others in registering a plaintive longing for the scholarly resources with which to put the vast archives of both sides of the encounter, with their profusion of languages and scripts, into a fruitful dialogue with each other (pp. 92-93).

The Sultan Speaks is perhaps strongest when discussing these Turkish and Arabic sources, tracing their translation and dissemination in European languages, and the uses made of them by historiographers, polemicists and playwrights. The materials discussed include the usual suspects – *1,2 Tamberlaine,* Greene's *Selimus*, Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie*, but there are also meticulous accounts of works by, or translated by, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Johan Lewenklaw and Jean du Bec. The fact that McJannet does not force the Bakhtinian framework too stringently onto these texts allows it to be applied with productive promiscuity: 'dialogue' is allowed to encompass translation, quotation, editorial commentary and marginalia, reception, appropriation, in fact more or less all possible facets of the complex series of transcultural

encounter and transmission. A particular highlight is the discussion of the encounter between Bayazid I (Bajazeth) and Timur as dramatized in *Tamburlaine*, a richly suggestive incident which McJannet returns to at regular intervals throughout the book. Through a meticulous tracing of the play's textual antecedents and various histories which had found their way into English, French and Latin, and an accounting of the various ways in which the legendary encounter could be read, McJannet stages an impressive recovery of the historical and literary Bayazid which yields a vivid illustration of the complex and multivalent negotiations underlying even the most apparently monodimensional representations of cultural others. If there is anything missing from this account it could be a sense of the social function and the cultural agency of the texts themselves – Matthew Dimmock especially has provided a reading of Marlowe which is slightly more attentive to theatrical context – but given the weight of scholarship and critical sensitivity lavished on exploring those texts' genealogies, this is a minor concern.

PETE MITCHELL
QUEEN MARY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Laurie Nussdorfer, *Brokers of Public Trust: Notaries in Early Modern Rome* (Baltimore, ML: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). 354pp. ISBN-13: 978-0801892042

This book will be of general interest to anyone interested in the history of writing, but of considerable importance to those researching a wide range of early modern subjects and who, more particularly, have to tackle archival resources in nations from Scotland and France, to Italy, Spain, the Netherlands and a number of Latin American countries. What all these places have in common is a legal system based in Roman law. In these contexts, notaries thrived as they certified the contracts and negotiations that both underpinned and witnessed to the development of some of the most significant mercantile societies in the early modern world. Understanding how notaries worked, and how the documents they validated were formed and stored will unlock the secrets of many an apparently impenetrable archive to a wider range of scholars. This book offers a case study of one of the most significant notarial colleges, Rome's Capitoline notaries.

Notaries usually go unnoticed in the interactions they made possible. It is the output of their profession rather than who they were or how they

operated that has primarily interested historians. Nussdorfer warns, 'historians, like lawyers, take the notion of evidence for granted, forgetting that what a given tradition defines as evidence is itself a historical construction dependent on specific cultural, political, technological, and social practices' (p. 5). Notaries defined and brokered the mechanisms that enabled civil society to flourish. Their presence in any transaction made relationships between individuals and/or corporate entities both legally binding and, crucially, visible to scholars today. They recorded court proceedings, contracts for goods and services, wills and depositions and, as a result, were always to be found close to the sources of power in both domestic and political contexts.

Nussdorfer argues that the notary in Italy has to be treated on a local basis before the Unification of Italy in 1870, explaining and justifying his focus on Rome from 1300-1700. Their practices varied according to the nature and character of the civic and political systems they watched over. They were so close to the creation and exercise of power that their role necessarily varied according to the character of government. In Florence, for example, notaries regulated themselves, whereas in Venice they were controlled by the state and became its vehicle. Being a native was not always an advantage: in Rome the Capitoline notaries were not involved in criminal cases because, as locals, they we not trusted to make unpartisan records. The story in Rome is made more complex by the presence of multiple authorities, each of which regulated their activities.

Roman notaries are visible for the first time in the fourteenth century, relatively late compared to other Italian city states, although there were scribes or notaries of some kind working in the papal court by the year 600. They almost certainly existed before the fourteenth century as they were formally regulated in 1297. Although notaries had to be enrolled in a college from that time, there are no records of this roll call until the late sixteenth century and the first complete copy of their statutes dates from 1618, rather paradoxical considering the nature of their business to record and validate the actions of others. When eventually they were established in the city they 'made of Rome a jurisdictional landscape of extraordinary complexity in which notarial employment flourished' (p. 33). There was little or no regulation until they were thinned down to thirty venal offices by Sixtus V in 1586; they responded by organising themselves into a guild. It is these thirty Capitoline notaries whose records shape the book. Their own regulations reveal the points of tension in their day to day practices – the control over who was admitted to their college, the sharing or leasing of office, tensions with their customers, where their offices were located

and how their documents were stored. The *commune*, notarial college, and the papacy each had a stake in what notaries were up to, though, by the seventeenth century, the papacy held most sway over them. By the 1670s the Capitoline notaries were in crisis, unable to control their membership and regain crippling financial losses: its members used their legal exemptions from litigation against their own college. In 1674 Clement X wiped their slate clean and they began again, but they were all the more obviously the pope's subjects.

