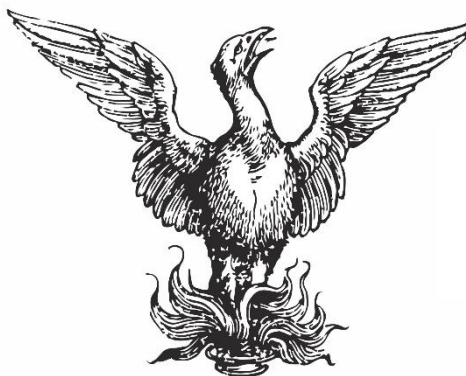


SRS Biennial Conference: Difficult Pasts

Full Programme, with Abstracts



A group of men at right pushing philosophers toward a fire with burning books at the left
Attributed to Marco Dente Italianca. 1515–27. Met Museum



SRS Biennial Conference: Difficult Pasts

19 – 22 July 2023

At-a-Glance Programme

Unless otherwise stated, all sessions will take place in the Student Life Building, Liverpool John Moores University

Publishers' stands are located in the Mezzanine area and the student zone, where tea and coffee will be served during the breaks.

Wednesday 19 July

Time	Event
13.30	<p>Arrival & Registration Desk Opens <i>Coffee & Networking</i> Location: Mezzanine & Student Zone</p>
15.00 – 16.00	<p>Parallel Session 1</p>
	<p>PANEL: Desire, Discord & Gendered Spectatorship (SLB 206) Chair: Maya Corry. Speakers: Diana Bullen Presciutti & Elisabetta Toreno</p>
	<p>PANEL: Time & the Sound of Silence (SLB 207) Chair: Rebecca Bailey. Speakers: Conor Wilcox-Mahon & Jimena Ruiz Marron</p>
	<p>PANEL: Historiography & Periodisation (SLB 208) Chair: Elspeth Graham. Speakers: Duncan Large & Fernando Gomez Herrero</p>
17.00 – 18.00	<p>PANEL: Writing Lives, Writing Lies (SLB 209) Chair: James Whitehead. Speakers: Faith D. Acker & William Thomas Rossiter</p>
	<p>SRS Annual Lecture</p>
18.00 – 19.30	<p>Revolution 101: Renaissance Research in Difficult Presents Speaker: Islam Issa (Birmingham City University) Chair: Jane Grogan (University College Dublin) Location: Maritime Museum, National Museums Liverpool</p>
	<p>SRS Opening Wine Reception Location: Maritime Museum, National Museums Liverpool Sponsored by Wiley, publishers of <i>Renaissance Studies</i></p>

Thursday 20 July

Time	Event
08.30 – 09.30	Registration
09.30 – 10.30	Plenary Lecture
	<p>Visualizing the African Diaspora in Early Modern Spain Speaker: Carmen Fracchia (Birkbeck) Chair: Hannah Murphy (King's College London) Location: Large Lecture Theatre, Redmonds Building, LJMU</p>
10.30 – 11.00	Coffee Break
11.00 – 12.30	Parallel Session 2
	<p>ROUNDTABLE: Exploring the 'Dark Side' of Transculturality (SLB 203) Speakers: Joao Vicente Melo, Haig Z. Smith, & Pablo Hernández Sau</p>
	<p>PANEL: Education, Governorship & Politics (SLB 204) Chair: Johanna Strong. Speakers: Seren Morgan-Roberts, & Rob Runacres</p>
	<p>PANEL: Bodies & Audiences (SLB 205) Chair: Rebecca Bailey. Speakers: Elizabeth Dieterich, Juliana Beykirch, & Patrick Durdel</p>
	<p>HYBRID PANEL: Image, Music, Text (SLB 206) Chair: Richard Wistreich. Speakers: Daniel Bennett Page, Julia Rosemary Smith, & Huw Keene</p>
	<p>PANEL: The Politics of Exclusion & Imagining Barbary (SLB 207) Chair: Catherine Vibert Williams. Speakers: Elizabeth Blakemore, Tom Harrison & Julia Bühner</p>
	<p>PANEL: The Poetry & Poetics of Early Modern Science I (SLB 208) Chair: Sarah C. E. Ross. Speakers: Cassandra Gorman, Masuda Qureshi, & Charlotte Newcombe</p>
	<p>HYBRID PANEL: Overreading (in) the Renaissance (SLB 209) Chair: Jane Rickard. Speakers: Chris Stamatakis, Anthony Ossa-Richardson, & Elizabeth L. Swann</p>
	<p>HYBRID PANEL: The Reuse of the Past(s) in Italian Early Renaissance Literature: Models, Approaches, Perspectives (SLB 210) Chair: David Lines. Speakers: Marta Celati, Iván Parga Ornelas, & Maria Pavlova</p>
	<p>WORKSHOP: Teaching with EEBO: Jisc Historical Texts (SLB 211) Leaders: Jerome de Groot, Fred Schurink, Rachel Willie, Imani Khaled, & John Gallagher</p>
<p>PANEL: Deafness in Early Modern Europe (SLB 304) Chair: Hannah Murphy. Speakers: Angelo Lo Conte, Rosamund Oates, & Ruben Verwaal</p>	
12.30 – 14.00	Lunch <i>Own Arrangements</i>

Time	Event
12.30 – 13.00 <i>(Thursday 20 July continued)</i>	Historical Fencing Display Rob Runacres & Keith Farrell Location: SLB / GZ3 Learning Commons, Student Life Building, LJMU
14.00 – 16.00	<p style="text-align: center;">Parallel Session 3</p> <p>EXHIBITION TALK & TOUR: From the Wreck: Poetry & Porcelain (SLB 201; Moves to Liverpool World Museum, World Cultures Gallery) Speakers: Lauren Working and Sarah Howe</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: On the Road Again: Travels, Travails, & Transformation (SLB 203) Chair: Jane Grogan. Speakers: Bill Angus, Eric Dunnum, Sharon Emmerichs, & Laurie Johnson</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Curating Archives (SLB 204) Chair: Helen Wilcox. Speakers: Harry Spillane, Alison Searle, Angela Andreani, & Jane Lawson</p> <p>ROUNDTABLE: Representing Difficult Pasts Through Critical Storytelling & Public History (SLB 205) Chair: Fabrizio Nevola. Speakers: David Rosenthal, Tarnya Cooper & Louis Morris</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Bodies & Environment (SLB 206) Chair: Douglas Clark. Speakers: Catherine Evans, Tamsin Badcoe, Emily Naish, & Christina F. Kolas</p> <p>ONLINE PANEL: Music & Visual Culture 1500-1700: Interactions, Inspirations, Conflicts I (SLB 207) Chair: Tim Sheppard. Speakers: Jason Rosenholtz-Witt, Linda Austern, & Frima Fox-Hofrichter</p> <p>PANEL: The Poetry & Poetics of Early Modern Science II (SLB 208) Chair: . Speakers: Namratha Rao, Kevin Killeen, & Ivana Bičak</p> <p>SEMINAR: Early Modern Queer & Trans Studies: Methodologies, Questions, Politics (SLB 209) Leaders: Kate Chedgzoy & Kit Heyam. Participants: Hes Bradley, Maya Corry, Jerome De Groot, Huw Griffiths, Beth Harper, Ezra Horbury, Kaye McLelland, ' Harriet Scanlon. Respondent: Danielle Clarke</p> <p>PANEL: Rethinking Ancient History in Early Modern Europe: Close & Distant Readings (SLB 210) Chair: David Rundle. Speakers: Fred Schurink, Edward Paleit, & Noreen Humble</p> <p>PANEL: Diplomacy & Epistolary Authority (SLB 211) Chair: Elisabetta Toreno. Speakers: Helen Newsome & Mel Evans</p> <p>ROUNDTABLE: Donne's Difficult Pasts (SLB 304) Chair: Mary Ann Lund. Speakers: Mary Morrissey, Erica Longfellow, & Emma Rhatigan</p>

Time	Event
16.00-16.30	Coffee Break
(Thursday 20 July, continued)	Parallel Session 4
	<p>PANEL: Humanism & Political-Religious Conflicts: Some European Cases Between the Fifteenth & Sixteenth Centuries (SLB 203) Chair: William Thomas Rossiter. Speakers: Barbara Baldi, Simona Iaria, & Paolo Sartori</p> <p>PANEL: Idea(l)s of Europe in Early Modern Literature (SLB 204) Chair: Louise Wilson. Speakers: Francesca Barbera Kipreos, Anton Bruder, & Lieke Stelling</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Making & Unmaking Early Modern Women (SLB 205) Chair: Johanna Strong. Speakers: Valerie Schutte, Elizabeth Leemann, & Katherine Acheson</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Writing Nation, Writing Colonialism (SLB 206) Chair: Rebecca Smith. Speakers: Lorna MacBean & Jessica Reid, Andrew Hadfield, & Emily Rowe</p>
16.30 – 18.00	<p>PANEL: Music & Visual Culture 1500-1700: Interactions, Inspirations, Conflicts II (SLB 207) Chair: Tim Sheppard. Speakers: Samantha Chang, Eleanor Chan, & Hannah Yip</p> <p>PANEL: Blackness (SLB 208) Chair: Iman Sheeha. Speakers: Anna Reynolds, William Green, & Bailey Sincox</p> <p>PANEL: The Practicalities of Mobility in Early Modern Europe (SLB 209) Chair: Natalya Din-Kariuki. Speakers: Hanna de Lange, Sandra Toffolo, & Joanne Anderson</p> <p>PANEL: Topography & Memory in Text & Performance (SLB 211) Chair: Kirsty Rolfe. Speakers: Abigail Shinn, Archie Cornish, & Jennifer Allport Reid</p> <p>PANEL: Access, Locality, & Community in the Early Modern Library (SLB 304) Chair: Jerome de Groot. Speakers: John-Mark Philo, Tom Roebuck, & Sophie Butler</p>
18.00	<p>Conference BBQ <i>Non-Alcoholic Drinks Will Be Served</i> Location: outside and Student Zone</p>



The Skeletons, a group of emaciated men and women gathered around a skeleton laid on the ground and a figure of Death as a winged skeleton standing above it holding an open book. Marco Dente after Baccio Bandinelli, 1515-27. Met Museum

Friday 21 July

Time	Event
09.00 – 09.30	Registration
09.30 – 10.30	Plenary Lecture
	<p>A Difficult but not an Obvious Past: Merchants, Christians & African Kings Speaker: Herman L. Bennett (City University of New York) Chair: Richard Wistreich (Royal College of Music) Location: Large Lecture Theatre, Redmonds Building, LJMU Sponsored by the Renaissance Society of America</p>
10.30 – 11.00	Coffee Break
11.00 – 12.30	Parallel Session 5
	<p>PANEL: Mobility & Migration (SLB 203) Chair: Mark Williams. Speakers: Nuno Vila-Santa, Kathleen Commons, & Hana Ferencová</p>
	<p>PANEL: The Limits of Human Agency (SLB 204) Chair: Catherine Vibert Williams. Speakers: Lisa Kattenberg, Beatriz Marin-Aguilera, & Carlo Scapecchi</p>
	<p>PANEL: Blood, Ritual, & Sacrifice (SLB 205) Chair: Katherine Acheson. Speakers: Kathleen Foy, Judy Hefferan, & Elizabeth Kate Harper</p>
	<p>PANEL: Discovering the Past: Artists, Artisans, & their Artworks (SLB 206) Chair: Elisabetta Torenò. Speakers: Ariela Shimshon, Bar Leshem, & Daniel M. Unger</p>
	<p>HYBRID PANEL: Difficult Studies (SLB 207) Chair: Katherine Hunt. Speakers: Irina Chernetsky, Carlos Fernando Teixeira Alves, & Husain Akbari</p>
	<p>PANEL: Legacies of Plague (SLB 208) Chair: Rosamund Oates. Speakers: Alexandra Bamji, Rachel Anderson, & Marina Inì</p>
	<p>HYBRID PANEL: Knowledge & Translation (SLB 209) Chair: Kevin Killeenn. Speakers: Cecilia Muratori, Masuda Qureshi, & Laurie Atkinson</p>
	<p>PANEL: Woeful Pasts, Woeful Presents in Early Modern Women's Complaint Poetry (SLB 211) Chair: Paul Salzman. Speakers: Sarah C. E. Ross, Rosalind Smith, & Michelle O'Callaghan</p>
<p>HYBRID ROUNDTABLE: Travel, Identity, & Race in Early Modern England, 1550-1700 (SLB 304) Chair: Nandini Das. Speakers: Natalya Din-Kariuki, Derek Dunne, John Gallagher, & Iman Sheeha</p>	
12.30 – 14.30	<p style="text-align: center;">Lunch <i>Own Arrangements</i></p>

Time	Event
<p><i>(Friday 21 July, continued)</i></p> <p>12.45 – 14.15</p>	<p align="center">Publishing Workshop & Lunch for Early Career Academics <i>Pre-Registration Required</i></p> <hr/> <p>Introduction: Rachel Willie Leaders: Matthew Frost, Jennifer Richards, & David Rundle Location: Public Exhibition Space, John Lennon School of Art & Design Building, LJMU. Sponsored by the Research Institute for Literature & Cultural History, LJMU</p>
<p>14.30 – 16.00</p>	<p align="center">Parallel Session 6</p> <hr/> <p>PANEL: Reception, Circulation, & Anti-Catholicism (SLB 203) Chair: Jerome de Groot. Speakers: Joseph Ashmore, Chi-fang Sophia Li & Charlotte McCallum</p> <p>PANEL: Mental Health & Disordered Bodies (SLB 204) Chair: Rosamund Oates. Speakers: Avi Mendelson, Matthew Williamson, & Sarah Kathleen Hitchen</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Materiality & Subjugation (SLB 205) Chair: tbc. Speakers: Imani Khaled, Stefan Hanß, & Marcelo José Cabarcas Ortega</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Classical Difficulties (SLB 206) Chair: Simona Iaria. Speakers: Philip Goldfarb Styrt, Vanessa Lim, & Petros Fokianos</p> <p>HYBRID ROUNDTABLE: Practice as Research, Across the Disciplines (SLB 207) Speakers: Eleanor Chan, Marieke Hendriksen, Katherine Hunt, & Marissa Nicosia</p> <p>PANEL: Regulating Plaguey Bodies (SLB 208) Chair: Alexandra Bamji. Speakers: Brigette De Poi, Claire Turner, & Marie-Louise Leonard</p> <p>PANEL: Civic Space, Inclusion, & Exclusion (SLB 209) Chair: Sandra Toffolo. Speakers: Giovanna Guidicini, Louise Wilson, & Bram van Leuveren</p> <p>PANEL: Difficult Words (SLB 210) Chair: Natalya Din-Kariuki. Speakers: Annie Khabaza, Thomas Matthew Vozar, & Rob Wakeman</p> <p>PANEL: Representation & Omission (SLB 211) Chair: Laurence Publicover. Speakers: Emily Stevenson, Charles Cathcart, & Rachel Stenner</p> <p>PANEL: Martial Matters (SLB 304) Chair: Richard Meek. Speakers: Samantha Nelson, Ruth Canning, & Sarah Bernhardt</p>

Time	Event
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee Break
(Friday 21 July, continued)	Plenary Roundtable: Curating a Difficult Past: Transatlantic Slavery Speakers: Richard Benjamin (Liverpool and ISM); Corinne Fowler (Leicester); Laura Sandy (Liverpool); Miles Greenwood (Glasgow Museums); & Pedro Cardim (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)
16.30 – 18.00	Location: Large Lecture Theatre, Redmonds Building, LJMU. Sponsored by the Liverpool Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of Liverpool
18.00 – 20.00	'Fringe' Reception: Book Launches (SLB Mezzanine Area) Elizabeth Scott-Beumann, Danielle Clarke, Sarah C. E. Ross, <i>The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English, 1540-1700</i> Nandini Das, <i>Courting India: England, Mughal India and the Origins of Empire</i> Diana Bullen Presciutti, <i>Saints, Miracles, and Social Problems in Italian Renaissance Art</i> Richard Meek, <i>Sympathy in Early Modern Literature and Culture</i> Paul Salzman, <i>Facsimiles and the History of Shakespeare Editing</i>

Saturday 22 July

Time	Event
08.30 – 09.00	Registration
	Parallel Session 7
	PANEL: Documenting Trauma and the Politics of Amnesia (SLB 204) Chair: Rachel Willie. Speakers: Naomi McAreavey, Sonja Kleij, & John West
	HYBRID PANEL: Human & Non-Human Materialities (SLB 205) Chair: Catherine Evans. Speakers: Laurence Publicover, Silvia Cinnella Della Porta, & Sarah Bendall
	HYBRID PANEL: Queenship, Empire & Trade (SLB 206) Chair: Nandini Das. Speakers: Lubaaba Al-Azami, Emily Soon, & Amy Saunders
09.00 – 10.30	PANEL: Framing Early Modern English Writing (SLB 207) Chair: Michelle O'Callaghan. Speakers: Richard Danson Brown, Jane Rickard, & Paul Salzman
	PANEL: Embodied Agony (SLB 208) Chair: Richard Wistreich. Speakers: Giovan Battista Fidanza, Kethlen Santini Rodrigues, & Catherine Vibert Williams

Time	Event
<p><i>(Saturday 22 July, 09.00-10.30, Continued)</i></p>	<p>PANEL: Centring the Renaissance: Perceptions from the 'Peripheries' (SLB 209) Chair: William Thomas Rossiter. Speakers: Luka Špoljarić, David Rundle, & Hester Schadee</p> <p>PANEL: Manipulating History (SLB 211) Chair: Joseph Ashmore. Speakers: Jiamiao Chen, Johanna Strong, & Kelly McRae</p> <p>PANEL: Religion & Popular Song in Early Modern Britain (SLB 304) Chair: Rosamund Oates. Speakers: Anne Heminger, Katherine Butler, & Angela McShane</p>
<p>10.30 – 11.00</p>	<p>Coffee Break</p>
<p>11.00 – 12.30</p>	<p>Parallel Session 8</p> <p>PANEL: Monuments, Patronage, & Portraiture (SLB 205) Chair: Julia Rosemary Smith. Speakers: Izabela Mai, Moe Furukawa, & Wouter Wagemakers</p> <p>HYBRID PANEL: Towards a Global History of Musics in the Early Modern Era (SLB 206) Chair: Katherine Butler. Speakers: Janie Cole, Richard Wistreich, & David R. M. Irving</p> <p>ROUNDTABLE: The Difficult History of Richard Norwood: The Travails of a Seventeenth-Century Traveller & his Editors (SLB 207) Chair: Alison Searle. Speakers: Eva Johanna Holmberg, Sara Norja, & Kirsty Rolfe</p> <p>PANEL: Augmenting the Anglophone Archive: New Perspectives from Irish Bardic Poetry ca. 1541 - ca. 1660 (SLB 208) Chair: Deaglán Ó Donghaile. Speakers: Evan Bourke, Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh, & Philip Mac a' Ghoill</p> <p>PANEL: War & Peace: English Texts & European Contexts in the Sixteenth Century (SLB 209) Chair: Sonja Kleij. Speakers: Neil Rhodes, Jane Grogan, & Andrew Murphy</p> <p>PANEL: Materialising Memory: Visual Cultures of Remembering & Forgetting in Early Modern Britain (SLB 304) Chair: Angela McShane. Speakers: Megan Shaw, Catriona Murray, & Sarah Hutcheson</p>
<p>12.30 – 14.00</p>	<p>Lunch <i>Own Arrangements</i></p>
<p>13.00 – 14.00</p>	<p>Walking Tour of Liverpool <i>Pre-Registration Required</i></p>

Time	Event
	Plenary Lecture
14.00 – 15.00	After MACMORRIS, or why can't we still say Aoife Speaker: Patricia Palmer (Maynooth) Chair: Andrew Hadfield (Sussex) Location: SLB 208-209
15.00 – 15.15	Quick Break
15.15 – 16.15	SRS Annual General Meeting (SLB 208)
15.30 – 16.30	Walking Tour of Liverpool <i>Pre-Registration Required</i>



The Battle about Money. Pieter van der Heyden, after Pieter Bruegel the Elder Netherlandish. Publisher Aux Quatre Vents. after 1570. Met Museum.

Abstracts

Contents

Wednesday 19 July 2023	13
Parallel Session 1	13
Panel: Desire, Discord and Gendered Spectatorship	13
Panel: Time and the Sound of Silence	13
Panel: Historiography and Periodisation	14
Panel: Writing Lives, Writing Lies	15
Thursday 20 July, 2023	16
Parallel Session 2	16
Roundtable: Exploring the 'dark side' of transculturality	16
Panel: Education, Governorship and Politics	16
Panel: Bodies and Audiences.....	17
Panel: Image, Music, Text	18
Panel: The Politics of Exclusion and Imagining Barbary	19
Panel: The Poetry and Poetics of Early Modern Science I.....	20
Panel: Overreading (in) the Renaissance.....	22
Panel: The Reuse of the Past(s) in Italian Early Renaissance Literature: Models, Approaches, Perspectives.....	23
Workshop: Teaching with EEBO: Jisc Historical Texts.....	24
Panel: Deafness in Early Modern Europe	24
Parallel Session 3	25
Workshop: From the Wreck: Poetry and Porcelain Exhibition Tour.....	25
Panel: On the Road Again: Travels, Travails, and Transformation	26
Panel: Curating Archives.....	27
Representing difficult pasts through critical storytelling and public history.....	28
Panel: Bodies and Environment	29
Panel: Music and Visual Culture 1500-1700: Interactions, Inspirations, Conflicts I.....	30
Panel: The Poetry and Poetics of Early Modern Science II.....	31
Seminar: Early Modern Queer and Trans Studies: Methodologies, Questions, Politics	32
Panel: Rethinking Ancient History in Early Modern Europe: Close and Distant Readings.	33
Panel: Diplomacy and Epistolary Authority	34
Roundtable: Donne's Difficult PastS	35

Parallel Session 4	36
Panel: Humanism and Political-Religious Conflicts: Some European Cases Between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.....	36
Panel: Idea(l)s of Europe in Early Modern Literature	37
Panel: Making and Unmaking Early Modern Women	38
Panel: Writing Nation, Writing Colonialism.....	39
Panel: Music and Visual Culture 1500-1700: Interactions, Inspirations, Conflicts II.....	40
Panel: Blackness	41
Panel: The Practicalities of Mobility in Early Modern Europe.....	42
Panel: Topography and Memory in Text and Performance.....	43
Panel: Access, Locality, and Community in the Early Modern Library	44
Friday 21 July, 2023	45
Parallel Session 5	45
Panel: Mobility and Migration	45
Panel: The Limits of Human Agency	46
Panel: Blood, Ritual and Sacrifice.....	48
Panel: Discovering the Past: Artists, Artisans, and their Artworks.....	49
Panel: Difficult Studies.....	50
Panel: Legacies of Plague	51
Panel: Knowledge and Translation	52
Panel: Woeful Pasts, Woeful Presents in Early Modern Women's Complaint Poetry.....	53
Roundtable: Travel, Identity, and Race in Early Modern England, 1550-1700	54
Parallel Session 6	55
Panel: Reception, Circulation, and Anti-Catholicism	55
Panel: Mental Health and Disordered Bodies	56
Panel: Materiality and Subjugation	57
Panel: Classical Difficulties	58
Roundtable: Practice as research, across the disciplines.....	59
Panel: Regulating Plaguey Bodies	60
Panel: Civic Space, Inclusion and Exclusion	61
Panel: Difficult Words	62
Panel: Representation and Omission	63
Panel: Martial Matters	64
Plenary Roundtable: Curating a Difficult Past: Transatlantic Slavery	65

Saturday 22 July, 2023	65
Parallel Session 7	65
Panel: Documenting Trauma and the Politics of Amnesia	65
Panel: Human and Non-Human Materialities	66
Panel: Queenship, Empire and Trade	68
Panel: Framing Early Modern English Writing	69
Panel: Embodied Agony	70
Panel: Centring the Renaissance: Perceptions from the 'Peripheries'	71
Panel: Manipulating History	72
Panel: Religion and Popular Song in Early Modern Britain	73
Parallel Session 8	74
Panel: Monuments, Patronage and Portraiture	74
Panel: Towards a Global History of Musics in the Early Modern Era	75
Roundtable: The Difficult History of Richard Norwood: The Travails of a Seventeenth-Century Traveller and his Editors	76
Panel: Augmenting the Anglophone Archive: New Perspectives from Irish Bardic Poetry ca. 1541 - ca. 1660	77
Panel: War and Peace: English Texts and European Contexts in the Sixteenth Century ...	78
Panel: Materialising Memory: Visual Cultures of Remembering and Forgetting in Early Modern Britain	79

Wednesday 19, July 2023

Parallel Session 1

Panel: Desire, Discord and Gendered Spectatorship

Diana Bullen Presciutti (Essex), Trouble in Paradise: Picturing Marital Discord in Printed Marian Miracle Collections

This paper explores Renaissance Italian conceptions of the causes of and solutions to the social problem of marital discord, taking the late fifteenth-century illustrated printed editions of the *Miracoli della Vergine Maria* as a case study. A number of the miracles described in the collection centre on the role of the Devil as instigator of problems between husbands and wives. For example: in one, the Devil tells a husband that his wife has been unfaithful, and he responds violently; in another, the Devil convinces a wife that neglecting her uxorial duties would be a sign of virtue and devotion to God. While the *Miracoli della Vergine Maria* had been in circulation for some time in both manuscript and print formats, it was only in the 1490s that woodblock illustrations began to appear in widely circulated print editions. Through a close examination of the lavishly illustrated 1500 Florentine edition of the *Miracoli*, this paper elucidates how text and image worked together to shape perceptions of both threats to marital stability and the role of the Virgin Mary as problem-solver.

Elisabetta Toreno (OU), Seeing-in and Seeing-as Women in Netherlandish Donor Triptychs

This paper contributes to theories of the apprehension of paintings, whilst assessing the representation of women in fifteenth-century Netherlandish devotional triptychs. These objects' standard iconographies include venerated images in the central panels, and the male and female donors respectively on the left and right flanks. Intersectional studies have discussed their disguised male interests because the commissions are almost exclusively male, and they seemingly show the patriarchal gender dynamics that governed people's lives. Patriarchy is an androcentric system, whereby women are biologically, socially, and legally disenfranchised for an all-male distribution of powers. However, women were reportedly most invested in the spiritual calls for which these paintings furnished the meditative reminder. This paper analyses their painted presence and gendered spectatorship, for which it turns to the distinction: seeing-*in* and seeing-*as*. Originally concerning perceptual conditions – Wollheim, Wittgenstein – in my recent book on fifteenth-century Netherlandish and Italian female portraiture, I reimagined this distinction phenomenologically, with results that include women's active role in the imaging process and the early instances of a pro-women ideology. This paper furthers the argument.

