BULLETIN

OF THE SOCIETY FOR RENAISSANCE STUDIES

SRS PEDAGOGIES

THE ANNUAL LECTURE
JENNIFER RICHARDS

FELLOWSHIPS, CONFERENCE REPORTS AND MORE

VOLUME XXXIV, NUMBER 2 OCTOBER 2017

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

2017 marks the 50th anniversary of the Society for Renaissance Studies. In order to mark our half century the Society has organized a series of events on the theme of the five senses and how they connect to Renaissance culture. These events are detailed in the Chair's Letter, and the first of which – the only one that had taken place at the time of going to press – is recounted by Rachel Willie in this issue's News section. This initial event took place in Dublin, under the aegis of the Society's Irish Branch representative Jane Grogan. Indeed it is a key part of the *Bulletin*'s remit that we represent, via our regular reports from our Irish, Scottish and Welsh branch representatives, the Society's commitment to supporting Renaissance studies across the UK archipelago. Despite our geography, the Society is resistant to insularity.

This issue of the *Bulletin* addresses in various ways the dangers and challenges posed to our disciplines by insularity, which comes in many forms, both externally and internally. On the one hand there is the kind of misty-eyed nationalism – nostalgia for a past that never was – which impacts directly or indirectly upon the global academic community through external policy pressures, whether that be pre-Brexit Britain ejecting or refusing entry to non-UK academics, or in the US the impact of cuts to funding for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

There is also a kind of insularity that persists within our disciplines. To address this, the current issue launches a new discussion forum dedicated to early modern pedagogies. Our initial respondents are writing as English literature scholars, but this is in order to set the dialogue going. Specifically, this first forum addresses the limitations of the English canon: is it *too* English, too male, too familiar, too conservative? We are hoping that historians, art historians, linguists, classicists and philosophers from across the Society will extend this discussion and propose new topics, which can be done by contacting the editors directly.

Our teaching in the UK, despite the mantra of research-informed teaching, is too often insulated against our research: the TEF and the REF do not meet in the middle, but rather pull in opposite directions. By sharing best practices not only across our disciplines but also our institutions, we might resist being stranded on our respective islands.

The topic of isolation is taken forwards in other ways across this issue, for example in Jennifer Richards' Annual Lecture on how we listen to readers of the past, and hear their voices, or in the conference reports and fellowship reports which are, as the Renaissance itself was, culturally transnational and intellectually global.

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LETTER FROM THE HONORARY CHAIR

AS I WRITE THIS LETTER we are looking forward to the Society's fiftieth birthday events taking place this September. They are (i) the launch of the Anne Boleyn music book at the Royal College of Music on 24 September (ii) the Dublin anniversary lecture, 'Perfume and Gunpowder', given by the Ireland Professor of Poetry, Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin on 13 September at the National Library of Ireland, and (iii) 'Silent Shakespeare', featuring screenings from the silent era, live music, actors and sound effects with a talk for the public from Professor Judith Buchanan, at the York Theatre Royal on 6 October.

Of course, by the time you are reading this issue of the *Bulletin* these events will all be in the past and our celebrations will have taken place. I hope many members of the Society, as well as many new ones, will have been able to attend. But there is much more in the pipeline if you have sadly missed out, as the Society has already started to look forward to the next fifty years. Summer 2018 has us hosting our biennial conference, this time at the University of Sheffield; and the 2020 event will be at the University of East Anglia.

The 2018 conference boasts four major international speakers from a range of disciplines: Professor Stephen J. Campbell (Johns Hopkins); Professor Lyndal Roper (Oxford); Professor Emma Smith (Oxford); and Professor Feisal Mohamed (CUNY). The Society is always keen to include proposals for panels and individual papers of high quality from scholars at any career stage, and it has a proud record of encouraging early career researchers. The standard at our past conferences has always been exceptionally high and we have accommodated researchers working in virtually every area of Renaissance studies: archaeology, architecture, history of art, history of science and medicine, literature, history, music and philosophy. At this conference there will be six main strands (as well as the usual open one):

The Natural World;
Frontiers, identity, exchange;
Power, protest and resistance;
Knowledge, truth and expertise;
Civil and uncivil discourse;
Ornament and display,
performance and perception.

We are extremely grateful to Professor Cathy Shrank and her energetic team who have planned such a great event for us all to enjoy.

As I am writing this letter I am also conscious that we are reaching ever more uncertain times as Brexit approaches (although who can tell what might happen between my writing this and its publication?). On Sunday 28 August Dr Joe Moshenska of Trinity College, Cambridge, hosted a programme on Radio 4 to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the publication of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Moshenska's research traced Milton's famous Italian journey in the late 1630s in order to remind readers of Milton's deeply felt ties to the European continent and its culture – an issue of cultural inheritance that is addressed in the SRS pedagogies forum in this issue. Not only did Milton look back to the great classical epics and medieval and Renaissance Italian romances, but he included various topical and physical details of Italy in his poetry. It is a salutary reminder for us that a writer who is often thought of as a particularly English puritan, who could tolerate most forms of Christianity apart from Catholicism, nevertheless found it in him to embrace a different culture and learn from it. Milton befriended Galileo's son, Vicenzio, a lutenist, who introduced him to his father and it is clear that many of Galileo's ideas about the heavens are reproduced in the angel Raphael's speeches to Adam. Elsewhere Milton represented features of St Peter's in Rome, and, in the opening book of the poem, referred to the fallen angels on the burning lake of Hell like leaves strewn around the monastery at Vallombrosa, twenty miles south-east of Florence.

Milton was conscious that he was re-establishing links with Italy and trying to make it more central in the English imagination. For a long period after the Reformation contact with Italy – certainly central and southern Italy – became difficult and rare for most English people not involved in international diplomacy. Milton, as he makes clear throughout his great work on censorship, *Areopagitica* (1644), as well as in *Paradise Lost* and its sequel *Paradise Regaine*d (1671), values active rather than passive virtue from the good citizen. By this he means that it is important to have experience and knowledge of evil in order to know good properly and thus be able to make the right choices. We would do well to remember Milton's example and not to restrict our experiences if we wish to make the right choices too – another reason, if any were needed, to make sure that you attend the conference in Sheffield before heading off on holiday.

ANDREW HADFIELD

SRS NEWS

Prizes & Fellowships

Renaissance Studies Article Prize, 2016

We are pleased to announce the winner of the 2016 essay prize is Emilie K. M. Murphy (University of York), for her *Renaissance Studies* article 'Musical self-fashioning and the "theatre of death" in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England', 30:3, pp. 410-429 (June 2016).

SRS Postdoctoral Fellowships, 2017–18

Congratulations to Dr Simon Egan and Dr Jonathan Reimer, who have each been awarded one of this year's two Postdoctoral Fellowships.

Dr Egan graduated with a PhD in History from University College Cork in 2016. His doctoral thesis explored the resurgence of Gaelic political power in Ireland and Scotland during the period, ca.1300–1550. His postdoctoral project is entitled 'The Dynastic World of the Late Medieval and Renaissance Gaeltacht, ca. 1400–1550', and offers a new approach for uncovering and contextualising English and Scottish interaction with the Gaelic nobility during a formative period of Irish and British history.

Dr Reimer received his PhD in History from the University of Cambridge in 2017. His doctoral thesis examined the life and writings the life and writing of Thomas Becon (1512–1567), a Tudor clergyman and and best-selling devotional writer. His postdoctoral research project is entitled 'A Hand in the Fire: Recantation in Early Modern England', and seeks to reveal overlooked parallels between the religious policies of divergent Tudor monarchs.

Both Fellowship reports will appear in the April 2019 issue of the *Bulletin*.

SRS Study Fellowships, 2017–18

This year's Study Fellowships have been awarded to Taylor Aucoin (Bristol), Désirée Cappa (Warburg) and Jessica Dalton (St Andrews). Taylor is writing his PhD on late medieval and early modern festivals, and in particular Shrove Tuesday celebrations. Désirée is researching the mechanics of political communication in Florence between 1537 and 1545, with reference to the exchange of information between Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and his bureaucrats. In particular she is examining Pierfrancesco Riccio (1501–1564), the ducal Chancellor. Jessica is carrying out her doctoral research into Jesuit confession and the private absolution of heresy in sixteenth-century Italy. Their reports will feature in the October 2018 issue of the *Bulletin*.

SRS at 50

On September 13 2017, a packed audience met at the National Library of Ireland in Dublin to hear the first of three public lectures organized to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the SRS. Starting the series with an exploration of the poetry of John Donne and smell, Professor Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin (Ireland Professor of Poetry), delivered a rich reading, demonstrating the ways in which body and mind were connected through all the senses and how, in the Renaissance, ideas of physiology drew from Aristotelian theories of the interconnectedness of the external and internal senses via the animal spirits that course through the body.

Memory and imagination are central to the processing of sensory experience and Donne's poetry proved an excellent starting point for considering how central sensory experience was to epistemology in the period.

Ní Chuilleanáin, herself, is a celebrated poet, whose poetry evinces both a detailed knowledge of Renaissance culture and also a rich and varied connection to the landscape and what it means to inhabit space: metaphor, the spiritual, physical and natural realms are central to her work and she imaginatively weaves interior and exterior ways of understanding the wider world. Her lecture showed this interest as she deftly drew from Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Ovid, and Spenser (amongst many others) to explore smells both noxious and pleasant and how they shape the world around us. It was an excellent start to the series. A full report on all of the Society's anniversary events will appear in the April 2018 issue of the *Bulletin*.

RACHEL WILLIE

(Renaissance Studies Reviews Editor and SRS Webmaster)

FUNDING & PRIZES

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

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

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

Discussion Forum
SRS Pedagogies: Beyond the Canon

Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606-1669), *Een student aan tafel bij kaarslicht* (*A student at a candlelit table*) (1640-1645). Image copyright: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

IN JULY OF THIS YEAR the English: Shared Futures conference, organized by the English Association, took place in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The conference's objective, as its title makes clear, was a concerted effort by the discipline of English in the UK to map its emergent trends and future directions in both teaching and research, with an implicit understanding that its practitioners might find new, creative, and intellectually ways of traversing the separation of powers attendant upon binary governmental excellence frameworks.

