**Society for Renaissance Studies Conference, 13-15 July 2014**

**PROGRAMME**

**Sunday 13th**

* 1. **Registration in Garden Court**

**11-1. Session 1**

1. **Issues of Staging in Early English Drama (Chair: Greg Walker, University of Edinburgh) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Nadia Thérèse van Pelt, University of Southampton, ‘Managing Spectator Experience and the Performative Space in Early English Drama’**

Studies of spectatorship offer very different models for the relationship of the spectator with what they see. On the one hand cognitive psychology offers mirror neuron theory, arguing a neurological replication of the actors’ movements in the brain of the spectator. On the other hand, metatheatre appears to demand that the spectator enjoy the action while remaining conscious of the world around it. This paper suggests that the most important element of the early English dramatic experience exists *between* the two poles of an awareness of artifice and absorption, and that the dramatic experience is managed by playwright, actor, and spectator with respect to these two poles. This paper explores the spectator’s experience as diversely nuanced by the context of the performance space, through John Bale’s *King Johan* and John Heywood’s *Play of the Wether*, illustrating that some playwrights had political reasons to believe it best if they did not manage their spectators’ experience, while others displayed a deep commitment to controlling not only spectators’ experiences and responses *during* the performance but also afterwards, suggesting that risk management was not an act but rather a process. This process could go wrong if the dramatic performance was not sufficiently managed, or if the performance context in which the drama was performed was misjudged, as discussed through a study of the records of the Star Chamber case *Hole vs. White et al.*, from which a reconstruction can be made of the management of spectator-risk in the city of Wells in 1607. Examining drama in its *specific* literary and historical context, this paper clarifies early drama’s most fundamental characteristic to be an intervention in society, and as such always relating to non-dramatic issues, and inevitably carrying risk with it.

* **Emma Whipday, UCL, ‘“Then being in the upper room, Merry strikes him in the head”: Staging Domestic Space in *Two Lamentable Tragedies***

Robert Yarrington’s *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1601) intertwines two distinct narratives of domestic murder: that of a rich ward by his uncle, and that of a contemporary London shopkeeper by his avaricious neighbour, Merry. Both narratives situate both the murder and the detective process that discovers it in relation to the homes of criminal and victim. The former is set in a generalized and remote Italian past; the latter is a ‘true’ crime that takes place in contemporary London. In staging the murder, its concealment, and the apprehension of the criminal in a recognizable early modern house, ‘The Tragedy of Merry’ offers the audience unprecedented access to the staged private spaces of a non-elite household. Anne M. Myers has recently argued that literature and architecture were ‘related, and often interdependent, forms of storytelling’, suggesting that, for early modern writers, ‘the practices that defined the built environment were narrative’. In *Two Lamentable Tragedies* the spaces and boundaries of the home pattern the narratives of murder, concealment, and detection, and construct the narrative trajectory. This paper explores the ways in which the spaces of the home are portrayed onstage; and the extent to which this portrayal is mediated by the representation of violence. In so doing, this paper draws on a recent ‘parts’ production of ‘The Tragedy of Merry’ (March 2014, [www.twolamentabletragedies.wordpress.com](http://www.twolamentabletragedies.wordpress.com)), which reconstructs early modern performance and rehearsal practices in order to explore the ways in which the ‘Merry’ narrative might have been staged.

* **Jennifer Hough, Liverpool Hope University, ‘“You shall not be my judge”: An Examination of “Court” Performative Space in Sixteenth- and early Seventeenth- Century English Drama**

This paper examines the ‘court’ as a performative space in early modern English drama. After a brief overview of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century judiciary, it illustrates the use of ‘court’ as a venue for rhetorical performance, a venue which is indebted to the late medieval courtly love allegory, which has rarely been acknowledged. By examining three ‘Shakespeare’ plays ‒ *Henry VIII*, *Thomas More*, and *The Merchant of Venice* ‒ it is possible to examine the ‘court’ as a performative space being utilized as a means of critiquing, but also subsequently reinforcing, Elizabethan and Jacobean litigation and political process. In *Henry VIII* the concept of court as a performative space is twofold: ‘court’ in its legal capacity is used to exhibit the fall of those closest to Henry, enabling the audience to be both witness and jury simultaneously, effecting the revision of momentous historical events, whilst also utilizing the form of contemporary court theatre – the masque. The significance of the ‘trial’ of Queen Katherine will be examined in relation to the hearing at Legatine Court at Blackfriars in 1529, at which the King and Queen presented their testimonies for the validity of their marriage, in front of Cardinal Campeggio and Cardinal Wolsey. Cardinal Wolsey is also put on trial in this play, as is Thomas More. Similarly, in *Thomas More* and *The Merchant of Venice*, the utilization of the court enables an interrogation of contemporary justice and government. Court in *The Merchant of Venice* is a means of putting prejudice on trial, and thus ‘trying’ the audience, while in *Thomas More* it is used to illustrate More’s brilliance initially, and then as a means of ‘trying’ the laws of the Reformation, forming a continuum with *Henry VIII*.

1. **Varieties of Performance in Sacred and Ritualized Spaces and Art (Chair: George Bernard, University of Southampton) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Emanuela Vai, University of St Andrews, ‘“Pro majori devotione”: Performance Practices and Architectural Layouts in Northern Italian Renaissance Sacred Space’**

Through an interdisciplinary approach this paper seeks to understand sacred space and its function, form, and spatiality, within the context of the events and situations that take place in it, as ceremonies and music performances. By studying the ways in which liturgical and musical needs influence church interiors - from analyses of primary sources to acoustic experiments *in situ* - the paper addresses these issues by means of two main case studies between the 16th and 17th centuries in the Lombard-Venetian area.

By interpreting patterns of source-survival and employing hitherto unexamined sources, such as ceremonial, ledgers, correspondence, diaries, inventories, financial and legal records, it is possible to understand the interactive dynamics of these sacred spaces in which the ‘life’and activities of the churches influenced and shaped both space and liturgy for a common purpose: ‘pro majori devotione’.