In Rome the picture created by notarised documents is skewed by the survival of contracts and wills but the loss of most documents related to lawsuits. In this regard the strength of the book is in the detailed analysis offered for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the result of the wealth of surviving material for those centuries. In particular he focusses on the hundred years from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century when notarial offices were being sold, and in particular those related to civil rather than Curial business, those based at the town hall on the Capitoline Hill and preserved today in the Capitoline archives.

While notarial documents are highly prized by researchers, Nussdorfer's study draws attention to the limits of archival records. Given that notaries made their living out of writing down personal wishes and keeping a record of them, 'the protracted and tortuous struggle to create archives' seems surprising (p. 111). Notarial documents were valuable commodities and as such were highly prized. Existing clients could be charged to view their own records for example, though such enterprising practices were eradicated over the centuries. In the mid-fifteenth century it was decreed that the notarial documents belonging to heirs of notaries who were not themselves notaries should be kept in locked chests in the sacristy of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline. It clearly was not effectivce: this rule was overturned by Alexander VI in 1494 who, as a Borgia, probably recognized all too well the importance of keeping it in the family. By the sixteenth century the Capitoline notaries had limited archives which were only bolstered when the physical preservation of documents was made a condition of the expansion of the college's powers. As individuals got better at writing their own documents, the proliferation of institutions in Rome and their complex activities and portfolios kept the notaries in business.

Brokers of Public Trust works on a number of different levels: the history of an institution that mirrors the development of civil society; the evolution and enactment of public law; the story behind seemingly baffling collections of archival material in Rome - invaluable exemplars for those historians working further afield. It is a book about the practical enactment of an

office, but also the definition of public and private worlds. It is the kind of book that makes one reflect on some of the basic principles on which early modern society is constructed.

Carol M. Richardson
University of Edinburgh

Kristen Poole, *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England: Spaces of Demonism, Divinity, and Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). 289 pp. ISBN-13: 978-1107008359

Kristen Poole's *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England* describes a sense of cosmic disorientation afflicting English men and women at the turn of the seventeenth century. Poole is of course not the first to see 'Shakespeare's England' as a place of cultural, social and philosophical transformation. Her innovation is to focus on the spaces within which early modern men and women moved, and those they experienced through text and on stage.

For Poole, the conjunction of upheavals in religion following the Protestant Reformation, and developments in the fields of geometry and cartography, had disturbed and dislocated traditional ways of thinking about the cosmos and one's place in it. 'As a centuries-old structure of cosmic and divine order pressed up against new cartographies and new theologies,' she writes, 'the realities of earth, heaven, and hell warped' (p. 6). This book sets out to address the experience of such upheaval, and in doing so radically reconsider early modern spatial experience. Poole aligns her work with that of recent scholars such as Bruce R. Smith and Gail Kern Pastor on early modern somatic experience, and states her intention to focus on 'how people lived, moved, and had their being' (p. 18).

Poole argues that our modern adherence to post-Enlightenment notions of 'rationalism' risks obscuring early modern conceptions of what is possible in space. For Poole, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were a time when purgatory could be located on a map of Iceland, or a dying person might meet the devil in a pitched, desperate battle for their soul, unseen by their grieving relatives. Poole argues persuasively that the tendency of a modern reader to dismiss these experiences, laugh them off, or consider them only as indices of 'real world' power dynamics, leads to fundamental misunderstandings about how early modern people conceptualised the spaces in which they lived their lives, or which they encountered in texts or theatrical performances. On the contrary, Poole asserts, 'the sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century English were comfortable in the place of fancy. Or at least, it was a place they liked to explore and inhabit and think about' (p. 57).

Poole's exploration of 'the place of fancy' concentrates on the early modern stage, 'a space that is at once localized and an integral part of a wider cultural, representational, and performative network' (p. 22). Each chapter details an aspect of the 'supernatural environment' at length before bringing it to bear on a single play. These are in effect fairly stand-alone case studies, exploring the sorts of experiences that Poole considers to be overlooked, and demonstrating the methodology by which such 'recovery' can also alter one's reading of a text. Each reading is largely convincing, and the complex arguments are conveyed with clarity and wit. Students of Marlowe and Shakespeare will find their understandings of *Doctor Faustus*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* changing and expanding in unexpected – perhaps even metamorphic – ways.