Indeed, a recognition of this separation followed on 1 September when the Initial Decisions on the Research Excellence Framework 2021 report (HEFCE Circular letter 33/2017) was published, including an amendment to the existing model of research Impact, whereby 'the guidance on submitting impacts on teaching will be widened to include impacts within, as well as beyond, the submitting institution'.

A significant number of SRS members organized panels and delivered papers at the English: Shared Futures conference (a full report on the conference by Rachel Willie can be found on the SRS website), with a view to identifying the challenges faced by Renaissance studies. A number of innovative solutions and opportunities were presented, and the *Bulletin* would like to reflect a number of these in this issue and beyond.

Whilst this forum begins in early modern literary studies, it is by no means confined to this discipline. Indeed the *Bulletin* editors invite further contributions to the forum from our colleagues in History, Art History, Languages, Classics and cognate disciplines, with a view to mapping the current and future landscape of SRS pedagogies. The editors encourage colleagues across the disciplines to make contact with us directly for future forums, using the email addresses included on page 2 of each issue of the *Bulletin*.

In this initial forum Kevin Killeen, Cathy Shrank, and Claire Canavan discuss how and why we might or should move beyond the canon in early modern curricula.

WILLIAM ROSSITER AND
MATTHEW WOODCOCK
(*Bulletin* Editors)

Martin de Vos, *Discordia*, (1589), engraving after Crispin de Passe. Image: Wellcome Library, London.

IT IS WORTH RECALLING the musical connotations of the canon, and its implications – of an harmonic whole, containing at best selective dissonance. 'Canon' is a term that presumes and demands congruity, not idiosyncrasy, and as such brings with it certain configurations of sameness. For example, the canon, both in its early modern and modern forms, is deep-laden with presumptions about class and the kind of education that can arbitrate literary worth.

The push to widen the canon, however, in terms of its literary parameters, was a distinctly feminist push, a push made in order to increase the volume of women writers in the curriculum and to reform the terms of how they might be presented or taught. In regard to the former, the recovery of wonderfully interesting and brilliant early modern women writers has been phenomenally successful, moving beyond the select few aristocratic women known two or three decades ago. However, the question of how their works and histories are taught has been less developed. Too often it still tends to be the case that women's presence is an add-on: a Behn or a Cavendish, because who wants to sacrifice from the Renaissance More or Wyatt, or Spenser, or Shakespeare, or Milton, or Donne, or Revenge Tragedy – a course more or less designed by itself? There is, in all likelihood, little chance of this changing if courses are primarily constructed around 'great writers', swapping one for another in a game of literary Tinder ©, swiping and swiving right or left.

So what do we do? Focussing here on pedagogy, I suggest two examples of what we might do. Firstly, the experience of extra-canonical fossil-hunting, the Indiana Jones-appeal of (re-)discovering writers in manuscript or forgotten print is a compelling classroom dynamic, albeit staged, albeit second-hand. The 'discovery' that early modern women wrote impressive 'scientific' and 'scientific-literary' works – Hester Pulter, Anne Conway, Margaret Cavendish – comes as a surprise, but also comes, very often, unannotated, critically naked, to the degree that students can be daunted and feel unmoored without the reassurance of the critical apparatus. Yet students also respond to this challenge, in contrast to poetry commented on to within an inch of its life. Alice Eardley's article 'Annotating Early Modern Women's poetry' is an excellent model for approaching this task, along with the OED historical thesaurus, and for discovering the lure of shaping the new.

A second strategy for increasing the range and the visibility of women's writing in the era relates to the literary hole of the civil war, in which the most tumultuous decades of English history can, without overmuch exaggeration, be reduced to all too few poems, to dejected Cavalier poetry and perhaps Marvell's *Horatian Ode*. Not that there is anything wrong with these selections, but presenting only this male royalist fatalism fails to convey the energy and the excitement of the era. Teaching the corresponding writing of women in the war, of Katherine Phillips, An Collins and Hester Pulter, or on the other political side, Lucy Hutchinson and Anne Bradstreet, together with women's petitions and prophecy, produces a picture wholly different, and more characteristic. There is, of course, a limit to what one can teach, but sometimes there is a case for extract and cacophony rather than a literary work, single and self-sustaining. Sometimes, this is just what the canon, musically speaking, needs – something jarring, ungainly and discordant.

KEVIN KILLEEN
(University of York)

IN TEACHING ENGLISH Renaissance Literature today we are enjoined to ask to what extent should we consider that literature in terms of European developments? In terms of good scholarship, it has always been important and responsible to acknowledge that English literature is not the product of an island nation, but that it is tapped into, and is part of, a wider European – and global – story.

However, in the current political climate, with Brexit looming so ineptly, it is no longer just good scholarship but an ethical duty to trumpet and teach the fact that – *pace* Shakespeare's John of Gaunt – England is not, and never has been, a 'sceptered isle', and that the writings produced by the people who inhabit this archipelago are created in dialogue with the literary traditions of continental Europe.

This is all the more pressing because English literature and its canonical writers have been appropriated to promote a triumphalist, separatist and – at times, even racist – vision of this nation: its past and its future. Carry out an internet search for Shakespeare's John of Gaunt speech, for example, and you will find a YouTube video entitled 'This England – This Sceptered Isle', beginning 'To be in [Europe]or not to be in, that is the question' (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1EDMAQHAFs), and set (still more ironically, in the latter half), to the music of William Blake's 'Jerusalem', composed by Charles Hubert Parry (whose musical development was hugely influenced by Wagner and the German pianist Edward Dannreuther). Or, more disturbingly, a click away we have John of Gaunt's 'This England' speech used as the voiceover to a video posted in May 2016 depicting someone moving through a street market, full of ethnic minorities and ending with a clip of a man, in Muslim-style dress, appearing to threaten to 'turn Europe black' (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8rTBmoF2eo). The myth of insularity – geographic or literary – is a pernicious one.

So, reprising Kevin's question, what can we as educators do to redress it, within a curriculum which is already crammed to the rafters? First the good news: I don't think we need to change what we teach. English literature is so enmeshed with that wider context that I think that would be no mean challenge to find *any* piece of writing that functions as an hermetically-sealed specimen of English isolationism.

But we do need to be alert to how we teach. On this point I do not think that I will be saying anything new. We will, no doubt, be doing much of what I suggest already, but perhaps we need to be a little more conscious about doing it, when the stakes are so very, very high (as the racist rendition of John of Gaunt's speech reminds us). We need to take every opportunity to show how English Renaissance literature is linked into a wider European culture.

For example, literary forms are rarely purely indigenous – sonnets, romances, rondeaux and so on are all imported – even if there are no direct foreign-language sources with which to engage. To our great detriment and cultural poverty, the UK schooling system does not, for the most part, produce confident linguists. Consequently, when it comes to direct comparison of translations and adaptations with their foreign-language originals, I have found that students tend to need (i) appropriate resources – such as literal translations and accompanying glosses; but beyond that, they also need (ii) a lot of encouragement and time working with the foreign-language material in order to overcome their culturally-induced hesitancy and anxiety in this area. This is not simply something that you can hand them in a seminar and expect a response. And you need to do this kind of exercise more than once.

In exploring these cultural exchanges, I think we also need to take care to convey the way in which they frequently reveal a much more integrated picture of Europe than is at first apparent. Take the label 'Renaissance': a French word used in England from the mid-nineteenth century to describe a classical revival which began in northern Italy in the fourteenth century. There is a tendency in the historiography to prioritise Italian-English exchanges, a tendency which can be traced back at least to George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589). Yet as the word 'Renaissance' reminds us, very often French is the dispensary through which early modern England received its dose of Italian literature. In telling the story of cultural exchange, it is vitally important to pay attention to these oblique, mediated routes of transmission – otherwise we risk perpetuating a narrative of one culture taking up the 'crown' that another has lost, a mythos of *translatio studii*.

When talking about the historical and cultural contexts which shaped early modern readers and writers, I think we need to make our students alive to the polyglot nature of the English experience, even in England: the fact that those who went to grammar school would be immersed in Latin; that Latin was the language of religion for parts of the sixteenth century (and for some, covertly, throughout it). That, in ports and centres of trade, it would not only be English that would have been heard on the streets. It is a salutary reminder that the English attitude to, and aptitude and enthusiasm for, language learning were once rather different from the current, worrying malaise. We also need to guide our students to stories and histories that are told less often. The enormous influence of the Dutch, for example. (Some of the most innovative early secular printed prose fiction in English was produced in Antwerp in the 1510s, for example.)

My penultimate point relates to what we teach as well as how: namely, that when teaching, we should not shy away from what Stephen Greenblatt has recently called 'the crueller strains of our cultural legacy'.

Detail from engraving of John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, act 2 scene 1 (London: Verner and Hood, 1799). Image: Folger Digital Image Collection.

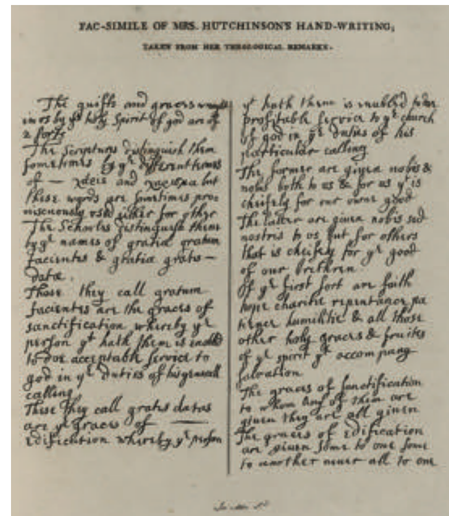
(I highly recommend this think-piece in a recent issue of The New Yorker: http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/07/10/shakespeares-cure-for-xenophobia). Confronting the prejudices of the past – which not infrequently overlap, dismayingly, with prejudices of the present – can be a useful, if painful, way of starting urgent conversations.

Finally, we need to commit taking the principles outlined here beyond the seminar room, into how we engage with other audiences – through public lectures, blogs and social media, platforms like *The Conversation*, even conversations with friends and family. Impact, real impact, begins at home, as it were, but does not end there.