Panel: Time and the Sound of Silence

Conor Wilcox-Mahon, Chronographiae in Mary Wroth's Urania

This paper will ask how Mary Wroth's prose romance *Urania* (1621) manages its narrative form. '[E]xtraordinarily long-winded and awkward' according to Sidney Lee at the end of the 19th century, *Urania* has since been re-assessed in ways which have tended to elide a sense of temporal progression, overlooking how episodes are knitted together and to what effect. I will examine the length and organisation of *Urania* as a fiction which achieves particular effects through its size and the complexity of its plot. The virtue of constancy, particularly, can only emerge as such an essential theme in Wroth's writing when lengths of time are made

felt, and the placement of *Pamphilia* to *Amphilanthus* at the end of *Urania* in 1621 invites investigation into the resources of prose narrative to convey various temporal impressions compared to lyric. Accordingly, I will focus here on chronographiae, descriptions of passing time which range from the ornate to the quotidian. Chronographiae are essential, if often unremarked, features of any narrative; but for a narrative as digressive and intricate as Wroth's, they can tell us vital things about how the temporal texture of *Urania* holds together, and how that texture relates to readerly and lived-historical time.

Jimena Ruiz Marron (York), 'Free from Tumult and Discontent': Silence and Noise in Margaret Cavendish and Katherine Philips's Poetry

Renaissance scholarship has long examined the relationship between music and poetry and provided a rich understanding of the intellectual history of music. In recent years, this has been supplemented by innovations in the study of 'soundscapes'. However, these works have failed to address how women engaged with philosophy and theories of sound, including noise and silence. This paper discusses silence in Margaret Cavendish's *Poems, and Fancies* (1653), and Katherine Phillips' *Poems* (1667) and considers how women conceptualized environmental silence beyond being silent themselves. Developing the work of scholars such as Christina Luckyj, and Alain Corbin, this paper asks how women thought about, and with, silence, and explores its imaginative role in their poetry. Cavendish and Phillips' work shows that human and environmental silence is represented as non-disruptive and communicates feelings of tranquillity, peace, and melancholy, which in some cases, offers a shelter from the noise of war.

Panel: Historiography and Periodisation

Duncan Large (UEA), Nietzsche and the Renaissance

Before he broke with his mentor Richard Wagner, Friedrich Nietzsche was heavily influenced by the latter's denigration of the historical Renaissance period and looked to Wagner himself as the true 'rebirth' of classical ideals. This evaluation changed rapidly in the mid-1870s: in *Human, All Too Human* (1878) Nietzsche calls the Renaissance 'the golden age of this millennium', and over the remaining decade of his philosophical career he continues to show a fascination with the possibilities of human achievement which emerged during this extraordinary period in European cultural history. In this respect Nietzsche undoubtedly came under the formative influence of his Basel colleague Jacob Burckhardt, but his rivalry with the mentor whom he describes in a late letter as 'our greatest teacher' leads him to contest Burckhardt's conception of the Renaissance, too. The aim of this paper, then, is not just to situate Nietzsche's Renaissance 'between Wagner and Burckhardt', but rather to demonstrate the extent to which Nietzsche's Renaissance achieves an integrity of its own. He considers the Renaissance to be not so much a collective phenomenon as a period marked above all by the rebirth of humanist individualism; hence his interest in and identification with certain exemplary individuals in various fields of cultural endeavour. In addition to analysing Nietzsche's malleable conception of the Renaissance, I will focus on the way in which his philosophical methodology relies on notions of exemplarity and representativity which owe a significant debt to the American philosopher R.W. Emerson.

Fernando Gomez Herrero (Manchester), The Small Matter of the Baroque in the Anglo Zone

This paper wants to say a few things about the awkward association of Britain and the Baroque in relation to literature, the arts and also the social sciences. Baroque remains a miss-

ing and a depreciated category of seventeenth-century English scholarship in relation to its own sense of 'self,' 'being' or even 'national identity'. Why is the Baroque not a self-descriptor of an interconnected Anglophone world? There is a certain indifference towards the usefulness of the nomenclature of the Baroque for historical matters that must concern an expansive and interconnected world.

Anglophone circles typically privilege other timespaces for inspiration or self-definition (artistic fields may be the exception as long as they do not link up in interdisciplinary fashion with history, politics, economics, international law, etc.). How big is the Baroque in 'the Empires of the Atlantic World'? What does that do for Spanish-speaking cultures of scholarship that have insisted on the (post)colonial at least since the 1980s? I synthesise achievements and dilemmas informing the scholarship, map some of the institutions involved (Spanish state, universities, museums), the implications for art and the humanities in university courses, but also national self-definitions in relation to the Baroque. Is it still not British? Is the Anglo Zone still out of it? Will the U.S. approach be very different? What historical landscape do we see out there in humanities and social-science courses and classrooms? Still a Weberian reading of the historical narrative?

Panel: Writing Lives, Writing Lies

Faith D. Acker (Signum), Battels and Breadloaves: Rhyme and Responsibility in an Early Modern Oxford Buttery

'Honest Owen,' a butler of Christ Church commemorated in 3.5 17th century satirical epitaphs, has largely come across—when he has been noticed at all—as a stock servant, humorously depicted as a college servant who may have been a little stingy with certain buttery visitors and who secretly smuggled college goods to his Welsh friends. Yet Owen's role within the Christ Church community was more complex and significant than these verses suggest. Where the poems seem to reflect a 'difficult past' in which butlers and other servants were lesser figures within the university communities, archival records from Oxford University demonstrate that Owen's 26 years of service to the Christ Church community, and related status within the university and town, afforded him a life of relative comfort and social stability. This paper reads the anecdotes and adjectives used to satirize and commemorate Owen in light of his recorded responsibilities and financial acumen, arguing that many concerns about early modern social class expressed in contemporaneous prose and drama were played out in Owen's life and, in fact, somewhat justifiable in light of Owen's story.

William Thomas Rossiter (UEA), A Tissue of Lies? Pietro Aretino and the Post-Truth Biography

Pietro Aretino's pasts are difficult by virtue of their plurality. His competing histories – some true, some confected by himself, some by his contemporaries, adversaries, and mythologers – frequently blur and overlap. As a result, Aretino's previous biographers, and his critics, have spent a lot of time and ink separating the wheat from the chaff, distinguishing fact from fiction. Yet this presupposes a model of life-writing whereby only truth is viable as a matter of historical record. Indeed, recent critical studies (by Andrew Hadfield and Steven Shapin, for example) have illustrated the historical value of untruths. In this paper I argue that the falsehoods that litter Aretino's histories — again in the plural — are entirely essential to any understanding of his life, death, historical moment, and critical afterlives. I propose a model of biography that operates on a simple, singular principle: that lies have historical

coordinates no less exactly than facts, and to privilege the latter is to produce a misrepresentation. Beginning with a painting of Dante and Beatrice in Liverpool's Walker Art Gallery that relies upon historicized untruth, I will illustrate the benefits and difficulties of writing a biography that keeps the lies in, and in fact depends on them.

Thursday 20 July, 2023

Parallel Session 2

Roundtable: Exploring the 'dark side' of transculturality

Joao Vicente Melo (Universidad Pablo de Olavide), Haig Z. Smith (University of Manchester), Pablo Hernández Sau (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

The global turn which has influenced different historical and literary disciplines during the last two decades exposed how different early modern local or regional realities were often interconnected and interacted with different parts of the planet. The emergence and popularity of terms such as transculturality, transimperialism, transnationalism or even 'Global Renaissance' seek to encapsulate the intense circulation and transfer of goods, people, and ideas facilitated by new trade and maritime routes, as well as its impact in consumption habits, artistic expressions literary production, or belief systems. The interest in cases of transculturality, cultural hybridity and cultural brokerage has also contributed to the production of narratives of early modern cosmopolitanism which tend to view in a relatively positivist light (and revisionist or nationalist overtones) these processes of early modern exchange, often neglecting or downplaying the uneven power relations, xenophobic strains or confessional confrontations in which they occurred. By presenting and discussing cases studies involving different interactions between Europeans and local political, commercial, scholarly and religious actors in Asia, Africa, the Americas and the Mediterranean, this roundtable aims to define more accurately the ways through which early modern transcultural experiences were often enhanced by strategies of social control, political violence, cultural suppression, or ethnic segregation.

Panel: Education, Governorship and Politics

*Seren Morgan-Roberts (Manchester), Transnationalising Early Modern Kingship: James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron* and Continental European Political Thought*

This paper will offer a brief outline of my PhD thesis, which explores the political implications and cultural impact of James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron* on continental ideas of monarchy. I assess this through an analysis of the various translations and publications of the text in Britain and on the continent. I look at how the text is repackaged and transformed for different audiences and different cultural and political climates. In my second year, I am working on a chapter exploring the Latin translation of 1604, which was the most popular and widely read version of the text on the continent. During my paper, I will outline my findings and offer examples of how the Latin *Basilikon Doron* was recontextualised for a continental audience. This includes looking at the changing paratextual elements such as the title page and prefatory materials and what these might tell us about its reception and the wider cultural exchange between Britain and the continent. Looking at the way *Basilikon Doron* was spread and transformed across the continent will allow me to explore the potential cultural significance of the text and demonstrate its influence on early modern concepts of absolute monarchy and divine kingship.

Rob Runacres (Winchester), Louis XIII: Warrior in Training or Sickly Student? The Martial Education of a Boy King

Historians have often viewed Louis XIII's education as a failure. His temperament, speech defects, poor governorship and an apparently abusive relationship with his father have been considered as contributing to Louis being a poor student and ultimately a weak monarch, dominated by favourites and family members. However, from a young age, Louis had ambitions to be a warrior king and threw himself into his martial training; even his critics admitted he was a fine horseman and brave in the face of battle. This paper examines Louis' education in light of the turbulent years of his youth: the assassination of his father; the threats to his own life, and the regency of his mother, Marie de Medici. It will argue that, despite the pressures Louis experienced, he received a reasonably full, if often interrupted, education. It will also argue that a major part of his education, his martial training, has been overlooked and that Louis received a broader education that contemporaries may have considered vital for his reign. This paper will draw on sources such as the journal of Louis' physician, Jean Héroard, as well as contemporary authors who attempted to define what a prince should learn in order to fulfil their future role as king.

Panel: Bodies and Audiences

Elizabeth Dieterich (Carnegie Mellon), Fat Actors and Fakes: Natural and Prosthetic Bodies on the Early Modern Stage

This paper will examine natural and constructed fat bodies performing on the Renaissance English stage. These playhouses were visceral spaces full of intermingling spectators from diverse backgrounds and thus sites of danger and excitement for the minds and the bodies of early modern audiences. Similarly, the malleability of actors' bodies onstage was subversive; they could be disguised by costumes, makeup, and prosthetics enabling them to cross boundaries of gender, age, race, class, and, as I will discuss, size. Scholarly treatments of historical fatness often start comfortably in modernity, however, recently, scholars have given attention to obesity and perceptions of fatness in pre-modern eras such as the Renaissance, the controversies of which this conference invites us to consider. I will examine fat characters alongside what we know about actual bodies of early modern actors, exploring tensions between characters played by fat actors and actors who were made larger by costumes and prosthetics. I hope to uncover the ways in which fat bodies onstage, often negatively characterized as disabled or nefarious, contribute to the 'difficult past' of the Renaissance stage and worked to complicate the deeply affective experience of playgoing in early modern England. Finally, this paper will address how notions of ideal body size and the tensions between real and fake fat bodies remains relevant and troublesome in contemporary performances of early modern drama, particularly for productions of Shakespeare.

Juliana Beykirch (Newcastle), Jeffrey Hudson, Extraordinary Embodiment, and the Masque

In the early 1620s, at a banquet held by the Duke of Buckingham in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria, Jeffrey Hudson, a young child with dwarfism, burst out of a pie, to the astonishment of the assembled dignitaries. In the fifteen years that followed this dramatic 'presentation,' Hudson repeatedly performed in masques staged at Charles I's court. Although his career is the most well-documented performance career of an extraordinarily embodied actor of the early modern period, the turbulent nature of Hudson's later life has

resulted in him being perceived primarily as an eccentric 'character' instead of a highly accomplished performer. Taking impetus from the rise of disability studies, this paper aims to reconstruct Hudson's performance career, which was defined by his extraordinary embodiment, and his contribution to contemporary theatrical practice. Focusing primarily on Hudson's appearances in the Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones co-production *Chloridia* (1631), I will argue that Hudson's increasingly complex roles both served to display his considerable skill as a performer and reflected the lived experience of his ambivalent position at court. I will further outline the impact Hudson's appearances had on the masque as a form by outlining how it evolved to provide spaces for his performances.

Patrick Durdel (Lausanne), Past Without Performance: Early Tudor Drama, Performance History, and Aesthetic Equivalence

Records of early Tudor performance are virtually non-existent and almost everything we assume to know about the performance of early sixteenth century interludes and/or morality plays is based on textual evidence. This means that our knowledge of past performances is largely based on the expectations for what would have been a future performance as anticipated by the playwright. In my paper, I will discuss how this twisted temporality of performance complicates recent endeavours of understanding these plays in the context of their assumed site of performance as part of creative research projects that sought to recreate and investigate the original conditions for the performance of early Tudor interludes. I will argue that, instead of original practice, the question of aesthetic equivalence is much more helpful in understanding the affordances and limitations of early Tudor dramatic form and the effects the performance of interludes such as *Fulgens and Lucreces*, *The Play of the Weather*, or *A Play of Love* would have had on their audiences. What I propose is a method of bridging past and present by considering twentieth century non-dramatic and post-dramatic performance to remedy the lack of evidence for the realities of early Tudor performance.

Panel: Image, Music, Text

Daniel Bennett Page, An Early English Sonnet and Conflicting Attributions [Online]

Around 1539, the Tudor courtier Henry Parker, Lord Morley, presented Lady Mary Tudor with a New Year's gift that included 'an Italian ryme called soneto' in English. Translated from a Latin original, Morley's poem was possibly the first to be labelled 'sonnet' in England. While the literary peer believed he was translating from a work of the fifteenth-century humanist Mapheus Vegius (Maffeo Vegio), new research shows that the base text was one penned by the Genoan jurist and linguist Iacobus Furnius (Giacomo Fornari) and published in the landmark *Psalterium Octaplum* of 1516. Still further inquiry uncovers an anthology of Latin verse translations of psalms, *Psalmi omnium selectissimi* (1532), as the immediate source of Morley's Latin text. This is consistent with his well-documented love of the psalter, a devotion shared with the Lady Mary. Morley's sonnet and its sources point to a number of important Renaissance literary discourses, including the circulation of continental books in Tudor England, the authority of particular texts and authors in humanist circles, the pirating and corruption of texts, the presence of Italian poetic forms in the Henrician era beyond the principal 'courtly makers' Wyatt and Surrey, and the ways texts crossed confessional divides during the Reformation.

Julia Rosemary Smith (Edinburgh), Resplendent Piety: Luther Bibles as Luxury Objects in the Sixteenth Century

The publication of Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament in 1522 was a watershed in Reformation printing. During Luther's own lifetime (1483–1546), over 400 editions, many of which were illustrated, were printed across the German-speaking lands. This paper, based on my research as a Society for Renaissance Studies Postdoctoral Fellow, explores how wealthy sixteenth-century owners of these illustrated Luther Bibles had their books lavishly hand coloured, transforming them into unique, and resplendent, works of art. The ornamental customisation of printed religious books, and the continued production of luxury manuscripts in the sixteenth century, have focused primarily on Catholic devotional and liturgical books. Yet, the similar practice of commissioning ornate, sophisticated hand colouring in Lutheran Bibles has until now been largely understudied, despite dozens of known examples, most notably the 1522 September Testament in the Herzog August Bibliothek. This paper will examine copies of hand-coloured Luther Bibles from across the German-speaking lands, and demonstrate the surprisingly broad proliferation of highly ornamental decoration in these Bibles. In doing so, it will shed new light on the reception of the Luther Bible, and the ways in which Catholic and Lutheran cultural practices around book customisation intersected in the sixteenth century.

Huw Keene (Edinburgh), Singing to be Social: Domestic Music, Drawing and the Shaping of Bourgeois Identity in Sixteenth-Century Bruges

In 1542 Zeghere van Male, a merchant and councillor living in Bruges, finished making his own set of four partbooks – a format for recording music whereby each voice part is contained in its own manuscript. Copied in van Male's own amateur hand (Gabriëls, 2010), his partbooks are highly idiosyncratic and curated objects that enabled his influence over music in the domestic sphere, from its selection to its physical manifestation and consequently its use. My paper considers this influence and its implications, with focus on the drawings in van Male's hand that decorate his partbooks. It will be argued that these drawings functioned as annotations, interacting with and reinterpreting the text set to music, such that meaning once seen as static was subverted in ways that resonated with van Male's own social and religious values. As maker of his own partbooks, van Male was able to use music-word-image relations not only to present himself as highly cultivated, but also to influence the beliefs of those he sang with after dinner. Domestic vocal performance is thus presented as an activity that was, while highly pleasurable, also effective in shaping bourgeois identity, and consolidating social ties.

Panel: The Politics of Exclusion and Imagining Barbary

Elizabeth Blakemore (Edinburgh), 'I am a morisco, senores, though I wish I could deny it': Cervantes and the Expulsion of the Moriscos

Between 1609 and 1614, after over a century of forced conversions, cultural oppression, and civil war, Spain expelled its *morisco* population. Despite being baptised Christians, the descendants of Spain's Muslim inhabitants were deemed incapable of being true believers and assimilating into Spanish society. Scholars have looked to contemporary writers to gauge public reactions to the expulsion. A key figure in anti-expulsion discussions is Miguel de Cervantes, who portrays a number of *morisco* characters within his prose. What is striking about his work, however, is that it features both sympathetic and antipathetic depictions of

the *moriscos*. Though critics like Francisco Márquez Villanueva have tried to disregard these negative representations as satire, they cannot be overlooked. Moreover, it seems only certain *moriscos* are portrayed positively, with regional, class, and gender differences influencing Cervantes' characterisations. Likewise, Orientalist stereotypes that reinforce the *moriscos'* position as the Other in Spain are embedded in each of his characters. This paper will reconsider Cervantes' portrayal of the *moriscos*, analysing his challenging and contradicting characterisations. By also focusing on the resentment his 'genuine' New Christians have towards their own community and label as '*moriscos*', I will consider whether Cervantes saw the *morisco* population as Christian or inherently Muslim.

Tom Harrison (Independent), 'Exoticall Dispatches': The Shadow of Barbary in Thomas Tomkis' Albumazar

Thomas Tomkis's university comedy *Albumazar* (1614) follows the exploits of a group of thieves led by the eponymous Albumazar, an astrologer and con-artist who uses his 'deepe skill in Art' to trick those gullible enough to employ his services. While the play's comic elements see the lecherous old man, Pandolfo, get his just desserts and a foolish farmhand apparently 'transformed' into Antonio, the play is shadowed by the mysterious Barbary, a place of wealth and allure but also danger, as Antonio reveals his shipwreck and enslavement there. The play's allusions to Barbary reveal a fascination with the 'east' which presents it as both exotic and dangerous, a place of wealth and oppression revealed through Antonio's brief enslavement. This paper explores the spectre of the 'east' in *Albumazar*, from the anglicisation of the play's titular character, Abū Ma'shar, a 9th-century astrologer whose name and knowledge become synonymous with thievery and cunning, to the possibilities of wealth and the dangers that Barbary signifies.

Julia Bühner, (Münster), 'Old' and 'New' Strategies to Legitimize Slavery

The 15th century has been described as the birth hour of racism. The idea of *limpieza de sangre*, the expulsion of Jews and the emergence of the slave trade at the West African coast forged a bridge between racial assumptions on skin colour and the justifications of slavery on the Iberian Peninsula. Humans from now on could be enslaved just because of the dark colour of their skin. In contrast, during the Middle Ages, only non-Christians could be torn of their freedom after being defeated in a just war. Various contributions have already highlighted, that this narrative is too simple. What seems to be a striking discontinuity between the medieval and the modern period is far more complex, when also taking the enslavement of the indigenous population of the Canary Islands into account. Conquered between 1402 and 1496, indigenous Canarians already appear on Mediterranean slave markets in the middle of the 14th century. By taking a variety of sources such as chronicles and notarial files into consideration and setting the Canarian case in the broader context of Christian expansion, manifold legitimacy strategies come to light.

Panel: The Poetry and Poetics of Early Modern Science I

Cassandra Gorman (Anglia Ruskin), Air and Angels: Atmospheric Science and Early Modern Women's Devotional Poetry

In her poem 'The Four Elements', Anne Bradstreet stages a debate between the Aristotelian-Empedoclean elements of fire, earth, water and air over which component makes the greatest contribution to the natural world. Air emerges as the winner, not because of overwhelming force, but because she '[c]ontention so abated / That betwixt hot and cold, she

arbitrated /The others difference'. Bradstreet is attracted to air as the intermediary element, the soft source for breath, speech and music. 'Gentle Air' can 'every Vacuum fill' and has the power to change body (i.e., condense into water, or rarefy into fire) yet 'in a trice [her] own nature resume.' Bradstreet's conclusions are suggestive of a broader trope in early modern women's devotional lyric, where female writers investigate the physics of air as a model for the ideal Christian (and specifically female) individual. The lyrics of Bradstreet, Anne Southwell, Hester Pulter and others reveal a significant, shared knowledge of atmospheric science: poetic subjects take flight, fill space and undergo formal transitions in ways that demonstrate an innate sympathy with the element of air. In this paper, I explore the poetic productivity of atmospheric science in poems by Bradstreet, Southwell and Pulter, where the inclusion of physical theories about air advances understanding of theological topics. In doing so, I encourage moreover a broader rethinking of the natural philosophical knowledge base of early modern women's poetry.

Masuda Qureshi (Birkbeck), Celestial Philosophy in the Poetic Works of Hester Pulter, Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson

This paper examines how women writers used poetry to engage with philosophical theories of the skies and universe in seventeenth-century England. It explores original and translated poetry in manuscript and print to understand how poetry was linked to philosophical ideas, concepts, and methods. This study discloses how poetry allowed Hester Pulter, Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson to develop ideas and contribute to philosophical debates. It examines Hester Pulter's uncirculated manuscript poems to assess how they participate in cultural and philosophical contexts. The paper then turns to the printed poems of Margaret Cavendish, exploring how her poetic language and imagery relate to early modern philosophical concepts and approaches. Finally, it explores Lucy Hutchinson's poetic translation of Lucretius to consider how translation practice and poetic techniques allow her to engage and adapt ancient philosophy in line with early modern theories of the universe. The paper demonstrates how poetry enables Pulter, Cavendish and Hutchinson to reflect on, adapt, and oppose philosophical ideas. Through exploring the connections between poetry and philosophy in discussions of the skies and universe, this paper reveals the fluidity of poetry as a genre of intellectual expression in seventeenth-century England.

Charlotte Newcombe (York), Elemental Antithesis in Anne Bradstreet's Quaternions

The four elements—fire, air, earth and water—animate Anne Bradstreet's tetrad of quaternions in *The Tenth Muse* (1650). Ancient in origin, the elements remained prominent in the seventeenth-century's natural philosophical, literary and theological imagination, defying modern disciplinary boundaries and complicating neat narratives of progression in the history of science. Antithetical by nature, the elements were often depicted at war with one another, and hence in need of an external agent like Nature or God to order and arrange them. This paper proposes that Bradstreet's quaternions consciously enact the essential conflict between the four elements with the resulting cacophonous polyphony reminiscent of the 'Chaos, or new birth' (Bradstreet, 'The Four Elements') which so often begins cosmogonic narratives. Her astute interpretation of elemental philosophy foregrounds matter's war-like nature as both facilitating and hindering the formation of unified wholes. I suggest that this embattled matter diffuses into her conflict-ridden historical poem 'The Four Monarchies' and beyond into 'A Dialogue between Old England and New'. In *The Tenth Muse*,

Bradstreet presents a difficult, discordant past which extends from the creation of the world through to the English Civil War.

Panel: Overreading (in) the Renaissance

Chris Stamatakis (UCL), Casting Beyond the Moon: Thomas Nashe's Over-Readers

Nashe's writings embody, in textual form, the idea of a difficult past: they occlude the meaning they seem to burst with. While his prose indulges in linguistic plenitude and invites readers to savour its suggestive richness and density, his prefatory addresses often adopt a comically, perhaps disingenuously, authoritarian tone, seeking to shut down interpretative freedom. These prefaces voice disquiet about 'busie wits' – over-readers who 'cast beyond the Moone in imaginations upon wordes'. This paper considers the tension between readers' interpretative licence and the author's demands for interpretative restraint. Nashe's prefaces address problems of reader response, detailing his works' (real or imagined) reception by 'mice-eyed decipherers'. The accusatory preface is a common-enough genre: Elizabethan paratexts often express writerly apprehension about readerly error. But the protestations of transparent meaning in Nashe's prefaces are all the more intriguing because they sit at odds with the interpretative demands of his works themselves: Nashe's prose is difficult – opaque, protean, neologism-larded, and poised uncertainly between grammatical and rhetorical syntax. Given its interpretative challenges, Nashe's writing solicits, perhaps demands, over-reading even while disavowing it. This paper situates Nashe's pronouncements in the period's critical debates about where meaning resides in difficult texts and how readers might uncover it.

Anthony Ossa-Richardson (UCL), Gabriel Harvey's Supererogatory Reading

In the past thirty years Gabriel Harvey has enjoyed a career reinvention worthy of Madonna: no longer a stuffy Ramist pedant and inveterate loser in a forgotten pamphlet war with Thomas Nashe, he has become an icon of the material turn as the early modern annotator *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. But Harvey's marginalia have offered ever-diminishing returns since Grafton and Jardine's landmark article; this paper returns instead to the war with Nashe, which offers an incomparably rich example of two disputants not only misreading each other—a common enough occurrence—but turning their misreadings into peculiar new literary forms. A convenient figure for this is the word *supererogation* introduced by Nashe and elaborated by Harvey: a technical term in Catholic theology for good works performed beyond the stricture of divine command, it was expressly forbidden by the 39 Articles and a point of contention between Richard Hooker and his Puritan readers in the 1590s. For Harvey it comes to stand for the dangerous excess opened up by Nashe's commentary on his work, an excess of the written word and at the same time of interpretation.

Elizabeth L. Swann (Durham), Shadows in the Water: Overreading Thomas Traherne [Online]

Thomas Traherne's poem 'Shadows in the Water' describes a 'sweet mistake' of the speaker's childhood: the notion that the reflected images he sees in puddles are glimpses of 'another World'. For the speaker, this naïve sensory and interpretive blunder precipitates mystical insight: the images foreshadow heaven, indicating his election. Taking Traherne's work as a focal point, but also ranging across early poetic and rhetorical theory and Reformation and post-Reformation hermeneutics, this essay offers a brief history of over-reading in the Renaissance that emphasizes both its entwinement with excess and error, and its theological and literary value as an intentional interpretive strategy. Traherne's poetry, I argue,

simultaneously elicits and (tacitly) theorizes over-reading a form of sensory, embodied fallacy that nonetheless can lead to spiritual understanding. Building on St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, Traherne suggests that the theology of abundance demands a hermeneutic surplus: paradoxically, reading can be creative and reparative only if it is also superfluous and potentially wrong. As such, close reading can be most revelatory when it teeters on the brink of its spurious, shameful double: over-reading. To conclude, I suggest that the example of Traherne invites us to pay a renewed attention to the pitfalls and possibilities of over-reading as a scholarly and pedagogical tool in the twenty-first century. I explore the rhetorical and ideological load carried by accusations of over-reading in Renaissance studies and literary criticism more generally, and offer the beginnings of a tentative defence of this perilous, but productive, mode of interpretation.