It is in the chapter on *Doctor Faustus* that Poole sets out her critical stall most provocatively. Briefly tracing the development of Renaissance studies from the work of Burckhardt to that of Greenblatt and Keith Thomas, she argues that persistent Burckhardtian notions of human progress, and of the Renaissance turn to scientific rationalism, have seriously impeded the will and ability of critics and readers to 'take the devil seriously' (p. 25). For Poole, the tendency of historians to see demonic experiences as a feature of an immature point of human development does not allow for serious consideration of these experiences. Poole's view of a 'critical tradition' based on a teleological, developmental paradigm' does rather elide work that challenges this paradigm, for example that of Smith and Paster (p. 27). However, her sensitive exploration of *Doctor Faustus* in light of contemporary testimony regarding demonic presence, and in particular demonic contracts, demonstrates that attention to the 'reality' of such experience can pay substantial critical dividends.

Poole's approach is particularly successful in the second and third chapters. The second concentrates on the domestic space of the deathbed. The context explored here is that of the *Ars moriendi* tradition – literature and art in which the deathbed becomes an intensely 'supernatural' site, where the dying person must contend with repeated demonic temptations in order to secure their salvation. Poole's exploration of this tradition is in itself fascinating, and she relates it compellingly to the final scene of *Othello*. The third chapter is concerned with the tradition in which the earthly entrance to purgatory was sited at an Icelandic volcano, Mount Hecla. Poole traces the varied beliefs clustering around this enigmatic environment with insight,

and relates these to *Hamlet* – in which Hecla is never mentioned, but in which purgatory is arguably always teasingly present.

The final two chapters turn from the demonic to the divine, considering first *Macbeth*'s spatial uncertainty in the light of the writings of Calvin and Hooker, then *The Tempest* in light of developments in measurement and the literature of surveying. Poole's argument here suffers from the form taken by the book as a whole; the need to return to the theatrical texts slightly restricts the scope with which she can tackle the non-theatrical ones. Poole has published on surveying literature before – the excellent 'The Plot Thickens: Surveying Manuals, Drama, and the Materiality of Narrative Form in Early Modern England' (*English Literary History*, 69 (2002), 617-48) – and her final chapter returns to many of the ideas raised in that piece. Her fascination with these texts is infectious, and threatens at times to overwhelm the discussion of *The Tempest*. We get much greater insight here into early modern surveying culture than we do into the play, and as a result the chapter feels a little cramped and unbalanced.

Overall, Poole's book is a persuasive call for students of the period to 're-enchant' its geography – to reconsider what rationalism excludes. In her Epilogue, Poole frames her book as an initial foray against received critical opinion, and expresses the hope that it will 'open up a discussion of early modern constructions of space that accounts for both the period's flourishing interest in things geometric and its fervent theological questioning' (p. 223). *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England* clearly demonstrates the wide applicability of such lines of enquiry to students of all aspects of early modern spiritual and intellectual culture.

KIRSTY ROLFE
QUEEN MARY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 2009). 290 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0801892929

There were an astonishing number of nuns in Renaissance Florence. The population of female monastics in the city increased more than tenfold in the two centuries from 1330; by 1552 nearly one in every fifty Florentines was a nun. Despite such figures, Florence's convent communities remain relatively under-studied. This deficit is thoroughly addressed by Sharon T. Strocchia's insightful and wide-ranging *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence.*

Rather than viewing nuns as simply detached from their lay peers and

living lives of seclusion and spirituality, Strocchia examines female monastics' role in Florentine state building during a period of crucial change both for convents and their city. She considers a range of social, political and economic ways that nuns engaged with Florentine society and argues convincingly that during the Renaissance, convents became important civic institutions that served family and state as well as the city's spiritual needs. In fact, Strocchia demonstrates that nunneries were highly significant to Florence's economic, social and political fortunes, through a range of perhaps unexpected avenues.