* **Rebecca Tomlin, Birkbeck College, ‘Collections and Control in Sixteenth-Century London’**

Many miseries might befall sixteenth-century men and women. Houses collapsed on their occupants, fires swept through towns, women were seized by a sudden urge to give away all their means of support to the poor, scholars were blinded by excessive study, and businessmen bankrupted by standing surety for others. Those impoverished by these calamities, and more, feature in over three hundred alms petitions, or ‘collections’ recorded in the Churchwardens’ Memorandum Books of St Botolph’s, Aldgate between 1584 and 1600. The most frequent recipients of alms were soldiers and mariners maimed in campaigns against the Spanish and the Irish; the most exotic tales were those of imprisonment by Barbary pirates or ‘The Turk’. This paper discusses the alms petition as performance, and the use of the church as the space in which that performance was given. Who voiced the petition and who made the collection? Was sympathy engaged by a personal appearance of the suffering petitioner, often described as afflicted or maimed? How did the petitioner overcome the congregation’s suspicion that it might be duped by a ‘Fresh Water Mariner’, a ‘Rufflar’ or a ‘Frater’, all types of counterfeit beggars described by Thomas Harman in *A Caveat for commen cursetors vulgarely called vagabones* (1567)? What were the generic conventions of the petition and why were some collections made at the church door? The collections are recorded as part of the process of demonstrating control over the use of the space of the church; as the parish clerk of St Botolph’s wrote at the start of each volume of the Churchwardens’ Memorandum Books, ‘Heare after is Speacefyed and Then regestred all Suche thinges as is done in the churche.’ This paper focuses on the alms petition as a potentially irregular performance in church, and the record of the petitions as a trace of the attempt to manage the performative space of a late-sixteenth-century parish church.

* **Dr James Hall, Independent Scholar, ‘The Painter at Work: Site and Studio’**

In antiquity there was little interest in the idea of art-making as a public performance, or in the creation of self-portraits. This alters in the twelfth century, when it became fashionable for illuminators to depict themselves ‘on site’ in the act of putting the finishing touches to the page, and to show themselves winching up missing letters. There is growing scientific interest in processes generally, and in makers (Hugh of St Victor). St Luke painting the Virgin in her palace becomes a new subject in c1350, with artists substituting their own features. Most Renaissance self-portraits avoid any reference to the painting process, but after around 1550 the artist’s studio emerges as both a visitor attraction and a much mythologised subject in art. The artist as public performer enters its modern phase.

* **Emilie K.M. Murphy, University of York, ‘Musical Appropriation of the “theatre of death” by English Catholics in Elizabethan and Jacobean England’**

On 1 December 1581, Edmund Campion was drawn to Tyburn alongside fellow Jesuit and secular priests, Alexander Briant and Ralph Sherwin. On the scaffold Campion paraphrased 1 Corinthians 4:9: ‘We are made a spectacle, or a sight unto God, unto his Angels, and unto men: verified this day in me, who am here a spectacle unto my lorde god, a spectacle unto his angels & unto you men’. His speech was interrupted and he was questioned about his opinions on the 1570 bull, his loyalty to the pope, and his alleged treason. Campion was indicted for conspiracy to raise rebellion, for inviting foreign invasion, and plotting to overthrow and kill the queen. According to Thomas Alfield, a witness in the crowd and Campion’s martyrologist, Campion said was ‘giltlesse & innocent of all treason and conspiracie’ and prayed for ‘Elizabeth, your queene and my queene’, before ‘he meekely and sweetly yelded his soule unto his Saviour, protesting that he dyed a perfect Catholike’.

The spectacle of the scaffold and theatre of punishment has received a great deal of attention in recent scholarship. This paper argues that sites of execution were performative spaces, which were adapted and appropriated by English Catholics. It reveals how martyrs subverted the authority of the state through musical performance and transformed persecution space with it. It shows how scaffold singing was part of a tradition of martyrological fashioning and emphasizes how the martyrs’ legacy was directed by the martyrs themselves as much as their martyrologists. Moreover, this self-fashioning was not isolated to the execution space but visible in other spaces: in exile, in prisons, and within the households of the English Catholic community. Through the analysis of newly discovered music from a Northamptonshire Catholic household, this paper reveals how English Catholics performed the music of martyrs to enhance their devotion. The household became the performative space, ripe for transformation, and the scaffold scene was recreated in the domestic setting. In this way, the beleaguered Catholic laity memorialised their martyrs with a politically subversive performance and framed the martyrs’ final moments with song.

1. **Dining Spaces in Early Modern Europe (Chair: Elizabeth Honig, University of California, Berkeley) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Gabriele Neher, University of Nottingham, ‘From Page to Plate: Living It Up in Renaissance Bresciia’**
* **Victoria Jackson, University of Birmingham, ‘Speaking Plates: Text, Performance, and Banqueting Trenchers in Early Modern England’**

This paper aims to reconstruct early modern perceptions of banqueting through an investigation of decorated wooden trenchers – sets of specialized plates used exclusively in after-dinner banquets. Trenchers were decorated on one side only with a pictorial image and accompanying epigram. It is thought that the plates facilitated entertainment and conversation, whereby guests would read their epigrams aloud and – as I hope to show – transform the banqueting space into a ‘performative space’. While trenchers may have originated in the context of lavish banquets enjoyed by members of the social elite, this paper examines their wider use further down the social scale. I suggest that the nature of the banquet relied on the verbal interaction prompted by trenchers, and I connect them to the wider visual and textual decoration of the space where they were deployed.