Panel: The Reuse of the Past(s) in Italian Early Renaissance Literature: Models, Approaches, Perspectives

Marta Celati (Università di Pisa), The Revival of Ancient Past(s) and the Renaissance Image of Papal Power: Literary Sources on Nicholas V's Pontificate

This paper analyses the complex reuse of the ancient past carried out by humanists in fashioning the image of papal power in the Renaissance. The focus is on the pontificate of Nicholas V, which has been defined 'the first pope of the Renaissance', and in particular on the literary sources that narrates Porcari's conspiracy against Nicholas V (1453), a crucial event in fifteenth-century Italy. The investigation concentrates on reconstructing the political reading of Porcari's plot that prevailed in Italy, by examining two of its most significant accounts, analysed as case studies: Leon Battista Alberti's *Porcaria coniuratio* and Orazio Romano's poem *Porcaria*. By adopting an interdisciplinary approach, this paper explores the sophisticated, and often unexpected, reuse of the ancient past(s) of Rome through which both authors frame their narratives of this political conflict. Through the innovative employment of ancient models, symbols and *exempla*, these texts build their ideological perspective, aimed at celebrating papal power and condemning the plot. Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* (together with manifold sources, such as Livy, Lucan, etc.) is the main model, revealing how the interpretative categories already adopted to construct the 'historical memory' of Catiline's conspiracy plays a pivotal role in framing the political reading of the main conflict in Renaissance Rome.

Iván Parga Ornelas (Warwick), Gods, Demons and Saints: The Religious Epics of Maffeo Vegio and Baptista Mantuanus between Hagiography and Mythology

Neo-Latin poets of the Quattrocento, such as Maffeo Vegio and Baptista Mantuanus, paved the way for the better-known religious epics of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. These 'Christian Virgils' faced the significant challenge of transforming the epic genre without breaking with the tradition they admired; they needed to build a religious narrative, part of a Christian imaginary, within the framework of classical epic (a framework made of language, images, themes, narrative lines). As a result, traces of the pagan world of their classical predecessors survive in the religious epics of Neo-Latin poems. This paper will explore the presence of gods, demons, and other mythological creatures in the works of Vegio and Mantuanus. I understand these not as a form of contamination, but as a meta-poetic statement about the nature of Christian epic and its relationship with the classical poems that it emulates. Indeed, pagan gods and demons, though rejected as the invention of lying poets of old, nonetheless feature in these epics as the enemy to defeat; other times, they

become instrumental to the Christian hero's goal. This, according to my analysis, represents the complicated relationship between Christian epic and the classical tradition that they admired but wished to surpass.

Maria Pavlova (Villa I Tatti, Florence), The Eternal City and its Heroes: Christian and Pagan Rome in Fifteenth-Century Italian Chivalric Literature

This paper examines representations of and references to ancient and Christian Rome in Italian chivalric texts composed between 1400 and 1494, with special attention paid to the Tuscan prose tradition from Andrea da Barberino to Leonardo di Francesco Benci. While Paris is the capital of Charlemagne's Christian empire, Rome, too, occupies an important place on the geographical maps of fifteenth-century Carolingian prose romances and poems. Its symbolic importance is immense for Christian and Saracen characters alike. For the former, it is one of the religious and political centres of Christian Europe. The Pope is usually portrayed as the Emperor's ally and spiritual guide, but in a number of texts Charlemagne's Paris is steeped in corruption, whereas Rome remains a stronghold of Christian values. At the same time, Saracens see themselves as heirs to Rome's glorious pagan past, striving to emulate the heroes of Roman antiquity, such as Aeneas or Julius Caesar. The image of Rome that emerges from the chivalric tradition is ambiguous: on the one hand, it is the heart of Christendom, yet on the other hand, its pagan history has an undeniable appeal on glory-seeking knights. This paper aims to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the Roman theme in a selection of Quattrocento chivalric texts, examining, in particular, how their authors engaged with contemporary political events involving the Papacy and how they responded to the humanist movement.

Workshop: Teaching with EEBO: Jisc Historical Texts

Led by Jerome de Groot (University of Manchester) with Fred Schurink (University of Manchester), Rachel Willie (Liverpool John Moores University), Imani Khaled (University of Manchester), John Gallagher (University of Leeds)

Over the past year a working group has been building a teaching and learning resource on the Jisc Historical Text platform, covering EEBO, ECCO, the UK Medical Heritage Library, and British Library Nineteenth-Century Periodicals. This is the first step in an expansion of the platform's capabilities, which we hope will see it reach new audiences and take on a new relevance to academics working in this area. We are developing an area of the site focused on ready-to-use teaching resources and innovative, diverse assessment ideas, making use of the rich material in Jisc Historical Texts. The resource will be simple to use and welcoming to ECRs and GTAs as well as established scholars.

This workshop will investigate using EEBO in teaching situations. We will begin with a discussion of practice from a range of scholars. The second half of the session will be an interactive workshop. Participants will be able to support the development of this widely used platform by evaluating our work so far and contributing ideas for further development. Please bring a laptop if possible, but come along regardless and join in the conversation!

Panel: Deafness in Early Modern Europe

Angelo Lo Conte (Hong Kong Baptist University), Deaf Painters in the Renaissance

The paper investigates interconnections between art and disability in early modern Italy by focusing on the careers of deaf painters. By looking at early modern biographical accounts,

archival documents, works of art and renaissance poetry, it challenges the stereotype that presents people with deafness as outcasts and emphasizes that the consideration of intersectional factors was essential to how early modern people responded to impairment. The paper recognizes for the very first time the presence of deaf artists in the history of early modern Italian art, presenting their artworks, notebooks and documents pertaining to their life to describe how through art practice they asserted their own profession, identity, and citizenship. The study emphasizes the correlation between socio-economic background and access to artistic education. Furthermore, it looks at workshop practice and investigates matters pertaining to artistic specialisation.

Rosamund Oates (MMU), Uncovering Deaf Lives: Art and Employment in Renaissance England

This paper examines the lives of deaf men, women and children from across the social spectrum, demonstrating that the lived experiences of deaf people differed from their representation in literature and legal texts. By focussing on some of the different forms of employment undertaken by deaf people (from tailor to innkeeper) this paper offers an insight into the ways that deaf people (particularly those who were prelingually deaf) were integrated into their communities. Communication was at the heart of this process, and this paper looks at the use of sign language, writing, and art in communications between deaf and hearing people. It concludes by examining the trend for wealthy deaf men to be educated as artists, many working with high profile studios like that run by Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) and Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723).

Ruben Verwaal (Institute for Medical Humanities, Durham & Erasmus Medical Centre, Rotterdam), Deaf Doctors in Early Modern Europe

Up until recent decades, the presentation of deafness in medical professionals was seen as an unsolvable obstacle. It justified the dismissal of health professionals with acquired deafness and deaf prospective medical students. But was medicine always an ableist and audist work environment? So far, deafness and hardness of hearing is largely absent in medical historiography. To address this imbalance, this paper studies the lived experiences of deaf and hard-of-hearing doctors in early modern Europe. The fact that men like Abraham van Valkenburg (1581–1650), Duncan Campbell (c. 1680–1730), and Abraham Kaau (1715–1758) were able to overcome communication obstacles and gain a foothold in the medical marketplace, raises questions about their strategies working with hearing difference and the popular perception of deafness. Admittedly, the history of deaf doctors is far from a 'golden age' of inclusion, for it did involve bullying and unequal treatment. But by analysing the education, career, and reputation of deaf doctors in Renaissance Europe, this paper aims to demonstrate how medicine was at times less of an ableist environment than may initially be assumed.

Parallel Session 3

Workshop: From the Wreck: Poetry and Porcelain Exhibition Tour

Lauren Working (York) and Sarah Howe (KCL)

Curatorial/exhibition talk before moving to the World Museum to see 'I too am a survivor', an immersive audio-visual display in the World Cultures gallery. This display explores the imagined lives of seven Chinese ceramic objects, through the words of TS Eliot Prize-winning poet Sarah Howe. This session will move to the World Museum.

Panel: On the Road Again: Travels, Travails, and Transformation

Bill Angus (Massey University), Catholic Monsters and the Crossroads [Online]

Early modern roads were spaces where conflict caused by social upheaval could be mythologised into religious and folk beliefs, and manifest as fear of monsters and faeries. The crossroads, regarded as an ancient place of encounter, was where such fears were manifested. In Samuel Harsnett's anti-Catholic *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), the physical crossroads is a locus of interest in a narrative that records these conflicts and conceptual metamorphoses.

Eric Dunnum (Campbell University), The Economic Difficulties of Travelling

After the establishment of purpose-built theatres, why did professional playing companies continue to travel and play on the road? Prior to the REED project, it was assumed that traveling was fairly rare after the 1570s, but we now know that London companies regularly hit the road; what is less clear, to me at least, is why they did so. Alan Somerset and Barbara D. Palmer answer this question practically: they did it for the money. Palmer's evidence shows that playing companies could make good money playing at 'great houses,' while supplementing that income at inns and guildhalls. Yet the figures suggest that these companies would have been better off financially if they stayed in London. Or so it appears. This paper will interrogate the economics of playing on the road to demonstrate the financial strain that these trips put on a companies' bottom line. Perhaps we need to rethink how players thought about and defined concepts like 'money' and 'profit.' Craig Muldrew's theorizations of money and David Graeber's arguments about debt may help us tease out the players' views on the economics of travel.

Sharon Emmerichs (Alaska, Anchorage), The Making of Monsters: Woman and Roads in Shakespeare's Plays

In Shakespeare's plays, roads act not only as conduits for movement and change of place and action, but as a way to move characters from one state of being to another. Specifically, this paper examines the physical and cultural meanings of roads, and argues that in Shakespeare, interaction with roads causes a transformation in his female characters from innocence to corruption and represent potentially malignant spaces that ultimately produce gendered monstrosities by the end of the journey.

Laurie Johnson (Southern Queensland), From Itineraries to Circuits to Staying Put, or Reasons to Change Habits

A study of the early touring trajectories of the Earl of Leicester's Men from 1559 to 1567 shows that the first of the major Elizabethan adult playing companies began by following routes outlined in published itineraries for road travel but within a few years altered their trajectories to form the circuits associated with later playing companies like the Queen's Men. Just a few years later again, they abandoned touring for two years to attempt to establish a stable playing base in London. What drove these changes? This paper will show that road travel was not in and of itself a difficult or undesirable practice for the company, as they soon returned to touring these circuits on an annual basis. Turning our attention from economics to climate and weather shows instead that the unstable conditions of the 1560s may be the most telling factor in these decisions.

Panel: Curating Archives

Harry Spillane (Cambridge), Curating History: Matthew Parker's Library Bequests [Online]

This paper considers the ways in which Matthew Parker, Elizabeth I's first archbishop of Canterbury, selectively bequeathed important books and manuscripts to different institutions in order to buttress the history of the Church of England he had tried to cement throughout the 1560s and 1570s. It asks why some medieval books and manuscripts were destroyed but others edited, rebound, stored, and illustrated in new ways. How, this paper asks, did Parker go about removing the difficult and problematic aspects of the English Church's past? Moreover, how did Parker use books and libraries as a means of providing the resources and space for a new Protestant history to be cemented into English Protestant culture? Attention is paid, in particular, to the bequest Parker made to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It asks how the printed texts Parker donated functioned as a means of controlling how the medieval manuscripts in the collection were to be approached. Ultimately, it asks how far the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College was envisioned as an archive, not a library, by exploring the rules Parker set up for the maintenance of the library and how access was to be gained to it. This paper also asks, for the first time, why Parker made smaller bequests to other colleges, libraries, and private collections and to what ends? The paper contends, finally, that we can learn as much about Elizabethan library building by asking what texts were missing as by looking at what was included.

Alison Searle (Leeds), Organisations, Archives, and Entangled Afterlives

This paper explores the relationship between United Society Partners in the Gospel (USPG), a contemporary Anglican mission agency, and the archive generated in the first twenty years of its existence as The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ((SPG; founded 1701)). Sir Christopher Codrington's bequest of two plantations in 1710 constituted the SPG as a corporate owner of enslaved people; this expropriated labour partially resourced their global missionary endeavours. Engaging with the archive as both a concept and entity offers USPG an opportunity to renegotiate its identity and practice in dialogue with its complex past. USPG and its global partners remain entangled within a network of relations forged through the transatlantic exchange of paper correspondence and reporting mechanisms established in the early eighteenth century, which continues to be reproduced and curated in various ways by the organisation and its archival holdings in the present. Several aspects of the afterlives of this organisational archive will be considered in this paper including contestation and repair; intersectional identities shaped by faith and race; the global distribution of and access to material and cultural assets and their management; the stories that have been (or can be) told.

Angela Andreani (Università degli Studi di Milano), 'Endevoring to be reconcyled': Faith and Loyalty in Recusant Manuscripts

'Endevoring to be reconcyled': Faith and loyalty in recusant manuscripts

Manuscripts connected with recusant culture in the collections of the British Library and Bodleian Library preserve a variety of responses elaborated by English Catholics trying to reconcile their faith with political loyalty. Inspired by studies that have dealt with the ambiguities of defining religious identities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as those by Stefania Tutino, Michael Questier and Peter Lake, amongst others, my paper will concentrate on a selection of texts to explore how their authors expressed a sense of

belonging to England 'despite' their Catholic faith. Moving away from the texts, I will consider their survival in the archives to try to capture how this may sustain certain narratives over others.

Jane Lawson (Emory & Sheffield), Tracking the New Year's Gift Rolls: From Jewel House to Archives

The New Year's gift rolls were prepared every year of Elizabeth's forty-five reign and were kept in the Jewel House. The rolls were removed when the contents of the Jewel House were dispersed in 1649. Soldiers seeking gold and jewels had little concern for parchment rolls. At this time, we know of only twenty-five rolls extant which are located in eleven different archival locations. Between the mid-seventeenth century and the present time, these rolls have passed through private hands, have been sold at auctions, and have been intermittently studied by dilettantes. Individuals purchased the rolls for personal study and as curiosities. John Nichols recognized the value of the gift rolls, an interest shared by fellow members of the Society of Antiquaries. Janet Arnold pioneered the study of Elizabeth's garments. Sale catalogues of Maggs Brothers, Quaritch, Sotheby's and Christies demonstrate the path of the gift rolls, from and/or into private collections and archives. This paper will track the ownership journeys of these manuscripts and the records related to their locations.

Representing difficult pasts through critical storytelling and public history

Organiser and chair: Fabrizio Nevola (University of Exeter)

How we approach the past says a great deal about our relationship with the present, and vision for the future; this is particularly the case in the practice of public history, where the intended audiences of academic research are non-specialist publics. As we recover alternative and often hidden narratives of the Renaissance period, so we push back on the master-narratives of rulers, leading artists or watershed dates. This panel reflects on the methods that historians, and museum and heritage sector professionals, use, and the issues they face, when they address contested or uncomfortable elements, or interpretations, of the early modern past and its visual culture.

David Rosenthal (University of Exeter) Mobile storytelling, material culture and urban space in early modern Europe: the Hidden Cities apps

This paper examines Hidden Cities apps, audio guides that aim to represent early modern experience in a growing number of Europe cities for both local and visiting publics. It looks at the issues and tensions that have been thrown up by adopting first-person interpretation, or critical fabulation, of Renaissance figures, particularly marginalised figures who often leave few archival traces of their own voices. It goes on to reflect on the process, problems and debates around adopting a first-person model in order to translate topics such as racism, migrancy, state violence and torture, infanticide, antisemitism and sex crimes into affective public history.

Tarnya Cooper (Curatorial and Conservation Director, National Trust), Historic Houses collections and the Front lines of public history

This paper will explore sixteenth and early seventeenth century English objects and interiors and reflect on what they can tell us about the English Renaissance aesthetic, national identity, and the emergence of our early colonial ambitions. It will focus on telling public histories of objects and interiors that were created for both elite and middling patrons that

address overseas trade, exploration and attitudes to both Roman Catholicism and non-Christian religions. The paper will touch on the use of globes in interiors, Tudor and Jacobean portraits of explorers, and large embroidered narrative wall hangings. The dominant role of didactic narrative and the use of text in English Renaissance visual culture will be considered in relation to the emergence of Protestant visual identity.

Louis Morris (Uncomfortable Oxford), Medieval and Early Modern History and Technology: lessons for public engagement

This presentation will reflect on the work done by Uncomfortable Oxford, a social enterprise that runs walking tours and public-facing events engaging with contested histories and uncomfortable legacies of the past in the present. Drawing on their experience of developing a walking tour about Medieval Oxford, the speakers will reflect on the challenge of breaking stereotypes fostered by modern media, as well as the practicalities of developing tours. - especially during a pandemic. The talk will highlight how historian guides use modern controversies to spark conversations about the past, breakdown common myths about medieval times, and understand the ways in which historical knowledge is politicized.

Panel: Bodies and Environment

Catherine Evans (Manchester), Pollution in the Pulpit

In his sermons, John Donne often returns to the worrying image of the decomposing body, corpses which break apart and are dispersed by water: 'all dies, and all dries, and molds into dust, and that dust is blow into rivers, and that puddled water... ebs and flows'. For Donne rivers are rarely pure and free flowing. More frequently they are ominously 'brackish' or 'exhausted... brought to such shallowness, as would beare no boats'. Work by Steven Mentz and Dan Brayton has offered a necessary corrective to earth bound ecocriticism, but scholarship on the aquatic world of early modern England has primarily focused upon the sea. This paper will explore how Donne's sermons draw on a common understanding of polluted rivers, particularly those delivered in London close to the Thames, described in John Stow's 1598 survey as full of 'dung, ordure, rubbish, rushes, Seacole dust, or any other thing noyant'. I examine how Donne's rivers complicate the relationship between the human and the environmental, particularly 'brackish waters' which in their saltiness come close to tears, sweat, and blood.

Tamsin Badcoe (Bristol), 'Hardned to the Sea': The Strange and True Relations of Enslavement in the Galleys

Life has often been compared to a journey and the turbulent world to the unforgiving sea, but for early modern seafarers the lived experience of voyaging posed unique physical, emotional, spiritual, and cognitive difficulties. In building on recent research into early modern notions of environment and embodiment, this paper draws on a larger research project that considers early modern ships as 'cognitive environments' in which passionate bodies thought, laboured, prayed, wrote, feared, praised, suffered, and sometimes died. Through analysis of a combination of creative, devotional, and medical literature, I am investigating the particular temper of those experiencing a maritime existence suspended between life and death. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on bringing the insights of the 'blue humanities', which advocate for the visibility of the sea as a subject of study in humanities disciplines, together with the study of early modern prison writing in order to offer a reading of the characteristic features of four prose narratives written by men forced

into enslavement in the galleys: namely, Thomas Saunders's *A true description* (1587), Richard Hasleton's *Strange and wonderfull things* (1595), William Davies's *A true relation* (1614) and Francis Knight's *A relation of seaven yeares slaverie* (1640).

Emily Naish (Sheffield), Human Avarice and Unruly Nymphs: Historicising Exploitation and Excess along the River

Debates about land use – that are so very pressing in the current global climate – date back as far as (and even beyond) the Renaissance. This paper focusses on English rivers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exploring the anthropocentric opportunities they represented, and the unforeseen consequences of attempts to bend nature to man's will. It begins with William Harrison's preface to the 1587 publication of *Holinshed's Chronicles*. Following Harrison's description of the river Thames, we find many reasons to celebrate the river (in particular, the seemingly endless supply of fish); however, the unpredictability of nature and the insatiable avarice of mankind both emerge as ever-present threats. The opportunity for economic development along the river translates into buoyant optimism in much sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetry, including large parts of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612 and 1622), a work that is often so attuned to environmental concerns. The lamenting forests, however, do have a word of warning for the rivers about the greed of mankind. Paying careful attention to the cartographic etchings by William Hole alongside this poetic warning seems to reveal similar warnings about exploitation and excess. This paper aims to historicise human greed, contextualising current environmental concerns within a long and difficult past.

Christina F. Kolia (Claremont), 'Mother of science': Eve, Plants, and Ecofeminism [Online]

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* portrays Eve through a lens of ecosexuality, where her presentation veers between Eve as mother (nature) and Eve as lover. Through the character of Eve, Milton's epic poem demonstrates feminist potential through a consideration of nature's possession of its own agency. As scholar Steven Swarbrick states, 'plants provide an uncanny way of re-calibrating our mental architecture [and also], act as cybernetic pedagogues with the *capacity to seduce the mind's eye* toward more worldly modes of perception' (123; my emphasis). By applying Swarbrick's theories that plants provide their nurturer with mental agency, I argue that Eve's self-confidence and self-worth derive from her relationship to and with nature, specifically plants, as the only non-hierarchical kinship she has in the epic. Eve imagines new dimensions of her value, places where she cannot just grow things but grow with things. As shown in Book XI, lines 268-279, Milton's ecopoetics prove Eve's love of nature through her loss of it. Overall, I aim to cultivate a new trajectory to Milton's epic that Eve is not entirely seduced by Satan to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. She is equally, if not more, seduced by nature's ecofeminist potentials of reciprocity.

Panel: Music and Visual Culture 1500-1700: Interactions, Inspirations, Conflicts I

Jason Rosenholtz-Witt (Western Kentucky), Music, Art, and Religious Politics: Marian Intertextuality in Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo

Giovanni Cavaccio was hired as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo in 1598, serving until his death in 1626. A prestigious musical position, the recruitment and substantial remuneration of Cavaccio came on the heels of a long-term, expensive project of redecoration inside the basilica on Marian themes, part of a renewed focus on its titular saint in the years following the Council of Trent. In so doing, the basilica positioned itself as the

center of Bergamasque civic life, much to the vexation of the neighbouring cathedral and a bishop sympathetic to Milanese episcopal oversight. Part of this internal conflict played out through art patronage. Using receipts and payment records located in Bergamo's archives, I connect aspects of early *seicento* musical expenditure to the earlier Marian artistic project inside Santa Maria Maggiore while highlighting intertextual relationships between newly acquired music books and tapestries purchased from Florence in the 1580s.

Linda Austern (Northwestern), 'With Sooden Sight': Gentlemen's Musical Sociability, Visual Culture, and William Byrd's The Greedy Hawk

Frima Fox-Hofrichter (Pratt Institute), Instruments Which Go Unplayed

In articles, books, and exhibitions on Music and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art the works of Jan Miense Molenaer (c.1610-1668), a painter in Haarlem and Amsterdam are usually illustrated. A variety of musical instruments frequent his genre paintings and portraits. One can count at least a dozen different musical instruments played in his work. But this is only half the story, as his wife, Judith Leyster (1609-1660), was also a painter and a native of Haarlem, working there and in Amsterdam directly upon their marriage, in 1636. She, too, was a genre and portrait painter (as well as still life) and although she had a smaller oeuvre, many of her paintings also include musical instruments, and some prominently. The couple owned several musical instruments. Indeed, we find a list of these in the Post-Mortem Inventory of Molenaer's estate (she pre-deceased him). And this, to some degree, accounts for the veracity of their depiction. And although Leyster has gained greater notice in the last decades, her musical paintings haven't yet garnered the same attention; they are generally smaller and with fewer figures. But several are quite fascinating in the choice of instruments, and even in their method of playing. This paper, with a focus on the single figure in two of her paintings, bearing a total of 4 instruments, will provide greater insight into the way art and painting was experienced—at least in their household--and in their milieu.

Panel: The Poetry and Poetics of Early Modern Science II

Namratha Rao (York), Green Conceits: Poetic Thinking

The status of the universal in literary studies has plummeted in recent years. Charged with absolutism on epistemological, metaphysical and political grounds, it is summoned almost exclusively as an object of ideological unmasking. And yet for early modern writers, poetry and the universal were entangled; our critique of the one enfolds the other. Bacon, for example, named human art 'the bonds of nature', likening their relation to the capture of Proteus, and evoking besides the poetic conceit, or a group of particulars in the grip of unity. For Bacon it didn't matter whether the interaction between them was considered coercive or supportive, for nature's secrets 'reveal themselves' only under 'the vexations of art'. This paper explores the persisting struggle between thought (universal) and nature (particular)—understood as integral to knowing at all—in metaphysical poetry, which provides especially compelling examples in being cast at once as violently combinatorial and perversely fragmentary. It examines in particular the gardens of Marvell and Cavendish as uncertain attempts to resolve this strife and traces the possibilities of knowledge production they imply.

Kevin Killeen (York), 'Metaphors aenigmatically, and covert words': The Poetry of Natural Philosophy

'Then what is our high-prais'd Philosophie, / But bookes of Poesie, in Prose compil'd?', writes Fulke Greville and he does not intend it as a compliment. The scientific poetry of early modernity was extravagant and discursive, more often than it was didactic. What did it do that prose could not, this paper asks? And why was poetry deemed a productive form for thinking about natural philosophy? The case will be made that poetry came to be valued precisely because of its discursive volatility. Some things, the era (re)discovered, things beyond words, could only be approached via the protean qualities of metaphor and the elusive kaleidoscopic thinking. Looking at the poetry of material souls in unstable bodies, and souls turned into airy meteorological vehicles in the cosmos, from John Davies to John Donne and Hester Pulter, the paper will suggest that when in the seventeenth century, writers began to incorporate theological and philosophical debates on the soul into their poetry, they did so not to imitate so much as to escape their prose equivalents, to probe but also to relish the intractable character of the natural world.

Ivana Bičak (Durham), Orbis in Domo: Natural-Philosophical Collections in Seventeenth-Century Poetry

While an ostrich strolled in the garden of the seventeenth-century physician Sir Thomas Browne, skeletons of the less lucky animals decked the walls of his house. Across Europe, the period saw a rise in popularity of the cabinets of curiosities, rooms that overflowed with natural and artful wonders collected from around the globe. The interest in natural-philosophical collections culminated in the establishment of England's first public museum, the Ashmolean in Oxford. In response, there arose a specific subgenre of poems that offer virtual tours of these collections. Apart from providing a rare insight into the retired and semi-private spaces of early modern investigative and experimental practice, these poems adapt the empirical space to suit their own poetic purposes. With a focus on critically neglected English and Neo-Latin poems including George Mackenzie's 'Caelia's Country House and Closet' (1667–68) and John Dolben's 'Museum Ashmolianum' (1679), this paper shows the ways in which seventeenth-century poets adapted scientific reality to create new vistas in their verse.

Seminar: Early Modern Queer and Trans Studies: Methodologies, Questions, Politics

Seminar Leaders: Kate Chedgzoy (Newcastle) & Kit Heyam (QMUL)

What questions are researchers asking now about queer and trans lives and representations in the Renaissance? What approaches, methods and materials are they using to seek answers to those questions? And what are the political stakes in our own moment of doing this work?

Established for several decades, the study of gender and sexuality in the Renaissance has been reinvigorated recently for a number of reasons, not the least being that trans studies has opened up new ways of thinking about the relations between those concepts in the past. We want to take stock of where early modern scholarship has got to across all disciplines that have engaged with queer and trans material and perspectives; gain a richer sense of the specificity and diversity of this research; reflect on shared concerns; explore potential answers to shared questions; and map pathways forward. And we want to build connections and community with and for students and colleagues doing work that can expose us to

hostility within and beyond academia. This is particularly important if we want as a field to think about how our research can most effectively and appropriately have a wider impact, by demonstrating that thinking in serious, ethical, and intellectually nuanced ways about difficult pasts can help us with some of the difficult aspects of our present moment for queer and trans people.