The study begins by considering the enormous growth in female monasticism during the Renaissance. The statistics are irresistible: for example the number of Florentine nuns doubled in the forty years from 1515 alone. Strocchia demonstrates that it was not only the Florentine marriage market that fuelled this explosion in nunnery populations but also local politics, the Observant movement, increasing religious devotion, and convents' role as welfare institutions. The three subsequent chapters each consider an arena of Florentine life in which convents were important participants. The first of these sections demonstrates the importance of nunneries in the consolidation of aristocratic power, as prominent families incorporated convents into their network of influence through patronage, the strategic placement of daughters, and other tactics. This was facilitated by convents' increasing tendency to recruit from across Florence rather than their immediate neighbourhood, as class began to outweigh local origin in recruitment policies. Convents became increasingly aristocratic and increasingly privately funded, thus affording wealthy and powerful families significant influence over these prominent ecclesiastical institutions.

A second secular field in which convents had a high level of participation was the Florentine economy. Nunneries were inextricably enmeshed in the city's finances through taxes, the *monte delle dote* (dowry fund), and income from property and this inter-reliance increased as Medici patronage became important to many convents' finances. Similarly, nuns traded actively on the local credit market, and some – amongst them the daughters and sisters of merchant bankers – displayed a high degree of financial literacy, including investing heavily in the public debt. This participation in the local economy in turn gave the state purchase in regulating convent affairs, such that by the late fifteenth century prominent nunneries were successfully incorporated into Medici networks of power. Interestingly, the success of a convent's financial ventures could mean the difference between a life of fur-lined winter cloaks, a varied diet and frescoed chambers and a considerably less comfortable existence. In any case, such active participation in financial

markets adds a further dimension to our understanding of Renaissance nuns' lives.

A third field in which nuns were important to Florentine secular life was commodity production. Nuns undertook embroidery and sewing, educated paying boarders and produced books. While this is already well known, Strocchia makes clear the crucial importance of such labour to convent finances, demonstrating that this was far from peripheral to nuns' spiritual endeavours. Nuns' labour was also vital to Florentine industries, particularly the silk trade, for which female monastics were a cheap labour force that produced metallic thread, embroidery and later lace. Particularly interesting here is Strocchia's work on the complex structure of the silk industry, and nuns' high level of engagement with merchants, intermediaries and laywomen to whom they outsourced work. As Strocchia makes clear, seclusion in a convent did not exempt women from work; all Renaissance nuns were 'working women' (p. xiv).

Whilst such endeavours engaged nuns with Florentine life from (mostly) within their convents, their physical interaction with the outside world is the subject of Strocchia's final chapter, which addresses enclosure. In the early Renaissance, many nuns lived in so-called 'open reclusion' and were active and visible in the community undertaking business and other matters. Yet from the mid-fifteenth century the enclosure of nuns became a contested issue across Europe, and in Florence the subject created conflict between the needs and wishes of the local church, the papacy, the state, patronage and kinship networks and the nuns themselves. In Florence, the state had an unusually important role in regulating enclosure, through the 'night officers' charged with licensing and policing access to convents. Their records in particular help Strocchia put paid to the popular ideal of the wayward nun, here convincingly explained as a product of contemporary concerns rather than actual incidents. Again here Strocchia makes clear how enmeshed were Florentine convents in local social and political currents.

Strocchia's strengths here are her careful, detailed use of a range of sources that are crafted into an interesting and cohesive narrative. The research is detailed and yet the author wears her knowledge lightly; the text is never weighed down by the wealth of information presented. The prose is smooth and fluid.

The relatively broad time-scale addressed by the book could have been a drawback in less capable hands as convents operated in quite different social, financial, demographic and ecclesiastical circumstances before and after the mid-fifteenth century. Strocchia's themed chapters are thus often divided chronologically. However the text draws its differing threads

together deftly into a cohesive narrative that relates to broader changes in Florentine Renaissance society. As a result, a potential weakness becomes a strength: the text provides a comprehensive picture of Renaissance convents all the way from the Black Death to the post-Tridentine period. Again, while this may have placed limitations on how much of Strocchia's material she was able to explore at length, this is never evident in the book. The level of detail and the depth of research are satisfying, with a judicious use of case studies. In all, this book greatly enhances our understanding of the multiple ways in which Renaissance convents, far from being simply secluded oases of spirituality, were enmeshed within Florentine politics, economics and social life. Indeed, the author successfully demonstrates the critical role nunneries played in the formation of the early modern Florentine state.

ANNA DRUMMOND
INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

Lina Perkins Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 230 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0521764551

In July 2012 residents of Cambridge often noticed the poster for In Situ's production of *Macbeth*. It featured a woman holding a damaged baby doll upside down by its foot. Those who (like me) had seen In Situ's *Macbeth* in a twelfth-century leper chapel (the oldest building in Cambridge) in 2010, and indeed their earlier version performed in the director's home, would have recognised that this doll (and others like it) were prominent in both productions, used in several menacing ways. The thematic pertinence of a dead-looking child was clear enough, given the frightening assertions of commitment Lady Macbeth makes to her wavering husband. However, it was challenging for viewers of poster and play to fathom the worrying appearance of a doll as a prop in performance, unmentioned in the text of the play.