CATHY SHRANK
(University of Sheffield)

WHAT IS THE VALUE of extending or challenging the canon? I want to approach this question by considering what it might mean to challenge or to extend the canon, and what limitations as well as possibilities those terms offer. As the other contributors to this forum have noted, we need to be cautious with ideas about 'extending' the canon. At first glance, extending the canon seems an attractive proposition. It presents a way of bringing disempowered groups into the mainstream, giving them a voice, according them cultural capital. It satisfies students' expectations that they will study Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Donne, whilst also making space for writers like Isabella Whitney, Lucy Hutchinson, and Hester Pulter, and genres like account books, ring posies, or lists of errata. For a student population that is increasingly engaged with issues of class, race, gender, sexuality, and intersectionality, this extended canon might prove a more satisfying prospect.

At the same time, however, I question whether 'extending' the existing canon will provide a solution, or simply reiterate, scatter, or otherwise redirect some of the problems we already have. If we think about the canon as a circle, are we to keep the current 'big hitters' at its centre, with new inclusions placed at the periphery? In such a situation, newly included authors and works remain marginal. Equally, in extending the canon, we risk simply taking what we might consider the rules of canonicity and applying them elsewhere. How do we decide what is canon-worthy? Will the centre dictate what can be admitted? Given that the canon has long been an instrument of socio-cultural power, a system of inclusion/exclusion which brings with it cultural capital, it seems problematic to allow the status quo to determine the territory of change.


FAC-SIMILE OF MRS. HUTCHINSON'S HAND-WRITING,
TAKEN FROM HER THEOLOGICAL REMARKS.

Facsimile of Lucy Hutchinson's hand (1808). Image: Folger Digital Image Collection.

An urge to extend the canon can also limit or simplify the complexities of hitherto neglected forms or media. We need to do more than teach our students to apply existing critical frameworks to a wider range of texts, or we will end up with a situation in which only that which is analogous with the canon's current contents warrants inclusion within our extended canon. Students need to be taught to recognise and respond to the distinctive features and values of overlooked works and authors, developing new theories and methodologies. These theories and methodologies ought, in turn, to challenge our understanding of and approaches to established canonical works. If an extended canon is to work, it requires us to look in new ways at traditionally canonical as well as non-canonical works.

So what about challenging the canon? This forum is attempting to look beyond the canon, which suggests an appeal or power in not being part of the canon. In assimilating texts which have typically resisted the borders of the canon, directly or indirectly, are we taming them, or robbing them of their heterodox voice or adversarial power? Challenging the canon might therefore be a more vigorous, dynamic approach which remains conscious of the canon's inherent limits and limitations. There is obvious socio-political value in equipping our students with the skills to question why some makers or forms of cultural production have been systematically excluded and devalued. In doing so we are giving them the critical skills to challenge the inequalities in society more broadly.

But what exactly are we challenging? The particular contents of the canon; or the way its borders are determined and policed; or the idea of canonicity itself? I'm not sure that the first of these, on its own, achieves much. The second seems more appealing, offering the opportunity to interrogate the rules of what makes something canonical. Aesthetic value? Complexity? Influence, contemporaneous or subsequent? Popularity? How do determine these fields? And more to the point, why have some fields, forms and media been systematically dismissed and denigrated? Ultimately though a canon cannot incorporate everything; it is fundamentally elitist. Nor can it satisfy every value system. I want to suggest that there is value in teaching our students to engage with non-canonical literature – with literature which remains outside of even a revamped canon. By its very unfamiliarity, literature which lies beyond a canon challenges us: to think flexibly, creatively, laterally and playfully; to think for ourselves; to think beyond the boundaries of established thought; and to keep questioning our own value systems as well as the value of studying such literature.

CLAIRE CANAVAN
(University of York)

Voices and Books in the English Renaissance

JENNIFER RICHARDS

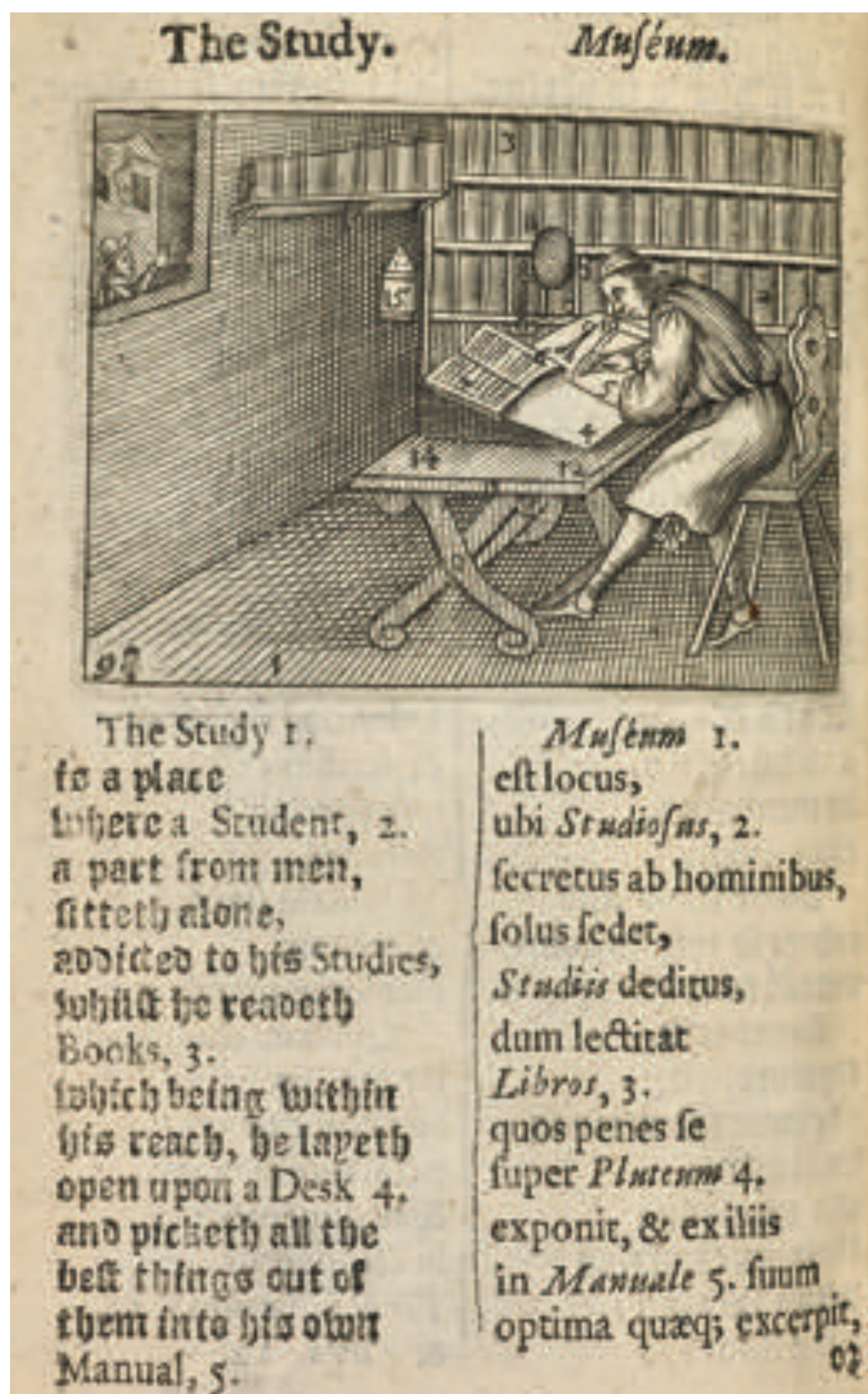
For many years in my work on English Renaissance literature I shared the assumption that reading was largely or increasingly silent in this period. After all, one of the great inventions of the Renaissance was printing, and a consequence of this was an increase in the private ownership and reading of books. There is much evidence that silent reading was practised widely, but I have come to realize that this is far from the whole story; I want to tell that other story, exploring what we are missing. I am equally interested in why it has been so hard to tell.

It is not that there was no attempt to call attention to reading aloud before. In 1989 the book historian Roger Chartier set out to explain why reading aloud remained popular in the Renaissance even among those who were fluent silent readers, and he described the 'bonds of leisure and friendship' this activity nurtured. The following year, just as I was starting my doctoral studies at Edinburgh University, two distinguished scholars, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, published a ground-breaking discovery, that the humanist scholar Gabriel Harvey read aloud and discussed Livy's *Decades* in the 1580s with patrons preparing for overseas missions, military and diplomatic. They called this reading 'goal-orientated'. This was an auspicious moment for a book-length study of reading aloud in the Renaissance. Yet it never happened. Over two decades later, when I started to work on this book, the 'lines of potential future research' that Chartier sketched out in his essay had still not been taken up.

Instead, the history of reading privileged the silent reader. To a great extent this resulted from further research into the evidence that had been used to establish Gabriel Harvey's activity: annotation. Harvey was an inveterate collector of books and annotator of them. To be sure, as Jardine and Grafton demonstrated, there is no reason why annotation should lead only to silent readers.

And yet, we know annotation is best done at a desk, pen in hand. And such a reader, like the one depicted in Figure 1, is assumed to read silently. This is a portrait of a scholar in his study, creating a record of his reading by copying out 'the best things' or marking them 'with a dash or a little star' in the margin so he can find them again.

Annotation – the marks that readers leave behind in books – is a major source of evidence for those of us who want to understand the reading practices of the past and the way books were used. It is useful in all sorts of ways.



The Study. *Muséum.*

The Study 1.
is a place
where a Student, 2.
a part from men,
sitteth alone,
addicted to his Studies,
whilst he readeth
Books, 3.
which being within
his reach, he layeth
open upon a Desk 4.
and picketh all the
best things out of
them into his own
Manual, 5.

Muséum 1.
est locus,
ubi *Studiosus*, 2.
secretus ab hominibus,
solus sedet,
Studiis deditus,
dum lectitat
Libros, 3.
quos penes se
super *Pluteum* 4.
exponit, & ex iliis
in *Manuale* 5. suum
optima quæq; excerpit,
or

Fig. 1: ***Orbis Sensualium Pictus*** **(1657), 'The Study /** ***Museum*****' © British Library Board, E2216(1), 4v.**

Fig. 2: Op. cit., 'A School / *Schola*' © British Library Board, E2216(1), p. 198.