Seminar discussion will both illuminate discipline-specific questions of methodology and enrich methodological and political reflection by creating a space for sharing ideas across and between disciplines.

Participants:

- Hes Bradley, Shakespeare Institute, 'Coming out the Closet: John Stephens' *Cynthia's Revenge* (1613), a Practice Research Project'
- Maya Corry, Oxford Brookes University, 'The femmina masculo in Italian Renaissance art'
- Jerome De Groot, Manchester University, 'Histories at Risk – Communicating, Supporting, and Celebrating Queer and Trans Histories'
- Huw Griffiths, University of Sydney, 'Elegiac Histories, Or Gay Marriage Will Never Have Been Early Modern'
- Beth Harper, Hong Kong University 'A Dead Child, a Grieving Mother and a Suicidal Prince: Hating the World in *King John* and *Hamlet*'
- Ezra Horbury, University of York, 'Making and Unmaking Gender in *Antonio and Mellida*'
- Kaye McLelland, Cambridge University, 'Margaret Cavendish's *Convent of Pleasure* in the age of the bathroom bill: A Water-Closet Drama.'
- Harriet Scanlon, University of Sussex, 'I saw myself': Examining Anachronism and Autoethnography as Queer Methods
- Danielle Clarke, University College Dublin (respondent)

Panel: Rethinking Ancient History in Early Modern Europe: Close and Distant

Readings

Fred Schurink (Manchester), From Intermediary Translations to Transnational Literatures: Towards a Multiscalar Approach to the Reception of Plutarch in Europe, 1470-1650

Intermediary translations into Latin and, later, vernaculars like French played a central—but often overlooked and misunderstood—role in the translation and reception of ancient Greek texts in early modern Europe. This paper focuses on the translation and reception of Plutarch, one the most widely read classical authors of the period, building on a dataset of over 1,000 editions and translations published between 1470 and 1650. It argues that the identification and analysis of intermediary translations in a large corpus covering the whole of Europe complicates models of the Renaissance as a period of transition from a uniform European republic of letters represented by Latin translations like Erasmus's to the development of national literatures, founded on vernacular translations of the classics such as Amyot's. Instead, a multi-scalar study of intermediary translations points towards the reception of the classics as both connected across Europe and responsive to local pressures and concerns. Changes in the relation between Latin and the vernaculars enabled French to take over certain features of the role of Latin as an international language but instead of simply

replacing Latin produced a realignment between languages and cultures shaped by economic, social, and religious forces.

Edward Paleit (City), Illustrating Caesar: History, 'Art', and National Identity in Sixteenth-Century Translations of the Commentarii

This paper discusses the visual paratexts which supported vernacular translations of Caesar in sixteenth-century Europe: maps, illustrations of battles, diagrams of military equipment, and visual depictions of Caesar himself. Focusing on translations published in Germany, Italy, and France, it suggests that the choice and design of such paratexts reflected different traditions of printing classical literature, and different artistic and pictorial conventions, but also, and most importantly, differences in the way the *Commentarii* was received in different national cultures. Comparing strategies of illustration with how Caesar's own words were rendered, parsed, and embroidered, it argues that early modern 'translators' of Caesar constructed him as a contemporary as well as historic figure (and his text likewise), but how they did so depended on where they were working and indeed Caesar's perceived role in their own national and cultural past(s).

Noreen Humble (Calgary), Augmenting Ancient Histories: A Little Imitation, a Little Emulation, a Lot of Variation

A list of expected paratexts in a sixteenth-century edition of an ancient Greek or Roman author might include the following: title page, table of contents, letter of dedication, letter to the reader, biography, liminary poems, printed marginal notes, summaries, indices of various sorts, illustrations and/or commentaries of various kinds. The permutations are myriad. Some are easily explicable: for example, no paratextual material in school texts keeps costs low. But other patterns and the reasons behind them only become apparent by looking more broadly across authors: for instance, the existence of an ancient biography was not a guarantee of inclusion, though here length likely played a role (Diogenes Laertius' *Xenophon* which fits nicely onto one folio page appears frequently, while Plutarch's *Caesar*, which is far longer, does not). This paper will explore the multiple ways in which biographical material was presented and the reasons for this.

Panel: Diplomacy and Epistolary Authority

Helen Newsome (UCD), The Queens' Post: Performing Power in Early Tudor Queens' Correspondence

Across Europe, national archives, state papers collections, and other private manuscript repositories are filled with letters by medieval and early modern queens. These archives reveal that early Tudor queens such as Katherine of Aragon, Queen of England, and Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots played an active role in important diplomatic and political matters across Europe in the 16th century through the medium of letter-writing. However, to date royal women such as these have largely been dismissed in political and diplomatic narratives of the period. This paper offers a preliminary analysis of the form, function, and power of the letters of nine early Tudor queens – including Elizabeth of York, Margaret Tudor, Mary Tudor Brandon, Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard, Anne of Cleves, and Katherine Parr - to reconsider the role that these women, and their letters, held in early modern European politics and diplomacy.

Mel Evans (Leeds) and Helen Newsome (UCD), Dearest Brother etc: Doing Epistolary Power and Kingship in Scotland and England (1513-1542)

Among the archives of early modern Scotland and England are the letters of James V, King of Scots, and Henry VIII, King of England. Over the course of James V's reign (which featured a minority government between 1513 and 1528), the two monarchs (and minority regents) used letters to negotiate their complex diplomatic relationship, which oscillated between threats of war and pledges of peace. Significantly, Scots-Anglo archives of royal correspondence have not been systematically compared or critiqued, and Henrician, Anglo-centric bias has plausibly affected our appreciation of the 'norms' and practices of royal epistles. This paper argues that we should step back and appraise the archives and their parts – however formulaic or routine – to see what other narratives they yield. Theorising power as constructed through interaction (Locher, 2004), it proposes that language and material properties are instrumental to the diplomatic exchanges. The discussion outlines how key features (e.g., address formulae, directives, significant space) construct a shared kingship of tentative kinship - precluding the Elizabeth-James VI 'personal diplomacy' (Doran 2005) – that evolves over time, seen both in the lifespan of a letter (its composition and reception), and over the decades of communication. The paper contributes to the growing multi-disciplinary work on the role of royal letters in the maintenance and growth of networks of early modern power.

Roundtable: Donne's Difficult Pasts

Mary Ann Lund (Leicester), Mary Morrissey (Reading), Erica Longfellow (New College, Oxford), Emma Rhatigan (Sheffield)

'God gave not alwayes to his Church, the Manifestation of the pillar of Fire, but a pillar of Cloud too'. One of John Donne's favourite images for divine presence in history is the pillars that God sent to guide the Israelites through the desert in Exodus. They stand for a history not simply of prosperity and triumph – the fiery pillar – but also of adversity, suffering, and obscurity: the cloud. In this roundtable, we bring together five perspectives on Donne's encounters in the pulpit with pasts both fiery and cloudy. We consider how, and to what purposes, he evokes stories of religious and political conflict, national and international calamity, and what he calls 'the sinful history of mine own youth'.

The roundtable shares work in progress on *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne* (general editor, Peter McCullough, 16 vols (Oxford UP, 2013-). Each contributor will begin by briefly discussing how they have annotated a relevant passage from one of the sermons in their volume; these case studies will lead into a discussion among the contributors, and a Q&A. A defining characteristic of The Oxford Edition is that the volumes are organised by place of preaching. Each participant in the roundtable has expertise in one of Donne's preaching locations or occasions: the Inns of Court; the civic pulpits at Paul's Cross and the Spital; his parish church in London, St Dunstan's-in-the-West; occasional sermons for marriages, christenings, and churchings; and St Paul's Cathedral. By bringing these together, the roundtable aims to uncover the variations and continuities in how Donne treats the recent and remote past as he addresses his different congregations, and the nuanced ways his rhetoric engages with historical and contemporary theological, social, and political debates. The roundtable will offer new perspectives not only on Donne the preacher, but also on practices of editing early modern texts.

Parallel Session 4

Panel: Humanism and Political-Religious Conflicts: Some European Cases Between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Barbara Baldi (Independent), Papacy, Empire and Hussite Bohemia in Aenea Silvius Piccolomini's Historia Bohemica' (1458)

The paper will offer a re-examination of the *Historia Bohemica* of Aenea Silvius Piccolomini as far as both the origin and structure of the treatise, and its relationship with Piccolomini's political and diplomatic experience. His interest in Hussite Bohemia is strictly connected to his experience as secretary of the Emperor Frederick III (1442-1454) and the treatise can be considered as an effort to re-interpretate, through Bohemian history, the emerging of the new national States and Churches and the crisis of the Empire and the Papacy. This re-examination of the *Historia Bohemica* permits to appreciate some important aspects of Piccolomini's European vision: the deep attention to the connections between different forces and themes, the re-definition of the role of the Empire and of the Papacy; but, at the same time, this attention to the Bohemian experience and history accentuates the difficulty to control a reality that remains, despite everything, deeply divided, complex and changeable.

Simona Iaria (Turin & Toronto), Circulation and Diffusion of Some Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's Political-Religious Works Between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The paper intends to provide an overview about the role played by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) in the religious debate in the light of his attitude first of condemning the pope and supporting both the council and the emperor, later of defending the pope's role to whose office he was elected at the end of his life. The contribution will focus on which political-religious works or part of them actually was circulated widely in manuscript, especially in the Fifteenth Century, and then in print between the last quarter of the Fifteenth and the first half of the Sixteenth Century; then it will consider the literary genres chosen by Piccolomini in relation to his humanistic education and on the sources used by him; finally it will explore which aspects of these works were appreciated and why they contributed to the cultural discussion and led Aeneas Silvius to be included in the Index of forbidden books.

Paolo Sartori (Turin), Religious Conflict in Pre-Tridentine France: The Case of Saint-Séverin in Château-Landon (1496-1497) [Online]

In 1496 the canon regular living in the Abbey of Saint-Séverin in Château-Landon (France) were reformed by the intervention of Dutch missionaries from Windesheim, in the Netherlands. Modern devotion was landed in France for the first time. The reformation process was hard. The missionaries had to suffer exclusion from the hosting community, food shortage, as well as a hard rebellion within the monastery walls. All these facts are partly described in the *Liber de origine congregationis canonicorum regularium reformatorem in Regno Francie anno Christi 1496*, although the most important source is actually a huge collection of unpublished letters, that were exchanged between France and the Netherlands. The letters reveal the religious and diplomatic context of the reformation and help reconstructing a forgotten pillar of the religious debate concerning both education of clergy and its mission in pre-Tridentine Europe. The most mature fruit of that debate was Erasmus's *Ratio perveniendi ad veram theologiam* (1519). The paper will describe the epistolary sources

related to the reformation of the canons regular in France. Also, it will focus on the strategies to solve the conflict between Windesheim and the Abbey of Saint Severin. Finally, the role of Erasmus in this context shall be duly outlined.

Panel: Idea(l)s of Europe in Early Modern Literature

Francesca Barbera Kipreos (Utrecht), The Ottoman Mirror: The Idea of Europe in one of Bandello's Novelle

Popular across Europe and inspired by historical and contemporary events, Matteo Bandello's *Novelle* offer a comprehensive panorama of the anxieties of his sixteenth-century audience. In particular, the first volume's tenth novella is an intriguing instance of an imagining of Europe in the eyes of the Ottomans. It tells the story of sultan Mehmed II, who, after taking Constantinople, momentarily abandons his dreams of conquest for a Greek girl named Ireneia (peace). When the court begins to whisper that Mehmed has become effeminate, his friend Mustafa reminds him of the feats of his ancestors and his own wish to be crowned Emperor of Rome. In response, Mehmed kills Ireneia in front of his courtiers and sets out to conquer Europe once again. Exploring the representation of Europe as both a desirable woman and a desirable land, this paper will argue that Bandello does not limit himself to defining the continent in opposition to the stereotype of the cruel and libidinous Turk. Instead, by portraying Mehmed as strong, resolute, virile and furnished with a good counsellor, it paradoxically presents him as a model to a Europe that, rather than superior, is weak, feminine, effeminizing and divided.

Anton Bruder (Utrecht), Defining Europe in Tirant lo Blanc, or How to Read in Three Dimensions

This paper argues that the modern idea of Europe as a community bound together by a shared secular culture has roots in the literary response to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. A reading of the chivalric romance *Tirant lo Blanc* (Valencia, 1490) suggests that the secular/cultural concept of Europe familiar to us today took seminal form within the contours of Christendom, and in a literary attempt to preserve it. While *Tirant* the knight re-writes recent history by stabilizing the *limes* of a besieged Christendom, *Tirant* the novel acts as an encyclopaedic compendium to an imagined community embodied by its secular and vernacular literary traditions. Thus, *Tirant* is here read as a palliative response to a traumatic attack on Christendom which (perhaps unintentionally) encourages the emergence of a European community conceived as a body of readers of secular, vernacular works. Keeping one eye on the post-Enlightenment dichotomy posited between the religious community of medieval Christendom and the secular culture of modern Europe, this paper argues that the relation between the two is an organic one, mediated by early modern literature.

Lieke Stelling (Utrecht), Utopia's Europe

Few works of early modern fiction have been associated with the term 'Europe' as often as Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). This may not be surprising for a text that found its first audiences across the continent in the *lingua franca* of the European learned world, Latin, and, later in the century, in a variety of European vernaculars. Moreover, there is wide scholarly consensus that *Utopia* offers a playful and imaginative critique of specifically European society. Yet the work itself mentions 'Europe' only once. This raises the hitherto underexplored question of what exactly 'Europe' means in *Utopia*. In this paper, I will address this issue by considering the work's use of the name 'Europe', both in the Latin edition and in several of its European translations, and by examining relevant indicators of what *Utopia*

suggests about Europe as a shared cultural space. I will thus argue that *Utopia's* conception of Europe is informed by a deep engagement with paradox, and specifically with the paradox of social and cultural pluralism as something to appreciate and enjoy on the one hand, but, on the other, to fear as a source of (violent) conflict.

Panel: Making and Unmaking Early Modern Women

Valerie Schutte (Independent), The Difficult Past of Queen Mary I's 1555 Pregnancy [Online]

Queen Mary I's pregnancy in 1555 has been a feature of her story as a tragic queen, trapped by her religious fervour and betrayed by her own body. This presentation will examine Mary's pregnancy through the lens of the reports by the Imperial ambassadors and Imperial observers. I explore how these men wrote about Mary's pregnancy, its implications for England and the Empire, and how the ambassadors represented her body. Mary's pregnant belly on display conveyed her fertility and the joining and continuation of the Tudor and Habsburg dynasties. A review of the interpretations and reports by the Imperial ambassadors indicate how although Mary was the most important royal figure at court her body was sexualized according to their opinions of Philip's place in Tudor government. Mary's pregnancy has been seemingly dismissed historically because it resulted in no child. Yet, this phantom pregnancy has come to be one of the most defining features of Mary's reign. Not only is she represented as 'Bloody Mary,' vicious executor of Protestants, but also as a childless queen, indicative of doomed and fruitless reign. This presentation will starkly contrast with modern perceptions of Mary as de-sexualized due to her failed pregnancies.

Elizabeth Leemann (Glasgow), The Crossroads of Life and Death: The Spiritual Womb in The Duchess of Malfi

This paper considers the womb as a spiritual entity in *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613-14). I begin by considering contemporary understandings of the womb in medical and religious writing. The interlinked bodily and spiritual importance of the womb is seen because this organ creates life through childbirth, but also death, causing stillbirths and miscarriages. The womb sits at the crossroads of life and death, creating a spiritual connection between a mother's soul and that of her child. The womb therefore plays an important part in redefining the landscape of the female connection to spirituality. This paper re-examines the Duchess's relationship to her children who are murdered and how their bond fundamentally changes the Duchess's soul. Furthermore, the Duchess's relationship to her twin brother Ferdinand is examined. His obsessive need to control and abuse his sister directly stems from their shared gestation in the womb. This paper shows, through an examination of Webster's play, that a reassessment of the womb's spiritual importance allows a better understanding of the early modern female experience as it is presented in the literature of the period.

Katherine Acheson (Waterloo), Marginalia and the Gendering of the Early Modern English Woman

In this paper I would like to upend the question, how do early modern women write marginalia? and reorganize it as this: 'how do marginalia make early modern women?' Reading, writing, and being gendered are embodied and social experiences that are learned and practiced over time by individuals in groups of people with shared experiences and status. In this context, marginalia are potentially part of the gendering process, especially white women of the middling or upper classes, just as were clothing, education, domestic training, social activity, family responsibilities, access to and management of resources, and

sexual and reproductive expectations. What specific aspects of the enculturation and engendering of the early modern white woman can we see in early modern marginalia practice? Where in marginalia do we see the potential for what Allison Hobgood calls 'the strange power of prosthetic materials to do queer work: to orient one away from self-ness towards mutual becomings and enmeshment in fluid, unstable, and knotty relational webs'? The paper anchors these questions with examples of early modern women's marginalia, especially ownership claims, and situates them in relation to critical frameworks about women's writing, marginalia, and the social history of books.

Panel: Writing Nation, Writing Colonialism

Lorna MacBean and Jessica Reid (Glasgow), Landmarks and Faultlines: The Strange Lacuna of the Seventeenth Century in Scottish Literary Histories [Online]

Seventeenth-century Scotland is replete with historical landmarks: from monarchical union, to regicide and rebellion; civil war to regal restoration; witch trials, religious factionalism, transatlantic trade, and settler-colonial projects. However, the literature of the century has had 'few friends': it is cast as a fanatical 'poetic wasteland' or viewed as 'the awkward bit between' Renaissance and Enlightenment. In narratives of Scottish textual culture, the seventeenth century represents a strange lacuna, with the majority of its texts still unedited, under-studied, and unknown outwith academia. This paper surveys critical attitudes to the century and questions the omission of its texts from the Scottish literary canon, asking what it is about this 'past' that is so difficult? Beginning with the formation of Britain through monarchical union and ending, in 1707, under the conditions of parliamentary union, this century presents a nexus point for discussions on nationhood, power, colonial projection, mercantile and military ideals, war, religious divide, generic change, and the functions of literature. Ultimately, this paper reacts against the persisting ideological penchant to forget literature from this century and seeks to provide access points for a reappraisal of the century to recover its textual history.

Andrew Hadfield (Sussex), Sidney and the Colonies

As the son of the Lord Deputy of Ireland and Lord President of Wales Sir Philip Sidney spent his life immersed in the culture of colonial expansion and colonial government and he was involved in a number of high profile and important colonial ventures. However, although he understood the arguments for colonialism and was able to deploy them in his writings it is likely that his interest in establishing colonies was of secondary importance to his conviction that the main issue for English Protestants in the late sixteenth century was the need to combat the power of Spain and the Spanish Empire. This paper outlines relevant events in Sidney's life; explores the signs of colonial thought in Sidney's writings and provides a more sustained analysis of his 'Discourse of Irish Affairs'; as well as Fulke Greville's recollections of Sidney's interest in colonialism in *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*.

Emily Rowe (KCL), Little England: Porous Nationalities and the Literary Military Camp [Online]

Advising on the government of military camps, Raimond de Fourquevaux, as translated by Paul Ive in 1589, writes that camps must 'shew like a little Citie', since the only difference between cities and camps is that 'one is mooveable, and the others do not sturre from their place'. In 1594, the pamphleteer Thomas Nashe picks up this image in his literary work *The Unfortunate Traveller* when his protagonist tells us that the camp has 'many quarters, & yet not so many as on London bridge'. Filled with shops, taverns, and a 'baggage train' of

civilians, merchants, and medics that could outnumber the army, the military camp had much in common with city life and, like early modern London, was a social and national melting pot. This paper will explore the reality and literary representation of English military camps as 'Little Englands', examining how camps were sites of both nationalism and multiculturalism on and off the page and how within these melting pots social, national, and racial difference was renegotiated. This interdisciplinary paper will compare archival material and military treatises with how camps were represented, idealised, and satirised in literary texts of the period, with a focus on sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century prose by Barnabe Rich, Philip Sidney, Thomas Nashe, and Thomas Dekker. In the transitory microspace of the military camp, 'Englishness' could be interrogated as a transportable but fluctuating concept that rarely fit neatly within the porous boundaries of the camp.

Panel: Music and Visual Culture 1500-1700: Interactions, Inspirations, Conflicts II

Samantha Chang (Toronto), The Sight and Sound of Garofalo's Self-Portrait as David

The musical self-portrait of Benvenuto Tisi (called Garofalo) presents the artist as David, the psalmist, holding a viola da gamba and looking out at his viewers (c. 1520–40; Private collection). The painter wears an expansive robe over a bejewelled tunic and dons a crown-shaped hat decorated with a gillyflower (or carnation), a pun on the painter's name. The painter's left-hand rests in the foreground, in front of a music scroll, on top of a parapet. Inscribed on the side of the parapet, in the bottom-right corner, is a Latin hexameter: *Istius ipse formae est Garofalus auctor* (Garofalo himself is the author of this figure). On the surface, Garofalo's musical self-portrait follows a musical-visual trope that gained prominence in the sixteenth century—partnering the painter's artistic and musical identities. However, beneath the surface, Garofalo accentuates the aural dimension of the pictorial space by playfully entangling the real and the imagined, the tangible and the intangible, and engages the viewers' sense of sight and sound through layers of reflections within one self-portrait. This presentation attempts to disentangle Garofalo's manipulation of sight and sound and considers the interactions between the visual and the musical in sixteenth-century Italian musical self-portraits.

Eleanor Chan (Manchester), {Not}ation: the In/visible Visual Cultures of Musical Legibility in the English Renaissance

Legibility can seem like the quintessence of musical notation, without which any attempt at musical inscription has fundamentally no purpose. Nevertheless, the visual culture of the English Renaissance is full of surviving examples that feature music books that are, fundamentally, illegible. Such instances are not useless, but rather shed vital light on the concerns of the visual culture of the English Renaissance, and what representation meant to the people who originally created and viewed these objects. What does it mean to include sheet music that merely looks like, but does not manifest, as legible notation? When does an object lose its semantic value? When does writing, notation, signification, pull lose from its structural seams and cease to be meaningful? Through the lens of a trio of objects (*Four Children Making Music* by the Master of the Countess of Warwick, an anonymous furnishing panel from Hardwick Hall, and a wall painting from High Street, Thame) that feature partially, or tantalizingly legible musical notation, this paper seeks to explore the ramifications of visually depicting things that are and are not readable. Such objects, I argue, have a graphic eloquence beyond the simple equation of sign and signified.

Hannah Yip (Manchester), Preachers and Scholars of Music and Art in Early Modern England and Beyond

This paper explores the lives and careers of a selection of seventeenth-century English preachers and scholars who were also proficient in music and draughtsmanship, arguing that the fruits of their extracurricular creativity contributed to the advancement of their scholarly reputations and enhanced their ministry. It investigates the ways in which these spokesmen of the Church of England continued to appreciate and produce art amidst changing attitudes towards the place of music and the arts in worship in post-Reformation England. In doing so, this paper seeks to stimulate further discussion on the future of Reformation and early modern studies. How can we bring the disciplines of history, art history, and musicology together to better understand the recreational and professional activities of people of middling status and beyond in early modern England, and particularly during the tumultuous years of Reformation and Civil War? What are our shared barriers in conducting 'musical-visual' research? Is history better written from the perspective of multiple disciplines?

Panel: Blackness

Anna Reynolds (Sheffield), 'Blacking Up' in Shakespeare's Sonnets

Throughout his poetry and plays, Shakespeare treats paper as representative of the human body: 'Was this fair paper, this most goodly book, / Made to write 'whore' upon?' (4.2.73-74), Othello asks of Desdemona, and the speaker of Sonnet 17 foresees a future in which his 'papers (yellowed with their age)' will 'Be scorned, like old men of less truth than tongue' (9-10). As Brandi K. Adams and Miles P. Grier have demonstrated, white paper and black ink are vehicles through which Shakespeare persistently creates and interrogates racialized categories. This paper will consider a particularly self-reflexive version of this trope latent within a textual variant in Sonnet 77: its 'waste blanks' or, in its first edition, 'waste blacks'. After exploring what Patricia Parker has termed the 'homophonic ghost effects' of this particular etymological slippage, I consider the consequences of a poet labelling his poetry black. I ask how this might relate to the pattern of 'racial prosthetics' that Ian Smith finds throughout Shakespeare's plays, and suggest that here, in the poem printed at the very centre of the sonnet sequence, we might find an admission of the exploitative profitability of an artist blacking up.

William Green (Independent), Imagining the Enemy: A Game at Chess and Racialised Performance in Thomas Middleton's Anti-Spanish Allegories

In chess, white always moves first. It was not until the turn of the twentieth century that this rule became uniformly adopted, yet as a game in which white and black do battle chess always has the potential to be racialised. Such a racialised depiction of the game is observable in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624). Here, Middleton ostensibly uses the dichotomy of white/black to represent a struggle between good and evil, or England versus Spain; but although the nations represented do not conform to modern notions of 'black' as a racial identity, research has shown that for early moderns Spain was often considered a distinct, non-white race characterised by 'blackness'. This paper considers *A Game at Chess* as a racial allegory, contextualising the play through contemporary concerns regarding English weakness in the face of a perceived Spanish threat. Relating the play to other Middletonian portrayals of chess in *Women Beware Women* (1621) and Spanish 'otherness' in *The Changeling* (1622), the paper argues that by approaching *Game* as a

racialised exploration of white triumph over blackness, we can learn more about Middleton's anti-Spanish biases in the play, and about audiences' fears of potential subjugation by a non-white 'Other'.

Bailey Sincox (Princeton), The Black Devil in The White Devil: The Difficulty of Racist Laughter

John Webster's *The White Devil* (1612) is characterized (as its title suggests) by the conceits of whiteness, fairness, and morality pitted against Blackness, ugliness, and vice that Kim Hall reminds us undergird early modern race-making. Yet, insufficient attention has been paid to the play's single Black character. This paper focuses on the comic scene in which Zanche 'the Moor' reveals that her former lover Flamineo murdered Vittoria's husband Camillo and Bracciano's wife Isabella. She believes her new lover 'Mulinassar' to be 'her countryman,' but in fact he is Francisco—Isabella's brother, Vittoria and Flamineo's enemy—in disguise. Her revenge parodies Vittoria's, inviting racist laughter at the expense of a Black devil rather than the titular white one. At the same time, Francisco's blackface bed-trick underscores the pitiful inefficacy of the powerless retaliating against the powerful. As both parodic foil and pathetic double, Zanche literalizes *The White Devil's* obsession with 'nigromancy,' bearing the brunt of the play's punishment for dark deeds (as Ayanna Thompson has described elsewhere) on her racialized body. This paper argues that recognizing Zanche's role demands contemporary readers grapple with the difficult history of racist laughter in the Renaissance.

Panel: The Practicalities of Mobility in Early Modern Europe

Hanna de Lange (St Andrews), Collecting Knowledge Abroad: Study Trips of Young Danish and Dutch Scholars in Seventeenth-Century England

In the seventeenth century, England's popularity as a destination for a 'peregrinatio academica' increased. Young scholars in their formative years added England to their itinerary, which hitherto mainly encompassed the classical learning centres of Italy and France. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were some of the most sought-after destinations for the young travellers to enrol in, while Oxford's Bodleian Library attracted theology and philology students and the capital London became a hotspot for students of medicine and natural science visiting the Royal Society. Back in their home countries, Denmark and the Dutch Republic respectively, many of these scholars began building libraries, and their experiences abroad reverberated in their book-collecting habits. This paper explores how these study trips influenced the cultural and intellectual exchange between these countries. The experiences of the scholars and the contacts they made during their study trip would have a lasting impact on the books they collected.