Lina Perkins Wilder's excellent book helps make interpretive sense of this in her sharp, thought-provoking argument. She is interested in the orthodox mnemonic objects of renaissance culture, places and things that (with additional energy derived from the theatrical setting) help organise the past into meaningful and useful forms. She is more interested, though, in stranger prompts to the memory, absent presences, where something like Lady Macbeth's child, or Gertrude's pictures of husband and former

husband, may operate as a special sort of mnemonic object, bringing things into a strange sort of life.

The 'remembrance environment' of early modern drama has been revisited with great success in recent years, not least in outstanding books by Garrett Sullivan and Evelyn Tribble. Wilder acknowledges their success and also their timely steer away from the memory arts of the renaissance, fascinating in themselves but sometimes a minor presence in the plays. Wilder brings them back (their places – *loci* – and objects) but builds dynamically on the way objects can 'body forth' the past (p. 2). It isn't just about skulls that help you focus your mind on what the past can offer the present. It is also about stranger and less concrete things that point to what's missing.

The account of Shakespeare's mnemonic dramaturgy is set up by an excellent chapter on the memory arts, which finds many new nuances in the primary texts. A simple observation – that in Fludd's memory theatre there are doors leading to an unseen world – is made to speak to the capacity of the Shakespearean theatre (with its discovery stage, trapdoor, and offstage spaces) to be 'inhabited by what is no longer there' (p. 18). This helps us appreciate the value of the iconic prop that isn't quite tangible, such as Prospero's books. They stand for a power that can't be contained in the world or the stage, that won't quite settle into place even before it is renounced.

This example is not quite typical, however, because Wilder's most powerful and telling examples, I think, add up into a strong argument about the contribution of special feminine modes of thinking and remembering and feeling, which give the plays some special energy. She encapsulates this by evoking a circular paradox, 'noting nothing' (p. 6), an attention to what isn't there, a female space (the womb, for example, the fullest empty *locus*). This sometimes flourishes into a constructive alternative, a better or at least more strangely truthful and necessarily passionate way of thinking, though often it does not flourish: Ophelia, Gertrude, Desdemona and Lady Macbeth can all remember things that matter, but they aren't allowed to, or prevent themselves.

The set-up, then, is highly suggestive, and a series of superb close analyses of Shakespeare plays prove again and again the subtlety of Wilder's project. Perhaps the single pithiest and most engaging proposition (I think) is that Falstaff should be seen as 'less a mnemonic object than a mnemonic *locus*' (p. 21). This captures something (that this anomalously capacious vessel lacks substance to prompt useful thought) that Wilder draws out well, but it also works as a provocative aphorism, conjuring with the key terms of the memory arts. In the *Henry IV* plays more generally, waste and memory are closely connected, but

again a female contribution is significant. The Hostess carries some key memories: she is able to recall Falstaff's empty proposal of marriage; she is able to count up his debt; she is able, in *Henry V*, to report on his death. Wilder says she '*is*' Falstaff's memory (p. 102).

On the male side, perhaps, the overall burden is to forget, or to create forgetting. To be a legitimate king, Hal has to do something about the memory of his father's usurpation: while that is still in everyone's mind, he and his father (and the nation) will have no peace. *2 Henry IV* has a further strange twist in its epilogue, where it makes reference to what seems to have been the Falstaff part's former name, Oldcastle. It seems to ask the audience to remember to forget any offence caused by that name first time around, thus taking on the problem with apologies: you have to revisit the fault to excuse it.

In some plays Wilder is able to knit together apparently dispersed moments of anomalous vividness, and to recognise them as part of the play's complex dealings with memory. In *Romeo and Juliet*, one key moment is Romeo's vivid recall of the apothecary. This gives a strange insight the young hero's wound-up inwardness, which re-expresses itself in insults and bitterness when he actually buys the poison. The nurse's memory of Juliet's weaning is the other moment in the play that ends up particularly refreshed by this book. It causes some embarrassment at the time, but somewhere within that excessive and 'non-purposive' recall of what happened in and around that intimate moment is a sort of memory that does good rather than harm, that connects people rather than divides them. As Wilder notes, in comparison, there is no clear memory of why the feud between the Montagues and the Capulets started, and they grind manfully on without any substantial acquaintance with the reasons why.