Marks on the page offer evidence that a book was at the very least opened, if not read: this applies to the many books used for pen trials or for practising handwriting, where it is the paper that is valued most, not what is on it. However, marks also lead us to readers who seem a little too much like us not least because they read printed books.

The contribution that cultural histories of print have made to the way we think about the history of reading is often overlooked. I have already mentioned that printing led to an increase in the private ownership and reading of books and literacy. But this wasn't the only way it is thought to have been transformative. It also changed how people looked at words and, as has been argued since the mid-twentieth century, how they likely thought too. Print, it is argued, led to the privileging of one sense over all others in the pursuit of knowledge, vision. As Walter Ong proposed so memorably in *Orality and Literacy* (1982), print finalized a shift from the ear to the eye that started with the invention of the phonetic alphabet.

We can see why this emphasis on the visual seems so persuasive just by looking at printed books that were organized to help readers find – or look up – information quickly. Print developed new ways of guiding readers: title pages, chapter headings, the alphabetical index etc. And these visual features gave them new ways to access and retrieve information that simply passes by the ear when delivered orally. Not surprisingly, print has also been associated with profoundly transformative moments in the history of religion, science, and literature.

Though many of these assumptions have been challenged by sociologists and literary-anthropologists, they are rarely questioned by historians of reading. However, I propose to do just that, asking whether print really did encourage silent reading? Is it not possible that the opposite was true, that print enabled the alignment of eye and tongue as well, and a different kind of understanding? Let's look again at 'The Study'. This illustration comes from a picture book for children, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1657). It has so much more to tell us about the activity of reading and of learning to read. Turn over the page and we find a different scene. In 'A School / *Schola*' (fig. 2) some boys write quietly on a table with chalk. Some talk 'wantonly' at the back of the room. Others 'stand and rehearse things committed to memory'. Turn the next page and we understand why such rehearsal in the schoolroom matters: the boys are studying the 'Arts belonging to the Speech' (fig. 3).

These last two images provide an important context for the story I want to tell about voices and books. They remind us of the role played by speech in the teaching of reading and the dissemination of knowledge, and that 'The Study' is just one of many locations for reading for most boys and girls, men and women.

In fact, there were many different contexts for reading aloud in Renaissance England: to mention just a few, the household, the church, rooms adjacent to the printing house, ordinaries, barber shops, prison. However, two in particular stand out for me because these were locations where reading was taught, and where the habit of writing for oral readers was established. The first is the petty school, just as easily a village shop or a room in the workplace as an actual schoolroom, where boys and girls learned to read English; the second is the grammar school.

Learning to read English, then as now, involved speaking and hearing. Pupils were taught by female and male teachers and often with a method we now call 'phonics'. They learned to sound letters, then syllables, before blending them to form words. If they used a book like Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Master* (1596–1737), they also learned about delivery: that is, they learned to note the marks that guide breathing: comma, colon, full-stop. The practice of looking for cues also applies to boys who learned Latin at grammar school. In that context, if they had a good teacher, boys learned not just to read and speak Latin, but also how to deliver it well. Grammar-school educated male readers could draw upon a rich classical tradition that attended to voice, from Aristotelian physiognomies newly translated from French and Italian into English, which discovered moral character in types of voice, whether shrill, soft, broken, hasty or, slow and bass, to sophisticated Roman rhetoric books like the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* which match qualities of voice and gesture to emotions. Boys practised vocal modulation by varying the pronunciation of Latin sentences, and they were encouraged to match their

voices to rhetorical figures to make these emotionally expressive. Figures marked in the margin of a school-text in print or by hand are not only examples to be copied so that they can be re-used in writing, but cues for performance.

Examples like these have helped to reorientate my approach to the history of reading. In the book I am completing, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (forthcoming with Oxford University Press), I turn back to that moment in the 1990s when the history of reading took off as a field of study in order to take a different path. My book is concerned with the interrelationship between speech and print, and with the performativity of texts. And I set out to argue that attention to vocality fundamentally changes the way we read and interpret the texts of the past.

I want to unpack this briefly, reflecting on my title, voices and books. I prefer the adjective 'vocal' – 'Uttered or communicated by voice; spoken, oral' (OED) – to 'oral' – 'communication by speech'(OED) – even though they appear to be synonymous. I am not dismissive of the word 'oral', but 'oral' and 'orality' are paired with the concept of 'literacy' in ways that limit their usefulness to me. Paradoxically, 'oral' and 'orality' obscure what I really want to talk about, which is voice. There is an assumption, for instance, that reading aloud is more likely in a largely oral culture where literacy levels are low, although the figures that historians have proposed are open to debate. My focus, though, is different. I am not uninterested in the practice of reading aloud, say, to audiences with mixed levels of literacy: I am especially interested in the debate about how the Bible should be read aloud in the Reformation. But as a literary scholar, my focus is the text, and as a historian of reading aloud, it has become voice. I am arguing that fluent readers, writers, and printers understood that text can be re-animated, even if they read silently. Voice adds a new layer of meaning and we overlook this when we focus only on 'orality', or equally, when we focus only on the text.

That there is a relationship between voice and text should not be in doubt. Even when we read silently there is nerve activity in the throat. Recognizing the interrelationship between voice and text led one teacher of writing, Peter Elbow, to make reading aloud an integral stage in the process of revision in his twenty-first-century classroom: we write better, he argues, when we read aloud a sentence we have written, 'revising or fiddling with it till it feels right in the mouth and sounds right in the ear'.

The recognition that texts can be re-animated with the voice lies at the heart of *Voices and Books*. My concern is not only to recover the vocality of reading in Renaissance England, but also to think through what this means for our own reading practice. I am interested in what happens when we bring voice to text, how the voice realizes or changes textual meaning, and how literary writers of the past tried to manage and also exploit this. I don't set out to revive the study of oral-formulaic style. Nor am I interested in historical reconstruction. Indeed, I recognize that there is not much we can recover. We will never know, for example, what anger actually sounded like in the sixteenth century, but then I don't think we need to: we already know that an angry voice sounds different, probably louder, sharper, faster than, say, a contented voice. What we can do, though, is appreciate the idea that the voice also reveals thoughts, and that its qualities were worthy of study in the schoolroom. We can also recover the significance accorded to vocal modulation by an educationalist like Desiderius Erasmus: that it unlocks the meaning of a book like the New Testament. And we can recognize that reading aloud leads us to speak over and 'missound' some voices, as writers complained, even as we breath life back into others. Finally, this focus may help us to re-evaluate the contribution of annotators like Harvey to the history of reading, not least because, as Jardine and Grafton recognized in 1990, he also read books aloud!

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Fig. 3: Op. cit., 'Arts belonging to the Speech / *Artes sermonis*' © British Library Board, E2216(1). p. 202.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

Mobility and Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe

LUCA ZENOBI AND PABLO GONZALEZ MARTIN

Anon., *Landscape with a ship and Jonah and the whale* (c.1570), Netherlandish. Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

FOR YEARS NOW, the study of pre-modern societies has benefitted from an increased level of engagement with the spatial dimension of human life, its social construction and its diverse forms of representation. Space continues to open new exciting avenues in a number of fields: from architecture and urban studies, to domesticity, material culture and gender. But while interest in space shows no sign of abating, scholars have also called for broadening the spatial turn beyond its classic preoccupations, and for incorporating fresh approaches. Mobility, we believe, is one such approach. Perhaps inspired from the highly mobile nature of our global world, the mobility turn has only just found its way from the social sciences to the humanities and particularly to disciplines concerned with the study of the past. Due to their innovative momentum, mobility studies are still in need of much framing when it comes to the humanities, particularly in relation to pre-existing fields, such as the study of migrations or travel literature. But if there is an area of humanities research that has undergone much – if not too much – framing over the course of the years, that is the study of space.

In Autumn 2016, we thus launched a call for papers that invited scholars to explore 'how everyday mobility contributed to the shaping of late medieval and early modern spaces, and how spatial frameworks affected the movement of people in pre-modern Europe'. We also invited prospective speakers to reflect on the long-history of a contemporary paradox: in our world, ever-increasing and accelerating mobility co-exists with the continuous creation, redefinition and even re-enforcement of spatial boundaries.

How and to what extent did medieval and early modern European societies relieve this underlying tension between the dynamism of people and the construction of borders?

Exactly one year after events in the UK gave new urgency to the debate on European spaces and mobility, we hosted in Oxford a cohort of twenty-one scholars from more than ten different countries. As the conference proceeded, it was exciting to note that the first boundaries to fade were those of our disciplines. Our speakers and participants included historians, art historians, geographers, philosophers and literary scholars. Yet as papers and questions began combining map-making and politics, guidebooks and religion, inventories and diplomacy, legislation and theatre, it became nearly impossible to tell which department each scholar was originally attached to. The study of mobility and space, we concluded, offers a truly functional platform for interdisciplinary research. This became particularly evident during our first panel, which discussed potential tools of analysis; how to combine them and how best to engage with them in different disciplines. Important concepts and paradigms, such as 'territorial construction', 'demarcative vs connective space' and 'regimes of movement', provided useful common lenses for different objects of study – lenses that other speakers were then ready to experiment with in their own papers. Our discussion equally looked at the need to be more careful with vocabularies and methods coming from other disciplines, as we explored both the potential and the challenges of fields such as historical cartography and landscape archaeology.