Sandra Toffolo (Trento), Networks of Mobility: Foreign Pilgrims and their Interactions in Renaissance Venice

During the Renaissance hundreds of pilgrims, from all over Europe, could pass each year through Venice on their way to Jerusalem. They often needed to stay in the city for several weeks while they waited for the departure of their galley. During this time, they interacted with various local, national, and transnational networks. This paper focuses on how these connections were created and how they functioned on an everyday basis. Pilgrims interacted in different ways and to different degrees with such diverse groups as innkeepers, guides, salesmen, Venetian magistrates, merchants from all over the world, and other pilgrims. They could be in contact for a variety of reasons, such as fulfilling their basic needs for lodging and food, but also gaining news and information, participating in civic and religious ceremonies,

buying a range of different items, preparing for the rest of their journey, or strengthening diplomatic connections. These moments of encounter played a significant role in the circulation of objects and ideas. Detailed analysis of Jerusalem-bound pilgrims and their local, national, and transnational networks during their stay in Venice can therefore provide important insights into the functioning of mobility in Renaissance Italy and the world.

Joanne Anderson (Aberdeen), Visual Strategies on the Sankt Jakobsweg in the Tyrolean Alps

Santiago de Compostela was a key pilgrimage destination in early modern Europe, with thousands of Christian souls making the long journey to the Iberian Peninsula every year to gain proximity to the tomb containing the relics of Saint James the Greater. The scallop shell or a badge in this form is the well-known souvenir, and their ubiquity as material finds or in visual representations stands as evidence, alongside church dedications of international mobility and networked devotional practice. This paper focuses on the town of Bozen/Bolzano, on the South Tyrolean branch of the *Sankt Jakobsweg*, and the visual strategies employed by patrons to connect St James to another great pilgrimage saint who enjoyed great popularity in the locality, Mary Magdalen. It will examine church and altar dedications, bequests and surviving imagery and objects in and around the town that stand testament to the physical and spiritual journeys that were undertaken, both near and far.

Panel: Topography and Memory in Text and Performance

Abigail Shinn, (Goldsmiths), Converting the Home: Reformation Hauntings in Arden of Faversham

Following the Reformation, a significant number of ecclesiastical properties were repurposed rather than being subject to ruination. This paper focuses on the difficult memories evoked by these buildings through a reading of the play *Arden of Faversham* (c. 1590, authorship unknown). Exploring the importance of Arden's home being situated in a converted monastic property, I will chart the various Reformation hauntings which shape this domestic tragedy. Linking the Catholic symbols and images which appear in the plot, and Alice Arden's brief conversion, to the converted house which becomes the site of Arden's murder, I explore how the play uses the Reformation past to shape a perverted and unnatural image of home which enables Alice's act of petty treason. This includes a detailed discussion of how the converted house informs the play's depiction of tensions between inside and outside, between the masculine world of travel versus the female world of the domestic, between the stability of property ownership and the poverty equated with vagrancy and peripatetic crime.

Archie Cornish (Sheffield), Antipathetical Places: Nostalgia, Magic and Allegory in Antiquarian Caves

Sixteenth-century antiquarians are unsure what to do about caves. Subterranean places supposedly preserve ancient figures of British and classical mythology, establishing an equivalence between going underground and going back in time. Camden's *Britannia* (1586) accounts for these places, such as the distant 'British Iland' of Thule where Saturn is bound in interminable sleep, uneasily. As well as mythological personages, caves preserve magical laws. In Harrison's *Description of England* (1587), magical places of local English legends are whittled down to a handful of legitimate 'wonders', of which a striking number are caves, like the 'Devil's Arse' in Derbyshire. To use Thomas Fuller's later definition, caves are 'antipathetical places': locations which resist and rebuff human approach and human logic. As Alexandra Walsham has argued, English antiquarians negotiate a paradox created by the Reformation:

to cleanse the landscape of associations with Catholicism, and also to re-enchant it. Caught between superstition and reform, nostalgia and nation-building, caves become emblematic of a difficult past. Rather than seeking, in historicist fashion, traces of these antiquarian caves in contemporary literature, this paper will consider the literary response to the cultural stimulus of these stubbornly enduring antipathetical caves. One solution to their difficulty, I will argue, is to transform their magical laws of cause and effect into the spatial logic of the allegorical place.

Jennifer Allport Reid (Birkbeck), Reformed Religion and Early Modern Fairy Belief

This paper will examine how early modern custom and belief surrounding fey beings should be understood in the context of the Long Reformation, comparing evidence from various types of writing about spectres, fairies, and spirits. I ask how fairy belief is constructed in dramatic and non-literary writing of the Long Reformation: beginning by examining the repeated claim (over the course of several centuries) that fairy beliefs belong solely to the recent past, before examining late Elizabethan and early Jacobean Protestant polemic in order to ask how and to what extent fairy beliefs were altered – or even reinforced – by contemporary religious writings. Early modern English debates surrounding fairy belief were inevitably enmeshed with varyingly explicit contrasts between pre- and post-Reformation theology; this paper builds on the important case made by Peter Marshall in *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* that the supernatural was a key part of the fabric of the early modern religious experience and of the relationship between church and worshipper. Despite Marshall's valuable insights, particularly in relation to ghosts, there is amongst scholars a still-pervasive perception of supernatural belief as always a phenomenon of the generation that went before. In this paper, I re-establish the case for taking fairy beliefs seriously, and examines in particular the ways in which fairy belief could represent a means of engaging with the community's predecessors and of processing the sociocultural upheaval and trauma of the Reformation.

Panel: Access, Locality, and Community in the Early Modern Library

John-Mark Philo (UEA), Library Access: Exclusion and Inclusion at the Early Modern Library

No sooner had the travel writer, Richard Lassell (c.1603–1668), entered the great library at Zurich than he wanted to leave. This was somewhat unexpected, given that Lassell himself had listed the collection as one of 'the best things to be seen in Zurich', along with its impressive arsenal. The library, however, was 'much less esteemed by me, because a woman had the key of it'. This fact, along with an apparent slip in the library's Latin inscription, 'disgusted me with all that I saw there, and made me hasten out quickly: Good *Libraries* should not fall *en quenouille* [into the distaff]' (*The Voyage of Italy*, 1670). Lassell's dismissal of the Zurich collection underlines the fact that the early-modern library was an almost exclusively male space. This paper examines the question of exactly who had access to the early-modern library, and the complex social relationships that underpinned entrance to a given collection. It analyses those examples where boundaries of gender, religion, and social status acted as stumbling blocks to intellectual exchange, but also those moments when these boundaries were crossed. From the female scholars who were able to pursue their research through private collections to the cross-cultural exchange that certain libraries afforded, this paper interrogates exactly what it meant to access a library in the early-modern age.

Tom Roebuck (UEA), From the Margins of Library History? The Library of St Margaret's Church, King's Lynn, in Context

In 1631, the 'Mayor and Burgesses' of King's Lynn decreed that a 'Chamber over the North Porch of St Margaret's Church', the town's central church, would be 'fitted for the use of a Library'. Donations amounting to £73 were used to buy fundamental books for the collection: ecclesiastical history, patristics, and contemporary biblical scholarship. These purchases and the donations to the library which followed were recorded in a splendid vellum donors' book prepared by John Arrowsmith (1602-1659) during his time as a minister in Lynn (he would subsequently become master of St John's College, Cambridge). Many of the library's volumes survive today in King's Lynn Public Library. My paper aims to share initial research into this extraordinarily rich collection. Its larger purpose is to assess the extent to which a library such as that of Lynn should be seen as a 'regional' collection, and how far its peripherality might challenge (or not) established narratives of library history based on England's major libraries which were being established at a not-dissimilar time. The paper will also reflect on the difficulties — but also delights and privileges — of working on a collection today which lies outside the mainstream of international research libraries.

Sophie Butler (UEA), Unlocking the Archive: Opening Up the Historic Book Collections of Norfolk's Public Libraries

Norfolk is home to what has been described as one of England's earliest 'public' libraries: the Norwich City Library, founded in 1608. Norfolk was also home to another seventeenth century library founded by a town's leading figures, in King's Lynn. These libraries were, in an important sense, 'public' institutions, but they were also restricted spaces, emerging from inextricable links between religious and civic life. Today, books from these historic libraries find themselves in a new 'public' setting: the Norfolk Library and Information Service. Since 2015, UEA's 'Unlocking the Archive' project has collaborated with the Norfolk library service to find new ways to open up these little-known collections to the public: collections which are inherently 'difficult' for non-specialists to access in multiple ways, from arcane subject matter, to the languages in which they are written, to the physical books themselves and the need to balance conservation with engagement. This paper will discuss how early modern books can become part of the vital, wide-ranging community-focused work of public libraries (both online and in-person), and will reflect on the role of partnerships between universities and non-HEI institutions in tackling the difficulties of defending and defining the importance of both Renaissance studies and public libraries for communities today.

Friday 21 July, 2023

Parallel Session 5

Panel: Mobility and Migration

Nuno Vila-Santa (Lisbon), Global Maritime Spies? Portuguese Espionage to the English Expeditions to West Africa (1553-1567)

Between 1553 and 1567, several agents, spies and ambassadors were sent to England to protest against the violation of Portuguese Mare Clausum and to report all details of the English fleets (names of ships, people involved, routes, and calendar of departure). This communication will reflect on this Portuguese maritime espionage in England, comparing it

to the other major scenarios of Portuguese maritime espionage in Europe (namely Spain and France). Who were the agents chosen by the Portuguese court to spy in England? What was the content of their missions and were their goals accomplished? The impact of 16th century first globalization in the European maritime expansion process meant often that there were similarities in espionage methods employed by the Portuguese, the Spanish, the French and even the English. This communication will also reflect on whether a comparison can be established between the Portuguese and the Spanish and French maritime espionage. Drawing on this comparative approach another relevant question to debate will be: Was there any sort of model of a global maritime spy?

Kathleen Commons (Sheffield), 'Englecerie/Forinsecus': Bringing the Law Back in to the History of Early Modern Migration to England

Early modern migration history is a lively and growing field; however, examinations of laws of migration and settlement have been limited, particularly in the context of England. This paper will seek to rethink how we understand this migration history through a fresh analysis of the legal situation of immigrants in England from 1550-1700. This was a period of rapid growth in immigration, and in both common law principles and statute relating to migrants' status. The paper will draw on legal texts to show a growing tendency to regulate the presence of the migrant, a process which was nonetheless subject to repeated contestations around the division between migrant and subject/citizen and plagued by ambiguities around membership of the body politic. The paper will trace a (contested) transition from multiple forms of belonging at the level of guild, city, and national state to a broadly accepted notion of the migrant as in opposition to the subject/citizen. In doing so, it will re-centre the migrant in the history of the development of the English subject/citizen and English nation state in early modernity.

Hana Ferencová (Palacký University), The Changing Fate of the Capital: British Travellers to Early Modern Prague

Early modern British travellers' interest in visiting famous European cities was an integral part of the grand tour. Nevertheless, records of visits to Prague in early modern British travel writings are relatively rare and of value in comparison with other cities such as Vienna, Paris and Rome. The Bohemian lands were a transit region for educated, upper- or middle-class British travellers, who rarely spent long periods of time there with the exception of Prague. Prague as the significant centre of the Kingdom of Bohemia attracted the most attention of foreign visitors, represented the very frequent and often only place where they stopped although they usually passed through the country. The capital was situated on the main route leading through Bohemia from Dresden to Vienna or other imperial cities and its fate was strongly influenced by the difficult religious and political development. The aim of the paper is to discuss how British travellers reflected on Prague of which attractiveness and role was significantly transformed in the course of early modern era – from the famous past to the decline by the end of the eighteenth century.

Panel: The Limits of Human Agency

Lisa Kattenberg (Amsterdam), Difficult pasts and Power Struggles in the Early Modern Netherlands and Colonial Chile

This paper explores the dynamics between remembering, forgetting and learning from difficult pasts in the context of the colonial wars between the Spanish, Dutch and Mapuche.

On 4 September 2022 Chileans vote on a new constitution that would grant greater autonomy to indigenous groups such as the Mapuche, who have a long history of resistance to foreign rule which neither the Inca nor the Spanish empires ever managed to subdue. For the Spanish, the so-called Arauco wars with the Mapuche during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a series of conflicts distinguished by their protracted and undermining nature. It reminded them of a similarly destructive conflict that continued into the present, namely their long struggle to subdue the revolt in the Netherlands. As (colonial) Spanish authors and statesmen tried to learn from the experience of these ongoing conflicts, their adversaries on both sides of the Atlantic were driven by traditions of independent pasts and freedom from foreign rule. Focusing on the parallels between Chile and the Netherlands – noted by contemporaries but often overlooked by historians – this paper examines the forces of experience, memory and tradition in a context of ongoing struggles for the power to shape the future.

Beatriz Marin-Aguilera (Liverpool), Sexual Capital and the Borderland-as-Woman in Colonial Chile

In this paper I focus on race, gender, age, sexual violence, and power along the Spanish-Reche frontier in Chile between the 16th and 18th centuries to contend that males in the borderland extracted value from women and girl's bodies and sex to increase their economic fortune and political power. Chile was the most important borderland of the Spanish Empire, in which colonial power and Indigenous resistance were contested over centuries. War between the Reche and the Spaniards and their allies involved countless razzias in which the female body become men's battlefield. Women and girls were brokered for economic and political gain, or captured, forcibly displaced, separated from their families, and enslaved. Despite colonial laws protecting Indigenous people and repeated efforts on the part of government and religious authorities to limit the abuses of the system, kidnapped Indigenous women supplied forced labour tribute (*servicio personal*) in the form of domestic and cooking service, nursing, concubinage, and/or prostitution well into the 17th century. Drawing on archival records, captivity narratives, and material culture, this paper shows how and why gender and sexual violence were intertwined with race and capital, and how the intimacy of the household was the site of colonial brutality, labour, and wealth.

Carlo Scapecchi (Edinburgh), The Bankruptcy of the Spedale degli Innocenti in Florence (1579): The Difficult Perspective of Children

In 1579, Pope Gregory XIII Buoncompagni declared the bankruptcy of the Spedale degli Innocenti in Florence. This charity institution took care of parentless children and foundlings in the city from the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, the Spedale had accumulated in decades many insolvencies caused by economic contingencies of the historical context and, more importantly, the cost of a vast number of children (over one thousand) assisted in the Hospital. Following the bankruptcy, Granduke Francesco de Medici sought to restore the institution's finances and constituted a commission of Nine Magistrates (*Nove Magistrati*) and, after the death of Vincenzo Borghini (August 1580), nominated a new Prior, the Franciscan Fra Niccolò Mazzi da Cortona. One of the main objectives of the Hospital's new management was to reduce the number of male and female foundlings ruthlessly and, therefore, the institution's expenses. In particular, the Hospital sent young male foundlings to Tuscan galleys, and female foundlings, who constituted the vast majority of the children in the Innocenti, were either married, employed as servants in private

households and in the Hospital, where they were mainly trained in weaving and spinning. The paper aims to analyse the reports of the Nine Magistrates and the measures applied by Mazzi regarding foundlings. Through new archival evidence, the paper will consider the difficult perspective of female and male foundlings of Spedale degli Innocenti in the institution's bankruptcy in 1579. The research will study charity institutions, apprenticeship, labour, textile production, children's education and oppression in sixteenth-century Florence.

Panel: Blood, Ritual and Sacrifice

Kathleen Foy (Durham), 'My appetite is grown so fierce. Let me/ Begin with thy moyst lip': Appetitive Brutality in Davenant's The Tragedy of Albovine

Bridging the Interregnum, playwright William Davenant's impact upon the Caroline and Restoration stage was significant. His Caroline tragedies particularly reward interest with their Italianate settings, Fletcherian brutality, and complex plotting that serve as commentary upon and communion with what would become the European Thirty Years War already in motion on the wider Italian stage. Davenant's Veronese set *The Tragedy of Albovine* (pub. 1629) is remarkable in its lurid displays of Fletcherian brutality. Act I's reference to 'Ravenous kisses' that do 'eate [...] lips' comes into fruition in Act V where the King's favourite, Paradine, cannibalises the Queen's lips onstage; Act II features Rhodolinda being served wine from her father's skull fashioned into a *drinking-bowle* at her wedding feast; Act III features the King kissing his favourite's wife, whilst the Queen kisses her favourite, Hermegild, plotting to dupe the King's favourite, Paradine, with a bed-trick; Act IV shows us the aftermath of that bed-trick with Paradine's wife, Valdaura, tricking him into killing her by claiming to have poisoned him; Act V's final tableau sets the King, Queen and Valdaura dead in chairs onstage, the Queen's favourite dead upon the floor, and the vengeful King's favourite led away for questioning. Davenant's onstage depiction of the skull *drinking-bowle*, cannibalised lips, and empoisoning serves to render material a warning against ungoverned and destabilising appetites in the broader socio-political landscape.

Judy Hefferan (Southern Queensland), Sensing the Bloody Handkerchief: Remembrance and Rationality in The Spanish Tragedy

In Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo is constantly preoccupied with the unjust and unheeded murder of his son. In a scene that is shocking to modern audiences, he dips a handkerchief in his son's blood and carries it as a remembrance to avenge his son's death. The 'touch' of this shocking souvenir both exhorts him to endure the disdain of the unpunished Royal murderers and allows him to feign madness long enough to construct a riveting plan of revenge. Helkiah Crooke, in his monograph *Microcosmographia* (1615), contended that 'Touch' was the most important of the senses, that 'al other senses are restayned within some small organ about the brayne, but the Touching is diffused through the whole body'. This is perhaps not surprising since Thomas Cooper's 1578 definition of touch illuminated the complexity of the term: 'to move or grieve: to come: to decyve; to quippe; to taunt: to take up: to write: to speak or mention a thing'. I contend that audiences, fully cognisant of the preternatural power of blood and the complex connotation of the sense of touch, would credit this bloody memento in the realisation of paternal revenge. To premodern audiences, blood, which was thought to contain the living spirit of man, was perceived as highly powerful and had magical powers of transference; transference that occurred through the sensory experience of touch.

Elizabeth Kate Harper (Hong Kong), Finite Filial Bodies: Pentheus, Christ and a Parent's Rage

In Greek tragedy, any hopeful configuration of the child as a vessel of futurity is repeatedly undermined. Projected upon the child's finite body are all the uncertainties which haunt temporal beings faced with the limitation of the spheres of reason, order and justice. In Euripides' *Bacchae*, the youth Pentheus is murdered at the hands of his mother in thrall to Dionysus. In the twelfth-century *Christus Patiens* 'Suffering Christ', a cento mostly patched together from quotations from Euripides, Christ is crucified in a manner which echoes *Bacchae* in theme and subject matter: persecution of a god, the death of a king, maternal lament. This paper explores the ways in which the language of ritual sacrifice is used to describe the death of a child. It reads tragedy through a theological lens to show how in *Christus Patiens*, Pentheus and Dionysus are mapped onto Christ, testing the limits of Christian drama. It suggests that the reception of Greek tragedy in early modern drama has important ramifications both in its crafting a new and different world-view, one which pitches the vindictive pagan destroyer Dionysus against the merciful redeemer Jesus Christ, and for the troubling reminder of pagan sacred experience incorporated in its vision.

Panel: Discovering the Past: Artists, Artisans, and their Artworks

Ariela Shimshon (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), The Mission 'To Forget': Aspects in the Canonisation Process of Botticelli

The process (model?) of rediscovering artists, which emerged in the nineteenth century, had a fundamental influence on modern artistic practice, and is still important today. The rediscovery of Sandro Botticelli by the members of the nineteenth century Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood for example, is perceived as a formative event with a long-term culture implication. In my talk I will focus on the fierce dispute that was aroused about Botticelli's art in the nineteenth century in England. My aim is to uncover the motives of those activists who denounced his art. Botticelli's growing popularity stood in their way to pave a different art historical path that would have created another reading for the development of the Renaissance.

Bar Leshem (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), What's Love Got to Do with It? Rape and Abduction on Cinquecento Carved Cassoni

In the forthcoming study I will examine a group of mythology-themed images carved on Cinquecento *cassoni*, all related to the subject widely known as the 'love of the gods.' Despite what the name might suggest, the connection between what we today consider 'love' and some of these myths seems somewhat inappropriate. Often in the context of domestic art, these mythological subjects were meant to teach the young couple how to conduct themselves in line with the societal norms of their society. The theme the 'love of the gods' is especially well known through Jupiter's many deceptions and seductions, wherein he changed himself into an animal, a natural phenomenon, or another kind of creature to facilitate his various acts of abduction and/or rape. I will explore these images from the perspective of the didactic messages that these myths might have conveyed in the domestic context of the sixteenth century. I will suggest that through the myths related to abduction and rape, the bride was exhorted to act in a chaste manner and the groom was warned not to succumb to lust.

Daniel M. Unger (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), Who are you St. Martha?

The special status of Martha or 'the Marathas' in the successful TV series based on Atwood's *Handmaid's Tale* made me wonder why St. Martha has received little attention by early modern painters. The Marathas, especially Rita, the domestic servant of the Waterford couple, serve as housekeepers and cooks. Martha's connection to the kitchen is also found in the German film of the 1990s, *Martha's Kitchen* where the heroine is a successful chef. Martha is known throughout the ages as the sister of Maria and Lazarus of Bethany. Her most significant images are in scenes of the raising of Lazarus and Jesus in their house in Bethany. In both scenes, she is portrayed with her sister. The latter scene where Martha is preparing a meal and Mary is listening to the Lord's words is that which established her role as patron-saint of the housewives. Martha who was seeking help from her sister, was interrupted by Jesus who explained why it is important for Mary to continue listening to him. In my talk, I would like to propose an iconographic model of St. Martha as one may see in early modern European painting.

Panel: Difficult Studies

Irina Chernetsky, Hebrew Script in Albrecht Dürer's (?) S. Jerome Curing the Lion - New Observations

Frontispiece of the *Letters of St. Jerome (Epistolae beati Hieronymi)*, published by Nikolaus Kessler in Basel in 1492, was printed from a woodcut, attributed to Albrecht Dürer. The woodcut depicts St. Jerome who sits in his study and splints out a thorn from the lion's paw. The remarkable feature of this scene is three open Bibles on the saint's desk: Hebrew, Greek and Latin. This paper discusses Dürer's unique approach towards the representation of St. Jerome in context of the growing contemporary inspiration to study sacred texts in original languages as well as in context of the possibilities provided in such printing centres as was Basel, the city with a university.

Carlos Fernando Teixeira Alves (CEHR-UCP; CHSC-UC.), Narratives of Change: How A Rhetoric of Decadence Justified the Reform of Coimbra University in 1772 [Online]

This proposal intends to analyse the discourse used by the Portuguese reformers to justify a wide-ranging pedagogical, scientific, administrative, and financial reform of the University of Coimbra between 1772 and 1822, and to promote new disciplines and ways of knowing. For this, the reformers systematically resorted to a derogatory rhetoric of ideas and knowledge introduced in earlier periods (as in the 16th century). For our analysis, we will mainly use the 1772 statutes and will pay more attention to the development of a 'decadent' imagery. For the Portuguese reformers, this decadence began to take shape in the 16th century, with the entrance of external forces into the University, such as the Jesuits. Simultaneously, the choice for certain knowledge, in their evaluation of the causes of this decadence, was another symptom for the retreat of this institution in relation to its European counterparts. With the 18th century and the realisation that it was the responsibility of modern states to educate their citizens, universities and other educational institutions became essential in this task. In turn, this rhetoric of 'decadence' also demonstrates the need to instrumentalise these institutions in what would be the answers to concrete problems.

Husain Akbari (UEA), Simon Ockley: The Difficult Past of Arabic Scholarship at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

This paper examines the difficult past of Arabic scholarship in seventeenth-century England, focusing on Simon Ockley (1678-1720) and his use of *Futuh al-Sham*, an Arabic manuscript obtained by Edward Pococke (1604-1691) from the Levant, which is attributed to the Islamic historian Omar Al-Waqidi (747-823). At a time when Arabic scholarship was deeply embedded in the religiopolitical situation in England, Ockley's engagement with Al-Waqidi supports a more complex and nuanced view of Arabic studies at the time. This paper also looks at a period which modern historians have regarded as a 'decline' in Arabic scholarship due to the availability of significant Arabic works in Latin translations, alongside the wider geopolitical shift of the Empire from the Levant towards the Indian Subcontinent. Ockley's multifaceted approach to Arabic scholarship that utilised an Arabic manuscript to write the history of the Arabs offers a valuable insight into the difficulty of Arabic studies at the time, struggling to balance his duties as an Anglican vicar alongside what appears to be a genuine attempt to understand the Islamic world. It is Ockley's work and methodology that led Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), perhaps his most significant intellectual descendant, to acknowledge Ockley as 'an original in every sense'.

Panel: Legacies of Plague

Alexandra Bamji (Leeds), The Ongoing Impact of Plague: Memory, Emotions and Public Health in Early Modern Venice

This paper examines the interest of medical professionals, government officials and ordinary people in the Venetian Republic in past outbreaks of plague during the early modern period. After a series of outbreaks of plague in the sixteenth century, the city of Venice experienced its final epidemic in 1630-1. Thereafter, its rulers and inhabitants remained highly preoccupied with plague. This paper analyses how plague was scrutinised and remembered through a variety of media, from treatises to votive churches, and evaluates the features of past outbreaks which were highlighted. Close attention is paid to what emphasis was placed by authors of written sources on aspects of past epidemics where the public health response was effective or ineffective. The paper analyses when and why these sources were produced, and considers the interplay between ritualised memorialisation of epidemics, the Republic's public health strategy, and the emotional responses of the inhabitants of the city, in order to open up questions about disease and intergenerational trauma.

Rachel Anderson (Durham), 'It hath pleased almighty God to withdrawe his visiting hand': Life After the Plague in Early Modern Lancashire

This paper uses a series of petitions to the Lancashire Quarter Sessions court to create a street-level perspective of what it meant to pick up the pieces after an outbreak of plague. Whilst much scholarly attention has been paid to the broader social and economic impact of plague, the immediate aftermath of an outbreak has received comparatively little attention. As Ann Carmichael has observed, most written accounts of plague were composed well after the events they claim to witness, thereby imposing 'a narrative order on a past plague, assigning its beginning, middle, and end, and selecting which facts and memories are needed to capture the essence or meaning of the plague'. The Lancashire petitions allow us to reconstruct the immediate concerns of ordinary people through a series of deeply personalised narratives. Together, these sources reveal that the devastating impact of plague

was not limited to the months during which the disease was active. Severe ripples and repercussions were felt in the weeks, months and in some cases even years following its withdrawal.