In *Hamlet* Wilder draws attention to the varying sizes of mnemonic spaces. We see powerful moments of recall crammed into Gertrude's closet, and further into the pictures (perhaps miniatures – perhaps even kept in lockets) found there, and of course Hamlet turns to his tables. We also see rehearsal of the absent past on the grand scale, sweepingly regarding the meaning of a graveyard, and recreating events in a large hall set out for a play. As before the most acute and telling moments relate to women. The ghost, for Gertrude, Wilder observes, is an absence. She notes nothing. Further, Gertrude and also Ophelia do a different kind of remembering. For them, there is no inwardness – the play and the society it represents don't allow it. Instead, poignantly and powerfully (even though it can be ignored by the men of the play) there is a lyric surface.

Othello is a kind of nadir in the fortunes of memory. False recall is produc-

tive rather than reproductive, and what it produces is disaster. Iago conjures up a false memory of Cassio's sleeptalking to help persuade Othello. The hero's own memory of the handkerchief's past might also (more challengingly) be deemed false, because it comes from nowhere, corresponds to nothing, and (like Iago's fiction) arrives at the worst possible moment. From this nadir, though, Wilder turns to the more joyful territory of the late plays, where the 'theatre of memory' proves productive in a much more positive sense. The remembered-absent returns, again and again: lost wives and children are found. Potentially mnemonic objects (ghosts, statues) turn out to be providentially redundant: the things they represent end up able to be present on their own behalves.

It is a pleasure to find a book that combines attentive cultural history with such responsive, insightful close reading of Shakespeare's work. The different chapters together compose a powerful account of the dramatist's reflection on his own medium, and how that medium reflects back on the human predicament. Plays and people frame the here and now in the lost and gone, and this book does wonderful work exploring how that works, and when it hurts.

Raphael Lyne
Murray Edwards College, Cambridge

Fellowship Reports

In the autumn of 2011 I made a preliminary research trip to Bologna to ascertain the extent of the archival research required for my doctoral thesis concerning student criminality and violence at Oxford and Bologna in the middle ages. I had identified that the *Curia del Podesta,* and in particular the series *Maestri e scolari* of the *Carte di corredo,* would be an invaluable resource but lacked the means to return to Bologna and make a systematic study of these records. Thanks to the Society for Renaissance Studies Study Fellowship I was able to return to Bologna in January of 2012 in order to examine the records of the *Archivio di Stato di Bologna*. I made digital images of the archival material, which allowed me to begin the process of transcribing these records when I returned home, and freed up the rest of my planned trip to consult the holdings of the *Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio*.

I was able to make a digital copy of each of the 618 individual records dating from 1280 to 1350 and I am in discussion with the archive about the possibility of making these available for future study online. Of the 618 records, only 318 records contained enough information to be certain what crime the individual in question was accused. The analysis of these records showed that from the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a significant drop in the number of scholars indicted for criminal activity in Bologna. This trend cannot be explained by any exodus of scholars from the town, but is indicative of an underlying trend towards 'regionalisation' – of European scholars choosing to study closer to home. The proliferation of schools in Italy and elsewhere caused a resultant drop in the overall size of the Bolognese scholarly population, which is reflected in the testamentary evidence from Bologna. From these records it is also apparent that scholars appeared more frequently as the accusers of criminality than as the accused, and that they were accused far less frequently than individuals from other sectors of the population. This is something very much at odds with the reputation for violence and deviancy derived from contemporary literary sources and maintained in much historiography. Medieval scholars were also more likely to be the victims of property crime which, considering their disproportionate wealth, and the moveability of that wealth, is hardly surprising. I have also ascertained that scholars were most frequently accused of interpersonal violence such as assault, threats and insults. Sometimes, though not as often as would be supposed from the historiography, such altercations ended in a fatality. Of these fatal affrays the majority involved groups

of scholars attacking one another, particularly in the partisanal violence of the student nations. This was a problem common to many universities in late medieval Europe.

As a result of the Study Fellowship awarded by the Society for Renaissance Studies, I have been able to conduct a quantitative analysis of the records of the *Curia del Podesta*, which has allowed me to complete the sixth and final chapter of my thesis. I was also able to expand the Italian language element of my bibliography considerably. I am now in the process of redrafting my completed thesis and am therefore able to submit on schedule, for which I am extremely grateful to the Society for Renaissance Studies for their help and assistance in making this possible.

Scott Jenkins
University of Swansea

In June 2011 I received a study fellowship from the Society for Renaissance Studies in order to undertake a month-long research trip to London. This trip provided key material for my doctoral thesis, 'Writing rogues: cheap print, criminals and readers in London, 1590-1670', which adopts an interdisciplinary approach to the study of pamphlets about rogues, combining the history of print culture and its methods with the social history of London and crime.