* **Louise Carson, University of Nottingham, ‘Dining with the “other”: Access and Gender in the Early Modern Banqueting House’**

This paper considers the spaces in which confectionery was stored, prepared and displayed in early modern England. It takes account of particular architectural spaces such as the closet, the still-room and the banqueting house in order to explore the relationship between these spaces and gendered identity. Both sugar-work and the sugar banquet were considered to be particularly feminine. Were the spaces used for these activities also considered to be gendered? If so, was this gendering reflected in their relative privacy and arrangements for access? How might these spaces have been designed to define and / or regulate gendered identities? If there was such a thing as ‘feminine’ space, did it facilitate the performance of female agency or the regulation of femininity by a patriarchal culture?

* **Sarah Ann Milne, University of Westminster, ‘Dining with Drapers’: Situating the Feasts of the London Drapers’ Company (1540-1640)’**

This paper discusses the ceremonial movements of the Drapers’ Company through their foremost corporate space, the Company Livery Hall. Located on Throgmorton Avenue in the City of London, in 1542 the Drapers’ acquired and consolidated the late Thomas Cromwell’s mansion house with adjacent separate leases in a property coup unmatched in the Company’s history. The result of such bold ambitions was a near complete city block, and a considerable garden, under their exclusive control. Their modest Hall was essentially ‘supersized’ as, almost immediately, the Drapers’ voted to move their corporate activities to the new conspicuous location - strategically dividing up the mansion house into two halves. The most grandiose entertaining spaces and necessary subsidiary accommodation, situated on the Eastern side of an internal courtyard, were bagged for the administration and hospitality of the Company. However, it was only during the annual Election Day Feast that the Company fully inhabited its new Hall to capacity. These feasts involved carefully choreographed ‘set-pieces’, incorporating the transferal of offices from the outgoing officials to those newly elected. Ceremonial spaces such as the main hall, the parlour, and the Ladies chamber were not in any way static in usage or internal configuration during the proceeding decades. The Company Minutes reveal a steady stream of adjustments, and discussions surrounding interior arrangements and the ritual processions. Extending from the dining tables, through the garden, and into the environs of the City streets, what changes can be observed in the established patterns of movement through the Drapers’ inhabited space? And what factors were driving the revisions? This paper utilizes three documents from the Drapers’ archive: The Dinner Book (1564-1602), the Company Minute Books, and a ground floor plan with descriptions of the upper floors (c. 1620s), to visualize the sequential movement through the Drapers’ corporate space.

1. ‘**The Golden Age Resum’d: Court Masque Foreshadowings of Restoration Royal “Opera”’** **(Chair: Richard Wistreich, Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Sarah Barber, Lancaster University**
* **John Peacock, University of Southampton**
* **Andrew Pinnock, University of Southampton**
* **Bryan White, University of Leeds**

The realization that allegorical ceiling paintings in Windsor Castle strongly influenced both the tone and the dramatic content of three Restoration opera libretti -those written for *Dido & Aeneas* (Nahum Tate/music by Henry Purcell), *Albion & Albanius* (John Dryden/music by Louis Grabu), and *King Arthur* (Dryden/Purcell) - has profound implications for opera historians. Antonio Verrio and a team of assistants executed the Windsor paintings between 1675 and 1683, to Charles II’s spare-no-expense commission. *Dido*, *Albion*, and *King Arthur* originated in the same commissioning environment demonstrably. Their propaganda ambitions were closely aligned with Verrio’s and, by implication, with the king’s. Long-running scholarly controversy about the original function of *Dido & Aeneas* (court masque or schoolgirl opera?) can now be settled; as can the dispute about the original political orientation of Dryden’s *King Arthur* allegory. More important however - opening up a whole new area of enquiry - is the strength of connection now apparent between the Jacobean-Caroline court masque project (pre Civil War) and its Carolean counterpart (post Restoration). Masques created for James I and Charles I brought the Whitehall Banqueting House exuberantly to life, animating its architecture and, once they had been installed, its Rubens’ ceiling paintings. Masque-informed ‘opera’ producers under Charles II did the same for Windsor, picking up royal-symbolic threads severed during the Civil War and cleverly extending them. Charles I was beheaded on a stage abutting the Whitehall Banqueting House: the deeply ironic theatricality surrounding his public execution perverted the Stuart masque legacy and demanded an equally theatrical post-Restoration response. Hence some of the more ambitious efforts at masque-revival sponsored by Charles II can be seen as attempts to put restored Stuart monarchy back on the pedestal from which Charles I has been brutally dislodged and to move that pedestal out of court into the commercial-theatrical sphere. There a much larger audience could be reached and approved political messages could be far more effectively disseminated. *Albion* and *King Arthur* were both designed for commercial production before Charles II’s death and both were actually produced in the commercial theatre after it. This panel brings together four speakers with complementary, multi-disciplinary, and century-spanning expertise. Together they will re-orientate early English opera studies, arguing that the influence of Caroline masque on Carolean repertoire merit extensive investigation.

1. **Italian Performative Architecture (Chair: Edward Chaney, Southampton Solent University) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Francesca Mattei, Politecnico di Milano,** ‘**Architecture and Ceremonies at the Gonzaga’s Court: the Residences Network (1484-1540)’**

This paper examines the relation between architecture and ceremonies in the Mantua court, in particular the Gonzaga’s residences during the dukedom of Francesco II and his son Federico II Gonzaga (1484-1540). These residences were an important network of buildings in the city and in the countryside, consisting of the Ducal Palace and the palace of San Sebastiano, in the centre of Mantua, the palace of Porto, the villa of Poggio Reale, the palazzo Te, outside the walls, and the palaces of Marmirolo, Revere, Gonzaga, and Pietole, and Cavriana and Goito castles, far from the city. These buildings are significant examples of the renewal of architecture in Mantua (and more in general in northern Italy) introduced by the work of Luca Fancelli, Leon Battista Alberti, and Giulio Romano - architects who also worked in the residences. Gonzaga's residences had many different functions, ranging from watchtower to rural production, from hunt station to place of delight. Moreover, they were points to control the city and the citizens. The buildings were also perfectly furnished to host the court and diplomatic delegates, and these residences were also used to exhibit the magnificence of the court during particular occasions, such as carnival, theatrical representations, weddings, or funerals. This study is structured in two parts. Using case-studies, such as the triumphal entry of Charles V in Mantua in 1530, the paper describes the ways these buildings were used during festivals and ceremonies as well as outlining the new in-progress list of documents and sources used. The goalis to understand how the ceremonies organized in the residences influenced architectural transformations.