Marina Inì (Cambridge), Quarantine between Epidemics: Avoiding the Next Plague in the Early Modern Mediterranean

This paper investigates the effects of plague outbreaks focusing on quarantine stations and plague prevention efforts in the early modern Western Mediterranean. People and goods were often required to quarantine in vast complexes built in port cities and trading hubs of the Western states of the Mediterranean before crossing borders and entering cities. The paper first highlights how the consequences of plague outbreaks influenced the use of quarantine as a preventative measure around the whole Mediterranean. The paper considers the example of the quarantine centre of Varignano (near Genoa): built during the plague in Marseille, it stood empty for 20 years until it was put into use during the plague in Messina. The paper argues that a more pragmatic approach in reactions to plague outbreaks was adopted questioning a narrative that sees preventative measures as aimed only at protecting the common good and at strengthening defences against plague. The paper reflects on how economic and public health factors needed to be balanced across the early modern period, from the start of quarantine practices and the adoption of permanent quarantine centres in the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century, with commercial needs often initially hindering plague prevention efforts.

Panel: Knowledge and Translation

Cecilia Muratori (Pavia), 'Drawing Abyss into Byss': Translation and Appropriation of Jacob Böhme in Seventeenth-Century England [Online]

According to the religious writer Richard Baxter, 'Paracelsians, Behmenists, and other Enthusiasts [...] purposely hide themselves in self-devised, uncouth, cloudy terms' (*A Key for Catholics*, 1659). English readers would have found these authors 'hidden' behind an additional layer: translations. In the first half of the 17th century, much German 'spiritualist' literature was translated into English. Together with works by Jacob Böhme (1575-1624), writings by Paracelsus, Sebastian Franck, Hans Denck, and Valentin Weigel, among others, were made available in English translation often by the same publishers and booksellers. The translations of Böhme's works in particular were so successful that they led to the creation of a new philosophical persona: that of an English 'Jacob Behmen', who spoke his own language, featuring daring terminological choices, which in turn enabled novel philosophical connections. For instance, the OED lists only translations of Böhme for the word 'byss', constructed as the opposite of 'abyss' – an attempt to recreate the relation between 'Grund' and 'Ungrund', two foundational concepts in Boehme. My paper compares originals and translations, showcasing the most relevant instances of the philosophical appropriation of Böhme in 17th-century England. In so doing, my paper discusses translation as a philosophical, religious, and also political channel for the reception of a 'difficult past', or rather of a difficult author.

Masuda Qureshi (Birkbeck), 'The serene skie shines with augmented light': Philosophical Ideas of Skies and Universe in Hutchinson's Poetic Translation of Lucretius

What do Hutchinson's descriptions of the skies and universe in her poetic translation tell us about her engagement with natural philosophy? This paper works closely with Hutchinson's

changes to poetic language as a translator to learn more about her approach to natural philosophy. It explores Hutchinson's translation practice, role as a poet, and response to ancient and early modern philosophy. Firstly, the paper investigates Hutchinson's descriptions of cosmogenesis to assess how she uses Epicurean philosophy to provide a precise translation of Lucretius' theories. It then complicates these ideas by examining her alterations to Lucretius' text to uncover how her poem incorporates seventeenth-century philosophy. Finally, it assesses how Hutchinson's poetic techniques oppose Lucretius' ideas. In short, by tracing these three modes of Hutchinson's poetic usage, we see how she responds to, alters and opposes philosophical ideas to show how, in her translation, poetic language and philosophical thought were connected. This paper focuses on Book 5 of Hutchinson's translation, a text that has received little critical attention compared to Books 1 and 2. It reveals a need to examine all six books of Hutchinson's translation, particularly Books 5 and 6, where she describes theories of the skies and universe and makes significant poetic modifications to the text based on philosophical contexts. In sum, this paper explores how Hutchinson's poetry, as a means of translation, facilitates philosophical expression.

Laurie Atkinson (Tübingen), 'It doost no good lyenge styll in my chest': English Literary Print's Difficult Manuscript Pasts

The medieval manuscript pasts of early English literary print exist precariously between memory and forgetting. The manuscript antecedents for England's earliest literary publications can be seen in their texts, arrangement, and the language of their prefaces and dedications – although allusions to printers' copy remain tantalizingly vague. Writers complained of readers' insatiable appetite for 'Newes / newes / newes' while 'Olde morall bokes stonde styll vpon the shelf' (Robert Copland, preface to Geoffrey Chaucer, *Parliament of Fowls* [London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1530]), but this did not prevent poets and their printer-publishers from marketing novel printed texts as belonging to older manuscript traditions. This paper explores literary print's 'difficult' manuscript pasts through examples of original prefaces and aftertexts published in the first third of the sixteenth century. This 'second generation' of English print saw a broadening and diversification of the markets for literary texts established by William Caxton, including the first appearance of contemporary English poetry in print. This paper shows how Wynkyn de Worde, Robert Copland, and the writers associated with their presses adapted the authority and rhetorical topoi of manuscript books to the new medium of print – innovations, I suggest, that prefigure many of the conventions associated with later English literary publications.

Panel: Woeful Pasts, Woeful Presents in Early Modern Women's Complaint

Poetry

Sarah C. E. Ross (Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington), Singing 'welladay': Songs, Airs, and Hester Pulter's Political Complaints

Our work on early modern women and the poetry of complaint has extended our sense of the diverse complaint models on which women poets drew: not just the Ovid of the humanist schoolroom, but the Bible, and vernacular and legal traditions. One vital source of women's complaint rhetoric is in song: ballads, airs, and dramatic and spiritual songs that girls and women learned, practiced, and performed in the domestic schoolroom. This paper traces influences of early seventeenth-century song repertoire on the political complaint poetry composed by Hester Pulter in the 1640s. Writing as a royalist, in grief and protest at the depredations of the English Civil Wars, Pulter rewrites popular songs from the 1620s to create

her extended political complaints. While we may – and should – look to the pastoral complaint poetry of Edmund Spenser, Samuel Daniel, and William Browne for their influences on Pulter, this paper will demonstrate that the archive of popular ballads and airs are just as important as rhetorical sources and formal influences on her complaint poetry.

Rosalind Smith (Australian National University), Early Modern Women and the Poetry of Amatory Complaint

This paper examines early modern women's engagement with amatory complaint, from early Tudor experiments with voice, identity and form to the substantial corpus of Lady Mary Wroth, who wrote over 200 complaints about love across her works. In an expression of competitive poetic virtuosity, Wroth remakes the form in a new Jacobean context as a vehicle for a uniquely Sidneian familial, personal and cultural sense of disenfranchisement, linking the experience of grief and loss in love with the corruption of the times. Wroth's use of complaint to establish political communities of disaffection sets the coordinates for other women's poetic experiments with complaint throughout the seventeenth century, including those of Susan du Verger, Katherine Philips, Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson. Love emerges as one of the primary motivators of women's engagement with the form, enabling their participation in humanist cultures of *imitatio*, in contemporary vernacular traditions and in cultures of rhetorical invention in the pursuit of redress, eliciting communities of woe in performances of purposeful affect.

Michelle O'Callaghan (Reading), 'It is worthy': Complaint Conversations in the Devonshire Manuscript

The early to mid-sixteenth century is an especially fertile period for complaint poetry. Medieval vernacular idioms retained their vitality in concert with voices and postures coming from Italian, French, and classical modes resulting in an eclectic corpus of complaint poetry. Complaint offered authors a medium to conduct different types of conversations, political, literary, and amatory. This is especially evident in the Devonshire manuscript. Complaint constitutes the rhetorical habitus of the manuscript's production. It is the poetic currency of conversations between friends and lovers, providing the affective idiom for navigating and negotiating the social, erotic, and political terrain of court life. Women played a prominent role in its composition as authors, scribes, readers, and performers. More complaints were composed, copied, and annotated by these women than any other genre. This paper will study their conversations across the manuscript, how they act as critical readers of complaint in ways that alert us to the complexities of how women read and composed complaint poetry.

Roundtable: Travel, Identity, and Race in Early Modern England, 1550-1700

Nandini Das (Oxford), Natalya Din-Kariuki (Warwick), John Gallagher (Leeds), Iman Sheeha (Brunel)

This roundtable brings together contributors to the forthcoming *Oxford Handbook of Travel, Identity, and Race in Early Modern England, 1550-1700* (ed. Nandini Das), to examine the interrelationship of text, space, and identity. Each speaker will offer a short intervention on this topic through reference to specific examples, as follows: the circulation of textual material, and its impact on conceptions of race and identity, in works of cosmography and travel (Natalya Din-Kariuki), borders, border-crossing, and the bureaucratic and symbolic

power of passports in the contexts of war, regime change, and poetry (Derek Dunne); debates about language learning, translation, and multilingualism, and their implications for English transnational encounters and imperial ambitions (John Gallagher); and the presence of 'stranger' servants, especially black servants, in households, on the stage, and in discourses of domesticity, service, foreignness, and race (Iman Sheeha). These interventions will form the basis of a broader discussion about the ways in which early modern England negotiated the distance between the local and the global, and the sources and approaches we use to understand such negotiations.

Parallel Session 6

Panel: Reception, Circulation, and Anti-Catholicism

Joseph Ashmore, Speaking out of the law: Donne's Pseudo-Martyr, Legal Evidence and Cross-Confessional Discourse

This paper reads Donne's first printed work, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), in relation to its Roman Catholic sources. It suggests that, while Donne's text often takes an unfavourable view of his Roman Catholic sources, it also tries to forge a shared set of discursive terms and frameworks that span confessional differences. Donne is uncompromising in his dismissal of Roman Catholic casuistical texts; he wants above all to dismiss the models of authority and judgement that they construct. But he also cites some of the most polemically explosive contexts of contemporary confessional dispute -- especially the practices of the Spanish Inquisition -- in order to find, counter-intuitively, a set of interpretive and epistemological principles that are shared between opposing parties in the 'paper war' that followed James's Oath of Allegiance. These shared principles stem from Romano-canon rules for handling legal evidence. This feature of Donne's text doesn't dilute its anti-Catholic stance. But they do suggest that, in these turbulent contexts, different kinds of discourses were subject to different forms of textual reception and interpretation. The paper ends by thinking about the application of Donne's attitude towards legal evidence in his sermons that treat points of confessional difference -- especially discussions of salvation.

Chi-fang Sophia Li (National Sun Yat-sen University), The Reception of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's History of Italy (1579) in English Renaissance Drama

Sir Geoffrey Fenton (c. 1539-1608), courtier, traveller, informer, policy maker, translator, writer, and Principal Secretary of State in Ireland, led a fascinating and precarious life at Queen Elizabeth's Court. During the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598), he translated his readings of foreign matters into a diversity of 'discourses' which he calls 'histories'. They include *Certain Tragical Discourses* (1567; 1579), *A Discourse of the Civil Wars and Late Troubles of France* (1570), and Francesco Guicciardini's *La Historia d'Italia* (1579, 1599, 1618). As a staunch Protestant whose national translation mission is to speak against the 'diabolical secte of Rome', Fenton's *History of Italy* is an important work about Europe's difficult pasts but its significance has long been unjustly neglected. This paper investigates the reception of Fenton's *History of Italy* in English Renaissance drama not only because Fenton's translation constitutes the foremost cultural knowledge of Italy in Elizabethan and Jacobean England but also because it shapes the ways in which Italy is ideologically imagined as a whole, not as individual city states. I want to argue that it is Queen Elizabeth's patronage that facilitates the dissemination of Fenton's pioneering project which not only provides a

supplementary historical context for Bandello's Italian novellas but also presents an encyclopaedic compendium of foreign history and biography more accessible, more authoritative, and more politically credible than the 'discourses' of Niccolò Machiavelli.

Charlotte McCallum (QMUL), Machiavelli and Anti-Catholicism in the Early Modern British and Irish Isles

Since his earliest reception in the British and Irish Isles, Machiavelli has been used to weigh in on the Reformation, either as an opponent of the papacy at the hands of Henry Parker, Lord Morley, or as the inspiration to the English Reformation in the work of Cardinal Pole. While Machiavelli was, and still is, often read as hostile to Christianity, scholars such as Marcia L. Colish and Maurizio Viroli show that he is probably better understood as a critic of the church of his time. This material was a gift to Protestant readers who were able to turn Machiavelli's criticism of the renaissance papacy into condemnation of Catholicism more broadly. This was part of a broader trend of rereading well-known pre-Reformation authors like Geoffrey Chaucer and John Skelton as critics of Catholicism. In this paper, I will address this surprisingly neglected aspect of Machiavelli's reception, where he was read attentively and mined for evidence against the Catholicism from the 1530s to the use of his name and his writings in the outpouring of xenophobic and anti-Catholic feeling at the Revolution of 1688.

Panel: Mental Health and Disordered Bodies

Avi Mendelson (Brandeis/Arcola Theatre), (De)racializing Epileptic Madness in Othello

Shakespeare's plays mention epilepsy three times: as an insult (in *King Lear*, Kent yells at Oswald, 'A plague upon your epileptic visage!'); as a historical detail (Shakespeare pulls from Plutarch when Brutus says that Caesar 'hath the falling sickness'); and as a symbol of an out-of-control body (Othello's epileptic seizure in 4.1). In the latter instance, Othello's epilepsy showcases how rhetorics of race intersect with those of madness and mentally ill health. Once considered a subset of lunacy, according to medical historian Owsei Temkin, the falling sickness was a potent symbol of the mind's incapacity to maintain bodily stability. In this talk about Shakespeare and histories of pathology, I illustrate how discourses surrounding epilepsy – from physicians' tracts, travelogues, and rhetorical manuals – both consolidate and deconstruct *Othello's* racialisation of madness and mental illness. The presentation concludes by exploring how plays besides *Othello* – such as *The Merchant of Venice*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *The Battle of Alcazar* – grapple with language that sutures perceptions about mental health to racial, geographic, and religious difference. And I ask: at what moments, in the present day, do discussions of mental health and race overlap in our cultural imagination.

Matthew Williamson (Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences), Theatre and the Discharged Soldier in Early Modern England

The transition from military to civilian life was an issue of immense importance in early modern England. Provision for former soldiers was frequently lacking, and many were forced into lives of vagrancy. Contemporary rogue literature repeatedly decried beggars who made false pretensions to military service. Discharged soldiers were widely acknowledged to be a key source of social disorder. They also provided a fertile resource for the early modern theatre. In Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), Rafe returns from war injured and impotent, and is saved from starvation only through the support of his livery company. In the

anonymous *A Larum for London* (1602), the disabled Stump rails against the rich of the city of Antwerp. And in Massinger's *The Unnatural Combat* (c. 1626), Captain Belgarde haunts the feasts of the city's rich, in his efforts to receive the pension he is owed. This paper will explore the representation of these figures in the early modern English theatre. It will consider the discharged soldier as both object of pity and as subject of disorder. It will consider these characters through the lens of disability theory, and will explore the ways in which they mediate the period's changing conceptions of charity. Above all, it will argue that the representation of discharged soldiers constituted a key means through which the contemporary theatre could argue both for and against a militaristic foreign policy.

Sarah Kathleen Hitchen (MMU), Stigma and Mental Illness in Early Modern England: The Case of Mary Verney

Shortly after her wedding in 1662 Mary Verney (nee Abell), a young gentlewoman from Buckinghamshire, began to suffer from a severe melancholic humor. Over the next few years Mary's behaviour became increasingly bizarre. Violent, paranoid, and delusional, Mary's family believed her to be, as one family member put it, 'starck mad!' The Verney letters comprise an enormous collection of missives, written and received by various members of the Verney family, spanning more than a century. Although this collection has been utilised by numerous historians for a variety of reasons, they are yet to be used as a lens through which to view the problems faced by carers of the mentally ill in seventeenth-century England. Questioning Roy Porter's suggestion that there was 'no automatic stigma or sense of a 'great divide' between ... the sane and the insane', this paper examines the different ways in which stigma affected the Verney's decision making process when it came to providing care and treatment for Mary. Ultimately it argues that, in Mary Verney's case, the avoidance of stigma was central to the decisions made by her family in both seeking out and implementing treatment for Mary's madness.

Panel: Materiality and Subjugation

Imani Khaled (Manchester), Collecting Human Curiosities

Human variety was a common interest in the early modern period. With rapid expansion of overseas trade, travel accounts were packed with ethnographic descriptions of people spurring an interest in the ornamental display of humans at court. The project expands on this fascination and argues that people were collected in the manner of cultural artifacts creating an extension of the *kunstkammer* or the cabinet of curiosities. Collecting created a better understanding of the world and with human 'objects', collectors negotiated and ascribed new meanings to their possessions. As key sites of power and performance, early modern portraits featuring ornamental African children represent more than the mercantile success and burgeoning slave trade of the era; it reveals the mental landscape of the owners, especially the women, and their attempt at fashioning an identity for themselves through *collecting* sentient powerless beings. The paper explores this phenomenon against the backdrop of this latent practice of collecting people that blurred the lines between captivity and enslavement, human company and pets.

Stefan Hanß (Manchester), Indigenous Tonsures? Encountering Hair in the Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Americas

This paper charts some of the cultural, religious, social, gendered, and medical meanings of hair in scenes of cultural contacts in the sixteenth-century Americas. In particular, I examine

the links between medicinal and religious knowledge about hair, as cultivated in Reformation Europe, and the ways in which both German- and Spanish-speaking Habsburg subjects addressed bodily concerns related to Indigenous hairdressing in the sixteenth-century Americas. In a confessionally contested yet shared material world, I argue, Habsburg subjects' writings about Indigenous haircuts, haircare, ritual shavings, and the material practices of hairdressing reveal insights into how people experienced encounters and claimed cultural or early racial hierarchies. By contextualising global encounters and cultural othering through a focus on hair, this paper discusses the complex relationships between body practices, body politics, and the politics of body- and race-making in the age of empire.

Marcelo José Cabarcas Ortega (Pittsburgh), Civilization Appraised: Guamán Poma de Ayala and Garcilaso de la Vega on Coloniality and Modernity [Online]

Garcilaso and Guamán Poma's criticism of the early modern Iberian empire discourse is well known and lies, indeed, in what they both see as the inadequacies of the cultural and cognitive world map which, for over a century, reserved for itself the right to explain the realities of the new world. Whichever they, as indigenous actors, think about the evident wear and tear of the current regime, it only highlights their craving for retaking the narrative, one capable of translating to the master language their reading of colonial contradiction or utter nonsense. Paradoxically, this goal can only be achieved if the common ground between their own native cultures and the dominant Spanish matrix are reimagined. In that regard, Garcilaso and Guamán Poma's work perfectly shows how, within the colonial world, indigenous actors cannot fully explain themselves without the strategic use of 'otherized' European codes. Their work, in that sense, not only criticizes the materiality of domination, but the long and dense history of semiological traps and unquestioned assumptions that have legitimized it.

Panel: Classical Difficulties

Philip Goldfarb Styrt (St Ambrose), The Trouble with Rome: The Negative Example of the Roman Past in Shakespeare and Jonson [Online]

When we think of the early modern period as the 'Renaissance,' the association is usually assumed to be positive: a rebirth of classical learning and a connection to a lost Golden Age. As many scholars have noted, this kind of characterization undervalues the medieval period. In this paper, however, I will examine another flaw in the logic: the Renaissance frame can also overstate the value authors attributed to the classical past. Specifically, this paper suggests that Rome in the plays of William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson is a problematic state, rather than a model. These plays depict Roman government as incapable of focusing on the problems it faced. In Shakespeare, I argue, Rome's leaders are always looking backwards themselves, trying and failing to recapture their own lost grandeur, to the detriment of the present. In Jonson, anachronism goes the other way: his Romans are perpetually dealing with issues that are early modern in nature, rather than contemporary. But in both authors' work, we see a Roman past that serves not as an example, but as a cautionary tale.

Vanessa Lim (Seoul National University), Force and Persuasion in Shakespeare's Lucrece [Online]

A difficult past sits behind the overthrow of Rome's last monarch and the foundation of its Republic. Raped by the son of the reigning Tarquin the Proud, Lucrece takes her own life,

prompting her husband Collatinus and her kinsman Lucius Junius Brutus to lead the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome, ushering in a new period of republican rule. As the catalyst for this momentous transformation, Lucretia's story irrevocably associates the victorious and heroic founding of the Republic with an act of violation, assault, and conquest. My proposed paper examines Shakespeare's account of these events in his narrative poem *Lucrece* and how he uses the strategies of the *ars rhetorica* (and the *genus deliberativum* more specifically) to interrogate this intersection between the political and the private. Shakespeare, I argue, foregrounds the very public consequences of such an intimate violation by using the genre of rhetoric designated for discussing matters of state, such as war and profit. The personal and political stakes of the events depicted in the poem are elided and intertwined, prompting the reader to consider how the much-celebrated *libertas* of republican Rome is born from violent circumstances which are decidedly *unfree*.

Petros Fokianos (EHES, Paris), Janus Lascaris: A Key Figure Towards a Greco-Roman Humanism

The study of the life, work, and personal manuscripts of the Greek humanist and scholar of the Italian Renaissance, Janus Lascaris, demonstrates how 'difficult pasts' constitute a key to the explanation of Italian Humanism. Lascaris' dialogue with the texts of the Greco-Roman past, especially with those of the Greek orator Demosthenes, allows him, following in Bessarion's footsteps, to forge a new - alternative to the main-stream myth of the *latinitas* - constitutional myth of humanistic phenomenon. The image of a bilingual humanism is far from being considered a well-approved notion not only by Lascaris' contemporaries but also from the later generations of occidental erudition. Lascaris' rhetorical texts are treated as a testimony of the transliteration of a possible symbiosis between a Latin-speaking and a Greek-speaking humanism that both contribute to the rediscovery of the Greco-Roman past, from the field of erudition to the field of politics, in favour of the organization of a unanimous European crusade that will put an end to the Ottoman expansionism. The study of the role of Demosthenes' literary paradigm as a fundamental reference of Lascaris' polemic rhetorical texts allows to inscribe Lascaris to the long list of Demosthenes' metaliterature, serving at the same time, as a tool in order to formulate the image of Lascaris as a key figure of a grecocentric narrative of European Humanism.

Roundtable: Practice as research, across the disciplines

Eleanor Chan (Manchester), Marieke Hendriksen (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences), Katherine Hunt (UEA), & Marissa Nicosia (Pennsylvania State University—Abington College)

Work on the global early modern has opened up, in recent years, to methodologies that centre around practice as research. Projects in the histories of science, art, food, and more borrow from methods more commonly found in the related disciplines of conservation or archaeology. Meanwhile music and drama, which have long used such methodologies, continue to use practice as an essential method to research historical performance. This work of reconstruction and re-enactment is not straightforward, however, and it is not possible fully to reconstruct premodern practice in our own moment. Working with the past in this way is difficult, but we can learn much from the gaps as well as the connections generated by practice as research.

By bringing together scholars and practitioners from across the disciplines, and from the Netherlands, the US, and the UK, this roundtable will take account of the turn to practice, or experience, in early modern studies. What can this kind of research do that others cannot? How does it connect to cognate disciplines, practices, and forms of labour? What are the challenges of moving from text- and object-based work to methods that are grounded in experience and practice? Whose historical experience does this kind of research recover– and who might it exclude? Our discussions will approach these questions (and more) from a number of angles and we hope, with the audience, to generate some useful connections and next steps for these methodologies, across the disciplines.

Panel: Regulating Plaguey Bodies

Brigette De Poi (Sydney), The Sound of Silence: The Soundscape of Venice During the 1630 Plague

The urban sounds associated with city living are a constant companion in the background of larger metropolitan areas, with each city's unique sound signature familiar to those dwelling there. In early modern Venice, these sounds included the regular street noises recognisable in any large Italian city of the era alongside the music that was so distinctive to the Venetian soundscape. Music was an essential part of civic ritual within Venice and was, therefore, a prominent feature of the soundscape of Venetian streets and canals. These streets, filled with vibrant music from festivals, parades, and churches, all fell suddenly and deathly silent in 1630 when the plague reached Venice killing one-third of the population within an eighteen-month period. The Venetians, well known for their stringent public health measures, immediately quarantined the city and paused everyday life. This talk will explore how this dramatic change to the city's soundscape impacted Venice's musical community and contributed to the feelings of fear and disquiet that the plague inflicted on the general population.

Claire Turner (Leeds), Intersensory Experiences of the Plague in Seventeenth-Century London

Interactions between the senses contributed significantly to how people understood and perceived epidemic disease in seventeenth-century London. This sensory interplay led to the formation and alteration of ideas about how to protect the body against serious illness and infectious disease. This paper contends that intersensory experiences of the plague are key to comprehending how the inhabitants of seventeenth-century London understood outbreaks of epidemic disease. Intersensory experiences influenced how people understood the processes of disease transmission, the vulnerability of bodies to contract disease, and disease prevention. Despite changes to medical theory and practice across the period, intersensory experiences remained crucial to how people managed outbreaks of disease. This consistency reveals the critical role played by sensory interactions in investigating early modern sickness and health. By drawing on intersensory experiences, we can delve deeper into the thought processes and experiences which lay behind the development of medical theories relating to epidemic disease.

Marie-Louise Leonard (Ca' Foscari University of Venice), Sick Notes in Early Modern Venice

In a petition made to the health office in Venice in November 1699, Antonio Soldano requested that another worker be sent to the plague hospital in his stead. To support this request, he included a work history that explained the dangerous environments he had to work in and the health problems he had suffered during his 34 years of service. The petition

was granted. His advanced age and health status were cited as reasons to alter Antonio's work activity. This paper aims to assess how people in early modern Venice discussed health problems in a working context. Drawing on sources including manuscript 'sick notes' found in correspondence, petitions made to governing bodies, and regulations created by employers, I examine what happened when workers became ill or unable to work, and evaluate the relationship between social status and responses to health problems. For instance, administrative officials might use letters to replace or suspend an activity that they were unable to carry out. Within occupational groups what provisions were made to support sick or infirm workers? In doing so, this paper reveals strategies by which early modern people attempted to manage their working lives in times of crisis.

Panel: Civic Space, Inclusion and Exclusion

Giovanna Guidicini (Glasgow School of Art), (Re)Constructing Early Modern Urban Ceremonies: Reflections Upon Inclusivity and Separation

Commoners' presence as spectators during early modern urban ceremonies, provided an essential and vibrant background: however, as exemplified by an analysis of some Scottish case studies, the onlookers' static, pre-arranged viewpoints allowed only limited visual engagement with these peripatetic events. This meant a piecemeal, removed understanding of complex ceremonies, reducing common people's awareness and role in the politicised urban space, and minimal opportunities for critical comprehension and mindful involvement. This paper proposes, however, that such perceived disempowerment is the result of the undue centrality attributed by modern scholars to the visual aspect of what were multisensory ceremonies, to the detriment of the other senses. Considering sound in particular, the rich aural experiences of triumphal entries offered an opportunity for static viewers to engage with events well beyond their line of sight, increasing awareness of the development and meaning of the ceremony as a whole, and being granted the opportunity through active participation to access some of its symbolic undertones. This paper also proposes to investigate how modern VR/AR reconstructions of urban ceremonies focusing mostly/exclusively on the sounds—rather than the over-emphasised visuals—of ceremonies, could present a novel investigative tool into common people's role in ritual construction of collective meaning.