During this research trip I visited the London Metropolitan Archives, where I examined material from trial records relating to rogues, confidence tricksters and highwaymen from the Westminster quarter sessions. I worked through the Westminster Sessions Rolls of 1619-1640 (WJ/SR/NS) and the Westminster Sessions Papers of 1640-1645 (WJ/SP) searching for depositions relating to theft, cozenage and highway robbery. This material forms the basis for the sixth chapter of my thesis, 'Voices from the records: rogues in trial', where I examine the correspondence between rogue pamphlets and the court records, as well as attempt to reconstruct the narrative strategies used by accusers and accused in those cases. I am interested both at the ways deponents narrated their stories in order to ensure the desirable outcome, and the extent to which pamphlets have influenced the way examinations were articulated. In addition to this research, I examined the *Remembrancia*, the correspondence between central government and the City of London, 1590-1614 (COL/RMD/PA), looking at the interaction between the two governing bodies in dealing with the problem of the begging poor and the punishment of rogues, as well as the measures taken against theft. This complemented my research on the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen,

in order to explore the official responses and prejudices relating to the great numbers of vagrants in London, and thus gaining a better understanding of the range of discourses about rogues available to London dwellers in this period.

This research trip has been extremely useful for the development of my thesis and I would like to thank the Society for Renaissance Studies for making it possible.

Lena Liapi
University of York

I am very grateful to the Society for Renaissance Studies for granting me a Society for Renaissance Studies Study Fellowship for 2011-12 for my PhD project 'Peace, Piety and Papal Prestige: Peacemaking and Rhetoric in the Pontificate of Pope Clement VIII'. This doctoral research analyses the response of the papacy to the challenges to its supranational authority by the Reformation and the interests of secular states in the early modern period in a case study of the pontificate of Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592-1605).

Thanks to the liberal support of the Society for Renaissance Studies, I was able to conduct extensive research in the *Archives Générales du Royaume* and the *Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* in Brussels as well as in the *Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, the *Archives Nationales de France* and the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris. In these archives, I consulted documents which allowed me to examine Clement VIII's efforts to settle conflicts between Catholic states as part of his duties as the *Padre commune* of all Catholic princes – with the aim of increasing the prestige of the papacy – at the peace negotiations in Vervins between France, Spain and Savoy in 1598 and in Lyons between France and Savoy in 1601. In particular, I found essential information on Clement VIII's intervention in favour of peace in audiences with the French ambassador, the Duke of Piney, as well as how Piney reported back on these pontifical initiatives to the French court. I also consulted the correspondence of the French and Spanish delegates present at the peace negotiations in Vervins. This correspondence sheds new light on how the delegates commented on the interventions of the papal mediators. Finally, letters of the Venetian ambassador in France provided me with a valuable insight regarding Rome's endeavours to restore peace via a representative of a power not directly involved in peace negotiations. Therefore, these findings are crucially important for my analysis of the per-

ception of papal peacemaking and the role of the Pope as *Padre commune* by Catholic Christendom.

Overall, this research trip has contributed a significant part to the completion of my documentation. Therefore, I am very pleased to report that the generous support of the Society for my PhD project enabled me to place papal diplomacy in the inter- and supranational context, in which it actually operated.

CHRISTIAN SCHNEIDER
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

News and Announcements

SRS Book Prize

Congratulations to the winner and to those that were highly commended in the inaugural biennial SRS book prize.

Winner:

Sjoerd Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicles of Holland: Continuity and Transformation in the Historical Tradition of Holland during the Early Sixteenth Century* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011).

Highly commended:

Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Ulrinka Rublack's, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

SRS Postdoctoral Fellowships, 2012–2013

Congratulations to our three new SRS postdoctoral fellows, who will take up their year-long awards on 1 October 2012.

Rubinstein Fellow:

Dr Eleonora Carinci (University of Cambridge), '*Camilla Erculiani's Lettere di philosophia naturale*: A Critical Edition'.

SRS Fellows:

Dr Jennifer Evans (University of Exeter), 'Men's Sexual Health and Masculinity in Early Modern England'.

Dr Sara Read (Loughborough University), '"Fat Women Wear It on Their Backs": Women and Obesity in Seventeenth-Century England'.

SRS Study Fellowships, 2012–2013

This year's recipients are:

Jacopo Gnisci (SOAS), to work on the Passion and Resurrection in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ethiopian art.

Victoria Van Hyning (University of Sheffield), for research into the English Convent of Nazareth in Bruges and the Chronicle of Santa Monica.