* **Sandra Dučić-Collette, ‘The anagogical function of Raphael’s Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo’**

The Chigi Chapel was commissioned by Agostino Chigi, banker of humanist Pope Julius II. It is located in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, and was the pope’s most cherished church. Raphael was given the responsibility to carry out the construction within an already pre-existing chapel and work began in about 1512. However, the artist’s untimely death (five days before Chigi’s own) in 1520 made it impossible for him to witness its completion. It was left to other artists - including Lorenzetto, Salviati, Del Piombo, and Bernini - to finish the work.

This paper focuses on the Chigi Chapel as a performative space, which is actively engaged in performing certain functions. With such a space, the actor is not (or, at least, not only) the people that occupy it, but rather the space itself. As a chapel, the function of the Chigi Chapel can be called ‘anagogical’ as it is essentially concerned with the guidance of souls (both of the deceased and of the praying worshipers) in their upward journey to the afterlife.

What makes the Chigi Chapel unique is the way in which Raphael single-handedly managed to accomplish this anagogical function through what Christoph Frommel has called “Gesamtkunstwerk”: a synthesis of all art forms. Through its unique combination of architecture, sculpture and mosaics, it was designed to helping souls to rise towards heaven and return to God. This paper interprets its anagogical function in the light of Raphael’s references to Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. The eight decorated panels of the dome, depicting the sun, the six known planets, and a zodiac, each moved by an angel, are probably reminiscent of the circles of the Paradiso. The paper explores the way other sections are equally important; including two parts of Chigi’s grave, the bas-relief at its base and the stele.

* **Matthew Knox Averett, Creighton University, ‘Ovid in Travertine and Water: Performative Space and Bernini’s Fountains in Piazza Barberini’**

This paper examines the transformation of the Piazza Barberini into a performative space by the construction of two fountains by Gian Lorenzo Bernini: the Triton Fountain and the Fountain of the Bees. In the seventeenth century, the piazza was a visible, highly-trafficked, symbolically charged, and politically-significant venue from which to direct messages to the local population and international community. In 1642, Bernini began construction on the Triton Fountain and two years later, the Fountain of the Bees. Bernini’s fountains transformed the Piazza Barberini into a stage upon which was enacted the story of the great deluge from Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, using the physical elements of the site as stand-ins for the topographical elements described in Ovid’s vivid narrative. The Triton Fountain’s water display and sculpture produced a vision of Triton emerging from the depths of the sea, looming above the waves. The earthen floor of the piazza and the puddles of water created by the fountain’s overspray evoked Ovid’s post-diluvian setting, as did the now-lost ilexes that overlooked the piazza and covered the eastern hills of Rome. The Fountain of the Bees represents the vestiges of marine life left on the drying earth after the diluvial waters receded and the world was returned to its original state. Contemporary Roman audiences would have expected the fountains to express a message and Bernini employed this drama to satisfy that demand. Construction of the fountains was undertaken during the most difficult period in the long reign of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, the patron of the fountains. At that time, the pope was conducting the widely unpopular War of Castro, which pitted the Papal States against the Duke of Parma and several other Italian states. The drama enacted by travertine and water in the Piazza Barberini likened Ovid’s tale of the gods’ salvific deluge to the Barberini’s prosecution of the War of Castro in the hopes of creating a new Italy.

1. **Religion and Performativity (Chair: Ceri Sullivan, University of Cardiff) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Carmen Gallo, University of Naples, ‘Sacred Words on Poetical Stage in Seventeenth-century Metaphysical Poetry’**

Metaphysical poetry often relies on its dramatic quality to represent the power of the Word to make things ‘happen’ in the manner of the Catholic transubstantiation. Though denied by English Reformers, transubstantiation still pervades the poetry of John Donne, George Herbert, and Richard Crashaw, amongst others, as a ‘real absence’, and remained crucial for the building of the English religious identity. The paper analyzes a selection of seventeenth-century English poets and their use of liturgical sources – from the *Book of Common Prayer* to the *Book of Hours* – to show how the Mass as a performative and liturgical space survives in the dramatic quality and sacramental representation of poems, as a sort of nostalgia for a (more miraculous) time in which words and deeds were bound by a supernatural connection of divine correspondences between the macrocosm and microcosm. At the start of an age of increased secularization, metaphysical poetry offers religious rhetoric a last, often even a profane, opportunity to still celebrate the miracle of sacraments - the Eucharist above all – in a now private space of liturgical performance.

* **Alison Searle, University of Sydney, ‘** **Letters, Journals and (Auto)biography: Literary Performances of Religious Nonconformity in Homes, Prisons and Meeting Places’**

Religious nonconformity was a legal category created in England following the Act of Uniformity in 1662, when approximately 2,000 ministers refused to conform to the ecclesiastical and liturgical structure of the newly reconstituted Church of England. This paper examines the various ways in which men, women, and children negotiated the unchartered and locally variegated domestic, religious, and criminalized spaces established by this Act of Parliament and its implications for the performance of their newly defined (and often unwanted) identity as ‘nonconformists’. It explores the performance of nonconformity through three case studies: the courtship and marriage of Mary Smith and Robert; the relationship of Elianor and Owen Stockton, and the marriage of Mary and Christopher Love Cumulatively, these three case studies provide an empirical basis on which the literary performance of religious nonconformity - through the genres of letters, journals, and (auto)biography - can be mapped and explored in the diverse spaces represented by homes, prisons, and meeting places.