Louise Wilson (Liverpool Hope), Iberian Romance Translation, Civic Readers, and the Material World of Early Modern London

This paper will focus on the translation choices in Anthony Munday's *Palmerin of England* (1596) to present a new perspective on reading communities in early modern England. Early modern attacks on chivalric romance characterised it as a pernicious remnant of the Catholic medieval past, and recent critical work on Munday's translations regularly observes that they 'de-Hispanise' their source texts and adopt self-conscious strategies to estrange the English texts from their continental origins and intermediaries. This paper, however, will propose that, by paying attention to the physical descriptions that Munday includes in *Palmerin of England* alongside his civic writing on London, a complex picture emerges of a romance world that is at once medieval and contemporary, and positioned for an emerging English civic readership attuned to transnational and cross-cultural encounters through the communities, objects, and practices of the early modern city.

Bram van Leuveren (Leiden), 'Another Netherlands'? Colonial Violence and Festive Entries into the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

This paper will focus on the obviously central, but surprisingly overlooked, colonial themes and contexts of festive entries into the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. It will study well-known entries, notably those of Marie de Médicis (Fall 1638) and Henrietta Maria (Spring 1642) into Amsterdam, from a refreshingly postcolonial perspective. Drawing on both printed and archival material, the paper will discuss the staging and iconography of those entries within the context of the colonial violence committed by the East and West Indian Companies in Latin America, the Caribbean, West Africa, and the Indian Subcontinent since the early 1600s. Several key *tableaux vivants* for De Médicis's entry into Amsterdam, for example, thematised the apparent submission of colonial populations, such as the Tupinambá peoples of Dutch-Brazil, and thus sought to proclaim the cultural and economic hegemony of the city's mayors over the global trade of colonial products like tobacco and Brazilian hardwood. Similarly, the participants of Henrietta Maria's entry into Amsterdam, such as the city's Sephardic Jewish community, strived to advertise their involvement in the foundation of overseas colonies in public speeches and banquets. This paper argues that, more than reinforcing bonds between foreign royals, local authorities, and urban populations alone, festive entries in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic fulfilled a key role in promoting the colonial enterprises of Netherlandish cities like Amsterdam to an international audience of rulers, diplomats, merchants, and entrepreneurs. The commemorative books and pamphlets that were published soon after the performance of the events, and which were sent to courts and prominent individuals across Europe, helped expanding this international reach. The paper thus aims to pay heed to Gloria Wekker's call for a postcolonial scholarship that analyses the metropole (i.e., the Netherlands) and the colonies as 'one analytical field' rather than two seemingly unrelated entities with their own, separate, histories.

Panel: Difficult Words

Annie Khabaza (UCD), 'Thwick Thwack and Riff Raff': Renaissance Translation and the Sound of Words

When Renaissance poetic theorists write about poetry, they are so often focused on ideas of sound, listening, and hearing. This paper builds on work that suggests the Renaissance reader would have considered the printed word a sound based medium in order to create a framework through which the aural poetics of translation can be studied. First, the way in which Renaissance thinkers discuss ideas of "listening" to poetry will be discussed, and compared with recent research into the links between poetry and music in the era. This will then be considered in the context of the printed word as a method for storing and transmitting a record of sound which could be preserved and travel across distances. Finally, this paper will examine several examples of aural texture in renaissance translation, and consider how and why these techniques are used.

Thomas Matthew Vozar (Hamburg), African Latinity in Early Modern Thought: Some Preliminary Observations

The introduction to Kim Hall's *Things of Darkness* features as the second of its two epigraphs a quotation from Milton's antiprelatical tract *Of Reformation* contrasting the 'sober, plain, and unaffected stile of the Scriptures' with the 'knotty Africanisms' of the Church Fathers.

Hall adduces this as just one example of 'a broad discursive network in which the polarity of dark and light articulates ongoing cultural concerns over gender roles and shifting trade structures,' but, quite understandably given her larger aims in the book, offers no further discussion of this particular passage. Miltonists have shown little more interest: even the expansively annotated Yale *Complete Prose Works* lacks any comment. In this paper I take Milton's comment on 'knotty Africanisms' as the launching point for some preliminary observations on African Latinity in early modern thought, showing how future research on this topic has the potential to reveal a neglected aspect of the development of early modern discourses of racialization that arose from humanistic reflection on classical texts.

Rob Wakeman (Mount Saint Mary College), Obscure Foods on the Renaissance Stage

With the representation of obscure foods on the renaissance stage, we confront the difficulty of tasting the past. How do we comprehend the sensory experience of foods for which literary texts are the only reference point? Take, for example, the 'umbrana's head' in Francis Beaumont's play *The Woman Hater* (1606). The play is the earliest known appearance of 'umbrana' in English and the play itself became the basis for later references. But later sources do not agree on how to define this obscure word. Richard Brookes' fishing manual *The Art of Angling* (1740) identifies the *umbrana* as a tench or perch, 'chiefly known in England by being the subject of several diverting scenes in one of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher's Plays*'; Robert Nares's *Glossary* (1822) of difficult words in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries identifies Beaumont's *umbrana* as an umber or grayling salmon; and the *OED* identifies it as a 'fish chiefly found in warm seas.' If, as Bourdieu has it, 'Taste classifies and classifies the classifier,' then what classification results when we are tasting nothing but airy words?

Panel: Representation and Omission

Emily Stevenson (York), Finding Newfoundland in Principal Navigations

Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1589; 1598-1600) is a textual archive in its own right. Containing material from a range of sources, including oral histories, translated continental authors and ancient British myths, the compendium was created to present a 'full' history of English travel as evidence of England's right to trade with and colonise the globe. Though the scale of the work makes it appear comprehensive, the sheer volume of material included in the anthology also works to hide deliberate omissions. This in turn enabled Hakluyt to construct historiographical narratives which have persevered in scholarship. This paper will examine one example of a narrative created through omission, using the representation of Newfoundland as a case study. Using network maps along with literary and historical analysis, I will examine the difference between Hakluyt's representation of Newfoundland and the contemporary English relationship with the island to demonstrate the ways in which his methodology privileged certain perspectives and histories. I will then explore the effect this narrative had on the wider narratives of Hakluyt's work, as well as considering the importance of the island within early English imperialism and the role of *Principal Navigations* within imperial historiography.

Charles Cathcart (OU), 'What aim you at in your plantation?': Robert Hayman, Newfoundland, and Colonial Motivation

Quodlibets, lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland (1628) is a book of epigrams by Robert Hayman, 'sometimes governor of the plantation there'. *Quodlibets*

salutes Newfoundland's various colonists, the merchants of Bristol who backed the venture, the leading citizens of Exeter (into one of whose families Hayman married), and the inns-of-court and university friends Hayman acquired in his youth. The urban milieu of many epigrams points to a metropolitan consciousness, and the Newfoundland verses freely celebrate the Welsh, Scots, and Irish enterprises that co-existed with Hayman's own base in Newfoundland: Bristol's Hope. The paper will review a single epigram, one addressed to 'the first Planters of Newfoundland'. Hayman enquires what the planters' goals may be. He offers nine possible aspirations. Some concern the state ('Sought you the honour of our nation?'); some are religious (to 'draw salvages to a blessed state'); some are social ('our o'er-peopled *Kingdome* to relieve') and one is personal ('your own sweet private gain'). The paper will reflect on Hayman's effort to imagine the impulses that underpinned this colonial settlement, placing this effort in the context of his own times and viewing it also from the perspective of today.

Rachel Stenner (Sussex), Race, Animals, and Humanism's Human

Engaging William Baldwin and Edmund Spenser as case studies, this paper argues that early modern definitions of the human intertwine concepts of racialisation and animality. It suggests that while critical race studies and animal studies both approach the figure of the human critically, bringing these critiques together sheds yet more light on how the period constructed this category.

Panel: Martial Matters

Samantha Nelson (MMU), 'I will keep the armour and pay the price your ladyship asks for it': Tudor Women, Gender, and War

'I will keep the armour and pay the price your ladyship asks for it,' the Earl of Huntingdon told Elizabeth Manners, Countess of Rutland, in 1588, as military preparations against the Spanish Armada reached their apex. The Countess was also asked to loan 'furniture for man or horse, including pistols, saddles, and caparisons' to this military commander from her own household armoury. Weaponry and warfare, with its potential to cause death and destruction, has often occupied an uneasy position within historical memory. What has not been considered, however, was its potential to bestow women with agency, particularly in relation to their contribution to warfare. Whilst the role of royal-women in Tudor warfare has been considered in historical scholarship, the wider contribution of women to military preparedness has been wholly overlooked. By examining correspondence and muster records through a gendered lens, this paper will assess the role of noblewomen and widows in the mustering and furnishing of troops, demonstrating that they, too, owed a military obligation to the Crown. It will consider how the intersection of social status, gender norms, and marital status dictated the extent to which Tudor women could participate in, and assert their authority over, martial matters.

Ruth Canning (Liverpool Hope), Civilian Experiences and Crown Soldier Conduct

The Elizabethan enterprise against Hugh O'Neill (1594-1603) required the mobilisation of England's largest army and its most accomplished military men. Sent to fight the Irish Confederates, their Spanish allies, and defend the queen's loyal subjects, in reality it was an ineffective army that proved to be a greater menace to civilians than the so-called rebels. Neglected by the crown for which he fought; the English soldier suffered from an intolerable shortage of pay, food, clothing, shelter, training, and arms, and was thrown into a war against

an enemy who possessed a distinct local advantage with respect to terrain and tactics. Starving crown soldiers illegally demanded food, lodging, and money from inhabitants, violently punishing those who refused. While the consumption of English manpower and resources during the Nine Years' War has been well documented, the same expenditure of Ireland's population and resources has been typically overlooked. This paper will explore civilian experiences of the war with a particular focus on how soldier's conduct affected non-combatants.

Sarah Bernhardt (Cambridge), Beyond Religious Violence: Bloodshed and the Borderlands of Savoy

This paper explores patterns of violence and brutality in the Savoyard state. The duchy has long been associated with the Waldensian massacres in the middle of the seventeenth century, and sustained intolerance between Protestants and Catholics on the border with Geneva. This paper examines the types of violence prevalent in early modern borderland communities, and to what extent the later brutality to those dwelling in the Alps was different to disorder on the peripheries of the duchy. Looking beyond religiously motivated violence and that sanctioned by the state, to local rivalries and microhistories, it asks how they correlate with wider patterns in the period. The paper examines the final decades of the sixteenth century and looks at the framework of persecution and tolerance in this underexplored region. Tied closely to environmental history and the landscape, borderlands offer a unique view into the motivations and lives of inhabitants, and suspicions and paranoia of the ruling elite. The presentation concludes by reflecting on the challenges historians face when making comparative assessments about violence in different states, and to what extent local disorder and prejudice was a precursor to the most destructive episodes.

Plenary Roundtable: Curating a Difficult Past: Transatlantic Slavery

Richard Benjamin (University of Liverpool / International Slavery Museum at National Museums Liverpool), Pedro Cardim (Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Corinne Fowler (University of Leicester), Miles Greenwood (Glasgow Museums), Laura Sandy (University of Liverpool).

How to remember and curate a 'Difficult Past'? Academics working in Museums, Galleries and Universities are daily tasked with researching and curating the complex and contested legacies of empire and slavery and presenting it to a wider public. The participants in this roundtable will discuss the daunting challenges faced and the strategies developed by those who query and revise established narratives of past and identity with reference to their own research, curatorial practice, and personal experience working with a wide range of communities.

Saturday 22 July, 2023

Parallel Session 7

Panel: Documenting Trauma and the Politics of Amnesia

Naomi McAreevey (UCD), Hunger-Trauma During the Irish Rebellion of 1641

This paper examines the collection of eyewitness testimonies from the Irish rebellion of 1641 known as the 1641 Depositions. Notorious for their representation of rebel violence, research

has overlooked that hunger that was a key part of representations of traumatic suffering. Deponents described how starvation and thirst drove them to drink dirty water and eat foods deemed unfit for human consumption, such as wild plants, animal skins, and taboo meats, but seemed to draw the line at human flesh. In this paper I show that while representations of hunger in the 1641 depositions share important similarities with contemporary European and later Irish representations of hunger, there are important distinctions that reflect the conditions of early settler colonialism in mid-seventeenth century Ireland. I suggest that representations of hunger were bound up with the urgent need to enforce distinctions between the indigenous Catholic and Protestant settler community in Ireland and this is evident in the lines drawn between what the British Protestants would and would not eat. The representation of hunger in the 1641 depositions allowed the British Protestants to reassert cultural differences between the settler and indigenous communities in Ireland that would later help to justify Cromwell's violent reconquest of Ireland.

Sonja Kleij (Radboud), Remembering and Forgetting War Trauma in Early Modern Peace Celebrations

Theatrical and musical performances were often an important part of peace celebrations. As this paper will demonstrate, trauma theory can help us to understand the different ways in which these performances might (encourage their audience to) remember and deal with war trauma at these moments of change. In the early modern period, memory was an important tool to legitimize causes. Past offences could thus serve as a justification to start or continue conflict. To achieve a (lasting) peace, it was thus essential to deal with traumatic memories. Peace agreements were not only crucial for ending the armed conflict, but they were also turning points for the way in which war trauma was remembered as the conflict was now (supposedly) a thing of the past and could thus (theoretically) be a moment to heal, forget, and move on. The paper will discuss how some performances supported the clause of oblivion that was often included in peace treaties, and thus encouraged the forgetting of war deeds, while others suggest different ways to remember and process trauma or offer the more pessimistic view that, despite the treaty, violence is a recurrent and continuing phenomenon.

John West (Warwick), Gaps, Chasms, and Parentheses: The Poetics of Oblivion in 1660

Literary critics and historians have examined how writers in Britain in 1660 represented the difficult pasts of the Civil Wars and the Republic. Their work highlights how literature promoted the policy of forgetting whilst at the same time re-writing and re-examining the previous twenty years. It has helpfully challenged scholarly habits of periodisation and shown the ideological purpose of the new Stuart regime's claim to (mostly) forgive and forget. This paper extends such scholarship by examining the language poets used to describe the urge to forget the past. The paper will focus on *inter alia*, images of temporal gaps, chasms, and parentheses. Sometimes such images evoke terror at temporal discontinuity. But they also show the virtues of forgetting as a guarantor of future peace. I will look at several writers but will especially examine Dryden's *Astraea Redux* as a case study of this poetics of oblivion.

Panel: Human and Non-Human Materialities

Laurence Publicover (Bristol), Nonhuman Agencies in Early Voyages of the East India Company, 1601-1615

The early voyages of the East India Company are difficult histories in at least two respects. First, they consolidated or inaugurated English contact with peoples and cultures across the East Atlantic and the Indian Ocean that would eventuate in painful histories of forced and unforced migration, among other matters. Second, they sit within a larger group of European ocean-crossings of the long sixteenth century that have had significant environmental consequences. These two forms of difficulty are of course related, not least through the connection between capital(ism) and climate. The principal focus of this paper, however, is environmental. Drawing on recent work in the new materialism, it explores the nonhuman agencies that shaped these voyages. Agents to be examined include the worms whose appetite for planks of wood contributed towards the deaths of so many mariners; the winds and currents/gyres which assisted or hindered progress across the oceans; the materials which made up the ships themselves, including masts hurriedly hewn, mid-voyage, from trees in Cape Verde; and the materials transported, including cloths, spices, textiles, bullion, live animals, pens, ink, and paper through which events were recorded—and, perhaps in one instance, printed play-texts enabling shipboard performances of Shakespearean tragedy.

Silvia Cinnella Della Porta (Florence), Global Connections in Sixteenth-Century Florence: New World Plants and Their Uses [Online]

My paper aims to look at the mobility of material things from the New World in Renaissance Florence in order to study how rare plants, which arrived in Tuscany through global trade networks and connections, contributed to making the city a vibrant global centre. In this paper, I wish to explore how the new botanic specimens were represented, marketed, and commercialised. In particular, I will examine how in Florence plants became highly-requested goods and how important physicians' role was in determining their commercial success. Quite significant are the *erbari essiccati* (collections of pressed and dried plants), of which there are extant examples at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (BNCF) and the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Another lens of analysis will be devoted to the symbiotic relationship created, through plants and their arrival in Florence, with South America and the Iberian Peninsula, as often medical knowledge was obtained from Indigenous Americans and then elaborated in Spain and Portugal. For this purpose, the publication of works in translation, such as Monardes' *Erbario* by Annibale Briganti, was fundamental.

Sarah Bendall (Australian Catholic University), Whaling, Consumer Culture and the Natural World in Early Modern Europe [Online]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Europeans wore a variety of fashionable garments made from whalebone sourced from the Arctic, sprayed on perfumes infused with ambergris from Africa or the Caribbean, and used medicines and cosmetics made with spermaceti from North America. Such consumer culture took place within an increased culture of exploitative global trade and natural resource harvesting. This paper explores how scientific and popular understandings of whales went hand-in-hand with seventeenth-century fashionable consumer culture. While the whale still occupied various contradictory cultural, commercial and scientific spaces in European thought, this century saw a period of transformation where common understandings of whales shifted. These animals went from being monsters to curiosities of the natural world that could be commodified, exploited and used in a wide variety of consumer goods, goods that were increasingly used in the everyday lives of Europeans. By focusing on the use of whale products in early modern England and France, this paper highlights the positive role that the consumption of fashion and other goods

played in fostering wider understandings of the natural world during the seventeenth century, as well as the negative and long-lasting ecological impacts of this; impacts which speak to modern fashion consumption and its environmental effects today.

Panel: Queenship, Empire and Trade

Lubaaba Al-Azami (Liverpool), Early English Petitioners at the Court of Nur Jahan

England's relationship with India has long been framed in the terms of the British Empire. This discourse holds true for the earliest English forays into what was then Mughal India in the early seventeenth century. Despite post-Reformation England's politically and economically weakened state, English travellers to the Mughal Empire, then one of the most powerful empires of the world, is teleologically framed as the early steps in nascent British colonial enterprise. This paper will disrupt this notion to establish the realities and dynamics of a relationship far more fraught than later colonial history may wish to acknowledge. In particular, it will consider Mughal imperial women's role in mediating the entry of early English merchants into the Indian market. Attention will be given to Empress Nur Jahan Begim (d. 1645), Mughal India's co-sovereign with Emperor Jahangir (d. 1627). While extant research on Nur Jahan tends to emphasise the Empress's immense political authority and relationship with the Emperor, this paper will draw attention to her economic influence in India and her role in gatekeeping foreign mercantile entrants, such as the English.

Emily Soon (Singapore Management University), Masquing the Global in Caroline England: Queen Henrietta Maria and the East Indies [Online]

Where scholars have traditionally viewed Queen Henrietta Maria as a frivolous figure who hastened the downfall of her husband King Charles I, ongoing research by literary critics, historians and art historians has re-assessed her legacy, highlighting the queen's significant contributions to England's visual and performing arts. However, this critical re-appraisal of Henrietta Maria has yet to extend beyond European affairs to substantially investigate the interplay between local and global concerns in her dramatic productions. Through examining the oft-neglected Asian figures within one of the queen's masques, *Tempe Restored* (1632), this paper seeks to extend our understanding of how Henrietta Maria traded imaginatively with the East Indies, tracing the possible role these South and Southeast Asian characters played in the queen's domestic defence of her Catholic faith. Yet even as this paper highlights the Caroline court's knowledge of Eastern culture, it also emphasizes the difficult questions the performance raises about the attitudes to racial and religious difference that were emerging alongside England's imperial dreams, thus underscoring the complex – and often controversial – nature of the Global Renaissance.

Amy Saunders (Winchester), Stuart Queens: Colonialism, Heritage, and Modern Memory [Online]

Stuart queen consorts, Anna of Denmark (1574-1619), Henrietta Maria (1609-1669), and Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705), are rarely discussed in relation to their links to colonialism and empire building. This omission is rooted in outdated historiography which fails to recognise women's roles and engagement in colonialism. Whilst Catherine is often cited as providing additional overseas territories as part of her dowry when she married Charles II in 1662, the impact of this on seventeenth century English and later British empire building and its use to construct images of an imperial nation, are rarely explored. Similarly, Anna's support of Walter Raleigh and depictions of Henrietta Maria as the queen of 'The

English Empire' go unexamined. This paper will explore how these queen consorts are represented in heritage sites and public spaces with regards to colonialism and empire building. Based on ongoing PhD research, this presentation brings together an unusual variety of sources, including heritage interpretation text, public murals, and seventeenth century printed material, to begin to explore how these women's interactions with colonialism and empire building are presented to the modern visitor. Catherine will feature heavily, with examples drawn from England, the USA, and Portugal, allowing parallels to be drawn between the two.

Panel: Framing Early Modern English Writing

Richard Danson Brown (OU), Almost Everything its Opposite: Authority in The Faerie Queene

The title of this paper comes from Rachel Cusk's novel *Second Place* (2021), in which the narrator considers her own power as a parent, and the problematic nature both of authority and its origins: 'it's difficult to say quite what authority is because everything seems to be its opposite' (126). I use this sense of the singularity of authority as a lens for looking at Spenser's thinking about the topic, particularly in Book V and the Mutabilitie Cantos. My core insight is that there is a poetic disparity between on the one hand, the narrator's commitment to 'ciuill vses lore' (V. Pr. 3) and the textual embodiments of authority on the other. Artegall, Talus, Mercilla, Jove and even Nature are problematic figurations for a quality which Spenser, like Cusk's narrator, struggles to define, or to envision. Conversely, the opponents of Justice and Constancy show the complex workings of power, as judgement is problematically inscribed on the bodies of these characters. A further aspect of this paper will be visual parallels, specifically Bruegel's brutal engraving, *Justicia* (c.1559-60) which provides a striking analogue for Book V.

Jane Rickard (Leeds), 'A monument without a tomb': Jonson, Shakespeare, and the Perils of Commendatory Verse

When Shakespeare's colleagues assembled a posthumous collection of his plays with a commendatory verse in which Jonson celebrates it as 'a monument without a tomb', they could not have anticipated just how successful that act of monumentalisation would be. The book popularly known as the First Folio – though it was not the first such collection – is still, 400 years since publication, one of the most recognisable, revered, and valuable monuments of the early modern period in England. Ironically, Jonson's verses on Shakespeare contributed to a process by which the two writers came to be seen as each other's opposites, to Jonson's detriment. This paper reconsiders Jonson's contributions to Shakespeare's folio in relation to both the commendatory verses that he wrote about other contemporary writers and those that others contributed to his folio *Works* of 1616. It explores why Jonson was more successful in shaping Shakespeare's memory than in securing his own reputation. It also considers the place of that 1623 act of monumentalisation in early modern studies, asking what might happen if we decentred Shakespeare and his folio. Might the period begin to look more diverse and heterogeneous? Or does its standing – in universities and more broadly – depend on Shakespeare?

Paul Salzman (La Trobe), Bitten by the Past: Facsimiles, Fakes, and Editorial Failures

This paper tells a cautionary tale about a facsimile from the early nineteenth century that was constantly being mistaken for its original: Thomas Kyd's *Solimon and Perseda*, which was first published in 1592, though performed earlier. I take this example as a way of exploring

how, as literary scholars, our access to the past is never unmediated, but that truism is especially complicated by how we access the texts of the past. In this moment, when we might say that the digital turn has been more important for our Covid-ridden times than ever, I will consider both the affordances and the dangers of our use of facsimiles, whether they are digital or physical.

Panel: Embodied Agony

Giovan Battista Fianza (Università di Roma 'Tor Vergata'), The Pathological Anatomy of the Human Body: The Sorrowful Wooden Crucifixes of Seventeenth-Century Franciscan Sculptors in Rome and Lazio

The second half of the seventeenth century saw the development in Italy, and particularly in Rome and Lazio, of the production of wooden Crucifixes - by Franciscan sculptors - in which the body of Christ is rendered in a particularly agonizing way, in a manner markedly different from contemporary Baroque Crucifixes. As indicated in the *Opuscula* of St. Francis (published and annotated by Luke Wadding in 1623) it was an obligation for Franciscan friars to have as a reference image that of Christ crucified, with particular emphasis on the elements of suffering and passion related to it. One of the best Franciscan sculptors in this area of crucifix production was Vincenzo da Bassiano (d. 1694), who gives life to strongly agonized and suffering wooden images of great emotional impact (e.g., those in the basilica of S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome or in the Sanctuary of Nemi). Some primary sources, such as the obituary of the Friars Minor of the Roman Province of 1694 or the work of Fr. Casimiro da Roma (*Memorie storiche delle Chiese e dei Conventi dei Frati Minori della Provincia Romana*, printed in 1754 but completed in 1741), tell us that Vincenzo da Bassiano carved his crucifixes in an atmosphere of absolute mysticism, identifying himself with the sorrowful passion of Christ that he was creating. The main purpose of this study is to reconstruct the rhetorical efficacy of these images, which were meant to convey to the beholder the most eloquent representation of violence endured by a human body, pathological aspects and resulting physical and spiritual suffering (with a brief focus also on the technique of execution).

Kethlen Santini Rodrigues (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München and IMT Lucca), Colonialism, Slavery, and Pearl Fishing in the Americas: An Ethnographic Analysis of Jacopo Zucchi's Three Paintings Commissioned by Ferdinand I de Medici

I propose to analyse the three paintings known by the alternative titles of *Coral Fishing*, *Realm of Amphitrite*, and *Allegory of the Treasures of the Sea* (around 1585) created by the Florentine Jacopo Zucchi (1541-1592) and commissioned by Ferdinand de' Medici (1549-1609) in Rome, until then cardinal, before ascending to the throne of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (1589), from a historical-artistic and ethnographic perspective. There are several ways of interpreting these enigmatic images; here I continue the research started by Mónica D. Torres (2015), which is intended to improve the understanding of the common views and interests of the Medici family in the New World's territory and culture: Zucchi depicted a conspicuous number of elements, as objects and animals connected to European iconographies of the Americas in the XVI century; for instance, materials regarding the pearl fishing method described by widespread testimonies of that time, such as the one from Fernández de Oviedo (1535); and dark-skinned figures. All this could represent the colonial pearl-fishing industry – one of the horrific forms of slavery on American soil and one of the first visual evidence of the crucial African presence in the Caribbean during the Early Modern Period.

Catherine Vibert Williams (Fordham), The Rape of the World: Shakespeare's Allegorical Commentary on Early Modern Colonialism in The Rape of Lucrece

Shakespeare's poem *The Rape of Lucrece* receives little scholarship despite its importance as an allegory of Early Modern colonialism. The paper opens with a discussion of Lucrece's complicated, compromised sovereignty, which is important for understanding the allegory of colonialism. I transition from the discussion to Shakespeare's use of political language to describe the perpetrator, Tarquin's, intentions with Lucrece, his victim. A combination of natural imagery and bodily imagery enhances Shakespeare's allegory of early modern colonialism. Each form of imagery develops important, gendered symbols throughout the poem. Shakespeare uses the female symbol, Lucrece, to represent the New World and the male symbol, Tarquin, to represent the Old World. My paper concludes with a discussion of the allegory. Throughout my paper, I intend to emphasize critical actions throughout my paper like Lucrece's suicide as a means of reclaiming compromised sovereignty and Tarquin's egregious deed which symbolizes the Old World usurping sovereignty over the New World. Therefore, this paper argues that Shakespeare's poem *The Rape of Lucrece* is an allegory of Early Modern colonialism.