As the conference proceeded, several common threads started to emerge, each giving shape to a separate dimension of mobility and space that often cut across the panels we had originally designed. There was, first of all, an 'imagined' dimension, as papers took to reflect on the presence of movement in the spaces of maps and paintings, on the views of cities and regions contained in written itineraries, and on the urban dynamism mapped by administrative records. This was balanced by a more 'material' dimension of mobility and space. Ships interconnecting the Adriatic and creating worlds in themselves, mobile portraits fixating the Dutch court, stained-glass windows as landmarks of Brabantine territory, Majorcan domestic furniture projecting different worldviews: in intersecting with material culture, mobility and space acquired new powerful meanings. A powerful 'conflictual' dimension was also central to our discussion. Mobility and space, inextricably united, did not always have a peaceful co-habitation. The fluidity of rivers and

Procession in Piazza San Marco, from Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598). Image: WikiMedia Commons.

coastlines prompted struggles in late medieval Italy as much as in early modern Britain; fierce competition for status and resources marked mobile uses of space from Germany to Spain; and the tension between the legal definitions of territory and the mobile existence of some individuals was at the origin of philosophical debates as well as belligerent action across Europe. Questions of identity were equally recurrent, as mobility brought about a new sense of spatial belonging and even challenged pre-existing spaces, from the neighbourhoods of a city to the territories visited by pilgrims. Finally, there was an overarching dimension of change and transformation. As sixteenth-century Venice spoke to fifteenth-century London, sixteenth-century Württemberg engaged with seventeenth-century Bologna and late medieval Durham related to early modern Dubrovnik, the need for a long-term narrative became ever more clear. This is something which we hope to collectively develop in the near future. In the meantime, we are glad to conclude that pre-modern Europe proved to be a fertile terrain on which to re-assess the complex and sometimes paradoxical relationship between mobility and space; while interdisciplinary and multi-period discussions proved to be a key way, perhaps the necessary one, to explore this promising new field now laying before us.

'Mobility and Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe' was held at the University of Oxford on 23-24 June 2017, organized by Luca Zenobi (New College, Oxford) and Pablo Gonzalez Martin (Wadham College, Oxford). It received funding from the Economic History Society, Royal Historical Society, Medium Ævum, and TORCH (The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities). An SRS grant generously supported the event by providing early career participants with five travel bursaries.

Litigating Women: Negotiating Justice in Courts of Law, ca.1100–1750

TERESA PHIPPS, EMMA CAVELL AND DEBORAH YOUNGS

THE MAIN AIM OF THIS conference was to explore the manifold ways in which women engaged with the law in the premodern world. While traditional histories may see women's legal action as exceptional, the conference put the experiences of female litigants at centre stage. Individually, papers offered new insights on litigating women within a range of contexts, from Anglo-Norman England to eighteenth-century Sweden. The conference as a whole highlighted important themes and questions bridging divisions of chronology, geography, and jurisdiction, and placed younger scholars in communication with recognised names in the field. We considered how and why women of different statuses and nationalities engaged with the legal process in multiple jurisdictions, how women employed legal strategy or constructed narratives to suit their own agendas, and how we read and interpret women's litigation in the extant records. These issues influence our interpretation of women's agency: can we ever be certain what women wanted, or why they went to court? Together, the papers revealed continuities in women's legal status across time and space, while being sensitive to the variations of lived experience. They highlighted the need for continuing conversations to understand more fully the nature of women's litigation and their negotiation of justice.

Prudencia carrying scales, **Wellcome MS. 49, Wellcome Apocalypse, fol. 68r. Image: Wellcome Library.**

'Litigating Women: Negotiating Justice in Courts of Law, ca.1100-1750', held at Swansea University 28-29 June 2017, was organized by Teresa Phipps, Emma Cavell and Deborah Youngs (Swansea). An SRS grant supported postgraduate participation in the conference.

More than meets the Page: Printing Text and Images in Italy, 1570s–1700s

REBECCA CARNEVALI AND GLORIA MOORMAN

Composite image of the Reisser (designer/woodcutter), Formschneider (woodcutter), and Briefmaler (illuminator), by Jost Amman, that appear separately in Hans Sachs, *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden, hoher und nidriger, geistlicher und weltlicher, aller Künsten, Handwercken und Händeln* (Frankfurt am Main, 1568). Image: Wikimedia Commons.

FOR ITALY, the so-called 'long seventeenth century' was a period of considerable financial challenges, particularly evident in the book market. As so often in times of crisis, however, the hardships of the day meant individual and communal resourcefulness became essential survival strategies, as is visible in the birth of innovative book and print genres during the same period. The products that came into being thanks to new techniques and formats related text and images within the same publication and were marketed towards an audience spectrum ranging from the learned to the illiterate. These developments, which took place at a time in which considerable growth was visible in the readership for printed products overall, contributed to the expanding professionalization of the job market in many spheres. In turn, this significantly shaped the book and print market in particular by providing the necessary financial support to help both individuals and enterprises thrive in an otherwise challenging environment.

With these seemingly contradictory notions in mind—material constraints on the one hand, and a surge in certain spheres of cultural production on the other—scholars, librarians and museum conservators gathered to consider to what extent such specialisation on the book and print market was influenced by the economic difficulties that characterised the period. Bridging gaps between history of the book, print studies and fields such as literary studies, art history, communication studies, intellectual history, or philosophy, the conference enabled its participants to engage with the burgeoning scholarly debate and interdisciplinary collaboration that continues in the wake of previous ground-breaking publications such as Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), or Febvre and Martin's *L'Apparition du Livre* (1958).

Over the course of the day, particular emphasis was placed on practical aspects of print and book production and their impact on current academic projects and methodologies. The keynote by Angela McShane (Sheffield/ V&A Museum, London) discussed digital cataloguing projects and their value – but also potential risks – in terms of today's access and consumption practices of early modern printed items, presenting the case for an ever-vigilant eye on the close interrelation between objects and their materiality. It perfectly fed into contributions such as that of Liz Miller (V&A), speaking about a collection of prints by the print- and bookseller Antonio Lafreri in Rome, and of Loretta Vandi (Scuola del Libro, Urbino), who examined chap-books printed and sold by the Florentine tipografo Giovanni Baleni. Material features were likewise explored by Floriana Giallombardo (Palermo) in her paper on the Venetian Musei of the naturalist Paolo Boccone.

Several other speakers stressed the great significance of networks in the printing world. Ian Maclean (Oxford) in his key-note lecture on Italian printers and booksellers active on the Frankfurt book fair revealed the ongoing relevance of relations and

routes that often stemmed from the middle ages. Ingeborg van Vugt (Amsterdam/ Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa) similarly centred on the impact and meaning of European intellectual networks, concentrating on the multi-layered nature of the correspondence of the Florentine librarian and erudite Antonio Magliabechi. The simultaneous movement of people, information, and printed items was also investigated by Huub van der Linden (École Française de Rome / University College Roosevelt), who focussed on yet another type of circulation, that of printed ephemera among private amateurs, such as family members amongst whose ranks especially women were well represented. Nina Lamal (St Andrews) investigated the earliest Italian printers of news reports and gazettes through the lens of market strategies. Lamal discussed the particular challenges the early entrepreneurs had to face. These originated both from contemporary financial difficulties in general and from more specific factors related to the introduction of a new genre throughout Italy; innovative contents and networks were developed in response. Another recurring theme was the evolving of markets and audiences: Julia Martins (Warburg Institute, London), in her case study on the use of images in the book of secrets of Isabella Cortese, confirmed the existence of strategies aimed at facilitating readers in their understanding of procedures from the literature of secrets, thus enhancing its accessibility to a more general public. Domenico Ciccarello (Palermo) likewise dealt with the question of the specialization of printers and booksellers within the market place by showing the extremely wide range of printed products they could venture into, as illustrated by examining various printed products from early-modern Sicily employing different combinations of texts and images.

The conference opened with the aim of assessing the role and significance of both cultural and material innovations during a challenging period in Italian print and book production. The papers and discussions helped shed light on the power of the printing press to unite individuals, be they professionals or mere readers, as well as materials and techniques within a single product. Participants thus highlighted the ways in which print functioned as the connective tissue through which ideas and identities circulated, and how the products of the press evolved to meet new demands arising throughout the period. Like the professionals, products, and audiences encountered over the course of the day, a shared history of print products requires collaboration in new and intelligent ways, from a solid interdisciplinary foundation. In this sense, the conference achieved its aim by uncovering the thriving worlds of people and ideas beyond books and prints. Just like the printing process in the past would have made one aware that ‘just’ using good, or reasonable, matrices, ink, and paper was not enough, it has shown that there was, and is, much more than meets the page.

‘More than meets the Page: Printing Text and Images in Italy, 1570s–1700s’, held on 4 March 2017 at the University of Warwick, was organized by Rebecca Carnevali and Gloria Moorman. The conference was sponsored by the Humanities Research Centre, Warwick, with additional financial support from SRS.

Embodiment and New Materialism in Premodern Literature and Culture, 1350–1700

BETHANY JONES

‘SAY I AM TRANSFORM’D, who shall enjoy the Lease?’ are the words of the hapless farmer, Trincalo, when faced with the proposition of being temporarily transformed into a gentleman by a sorcerer. Unconcerned with the social obligations of the agreement or his own gain from the arrangement, Trincalo questions how the proposed transformation will alter his relationship with the world around him, seeing himself as a body within law that is subject to different rules depending on his biopolitical status wrought by the transformation. Far from being simply a farcical comedy, Thomas Tomkis’s play *Albumazar* (c. 1615) raises questions about the ontological status of the individual, materiality, and identity. New Materialism offers an approach and vocabulary that allows these questions to be asked and investigated. Rick Dolphijn and Iris van der Tuin usefully point out that New Materialism, which they describe as a new metaphysics, ‘does not add something to thought […] It rather traverses and thereby rewrites thinking as a whole, leaving nothing untouched, redirecting every possible idea according to its new sense of orientation’. Diana Cole and Samantha Frost offer a similar notion of New Materialism as they describe ‘renewed materialisms’, that is, new perspectives on a rich materialist heritage. Furthermore, they note that new materialists ‘often discern emergent, generative powers (or agentic capacities) even within inorganic matter, and they generally eschew the distinction between the organic and inorganic, or animate and inanimate, at the ontological level’. Thus, by employing New Materialist rhetoric, Trincalo’s question of who shall enjoy the Lease – his Lease? – matters. He is matter, his ontology is bound up in the material world he lives in as either himself or Antonio, and questions of agency, biopolitics, phenomenology, transformation and liminality quickly follow.

With these ideas in mind this conference brought together medievalists and early modernists to explore these often historically delineated areas. The central notion of New Materialism produced a range of exciting and innovative papers which considered the bodies,

surfaces, spaces and 'things' that populate literature and culture in the premodern period. Over the two days, discussions of Tomkis' *Albumazar* were weaved through the papers, with each panel prefaced by a short thematic quotation taken from the stage play. These discrete strands were brought together in a performance workshop of *Albumazar* led by the all-female Rose Company, held in the historic court of Shire Hall within Lancaster Castle.