* **David Walker, University of Northumbria, ‘John Bunyan: Prison, the New Jerusalem and Performative Space’**

In November 1660 John Bunyan was arrested for holding a conventicle, and in 1661, for refusing to cease preaching, was imprisoned for an initial 3 months in Bedford. This sentence was extended to 12 years. Other nonconformist luminaries like Richard Baxter were deprived of their living by the strictures of the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Many too shared Bunyan’s unjust fate as prisoners of conscience in Restoration prisons. Bunyan’s works repeatedly offer a millenarian vision of the perfect city that stands in stark contrast to the early modern urban space with which he was familiar. The figure of the city looms large in Bunyan’s writing: Christian makes his famous journey from one city to another in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*; the topography of his battle allegory *The Holy* *War* is recognizable as London; and the degenerate lifestyle with which London was often credited is the defining characteristic leading to a bad demise for the protagonist in *The Life and Death of Mr Badman*. In the 1660s Bunyan was intensely productive - writing theological treatises, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), and most, if not all of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. He also authored millenarian works such as *The Holy City, or, the New Jerusalem* (1665), a sermon for the imprisoned godly based on a close reading of chapters 21 and 22 of the Book of Revelation. Bunyan was an acknowledged and formidable scriptural literalist. He also deploys language and imagery drawn from the commercial, legal, and material world to support and enhance the apocalyptic rhetoric with which the *The Holy City* abounds. This paper analyzes the extent to which Bunyan’s construction of this sermon transformed his place of confinement into an evangelizing performative space, one where he carried out his role as pastor, author, and leader of those Baptists imprisoned for conscience by the Restoration state.

**Travel, Scholarship, and the East (Chair: Matt Dimmock, University of Sussex) BUILDING B2a ARTS LECTURE THEATRE J (02/2077)**

* **Daniel Carey, NUI, Galway, ‘Eastern Travel and Glossographic Text’**

This paper considers a series of Renaissance travellers whose work was transmitted through accounts of their voyages and then retransmitted in a series of glosses. This supplement of meaning by glossing has received relatively little attention but it is an intrinsic component of the practice of travel writing as much as its reception. The first example considered is the account of sati by the German nobleman Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo. Mandelslo died before his text appeared in print as part of the account of travels to Russia and Persia of Adam Olearius. However, comparison of Mandelslo’s diary with the version produced by Olearius in 1658 reveals a substantial glossing and amplification of his original. This process was taken further in the French translation by Abraham Wicquefort in 1659. Further examples are noteworthy because they involve the traveller producing glosses on his own text and therefore receiving his own travels in a manner of speaking. Edward Terry, who served as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, massively expanded his account of India when he published it thirty years after his journey in 1655. Here he defended the glossing on his own text as a practice consistent with the sermon mode he adopted. Yet we can find a similar pattern in secular travellers, including Fynes Moryson and Thomas Herbert. The process of interpreting the meaning of travel was clearly continuous and the location of that meaning was subject to regular appropriation, adaption, and expansion.

* **Jane Grogan, UCD,** ‘**The Preacher’s Travels and the Doctor’s History’**

The first substantial historical and ethnographical study of Safavid Persia printed in early modern England was Abraham Hartwell’s translation of Giovanni-Tommaso Minadoi’s *The History of the Warres between the Turkes and the Persians* (1595). The work of an Italian doctor serving the Venetian community in the Levant, Minadoi’s text had already travelled to England in excerpts from the Italian original, and provided substantial disquisitions on the origins of the Safavids, of Persian religious beliefs and ethnic diversity. It continued to have currency and authority among English readers long after its first (and only) edition, with Minadoi’s focus on the possibility of the benefits to Christian Europe of the religious and political divisions between the Persians and Ottomans popular even after these hostilities had abated. Among those who looked back again and again to Minadoi (but without always acknowledging his debt to him) was the self-styled ‘preacher’ John Cartwright, who travelled to Persia in the early seventeenth century, and whose account of the country appeared in 1611. This paper will trace Cartwright's borrowings from Minadoi, and the ways in which they inform and shape his own travel writing.

* **Anders Ingram, NUI Galway, ‘Richard Knolles (d. 1610), Historical Writing on the Ottoman Turks and the Levant Trade’**

Richard Knolles’s *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) was the most authoritative early modern English work on the Ottoman Turks, a synthesis of sources whose rhetorically polished account was drawn on by numerous other authors and shaped English perceptions of the Turks well into the eighteenth century. Despite the fact that the English Levant trade was well established by the time of its publication (the English having acquired trade Capitulations from the Ottomans from 1580), the first edition of Knolles’s opus draws entirely upon continental works of scholarship, rather than first-hand accounts. Indeed the first edition does not even mention the English Levant trade, though its inception is within the time period covered. However, the continuations added to the five later editions of the *Generall Historie*, published throughout the seventeenth century, increasingly drew upon English material, and in particular from sources involved in the Levant trade. This paper traces the evolution of this important work. It first contextualises Knolles, and briefly explores his sources and connections through his patron Peter Manwood. This section will also ask why, in total contrast to his contemporary Richard Hakluyt (d. 1616), Knolles focussed on Ottoman history to the exclusion of any mention of the Levant trade. The following section examines Knolles’s use of material, notably visual material, from his cousin Roger Howe, in the 1610 edition, and contrasts this with the chronicle sources which form the basis of the first edition. The final section focuses on the increasing use of material related to the trade, and concern with the progress of the English trade as a topic in its own right, in the continuations appended to later editions. The paper concludes by arguing that the snapshots which these continuations present give us a useful overview of the changing contexts and character of English historical writing on the Ottomans throughout the seventeenth century.