Panel: Centring the Renaissance: Perceptions from the 'Peripheries'

Luka Špoljarić (Zagreb), Croatian Aristocrats and their Lost Renaissance

In the mid-fifteenth century, without a strong king on the Hungarian throne, the Croatian aristocrats were largely left to their own devices. This paper will show how during this period the most prominent among these aristocrats, Count Stephen Frankapan of Modruš, became receptive to the Renaissance movement owing to his manifold contacts with Italy. Stephen employed artists, architects, and humanists to maintain an international presence and to turn his seat of power into a city reflective of his status. However, the renaissance of Modruš did not last long. During the late 1460s the Ottomans began to raid Croatia and in 1493 the city was burned to the ground. Nevertheless, Count Stephen's short-lived project invites us to reconsider the early diffusion of the Renaissance movement across the Adriatic which until now has been presented as an urban phenomenon exclusive to Dalmatian cities.

David Rundle, (Kent), The English Quattrocento and the Centrality of the Periphery in the Construction of the Renaissance

According to the rhetoric of some fifteenth-century Italian humanists, the English deserved to be weighed down by a sense of their own inferiority. They were on the edge of civilisation and to draw attention to their peripheral nature was sometimes periphrasis for asserting they were *barbari*. This rhetorical positioning was no obstacle to the humanists' interaction with this remote people — indeed, their distance was an advantage. The English sometimes played on the same rhetoric but they also developed another approach. This paper will introduce two examples, involving William Gray, bishop of Ely (d. 1478) and John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (x. 1470), in which the cultural traffic was the movement of ideas from England to Italy. It will deploy these examples to consider how far the centre / periphery model can account for the international success of humanism during the heyday of the Renaissance.

Hester Schadee (Exeter), The Lack of Rome: The Anti-Habsburg Dialogue Sulla (1527)

Place informs perception in Andronicus Dalmata's dialogue *Sulla*. The dedication posits particular perspectives deriving from Split and Constantinople, while the main text discusses

ancient Rome from the vantage point of the Underworld. The author, meanwhile, moved between Buda and Paris at the time of writing. However, despite the dialogue's protagonists, Cornelius Sulla and Julius Caesar, being granted fleeting visions of the future, modern Rome is strikingly absent. This paper examines how Andronicus' *Sulla* nevertheless reflects the turbulent politics of the period, starting from an identification of Caesar with the imperial Habsburgs. It follows the diplomatic employment of Andronicus, native of Dalmatian Trogir, by the League of Cognac and its allies. The paper also explores the literary dimensions of *Sulla*, especially its debts to Lucian and to the quattrocento humanist Poggio Bracciolini. From these various perspectives, the dialogue appears alternately 'politics pursued by literary means', and an anti-mirror for princes.

Panel: Manipulating History

Jiamiao Chen (Bristol), The Making of the Harlot Saint: Holiness and Harlotry in 1 Henry VI

While *1 Henry VI* is a collaborative drama, there is consensus that most scenes concerning Joan of Arc were written by Shakespeare. By highlighting Shakespeare's inventions and his significant departures from historical sources in the portrayal of Joan, this paper aims to examine how the 'vierge tendre' lauded by Christine de Pisan is distorted into a 'virgin whore' and a 'saintly witch'. To fully appreciate Joan's dramatic value, I argue, it is necessary to contextualize her in the female hagiographic tradition. Unlike her medieval religious and literary predecessors whose sanctity is inextricably linked to miracles and whose public achievements are acknowledged, Shakespeare's Joan is bastardized and eroticized from the outset, preparing the audience for the ultimate demonization of the harlot saint and making *1 Henry VI* an anti-saint play. In contrast, Lord Talbot serves as a reformed Marian figure, holding the dead John Talbot in his arms, and experiences the martyrdom himself soon afterwards. In this respect, I argue, *1 Henry VI* engages with, but inverts and reforms the late medieval tradition of hagiography, anticipating the participation of Shakespeare's English history plays in the Reformation and contributing towards a pronounced diminution in female agency in the religious sphere.

Johanna Strong, (Mis)Remembering Mary I: England's First Crowned Queen as a Reflection for Caroline and Republican Religious and Political Affairs

Since Henry VIII's (1509-1547) break with Rome in the 1530s, English Catholicism has faced many difficulties. While Mary I's official reinstatement of Catholicism during her reign (1553-1558) was a period of relative ease for English Catholic practice, Mary's death on 17 November 1558 marked the beginning of a century of ongoing anti-Catholic and anti-foreign sentiment. Throughout the Elizabethan (1558-1603), Jacobean (1603-1625), Caroline (1625-1649), and Republican (1649-1660) eras, England's emerging Protestant and isolationist identity meant that Mary's reign increasingly appeared in interpretations as an antithesis to what it meant to be English. Drawing from my doctoral research, this paper examines the ways in which Caroline and Republican authors manipulated memories of Mary's life and reign in order to suit their present purposes. These authors established Mary as both an anomaly in English history and a cautioning precedent for current religious and political affairs. As these authors confronted England's difficult religious and political past, they used memories of Mary's life and reign to variously legitimise and undermine the current regime and its vision for England. As a result, Mary continued to be an influential – albeit negatively represented – figure in the English historical narrative, even after her death.

Kelly McRae (Aberdeen & Highlands and Islands), Come from the Devil: Demonising the Plantagenets in (Scottish) Chronicle Texts

The demonising of historical figures, particularly monarchs, is not an uncommon phenomenon in historical texts – Shakespeare famously depicted Richard III as a ‘foul devil’ and ‘cacodemon’. However, this literal demonisation of Richard III and the Plantagenet line as a whole does not begin with Shakespeare’s *Richard III*. Earlier chronicle sources – including the *Polychronicon* and the *Scotichronicon* – also present members of the Plantagenet line as devils and descendants of the Devil. Exploring these representations of historical monarchs as demonic figures sheds light on the political situation at the time of writing, an increase in the demonisation of previous monarchs and utilising the past as a means of propaganda suggests political instability whereas a decrease in this would indicate political stability. The patterns surrounding the demonisation of the Plantagenet line however are more interesting as they are not contained purely to the reign of the Tudors who replaced the Plantagenet line on the English throne but predates and persists past this. This paper explores the enduring presentation of the Plantagenet monarchs as demons in chronicle texts and the political motivations behind these both in England and in the other realm of Scotland.

Panel: Religion and Popular Song in Early Modern Britain

Anne Heminger (Tampa), English Identity and the Mid-Tudor Godly Ballad

Almost non-existent prior to the 1530s, godly ballads became quite popular during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, declining in prominence in the broadside market by the 1570s. While some godly ballads were devotional in nature, others couched theological or moral topics in the context of mid-sixteenth-century political discourse, often using crude, humorous language to poke fun at specific religious leaders or practices. Using a survey of extant ballads and ballad fragments, this paper argues that these polemical godly ballads provided an opportunity for propaganda that explicitly asked the public to question the nature and value of religious beliefs and practices and their relationship to the English church. Indeed, an important subset of these ballads speaks to the central role of the monarchy in theological debates in England, reinforcing the close connection between English nationhood and English religious identity by reminding listeners that the monarchy was the foundation of the nation. Although reformers and conservatives often employed differing strategies with respect to religious music making, the godly ballad emerges as a point of convergence—and likely a useful one—for those across the religious spectrum in the mid-Tudor period.

Katherine Butler (Northumbria), Godly Rounds and Moralised Catches, c.1550-1650

While the role of metrical psalms and godly ballads in popular song culture has long been recognised, little attention has been paid to the role of rounds or catches. Yet despite the genre’s reputation both then and now as a repertory of bawdy ale-house drinking songs, the few manuscripts and prints that preserve this predominantly oral repertory intermingle their secular catches with those on religious and moralised texts in both Latin and English. Surveying both the extant songs and the sources in which they were collected, this paper aims to assess the place of rounds, catches and canons within early modern musical and religious cultures. In both their choice of texts and their musical styles these songs seem to span a range of religious identities and suggest a range of domestic and educational contexts for performance. The generally miscellaneous nature of the sources presents a less polarised

picture of contemporary song culture than the prevalent rhetoric of lascivious song versus godly psalm or ballad in early modern print culture often insinuated. Nevertheless, the paratextual elements of several sources reveal underlying tensions between the sacred and secular within the culture of catch singing, sometime defending the practise of catch-singing, others juxtaposing catching singing and godly song in jest.

Angela McShane (Warwick), Puritan Soul and Popular Music in Revolutionary Britain

It is surely a truism—or so a significant body of scholarship would have us believe—that the dour Presbyterian Scots and their ‘godly’ English counterparts feared and detested secular popular music during the era of Puritan ascendancy between 1639 and 1660. Even godly ballads have been dismissed by scholars as lacking Protestant credentials and ‘mere entertainment’. In contrast, this paper shows how, throughout the civil wars and interregnum, English and Scottish Puritans collaborated with London’s dynamic ballad trade to protest their religious and political complaints, to promote their ideological values, and to inject a little Puritan soul into the pop music of the day.

Parallel Session 8

Panel: Monuments, Patronage and Portraiture

Izabela Mai (Gdansk), The Birth of Renaissance Portrait Through the Prism of Early Italian Artistic Literature

According to the most simplistic stereotypical view, portrait as we like to think of it today – i.e. a faithful rendering of the physical and mental traits of a specific individual – played a very important role in the classical culture, only to ‘disappear’ in the Middle Ages, dominated by sacred art, and to be ‘rediscovered’ or ‘reborn’ in the Renaissance. The remnants of this outdated view still often echo in the way we approach the artistic and social transformation related to Early Modern portraiture.

This paper will offer a more nuanced approach to the issue and will attempt to tell the story of the origins of the Italian Renaissance portraiture through the prism of artistic literature in its visual and ideological context, trying to build a narrative of a complex continuation rather than of a rapid breakthrough. I will look at the well-established as well as less-known fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italian texts, proposing a more open definition of ‘artistic literature’ and demonstrating that although they usually do not occupy themselves specifically with portraits, they reveal a lot about the role of portraiture in their time and its relationship with the past.

Moe Furukawa (Tokyo), Rewriting Florentine Art History: Giorgio Vasari on the Artists' Monuments in the Duomo of Florence

Renaissance writers, like historians and civil societies today, were faced with difficult pasts. This paper offers much-needed reflexivity on this issue by exploring how the ‘father of art history’ Giorgio Vasari, tried to forge a past that was useful to him and his patron. This becomes evident when considering the tomb monuments for artists found in the Duomo of Florence. Dedicated to the legendary figures such as Giotto and Brunelleschi, they were mainly created in the course of the 15th and 16th centuries. Interestingly, when Vasari wrote about one of these monuments in his ‘Lives of the Artists’, he decided not to mention that it was erected by Florentine citizens, but instead emphasized active intervention by Lorenzo

de' Medici in its construction as if he was the one who made it possible. Further inspection reveals that Vasari strove to turn the Duomo into a pantheon of illustrious Florentine artists supported by the Medici, which was to culminate in a massive tomb dedicated to Michelangelo. What Vasari has highlighted, what he carefully downplayed, therefore provides us with a critical mirror through which we can begin to reflect upon our own historical practices. The paper ends by raising larger questions related to the theme of the conference.

Wouter Wagemakers (Leiden), After i modi: Giulio Romano in/and Verona

When Giulio Romano left Rome for Mantua in 1524, he did so not long after a scandal broke that got his friend Marcantonio Raimondi imprisoned and his other friend Pietro Aretino almost killed. It regarded a print series of lurid images called *i modi*—a project in which all three men had had a hand—which drew the ire of the powerful datary Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543). The scandal came at a most inopportune moment for the Church of Rome, yet for some reason Giulio was largely untainted by it and he remained on friendly terms with Giberti. In fact, not long after the incident, Giberti called on the artist to create an elaborate fresco program for the Veronese cathedral. Why did Gian Matteo Giberti seek out Giulio Romano for this commission and what reasons were there for the scandal in the first place? Additionally, how did these two men overcome their difficult past? This paper investigates Giulio Romano's works in Verona, and particularly Giulio's relationship with one of his most powerful patrons, by contextualizing it in the light of religious conflict and the delicate role of art that underpinned it.

Panel: Towards a Global History of Musics in the Early Modern Era

Janie Cole (Yale University), Music, Power and Conversion in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia and Transcultural Encounters in a Global Early Modern [Online]

The Jesuit mission to the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia (1557–1632) was one of its earliest and most challenging projects, bringing one of the most ancient and remote Christian churches, albeit temporarily, under the authority of Rome. Drawing on 16th and 17th century travellers' accounts, Jesuit archives and indigenous sources, this paper examines the musical context of the royal court of King Susānyos (1606-1632) to explore transcultural Ethiopian-European encounters during the Jesuit mission period. It reconstructs the musical art of conversion developed by Jesuit missionaries, which blended indigenous African, Indian and European elements, and argues that these musical activities were based on a well-established Jesuit model from Portuguese India, specifically Goa and Diu. By outlining key missionary sites on the highlands (including Gorgora, Dänqāz (the royal capital), Qwällāla and Gännätä Iyāsus), musicians and repertoires, it explores a three-way interplay between the indigenous and foreign to consider discourses in cultural identity, appropriation and indigenization in the collisions of political, social and cultural hierarchies in the North-East African highlands. These Ethiopian-Indian-European encounters offer significant broader insights into the workings of an intertwined Indian Ocean World and the role of embodied aurality in constructing identity and religious proselytism in early modern Ethiopia.

Richard Wistreich (RCM), The Voices of Others: Controlling Vocal Difference in the Age of Colonization

Wolfgang Caspar Printz's (1678) first precept for country choirmasters needing to turn 'rough-voiced field-urchins' into well-drilled, sweet-singing choristers states: 'Although a

singer may be endowed freely from Nature with a clear and pleasant voice, it is nevertheless well known that it can be considerably improved'. The ancient tradition of physiognomy suggested that temperament and moral character were fixed at birth and expressed in the body's physical manifestations, including the voice (thereby enabling precise evaluation of strangers on first encounter). This was challenged by both Catholics and Protestants: the immoral or evil natures of those with such indicative features could be changed through faith and education. Concomitantly (if more tenuously), improving a physical attribute such as the voice might also effect positive change, including religious continence or even conversion, or simply impose vocal discipline on uncultivated peasant boys. Accounts by European travellers who first encountered Indigenous people around the world regularly noted the qualities of their voices and styles of singing. This paper examines evidence of the vigorous inculcation of Indigenous children into European choral singing, that was a key feature of early missionization and colonization, comparing it with traditions and techniques of disciplining and controlling vocal difference within Europe.

David R. M. Irving (ICREA & Institució Milà i Fontanals de Recerca en Humanitats, CSIC, Barcelona) The Place of Music in Sixteenth-Century Arguments for Global Human Rights [Online]

In 1551 the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566) argued for the rights of Indigenous peoples of the Americas in a scholarly debate at Valladolid. This hearing has been cited by some historians as a key event in the nascence of legal, philosophical, and theological ideas about global human rights. Las Casas, who lived in the Americas for more than thirty-five years over five different periods, was an eyewitness to many atrocities and forms of exploitation committed by colonialists. He also learnt about Indigenous culture through first- and second-hand observation. (He did not initially argue for the rights of enslaved Africans, but his views on this issue changed towards the end of his life.) Although Las Casas left a large number of ethnographic descriptions, musicologists and ethnomusicologists have not made extensive use of his writings. Within his voluminous oeuvre, fleeting mentions of music and the voice occur in reports of events, polemical debates, and comparative-ethnographic histories. This paper focuses on Las Casas's texts to explore ways in which notions of music and the voice inflected theological and philosophical thought about global human rights in the sixteenth century.

Roundtable: The Difficult History of Richard Norwood: The Travails of a Seventeenth-Century Traveller and his Editors

Eva Johanna Holmberg (Helsinki), Sara Norja (Turku), Kirsty Rolfe (Leiden)

This roundtable tells the story of the editing processes and difficult choices faced by the team of editors working towards a new edition of Richard Norwood's 'Confessions', contracted by the Hakluyt Society and due to be published in 2023/24. The 'Confessions' of Richard Norwood is a rare example of an early modern manuscript self-narrative by a lower-than middling sort seafarer. The text offers a rich perspective on the meshing of the early modern genres of life writing, travel writing, and spiritual autobiography. Norwood gives an account of his life from early childhood through to 1620; his text combines an almost picaresque account of early adventures on the seas and in continental Europe with a keen interest in mathematics and navigation, as well as contemplations of his Calvinist faith. It mixes the personal with the religious and political, shedding light on Norwood's education, early career, spiritual life, growing interest in mathematics and navigation, and the process of completing

his first survey of Bermuda whilst simultaneously undergoing distressing spiritual and bodily trials and temptations. It also features a number of erased sections (possibly redacted by Norwood himself), the contents of which this edition will reproduce for the first time.

This new edition faced its own challenges (not least the Covid-19 pandemic, which almost stranded two of the editors in Bermuda) and in this roundtable the editors will discuss the 'difficult history' of reconstructing Norwood's life and writing processes, the difficulty of editing a heavily redacted text, and – crucially – the challenges of doing this while dealing with our own dislocation and academic precarity. In addition, we will discuss the research opportunities and insights offered by this new interdisciplinary edition, which brings together expertise in the history of travel- and life-writing, historical linguistics, and literary studies

Panel: Augmenting the Anglophone Archive: New Perspectives from Irish Bardic Poetry ca. 1541 - ca. 1660

Evan Bourke (Maynooth), An Exploration of the Poet-Patron Relationship in Irish Bardic Poetry ca. 1541 – ca. 1660

The literary landscape of Early Modern Ireland was dominated by bardic poetry, the work of a professional caste of poets (or *filidh*) who were trained in the bardic schools in Ireland and Scotland during the period c. 1200–1650. This poetry was the product of highly sophisticated, transactional, and mutually beneficial relationships between poets and their aristocratic patrons. This paper combines innovative methods of network analysis with traditional textual scholarship to engage in an act of decolonialization and relabelling by visualizing and examining the social relationships that played a role, at both a national and regional level, in maintaining and upholding the values of Gaelic Ireland's elite. Focusing on the period from the declaration of Henry VIII as King of Ireland in 1541 to the beginning of the Restoration period in 1660, it highlights and explores an under-studied aspect of Renaissance Ireland; and it shows how incorporating these cultural connections into a wider analysis of prosopographical analysis of Early Modern Ireland produces an inclusive account of creative, scholarly, and intellectual activity in Ireland that goes against the prevailing Anglocentric perspective of literary-historical scholarship.

Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh (Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies), Caointear feasda clann Uí Chaoimh

The literature of Renaissance Ireland was dominated by bardic poetry, a highly polished syllabic verse that was composed by professional hereditary poets for members of the lay nobility. Much of this poetry was composed against the backdrop of colonization and conquest and reflects the political and cultural violence of the period. The surviving corpus of poems constitutes an immensely significant archive, one, if brought into the equation, can significantly alter our understanding of Gaelic Ireland. This paper will examine *Caointear feasda clann Uí Chaoimh*, a poem of the death of the four sons of Art Ó Caoimh of Dúiche Ealla, County Cork (d. 1582). It is one of a series of poems on the Ó Caoimh family that are attributed to Ó Dálaigh Fionn and are frequently clustered together in manuscripts. This poem can probably be dated to the first decade of the seventeenth century and bears witness to the destruction wrought upon the family during the Desmond rebellion. It marks the end of a long tradition of Ó Caoimh patronage of bardic poetry and documents the devastating effect of conquest on the production of poetry in Munster.

Philip Mac a' Ghoill (Maynooth), English or Irish? Or both? Insights from Gaelic Poetry into the Cultural Identity of the Anglo-Norman Nobility in Munster 1569–1607

As the Tudor conquest of Ireland was accelerating in the second half of the 16th century, the long-time aim of the colonisers to promote English law, language, customs and faith, while suppressing Gaelic culture, was becoming ever more evident in Irish society. It is clear, however, that the vast majority of Irish nobles still embraced and were active in the promotion of Gaelic culture – even the Anglo-Norman families, or the 'English-Irish', were Irish speakers who patronised Gaelic poetry schools, and had harpers and bards entertain them in their homes at feasts and banquets. Based on information we can gather from surviving sources in both the English and Irish languages, it seems aspects of both English and Irish cultures were being embraced by these noble families and flourishing simultaneously during a period of greater socio-political chaos. This paper draws on and presents a 'Deep Map of Munster', developed by *Macmorris*, which can augment the archive by presenting elements of the unedited and previously untranslated Gaelic archive alongside the English language texts used by Anglophone scholars to represent the region. It explores the insights we can find in the corpus of Classical Gaelic poetry into aspects of cultural identity among the Anglo-Norman nobility of Munster from the beginning of the Desmond rebellions in 1569 and the Flight of the Earls in 1607.

Panel: War and Peace: English Texts and European Contexts in the Sixteenth Century

Neil Rhodes (St Andrews), War Against the Turks: Erasmian Pacifism and Marlowe's Scourge of God

Machiavelli asserted that the sole concern of the ruler should be the art of war. Erasmus, however, in his own counsel to princes, had argued that they should focus on 'the arts of peace'. We should not underestimate the radical nature of Erasmus's pacifism, in the *Dulce bellum inexpertis* and *The Complaint of Peace* especially, which entertain the Ciceronian maxim that an unjust peace is preferable to a just war. This position came under pressure as the Ottomans made violent inroads into Christian Europe, laying siege to Vienna in 1529; but fighting a war against the Turks had been compromised by Luther's insistence that they represented 'a scourge of God' and should not be resisted, while Christendom itself was now wracked by violent schism. This paper examines Erasmus's pacifism in the light of these developments and ends by looking at the most famous English play on the 'scourge of God' theme, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, in the European context provided by Erasmus's writings on war and peace.

Jane Grogan (UCD), 'Till the strangers landed': Re-Examining Smerwick

In early November 1580, the English forces in Ireland faced what they had long dreaded: the arrival of a papal and Spanish force, in support of the Desmond rebellion. The recently appointed Lord Deputy, together with his trusty secretary, one Edmund Spenser, and 'only ... 500 men', journeyed to the western reaches of county Kerry to face 'thousands at the least' (according to Grey). Following a parley and surrender of the fort, Grey moved swiftly: 'Then putt I in certeyn bandes, who streight fell to execution. There were 600 slayne; munition & vitteile great store, though much wasted through the disorder of the Souldier, which in the furie could not bee helped.' The letter Spenser wrote for Grey from Smerwick (from which I quote) is often cited as evidence of Spenser's own implication in, and support of colonial

violence. But Smerwick was not just an atrocity in early modern Irish history or in the literary history of 'Spenser in Ireland', the two primary contexts in which it has been studied. 'Ireland was a European theatre of culture, conflict and communication', as Baker, Maley and Palmer remind us (*Enter Macmorris*, DRB 2019). This paper explores some of the European cultural as well as political actors and contexts of Smerwick.

Andrew Murphy (TCD), 'List his discourse of war': Henry V and the Ambivalences of Conflict

In his seminal article 'Rabbits, Ducks and *Henry V*', Norman Rabkin compared the play to a perceptual illusion, which the brain registers now as one shape, now another. The profound ambiguity of the play anatomised by Rabkin extends to its treatment of the topic of war. *Henry V* is a play about war written in a time of war, but the play's presentation of Henry's campaign in France is shot through with ambivalence and complexity. The set-piece battle of Agincourt happens off-stage. This is predictable, of course, given (as the Chorus makes clear) the limitations of Shakespeare's theatre, but the text is also curiously silent about how the battle was actually fought and won — as if the business of war can never be directly closed within the text. Consistently throughout the play moments of valour and high heroism are undermined by being juxtaposed with scenes which interrogate the standard triumphant narrative. In this, Shakespeare's play contrasts strongly with the jubilant orthodoxy both of the anonymous *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (1598) and of the 1600 quarto *Cronicle History of Henry the Fift*, which reduces Shakespeare's own text to a streamlined, conventional heroic tale. The aim of this paper will be to explore these complexities in their greater historical context.

Panel: Materialising Memory: Visual Cultures of Remembering and Forgetting in Early Modern Britain

Megan Shaw (Warwick), Murder, Monuments, and the Performance of Memory: The Duchess of Buckingham in Mourning, 1628-1634

A magnificent monument was completed at Westminster Abbey for George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), the royal favourite to both James VI & I and Charles I of England, six years after his assassination. Erected by the widowed Katherine Villiers, Duchess of Buckingham (1603-1649), in the royal Henry VII Chapel in 1634, this monument sought to construct and recall a positive version of Buckingham's memory and project stability for the Villiers family. This paper offers new perspectives on the murder of the 'most hated man in England' and its aftermath by exploring the primary visual and material responses to his death which were commissioned and performed by his widow. As part of her commemorative campaign, Katherine also harnessed Buckingham's likeness – his body and his memory – in a significant series of mourning portraits which served to stabilise his posthumous reputation and bolster her and her family at court. Katherine maintained relationships which were formed along the lines of royal favour by harnessing the currency of Buckingham's memory and, as a perspicacious cultural patron, knew the value of the painted and monumental arts for transmitting strategic messages throughout her mourning and her widowhood.

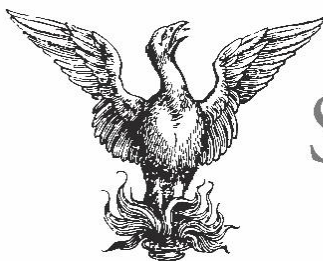
Catriona Murray (Edinburgh), 'Injur'd Statues Speake Terrour to Tyrants': The Sculptural Afterlives of King Charles I

Charles I was the first British monarch to fully appreciate the power of public statuary, both inspiring and implementing a sculptural programme that centred on his capital but also

embraced locations further afield, including Oxford, Bristol and Worcester. In refiguring the monarch, monuments assumed some of his mystique. They projected a substantial, tangible and immediate authority over the spaces that they inhabited. This power, at once symbolic and material, was recognised both by supporters and opponents of Charles' regime. Although Parliament proceeded slowly after the regicide, once taken, actions against the king's monumental bodies were definite and absolute. On 3 August 1649, the House of Commons ordered that statues and inscriptions in 'all publick places' should be taken down and demolished. This paper takes that order as its starting point, tracing competing processes of defacement, erasure, replacement, preservation and restoration upon royal statues and their surroundings. Even when monuments were totally obliterated, memories persisted and could inspire a subsidiary culture of images and texts. Throughout the Commonwealth and following the Restoration, Charles' monumental body was subject to repeated revision.

Sarah Hutcheson (Harvard), The Restoration and Windsor Castle: Revival, Continuity, and Erasure

When Windsor Castle's Upper Ward was remodelled in 1675-84, Charles II's architect, Hugh May, aimed to stress the continuity with a site that had been the seat of the English monarchy since the Middle Ages. This was a crucial message for the Restored government, which attempted to delegitimize the Interregnum by stressing the tradition and the splendour of monarchy. At Windsor, the remodel took cues from Continental examples of expressing the power and divinity of the monarch, but also looked to Medieval inspiration in an early expression of revivalism. The historic links between the Order of the Garter and Windsor Castle were a particularly fruitful theme that May and his team exploited to announce the return of chivalry, incorporating garter emblems into both interior and exterior decoration. Even in areas of the castle which were not remodelled, such as the round tower, notions of medieval chivalric warfare and loyalty to the king were evoked through new decorative schemes. As a monarchy that had been restored not by war but by politicking, and that had been defeated soundly by the military strategy of Oliver Cromwell, Charles II's programme at Windsor walked a fine line between memorializing and erasing the past.



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