Papers ranged in topic from the material to immaterial, the hidden to the seen, the spiritual to the corporeal. Jonah Coman (St Andrews), for example, examined emotional interactions with animated sculptures of Christ between the twelfth and seventeenth century. Such sculptures were anatomically exact and used as religious props in worship to depict Christ's suffering and crucifixion. Claire McGann (Lancaster) explored notions of the body as a site of material truth through the spiritual textuality of prophecy, whilst Catherine Evans (Sheffield) discussed temporality in early modern almanacs and how, through their layers of annotation, they allow time to be seen in a topographical sense Jenni Hyde (Lancaster and Liverpool Hope) explored sixteenth-century ballads as 'things' and, after bringing all the delegates together in singing a ballad, questioned whether there is something seditious about singing as an elusive and unstable form of oral dissemination. The plenary by Lisa Hopkins (Sheffield Hallam), used words from Tomkis's play 'Run slow, run slow, ye lobsters of the night' to explore literary and material transformation in *Albumazar*. Hopkins closed by asking the dangerous questions raised by the play in relation to the soul. If there is a soul, where does it come from and how is it possible to be changed without affecting it? Is it possible that 'things' without a soul can be transformed into human?

The conference closed with the SRS-funded Special Panel titled 'An embryo of rare contemplation'. Lucy Munro (KCL) focused on John Marston's *The Insatiate Countess* (1613) and discussed how language interacts with the material world through looking at misprints using the example '[t]he boxe vnto Pandora giuen', which appeared in the text as '[t]he poxe is vnto Panders giuen'. Here, words become matter and a body that is open to (mis)interpretation. Rachel Reid (QUB) explored the objects that represented John Dee's embodied subjectivity, positioning him as a polytemporal figure that could bring the material object 'back to life' and thus reach across time. Clare Egan (Lancaster) further discussed the transformation of status of the subject through the material object of the libel. Libel was to be performed, written and spoken, and the spectator was implicated in the performance by the very action of consenting to listen. Thus, the manner in which libel spread was more important than its contents. Matthew Blaiden (Leeds) examined Shakespeare's masks/masques as structural devices which provided material splendour. The panel ended with a roundtable on the themes and questions raised over the weekend, and on what New Materialism might hold for premodern studies at large. The union of premodernity and New Materialism creates a significant space for medievalists and early modernists to explore the nexus of the material and immaterial, and consider how their own approaches to scholarship might undergo a 'transformation' along the way.

***Epimetheus opening Pandora's box*, by Giulio Bonasone (1531–76). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.**

'Embodiment and New Materialism in Premodern Literature and Culture, 1350-1700' took place at Lancaster University and the Storey Institute on 25-26 February 2017. It was organized by Rachel White, Bethany Jones, Imogen Felstead and Beth Cortese, and received funding from the North West Consortium doctoral training programme, the Department of English and Creative Writing at Lancaster University, and the SRS.

Approaching Inner Lives: Thinking, Feeling, Believing, 1300–1900

JAMES BROWN

Illustration from James Parsons, *Human Physiognomy Explain'd: In the Crounian Lectures on Muscular Motion* (London, 1747). Wellcome Library, London (CC BY 4.0).

IT IS NOW A COMMONPLACE for every discussion of the history of the emotions to start with breathless talk of an 'affective turn', but the overcoming of historians by emotion of various stripes – evidenced by international research centres, a steady stream of monographs and articles, and now emotions-specific book series, journals, textbooks, and readers – is indeed one of the more rapid and eye-catching historiographical developments of recent times. This 'emotional onslaught' (in Erin Sullivan's phrase) has taken various forms, with work ranging from examinations of the emotional norms or feeling rules through which certain kinds of emoting were valorised or disparaged in particular times and places, to the careful reconstruction of period-specific affective vocabularies (or 'emotional lexicons'), to – perhaps most ambitiously and controversially – attempts to engage with the actual feeling states of past actors and to explain their role in subjective experience and historical change. Although the tide is turning (see in particular Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling's 2017 essay collection *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*), historical interactions with the supernatural have yet to be explored in explicitly affective terms. This neglect is surprising, as extraordinary encounters with the unseen world have always evoked peculiarly strong emotions and are thus privileged sites for understanding interiority: from the anger and envy that was said to motivate witches and animated their prosecutions, to the wide-eyed terror that accompanied the materialisation of ghosts and apparitions, to the powerful senses of wonder and hope that attended the deployment of apotropaic ritual magic. Organised by the Leverhulme Trust research project Inner Lives: Emotions, Identity, and the Supernatural, 1300–1900 (https://innerlives.org), this workshop brought together scholars from the disciplines of art history, geography, history, and literary studies to tease out the connections between the otherworldly, emotions, and inner lives across the medieval and early modern periods.

Reflecting the workshop's methodological focus, speakers introduced various textual, material, and visual sources for apprehending and appreciating emotions in a wide range of supernatural contexts, from medieval romance literature to seventeenth-century witch bottles to Victorian coroners' and newspaper reports. For some speakers, the attempt to recover authentic or

CONFERENCE FUNDING

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

To find out more visit:

www.rensoc.org.uk/funding-and-prizes/conference-grants

actually felt emotions from these predominantly discursive survivals is always doomed to fail, as they are always-already mediations of inner states conforming to agreed exterior constructs of interiority (and are therefore generic, rhetorical, and cultural). Matthew Champion (Birkbeck) went furthest in emphasising the interpretatively unassailable role of cultural scripts and 'narrativisation' in his close reading of two printed accounts of witchcraft prosecutions in fifteenth-century Arras, but health warnings about the distorting character of our sources reverberated across all papers, for example in Laura Sangha's (Exeter) discussion of the spiritual diary of seventeenth-century doctor and antiquary Ralph Thoresby, which fashioned a highly stereotyped version of his interior life from the stock languages of Puritan piety.

Other speakers, expressing dissatisfaction with the prevailing emphasis in the history of emotions on discourse and representation – its tendency to confine itself to the reconstruction of collective and intellective 'regimes', 'communities', and so on – were more optimistic about the possibilities for crafting genuine histories from within. They queried why historical feelings are placed in a 'special category of unknowability' (in Charlotte-Rose Millar's [Melbourne] phrase), argued that the overwhelmingly linguistic and constructed character of surviving sources should not be extended to or mistaken for a theory of being in the world, and warned against conflating culture and subjectivity, arguing instead that the former merely supplied the raw materials from which real historical individuals created unique selfhoods. Listening carefully and empathetically for those moments when cultural repertoires were appropriated, modified, and resisted by historical actors, it was argued, offer our best way into their feeling hearts. Laura Kounine (Sussex), for example, applied Carol Gilligan's 'listening guide' to witch trial testimonies from seventeenth-century Germany to show how the accused rejected the labels applied to them by the court and gained control over their own narratives. Through a case study of Joseph Sur, meanwhile, Will Pooley (Bristol) demonstrated how both witch suspects and their prosecutors in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France deftly negotiated an ever-changing legal and psychiatric landscape (especially around ideas of monomania and neurasthenia). Even in a highly cliched genre such as Thoresby's spiritual diary, argued Sangha, it is possible to identify those junctures where the author internalised, deviated from, and otherwise subjectively responded to cultural conventions.

The workshop's interest in subjective experiences of emotion was reflected in the attention given to the body and senses, often short-circuited in cultural and cognitivist approaches rightly suspicious of (in Barbara Rosenwein's phrase) 'hydraulic' models of emotional response. It is now well-known that within the pre-Cartesian medieval and early modern thought worlds affective states were intimately related to physiological dispositions in general and humoral balances in particular, an intellectual history tradition represented at the workshop by Antonia Fitzpatrick (Oxford) and her sophisticated analysis of the role of identity and the separated soul in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. However, we also encountered sensate, feeling bodies, especially in Corinne Saunders's (Durham) exploration of visions and voice-hearing in romances and other medieval texts, which was informed by modern biomedical understandings of voices without external stimuli (or 'auditory verbal hallucinations'). Likewise, Sasha Handley (Manchester) showed how early modern bed linens, prized for their coolness and smoothness, offered comfort and consolation to vulnerable bodies in repose, while the envisioning, slumbering body also surfaced in analyses of early modern and modern dream states by Elizabeth Hunter (Queen Mary) and Shane McCorristine (Independent).

Speakers were also sensitive to the spaces and objects through and with which feeling historical bodies moved and interacted. Karl Bell (Portsmouth) argued that the proliferation of ghost

Illustration from Charles Bell, *The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts* (London, 1844). Wellcome Library, London (CC BY 4.0).

stories within rapidly expanding Victorian cities represented an imaginative 'urban supernatural terrain' that superimposed physical cartography with a powerful alternative source of meaning, memory, and feeling, while McCorristine explored (and interactively mapped) how death-related premonition dreams between 1800 and 1930 were consistently organised around features of industrial landscapes: canals, ponds, towpaths, quarries, railway tracks, and so on. The emotional power of objects, meanwhile, was amply demonstrated in Annie Thwaite's (Cambridge) analysis of the protective capacities of seventeenth-century witch bottles, and again in Handley's discussion of the prophylactic qualities of early modern bedding textiles – focussed on the extraordinary Derwentwater Bedsheet, now in the Museum of London – which protected sleepers from ecological and supernatural threats during a particularly perilous phrase, and could even be transformed into holy relics.

'Approaching Inner Lives', organized by James Brown and Malcolm Gaskill, was held at the University of East Anglia on 28 March 2017, with the generous financial support of the Leverhulme Trust, SRS, the School of History at UEA, and the Royal Historical Society.