* **Thomas Roebuck, University of East Anglia, ‘Thomas Smith (1638-1710) and the Levant: Eye-witness Testimony and Early-modern Scholarship’**

‘I think it a great advantage of our University that a person soe much accomplished in the Easterne Learning travels’, wrote the mathematician Edward Bernard to his friend, Thomas Smith, the Orientalist, antiquary, and Non-Juror, just before Smith set out to become chaplain to the English ambassador in the Levant (from 1668-1671). This paper puts Smith’s encounter with the Levant in context through a close study of the surviving manuscript evidence (more than 140 of Smith’s manuscripts are now in the Bodleian). This body of manuscripts gives a unique and extraordinary access to the multiple ways an early-modern scholar was shaped by travel to the Levant; they have yet to receive the full study they deserve. The paper contextualizes the origin of Smith’s oriental studies within the circles around Edward Pococke in Oxford in the early 1660s, where Smith’s early work on Aramaic was encouraged (published in 1662 as *De Chaldaicis Paraphrastis*); it considers the evidence for Smith’s work in the Levant, especially discussing the sermons he preached there, which survive in Bod. MS Smith 128; and shows how the Levant shaped the later Oriental scholarship of Smith. Smith drew on his experiences of the Levant to write the history of the Greek church (including a life of Cyril Lucaris), produced a (rough) Coptic dictionary (MS Smith 29), and published an anthropological history of Turkish social, religious, and linguistic customs (notes towards which are in MS Smith 104), as well as continuing to explore Jewish history and scholarship. This section of the paper will raise a question crucial: what role did eye-witness testimony of religion and peoples of the Levant play in scholarly research? The paper concludes by assessing the crucial role religion (especially Smith’s status as a Non-Juror) played in shaping Smith’s Oriental scholarship.

* 1. **Buffet Lunch in Garden Court**
     1. **Session 2**

1. **The Arts of Writing (Chair: Alice Eardley, University of Southampton) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Robert Stagg, University of Southampton, ‘The Performance of Spaces: What Caesuras Do in Shakespeare’**

What happens when the centre of Shakespeare’s lines yield to a nothing, even a richly Shakespearean ‘nothing’? Instead of considering caesuras static and architectural, this paper considers the performative role these spaces play in Shakespeare’s dramatic writing. It looks at an especially dramatic kind of caesura - variously known as the ‘epic’ or ‘feminine’ or ‘unstressed’ caesura, a caesura featuring an unstressed syllable before the mid-line break - which never appears in Shakespeare’s non-dramatic writing. The paper considers the dramatic uses Shakespeare finds for the epic caesura. Physically, the combination of unstressed syllable and mid-line pause give a double-space for action to occur, action often vocalised in the stressed syllable following the caesura. The paper examines this creation of performative spaces in *Coriolanus*. Reading across Quarto and Folio texts, evidence of editorial interventions in punctuation becomes apparent, allowing the paper to examine the role of the colon and the (F) double-space in creating room for action in the midst of the pentameter line.

George Puttenham condemned ‘such unshapely words as would allow no convenient cesure’ [caesura], and this paper details Shakespeare’s deliberately ungainly metrical management of those words – often words with the suffix ‘-ly’. Allowing that suffix, and its rhymes, to dangle unstressed at the centre of a line creates a prosodic bathos for the rest of the line to buoy up and recover. *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* are read in this aural light. Finally, the paper turns to a different kind of performative space opened by the epic caesura’s metrical space. In *King Lear*, especially, Shakespeare uses the epic caesura such that words seem to fall unstressed into the words and worlds of other plays (here *Henry V*) and return changed in the utterance or performance. Here the host-play briefly allows another play into itself, animating and morphing the host, and that initial yielding happens through the epic caesura.

* **Vladimir Brljak, University of Warwick, ‘An Unpublished Essay on Poetic Theory by Kenelm Digby’**

Sir Kenelm Digby, better known for his eventful life and his work in natural philosophy, is also a figure of some importance in the history of English poetics and literary criticism. He wrote two early pieces on Edmund Spenser, *Observations on the 22. Stanza in the 9th. Canto of the 2d. Book of Spencers Faery Queen* (written in 1628 and printed in 1643) and the manuscript ‘Discourse Concerning Edmund Spencer’, as well as a brief section ‘On Poetry’ in his most ambitious philosophical work, the 1644 *Two Treatises*. In addition, there is another sustained manuscript essay on poetic theory by Digby, which remains unpublished and has been critically neglected. This paper is both the first substantial description of this essay and a preliminary analysis of its arguments in the context of the period’s poetical thought. The essay appears in a letter of just over 4,300 words, undated and without an identified addressee. Digby, following up on a previous conversation on the subject, discusses the tendency for inferior poets to win widespread acclaim, while superior ones are ignored or appreciated only by a minority of discriminating readers. Against the view of the unidentified addressee, who believes this to be ‘a malediction peculiar to our age’, Digby undertakes to prove that ‘the same fate hath euer raigned, and euer will’, because it originates in fundamental and immutable circumstances of man’s mental and spiritual make-up. The ensuing exposition raises a number of familiar concerns in contemporary critical thought, making it an interesting and valuable addition to the corpus of early modern English criticism.

1. **Staging Women in Early Modern Florence (Chair: Cinzia M. Sicca, Università di Pisa) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Meghan Callahan, Independent Scholar, ‘Performing Visions in Renaissance Florence’**

In 1509 a series of Sister Domenica da Paradiso’s visions were transcribed by her confessor, the San Lorenzo canon Francesco da Castiglione, in Latin and Italian and by her follower Girolamo Gondi in Italian. While Francesco’s texts read as coherent episodes slotted into the biography he was writing on Domenica, Girolamo’s direct transcriptions record the stream of consciousness Domenica emitted in the midst of her visions or while recalling them. She performed her visions, many of which had Savonarolan influences, in the private homes in which she lived in with her followers, until she built the convent of la Crocetta in 1511. In the 17th century, the beatification committee convened by Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine examined these performances through the texts for evidence of Domenica’s saintliness, along with testimony from the convent’s nuns and descendants of Domenica’s followers.