SRS Museums, Archives and Libraries Bursary

The first recipients of our new bursary are:

Peter Black (Curator at the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow), to work on the Canzoniere of Enea Irpino, including a research trip to the Archivio di Stato in Parma.

Xanthe Brooke (Curator of Fine Art at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), to visit various UK libraries as part of a research project on William Roscoe

Forthcoming SRS-Funded Conferences

New Directions in the Renaissance
University of Edinburgh
2 November 2012

The cultural movement known as the Renaissance, and the profound affect it had on the intellectual and artistic life of early modern Europe, continues to provide inspiration for new scholars across a wide range of disciplines. 'New Directions in the Renaissance' is an interdisciplinary conference which aims to provide a forum for those studying the Renaissance in its birthplace and heartland, Italy, to reflect on the broad range of topics and themes which characterise study in this field.

The conference will offer the opportunity for postgraduate students and early career researchers (whether at PhD, MPhil, or MSc by Research level) from universities across the UK to present their research in a constructive, friendly environment. For further information, contact: edinburghnewdirection@gmail.com

Bonds, Lies, and Circumstances: Discourses of Truth-Telling in the Renaissance
St Andrews University
21 March 2013

> If a lie had no more faces but one, as truth had, we should be in farre better termes than we are: For whatsoever a lier should say, we would take it in a contrarie sense. But the opposite of truth has many shapes, and an undefinite field.
>
> *Michel de Montaigne, 'Of Lyers' (Florio translation -1603)*

Can we say that truth has 'no more faces than one'? Montaigne implies that human relationships with truth are straightforward, whereas our attitudes towards falsehood are complicated by its multiplicity. But how stable is the notion of 'truth'? Does truth - like falsehood - appear in many forms, and if so, can we ever take it at face value?

Legal, emotional, and spiritual concerns – all vital to truth-telling discourses – are intimately bound in the Renaissance. This conference offers a forum for the exploration of their intersections. The study of legal culture has become increasingly central to the analysis of early modern literary texts, and legal paradigms are inescapable when scholars turn their attention, as many have recently done, to the equivocal power of language to bind people together. We find the legal value of such bonds – in the form of oaths, promises and contracts – going hand in hand with interpersonal relationships and their emotional and spiritual dimensions.

Our objective is to foster debate about the marriage between two clearly connected fields: Law and Literature; and the study of early modern emotion. How do these fields work together? We form bonds; we tell lies; we search for and construct truths: but under what circumstances? Confirmed keynote speakers are: John Kerrigan (Cambridge), on Bonds; Andrew Hadfield (Sussex), on Lies; Lorna Hutson (St Andrews), on Circumstances. General questions can be directed to the conference organizers – Rachel Holmes and Toria Johnson – at earlymodern@st-andrews.ac.uk.

In conjunction with the Centre for Mediaeval and Early Modern Law and Literature (CMEMLL), with generous support from the Society for Renaissance Studies.

The Lure of the 'Other': Religious Conversion and Reversion in the Early Modern Mediterranean
St Mary's University College
CFP deadline: 1 November 2012 – Conference dates: 4–5 June 2013

The topic of religious conversion into and out of Islam as a historical phenomenon is one that is mired in a sea of debate and misunderstanding. Religious conversion tends to be viewed as the crossing of a line that cannot be re-crossed. The convert traverses not only religious divisions, but in an early modern/Renaissance context, frequently political, cultural and geographic boundaries as well thereby blurring allegiances and identities. Papers will address the following topics:

- Religious conversion and the fabrication of cosmopolitan identities
- Conversion as translation between cultures
- Religious conversion and the spread of artisanal skills or the exchange of knowledge
- Religious conversion and trading networks
- Religious conversion and hybridity; the syncretic devotional practices and beliefs of converts
- Links between religious conversion and economic migration and slavery
- Acculturation and conversion
- Conversion as a literary trope
- Conversion rituals and the legitimization of states
- Religious reversion, the 'returning convert', and rituals of re-inclusion.

We invite proposals for papers on any of the above topics. Proposals should be no longer than 500 words in length and should be accompanied by a very brief CV (no longer than 1 page) to be sent to Claire Norton (nortonc@smuc.ac.uk) and Nur Sobers-Khan (nursoberskhan@gmail.com). The deadline for submission of proposals is 1st November 2012. Further details can be found on the conference website www.smuc.ac.uk/religious-conversion

Generously supported by: The Society for Renaissance Studies, and St Mary's University College.

For details of other conferences and events, not funded by the SRS, please our regularly updated events announcements on the society website: http://www.rensoc.org.uk