The Uses of Euhemerism: An Interdisciplinary Symposium

SYRITHE PUGH

Classical allegory with the arms of the Ochsenfelder, by Virgil Solis, mid-sixteenth century. Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

BRINGING TOGETHER speakers from classics, history, medieval and renaissance literary studies, and religious studies, this conference celebrated the richness and continuity of a tradition stemming from the enigmatic traces of a single lost text. Tim Whitmarsh opened proceedings with a thought-provoking paper reminding us of the generic uncertainties surrounding the *Sacred Inscription*, emphasizing ancient fiction as a literary context, and suggesting that Euhemerus himself may be no more than a fictional persona (the 'good messenger') adopted by some unknown author. The relation between literary fictionality and questions of belief resonated particularly in Samantha Newington's discussion of the borderline between Lucretius' religious scepticism and his rhetorical treatment of the Julian goddess Venus, in Raphael Falco's consideration of the conditions which render a society receptive to the idea of worshipping a charismatic ruler as a god, and in Emma Buckley's paper, which pressed the classical allusions in Ben Jonson's account of James I's coronation procession. Returning to the enigmatic quality of the *Sacred Inscription*, Nickolas Roubekas addressed the methodological complexities involved in speaking of a text whose earliest surviving traces come to us already heavily mediated through much later authors, pressing Euhemerus into the service of their own different agendas, and argued the necessity of taking this reception history into account in defining our use of the term. Among the speakers who responded to this cautionary note were Robert Segal, who weighed up the validity of terming aspects of Frazer's treatment of Dionysos 'euhemeristic', Syrithe Pugh, who traced the reception history of a specific fragment preserved by Lactantius, and Emma Buckley, who coined the term 'Euhemer-ish' to explore the fuzzier edges of the phenomenon.

If Euhemerus places the gods firmly in the mundane context of human history, a continuous feature of the evolving discussion was the placing of euhemerizing texts within their contemporary social and political contexts. Monica Park's consideration of the purpose of Callimachus' references to Euhemerus was grounded in a rich account of the meeting of Egyptian and Greek religious ideas in the political context of Ptolemaic Alexandria. Elizabeth DePalma Digeser argued that, where Lactantius' euhemerism in the *Divine Institutes* is normally seen as confined to his treatments of Greek mythology in Books 1 and 5, the Apocalyptic seventh book should be seen as a redeployment of the same ideas in order to represent Constantine's anticipated rule as the second coming of Christ. Amanda Gerber called attention to the fundamental (though under-

acknowledged) importance of Euhemerism in the Middle Ages, focussing on the ways in which mediaeval scholars sought to represent the real-world geography in which they placed the euhemerized gods for practical pedagogical purposes. Pugh argued for Euhemerism as the fundamental method of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* and republican hostility to the discourse of aristocratic lineage as its unifying motive, and drew attention to the anti-monarchical tendencies accompanying subsequent uses of Euhemerus' Titan myth (revived by Boccaccio from Lactantius) from Caxton to Milton. In a paper grounded in the frequent Early Modern use of the word 'canonization' to translate 'deification' and 'apotheosis', Ethan Guagliardo showed how Euhemerism was used in both Protestant and Catholic polemic in the wake of the Reformation, and explored the implications for the relation of political and supernatural authority in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Denis Feeney added further to this strain, with his closing remarks on the politics of the late Roman republic and nascent principate as the context for a late development of the legend of Romulus' apotheosis.

'The Uses of Euhemerism: An Interdisciplinary Symposium' was held at the University of Aberdeen from 17-18 July 2017. It was organised by Syrithe Pugh and received support from the Scottish branch of SRS.

The Clergy in Early Modern Scotland

CHRIS R. LANGLEY, CATHERINE E. McMILLAN, RUSSELL NEWTON

BRINGING TOGETHER postgraduates, early career researchers and more established scholars, this conference explored the changing, sometime divisive, nature of clergy, their families and beliefs in early modern Scotland. Divided into three chronological strands, speakers explored sixteenth-century parish politics, the unsettling period of the post-Restoration period, and a more thematic look at types of clerical exchange in the final session. A closing roundtable, led by John McCallum (Nottingham Trent) and Steven Reid (Glasgow) completed the conference with an open roundtable discussion.

The conference built on recent interest in grassroots religious change to explore the lived experiences of the clergy in the parish context. Delegates were struck by the interconnected nature of ministers in their parish setting. As one delegate expressed, this context 'gets through the stereotypes and through to the human complexity' of the clergy. The clergy were intimately plugged into their communities - part of wider socio-economic networks with neighbours, patrons and members of the nobility. Ministers were not simply conduits of homogeneous theological ideas. Their individual beliefs were forced to interact with a whole host of parish contexts so that, despite their vaunted status, clerics remained wedded to the peculiar circumstances of their parishes.

Marble sculpture of St Andrew (1491), by Andrea Bregno. Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Clerical relationships could criss-cross regions – opening clerics up to a raft of different influences and friendships. Jamie Reid-Baxter (Glasgow), for example, showed how manuscript poetry, penned by James Melville and others, passed between 'godly' circles in Fife. Relationships between these networks were complex, full of gossip and efforts to cultivate the right image of godliness as Felicity Maxwell (Galway) showed in her fascinating paper on John Durie and Dorothy Moore. These connections were critical in shaping religious observance and the nature of local ministries. As Paul Goatman (Glasgow) showed, some patrons (heritors, in the Scottish context) had long-standing links with particular universities that influenced the types of preacher they sought for their parishes. This approach has important consequences for how Reformation scholars understand factionalism, anticlericalism and religious change. In a Scottish context, appreciating the lived complexity of the ministry raises questions about the labels we so often deploy: from the start of the 'inchoate' and 'chaotic nature of the initial Reformed settlement discussed by Steven Reid to the upheavals of the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Delegates explored the near futility of defining a 'Covenanted' minister in the mid-seventeenth century and the range of opinions ministers could develop when faced with a political or theological challenge. Jamie McDougall (Glasgow) implored listeners to develop ways of assessing 'degrees of conformity' rather than binary distinctions between 'conformist' and 'nonconformist'. Ben Rogers (Edinburgh) and Andrew Muirhead (former President of the Scottish Church History Society) underlined how ministers developed coping mechanisms to deal with potentially thorny issues arising from the religious settlement after 1692.

There is one note of caution, though. The ministry was not the only agent of religious change in this complex system of relationships. As Claire McNulty (QUB) showed, parishioners could also serve to police key aspects of discipline, such as access to the annual communion celebration. John McCallum (Nottingham Trent) illustrated how charitable payments were distributed with the consent of the session. Moreover, as discussion in the closing roundtable suggested, church courts (staffed by lay elders and deacons) could also interact in complex ways with both the presiding minister and other members of the laity. While kirk sessions were meant to augment and extend clerical influence, a minister's agency could be subtly changed by interactions with prominent elders. This layer of interaction is ripe for further discussion.

Overall, this conference enmeshed the minister into his parish. It served to weaken some of the unfortunate stereotypes that have haunted studies of Scottish religiosity while emphasising lesser-appreciated influences: clerical wives, families, neighbours and friends. Ministers were not conduits of change or reformers who came ready-made to implement change. They interacted with, and were moved by, their parish contexts. The conference underlined how we have far more to do to outline the processes of persuasion and negotiation proposed so eloquently by the likes of Margo Todd and Andrew Pettegree.

Facade of the church at King's College, Aberdeen. Engraving by J.H. Le Keux after R.W. Billings. Image: Wellcome Library.

'The Clergy in Early Modern Scotland' was held at New College, University of Edinburgh on 12 May 2017. It was organized by Chris R. Langley (Newman University, Birmingham), Catherine E. McMillan (Edinburgh), and Russell Newton (Edinburgh), and received support from the Scottish branch of SRS, the Royal Historical Society, Newman University and New College.

Society for Neo-Latin Studies Postgraduate Event

SARAH KNIGHT

HEXASTICHON.

GRANDIA belligeri cupiens agnoſcere Martis
Prælia, Lucani carmina culta legat.
Tam bene dira canit violenti facta Gradiui,
Quàm Cicero placidæ nobile pacis opus.
Optanda eſt pax alma viris, Ciceróque legendus:
Sed quoque, qui ſcribit bella, legendus erit.

Ex Libris
Jacobi Laurentij Aman
Sacerdotis Sæcularis.

THEODORVS PVLMANNVS
NICOLAO ROCOCCIO,
CONSVLI ANTVERPIANO,
VIRO CLARISSIMO, S. D.

EXITIALE, & exſecrabile malum Reipublicæ ciuile bellum eſſe, vir clariſſime, omnes omnium ſæculorum hiſtoriæ palàm teſtantur. Eſt enim mare, Ilias, & lerna malorum. Nota eſt Marij, & Sullæ deteſtanda tyrannis. hic nobilitata crudelitate Remp. Romanam oppreſſit, vt nemo, illo inuito, nec bona, nec patriam, nec vitam retinere potuerit: ille ferocitate. Quantam Cæſaris, & Pompeij bellum toti ferè orbi calamitatem attulerit, nemo eſt, qui ignorat, ſi modò primoribus, vt aiunt, labiis veterum ſcriptorum libros deguſtarit. Quid noſtræ ætatis recentem Monaſterienſium factionem, & motum commemorem: qui fame coacti, horrendum, filiorum carne veſcebantur? quid multorum aliorum funeſtam cladem, & cruentam ſtragem? Quid enim? num florentiſſimum Galliæ regnum, inteſtinis odiis, & motus ciuium cæde flagrare tuti, ſecuriq́ue ſpectauimus? Hæc nefanda mala, vt à noſtris ceruicibus Deus Opt. Max. depelleret, pacis amantiſſimos Reip. Antuerpianæ gubernatores dedit, & te intra paucos annos quinctum Conſulem conſtituit: qui omni cogitatione, curaq́ue in eam incumbis: qui totius onus magna ex parte ſuſtines: cuius
A 2 di-

From Lucan's *De bello civili*, edited by Theodor Pulmann (Antwerp, 1592). Image: WikiMedia Commons.

OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, just to take the example of the UK, skills in reading and interpreting early modern Latin texts seem to have become particularly prized. A number of well-funded large-scale research projects have aimed to recruit postgraduate or post-doctoral researchers with strong Latin, which has been specified as a desirable or even essential criterion for appointment. This emphasis on linguistic fluency often dovetails with an expectation of detailed knowledge of the institutional and intellectual cultures in which Latin was dominant. For those interested in early modern Latinity, and in fact for anyone involved in Renaissance Studies, the need to nurture the Latin competence of new generations of scholars is absolutely fundamental. Many Latin texts of the period remain unedited, untranslated and untranscribed in archives, libraries and private collections across the world. To read, understand and make more widely available such culturally valuable works, many future scholars will need to be inspired to discover more; encouraged, once curious, to engage closely with early modern Latinity; and trained in the language as well as in related research skills like palaeography and book history. Given Latin's self-evident formative impact on education, thinking and writing in the period, for students embarking on Renaissance and early modern postgraduate studies there is a strong case to be made for including at least basic Latin classes as a key element of their training. The need to nurture linguistic competence seems even more pressing when fewer British schools and colleges teach Latin (and Greek) in the early twenty-first century, and when access to these languages can be limited or non-existent even at university level. With a few notable institutional exceptions, too, postgraduate researchers specialising in early modern Latin are often relatively isolated: they may be the only ones working on neo-Latin within their Classics, English, History, Modern Languages or Philosophy department, for instance, and may subsequently need to look beyond their own institution to meet others at similar career stages and with related interests.