* **Pasquale Focarile, Università di Firenze, ‘“A questa Casa diede ella il meglio, che seppe in certo modo forma di Monastero”: the Florentine House of Elisabetta Bonsi, God’s Servant’**

The life of Elisabetta Bonsi, written by Giovanni Battista Castaldo (1624), contains an interesting description of the household of this noble woman hailed by everybody as God’s own servant. The house was inspired by the same principles of poverty and denial typical of Elisabetta’s devotional practices and became instrumental in constructing such an idea of holiness, undergoing transformations akin to those of the saint’s body. Stripped of any symbol of the family’s ancient nobility, the house advertised its monastic character with a huge wooden cross decorated with the symbols of the Passion placed on a wall of the small entrance courtyard. During the Holy Week this cross was lowered down, placed on Elisabetta’s frail shoulders and carried in procession throughout the whole house. On the walls of the ‘sala’ there were neither tapestries nor valuable paintings, but stark images of Death painted on paper. The chapel was the devotional hub of the house, where the only valuable objects were to be found. It acted as a kind of oratory to which were admitted several Florentine ladies seeking counsel and comfort. As the saint became bedridden the bedchamber was turned into an oratory, a place where learned theologians mingled with devout gentlewomen, including Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine.

1. **Renaissance Intermediaries: The Continental Source Editions of English Translations of the Classics (Chair:** **Neil Rhodes, University of St Andrews) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Dr Edward Paleit, University of Exeter, ‘Christopher Marlowe’s Translation of Lucan: Editions, Dates, and Purposes’**

Christopher Marlowe’s translation of the first book of Lucan’s *Bellum Ciuile* was printed in 1600, seven years after its author’s death, from a now lost, possibly authorial manuscript. Arguments as to its original date and occasion remain speculative, often resting on selective knowledge of early modern editions of Lucan, and/or on *a priori* ideas of the *Bellum Ciuile*’s meaning and appeal to early modern readers - for example, that Lucan was a ‘republican’ poet. The purpose of this paper is to place future inquiry on a firmer footing. It argues that a more rigorous knowledge of Lucan’s textual tradition, and also the variations and overlaps between the seven or eight commentaries published in Europe from the *editio princeps* to Marlowe’s death, are needed to ascertain the possible reasons for Marlowe's lexical and interpretive choices, and hence what editions he may or must have used. It demonstrates that he cannot have relied only on the 1551 Frankfurt edition of the German scholar Jakob Moltzer, as past editors (notably Millar Maclure and Roma Gill) claimed, and indeed that he may not have used it at all. It also contends that the only secure way of dating the translation is to compare its lexical choices with the editions and textual *Miscellanea* published during Marlowe’s working lifetime (of which there were several), when there were considerable, if contested and sometimes ignored, changes to Lucan’s text taking place.

* **Dr Louise Wilson, University of St Andrews, ‘Translating the Consequences of Reading Fiction in early modern England’**

This paper will address the significant role of French translations of classical fiction in debates on the value of reading prose fiction in early modern England. Recent studies have stressed the importance of ancient Greek romances to the development of Elizabethan prose narratives; these texts exerted their influence often by way of French intermediaries and their English translations. In the mid-sixteenth century, the humanist Jacques Amyot produced influential translations into French of Heliodorus’ *Ethiopian History* and Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* along with Plutarch’s *Lives*, and François de Belleforest translated Achilles Tatius’ *Clitophon and Leucippe*. Originally a professor of Latin and Greek before becoming a royal tutor and rising to prominent positions in the Church and Court, Amyot’s extended prefaces to his translations are defences of poetry; they emphasize the eloquence, instructive potential, and Christian morality of classical fiction and historiography while attacking modern romance narratives for their lack of verisimilitude, their emphasis on chance and the supernatural, and the resulting pernicious effects that their pleasurable narratives have on the reader’s body and soul. Sir Thomas North reproduces Amyot’s preface to the reader when he translates Plutarch’s *Lives,* and several English translations of Amyot’s romance translations were produced. Furthermore, quotations from, and references to, his views on fiction are widespread in early modern English texts. As a result, his French translations have great impact on the ways in which English writers and readers conceive of reading practices. This paper concentrates on the ways in which these classical and early modern continental texts conceptualize the affective and physiological consequences of reading and the effect this has on how the consumption of prose fiction is theorized in early modern England.

* **Dr Fred Schurink, Northumbria University, ‘Plutarch in English Renaissance Translation: Sources, Interpretations, Applications’**

English translations of the classics have generally been studied in the context of the development of a national literature in early modern England, but they are perhaps better seen in a wider European context. Not only were the large majority of translations from the Greek and Latin classics based on editions and translations produced on the Continent, but they also took part in a shared European process of the reception and assimilation of the classical heritage and bear the traces of the textual, material, and socio-political mediations of the classics by Continental versions. Renaissance English translations of Plutarch’s *Lives* and *Essays* are a case in point. It is well known that Sir Thomas North based his landmark translation of the *Lives* on Amyot’s French version, but less often observed that the numerous other English renderings of Plutarch’s *Lives* and *Essays* published in Renaissance England too were translated from intermediate translations published on the continent, mostly in Latin. It is also commonly assumed that the impact of such intermediary versions was limited and largely confined to verbal errors and style. By contrast, this paper will argue that continental source editions had a profound impact on the reception of Plutarch’s works in of Renaissance England. In particular, it will draw attention to the importance of various forms of paratextual material included in the continental translations in framing the reception of Plutarch’s texts. These materials not only guided the interpretation of the Plutarchan corpus but also mediated its application to the circumstances of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Thomas Blundeville, for example, presented his verse rendering of ‘The Learned Prince’ (printed in *Three Moral Treatises*, 1561) as a manuscript gift book of advice to Queen Elizabeth just as the Latin version by Desiderius Erasmus (on which Blundeville based himself) had been offered to her father about half a century earlier (before being printed in Basel). Thus, to a large extent, the understanding of the meanings and uses of Plutarch’s *Lives* and *Essays* in Renaissance England was determined by the translations of his works published on the continent.