Bearing all of these circumstances in mind, as the national subject association the Society for Neo-Latin Studies has worked hard over the past several years to support scholars coming into the discipline at postgraduate level. The Society's most recent event organised for postgraduates by Sarah Knight (Leicester) welcomed participants from a range of universities, including Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Fribourg, King's College London and Nottingham. At the first of two research panels, Lucy Nicholas and Sharon van Dijk (both KCL) presented research into the educational and institutional contexts for the inevitably academically mediated, 'second language' of the early modern period. It is an area that continues to develop in thoughtful and stimulating ways, exploring how different kinds of sixteenth-century Latinity contributed to confessional polemics, institutional self-definition, the formation of genre and literary composition more broadly. The second panel included contributions by Jill Woodberry (KCL) and Christophe Bertiau (Cambridge/Université libre de Bruxelles) speaking on (respectively) Mildmay Fane and the Belgian poet and historian Jean Dominique Fuss. The chronological and geographical span of the four papers meant that neo-Latin's development and ramifications could be considered from the start of the sixteenth century – that is, from the early English reformation – right up to the times inhabited by Fuss, an author active in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. 'Neo-Latin' is sometimes used as a synonym for 'Renaissance Latin' or 'Early Modern Latin', but one could argue that the term is as elastic as 'Contemporary Literature' – all new Latin writing, up to that of the present day, could potentially be included.

The next session explored research trajectories, with talks by Yasmin Haskell (Bristol) and Joseph Wallace (Birmingham) on how neo-Latin studies have informed different aspects of their careers. It was refreshing to be able to speak about the often necessarily interdisciplinary aspects of scholars' careers within this field, and these talks by two colleagues working in Classics and in English departments demonstrated how widely neo-Latinists' departmental affiliations can vary, as we have seen. The opportunity to encourage postgraduate specialists to discuss different critical approaches with their peers prompted the organisers to frame the final session of the day as a seminar-style conversation. All participants read three pre-circulated chapters by Peter Burke, Tom Deneire and Françoise Waquet, which led to some lively debate and methodological reflections. The existence of 'Neo-Latin' as a methodologically self-aware discipline is often dated to the 1970s, to the first International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies (1971) and the publication of the first edition of Jozef IJsewijn's *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (1977). As the discipline moves towards its half-century anniversary, then, the debates at this postgraduate event both made it clear how valuably contentious different theoretical and contextual approaches to early modern Latin continue to be, and how scholars relatively new to the field will contribute innovatively and imaginatively to debates over intellectual approach and disciplinary self-definition.

ΣΙΜΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΡΟΔΙΟΥ

Πτερύγιον.

SIMMIÆ RHODII

ALÆ.

Intuere me, qui sum telluris vastithoracis rex, cælumque & mare qui condidi:
Neque horreas si (quum sim tantus) densum & hirsutum fero mentum.
Tunc enim ego natus sum quando visum est necessitati:
Omnia autē obtemperabant [eius] voluntati grauissimæ,
animaliaq; omnia, quæcunque [nunc] peragrant
aeris regionem,
&
Chaos.
Neque vero [sum] Veneris filius:
Pernix tamen ipse Amor nominor:
Neq; n. mihi decreui esse vi ptrahere, sed leniter adduco psuasione.
Tellus i marisque recessus, cælestium etiam quilibet deus mihi cedit.
Ab his ego remoui vetus sceptrum, & constitui ipsis iura.

Theocritus, ***Omnia cum interpretatione latine. Acced. notae et emendatt. Scaligeri, Causaboni, Heinsii in Theocritum. In Bibliopolio Commelin*** **(1603). Image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.**

The Society for Neo-Latin Studies postgraduate event took place in the Birmingham and Midland Institute on 17 March 2017, organized by Sarah Knight. It was generously supported by SRS and the School of Arts at the University of Leicester.

STUDY FELLOWSHIPS

Katherine Fellows

Giovanni Paladino (active late sixteenth century, ca. 1566–72?), bronze copy of a medal struck during the pontificate of Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia). Bequest of Rupert L. Joseph (1959) to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (image reproduced under Creative Commons licence),

WITH THE AID OF A TRAVEL Fellowship from the Society for Renaissance Studies I was able to conduct a three-week research visit to both the Archivio Segreto Vaticana and the Biblioteca Vaticana over the course of October 2016. As a self-funded student, the grant was invaluable in aiding my research abroad, allowing me considerable time to investigate primary source material.

The research conducted in Rome in the papal archives and library supports my doctoral thesis project, which examines the office of the papal Vice-Chancellor. It takes as its case-study Rodrigo Borgia, who was Vice-Chancellor from 1457 until 1492, when he was elected Pope Alexander VI. The office of the Vice-Chancellor has received little scholarly attention, and the same can be said of the thirty-five years Rodrigo held the office. My thesis demonstrates how important the office of the Vice-Chancellor was to the papal curia, whether as head of the Sacred Roman Rota, the highest ecclesiastical court, or as head of a number of Curial colleges, including the College of Abbreviators, which was responsible for abbreviating and collating papal bulls and documents. In addition, the thesis demonstrates how important the thirty-five years Rodrigo spent as Vice-Chancellor were in influencing his own pontificate.

As a result of previous visits to the Archivio Segreto I had a pre-existing list of documents which I needed and was able to work on, the majority being official curial records that permitted a fascinating insight into the workings and language of papal government. My work here was aided by consulting several specialist archivists who pointed to me towards supplementary material in collections such as the records of Castello Sant'Angelo, which proved particularly helpful in providing insights into the early years of Rodrigo's pontificate. Through the grant I was able to spend sufficient time in Rome consulting such documents fully and comparing them with a wide range of documents from across the period. This allowed me to piece together a picture of how Rodrigo utilised his position as Vice-Chancellor, particularly as a leading figure of reform in the curia, a project he continued when pontiff.

Such documents also revealed how pontiffs, in particular Sixtus IV (1471-1484) and Innocent VIII (1484-1492) held both the office of Vice-Chancellor and Rodrigo himself in great esteem. Innocent VIII reportedly claimed that Borgia's period of office was the one that had given the Holy See the best information upon diplomatic and internal affairs in the curia, a result perhaps of Borgia's diplomatic abilities.

Nonetheless, the greatest asset the grant provided was the ability to study in the Biblioteca Apostolica. The library contains numerous manuscripts which provide us with contemporary perspectives on papal conclaves, papal biographies, and curial life. Documents here revealed the names and summations of those cardinals thought *papabile* at each conclave, the overall process where the Vice-Chancellor played an important role as keeper of the papal moulds and stamps. Similarly, the documents, particularly the Conclavi Diversi, revealed the voting patterns of the assembled cardinals, revealing who the most powerful cardinals were in the conclave and how these cardinals went about gathering and securing votes.

Overall, this research trip to the Vatican Archives and Library has significantly aided my doctoral project. An extended stay in Rome based at the British School permitted me to fully engage with primary material on the curia and Rodrigo Borgia, material which has given me a new way of thinking about the Renaissance Papacy and late medieval religion.

Katharine Fellows is a fourth-year DPhil student in History at St Peter's College, Oxford. Her doctoral thesis examines the office of the papal Vice-Chancellor by using Rodrigo Borgia, holder of the office from 1457-1492, as an example. Details of recent conference papers and lectures given by Katharine can be found here: https://oxford.academia.edu/KatharineFellows

Hannah Mazheika

As THE RECIPIENT OF AN SRS Study Fellowship in July 2017 I undertook two weeks of archival research towards my doctoral thesis. The project seeks to reveal the extent to which the religious identity of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was transformed by cultural exchange with Britain in the 1560s-1660s, and draws attention to the continuing influence of the circulation of texts and ideas between Western and Eastern Europe on religious developments in both places. The research replaces nation-based approaches to religious change in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by considering this state as one of the important actors of the Protestant movement during the age of confessionalization. The SRS Fellowship afforded me the opportunity to gather material from archives in Gdańsk and Kraków for the first time in my studies.

During the early modern period Gdańsk was the seat of English agents in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and since 1628 hosted the headquarters of the Eastland Company. The State Archives in Gdańsk hold a vast collection of correspondence to and from the English authorities as well as personal papers of some of the English envoys. In Kraków the Princes Chartoryski Library became

Lithograph (nineteenth-century) of Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny (1515-1565). Image: Wikimedia Commons.

Anonymous portrait (1597) of Katarzyna Ostrogska (1568-1579), mother of Janusz Radziwiłł (1579-1620), oil on canvas. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

the principle institution for my research. Besides the letters of English and Scottish officials and dignitaries, the papers of the Radziwiłł family, kept at the library, allow a crucial sight into the religious policies of the magnates and aspects of their cooperation with the English crown. In addition, the publications produced by the printing office of the Jesuit Academy of Wilno in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reveal that English and Scottish students contributed to the literary culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, while the correspondence of certain British Jesuits discloses other facets of their mission in Eastern Europe as well as their relations with the Polish-Lithuanian government and the Calvinists of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The sources I consulted reveal that in spite of its multi-confessionalism the Grand Duchy of Lithuania gained a Protestant identity at the international level in contra-distinction to Polish monarchial authority, the identity of which was clearly Catholic. They confirm that the activities of the Calvinist members of the Radziwiłł family made Lithuania an active partner in the European Protestant community, challenging the view that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania occupied a peripheral position in the Protestant 'International'.

Hanna Mazheika is a final-year PhD student at the University of Aberdeen. Her thesis is entitled 'From Text to Networks: Confessional Contacts and Textual Exchange between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Britain, ca. 1560s-1660s'.

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