1. **BSR@SRS1: Connected Europe in the Early Italian Renaissance (Chair: Rebecca Gill, University of Reading) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Oren J Margolis, Somerville College, Oxford and Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, Vienna, ‘*Quanto el fosse stato il maiore princepe del mondo*: King René of Anjou’s arrival at Pavia (1453) in the Letters of Bianca Maria Visconti and the Oration of Catone Sacco’**

In September 1453, René of Anjou (1409-80), pretender to the throne of Naples, arrived at Pavia. He was welcomed to the city in an elaborate ceremony orchestrated by the Duchess of Milan, Bianca Maria Visconti, who guided him and his men through various important locations before leading them to the castle, where dining, dancing, music, and singing greeted the French prince. The high point of these festivities was provided by Catone Sacco, a humanist and jurist from the University of Pavia, whose oration led an observer to claim that it was as if Cicero had been resuscitated. The next night another celebration took place, and a great hunt was planned for René in the park that stretched over five miles from the castle all the way to the Certosa. Recounting what had just happened in a letter to her husband, Francesco Sforza, Bianca Maria admitted that she could ‘not think of anything that could have been added to receive him better’. But for all the joy at René’s arrival, there was very real anxiety about when he would be leaving. He was expected in the field, where the Duke of Milan was waiting for him to do battle together against the Venetians before the end of the season. Yet a sense of haste might upset limited plans, because René envisioned himself in a long-term alliance and also entertained ambitions of launching a joint attempt to capture Naples. Already there were suggestions that René was not overly pleased with how he had been treated en route. A delicate message, therefore, had to be conveyed through the reception he was given as he entered the heart of the Sforza duchy; and with news of his whereabouts arriving at the last minute, Bianca Maria had to take matters into her own hands. Through the letters to her husband she and others with her at Pavia sent, a picture of the political and logistical preoccupations that informed the festivities emerges. Meanwhile, the text of Sacco’s oration - discussed here for the first time - sheds further light on these proceedings, while contributing to our understanding of humanism at the time.

* **David Rundle, University of Essex, ‘The Cosmopolitan Renaissance: the British Hand in Italian Humanism’**

Too often we characterize the Renaissance as an Italian phenomenon which slowly seeped out of the peninsula to be adopted in various national guises. There are many problems with this grand narrative: this paper considers one, by discussing the cosmopolitanism which was a central - and prized - element of some of the central Renaissance activities. Not least among the humanists’ agenda was the reform of the book, with the parchment page a space in which to perform their aesthetic of novel classicism. It is well recognized that the production of their books involved an international cast-list, but the role of Englishmen and Scots has not been fully analyzed. This paper will introduce some British characters, scribes active for part or all of their careers in Italy, whose contribution to quattrocento humanism deserves to be better known.

* **Mike Carr, Royal Holloway, ‘Enemy in Reality, Ally in Fiction: Umur Pasha, Emir of Aydin, and his Image in Italian Chronicles and Early Humanist Writings’**

Umur Paşa, a member of the Turcoman dynasty of Aydın, ruled the region of Smyrna in the fourteenth century. By repeatedly attacking Latin possessions in the Aegean, he provoked the so-called ‘crusade of Smyrna’, launched in 1343 by Pope Clement VI; an event that established Umur as the scourge of Latin interests in the Levant. This earned him a significant place in contemporary Italian chronicles: referred to as Morbasiano, he was portrayed by a mix of historical reality and fiction. The impact of Umur Paşa on the western European imagination was so strong that even Giovanni Boccaccio drew his inspiration from him for the character of Bassano, king of Cappadocia (*Decameron*, II:VII). It was, however, the wide circulation of a fake epistle allegedly addressed by Morbasiano to the pope that marked the ultimate step in the definition of Umur Paşa’s fictional double. Morbasiano became a persona detached from the real individual; as such, this character could be used to represent other Muslim princes, and the epistle could be tailored to fit a variety of different political contexts. *Epistola Morbasiani* reappeared repeatedly in the fifteenth century, finally being considered as the answer of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II to the famous ‘letter of conversion’ written to him by Pope Pius II. The portrayal of Morbasiano not only informs us of western perceptions of the Turks, but also sheds light on the ulterior motivations of the authors of the epistle. As with other apocrypha of the period, representations of Islamic rulers were often used as a mouthpiece for criticism concerning the political relations between Christian powers. By exploring the literary representations of this hitherto neglected Turkish emir, this paper explores a further piece to the complex puzzle of Renaissance representations of the Turks, and also highlights the connections between Italian literature and political developments in the eastern Mediterranean.

1. **Performing Bodies in Early Modern Drama (Chair: Alexander Samson) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Stephen Curtis, Independent Scholar, ‘Corporeal Space and the Chameleon: Performing the Wounded Body in Early Modern Tragedy’**

Plays are not just words. The non-verbal aspects of performance are, however, often marginalized in studies of dramatic works by literary critics. My paper is intended to interrogate the function of one of the key signifying aspects of early modern drama: the body of the actor. Through discussion of costume, gesture, and contemporary notions of the nature of identity as immutable or performative, I argue that the corporeal space of the actor’s body should be an essential part of literary as well as more explicitly theatrical analysis of plays.

Discussing the supplementary nature of costume in the construction of character in early modern dramaturgy is one way of highlighting the corporeality of meaning in dramatic works. However, for the purpose of this paper, I focus on the moments in which the dramatic space of the actor’s body is compromised through staged acts of violence. The concomitant bloodshed is a powerful visual signifier of the frailty of performed identity. Blood was a fundamental aspect of early modern notions of identity. The actor’s body deconstructed many of these contemporary ideas, since the supposed fixity of class and gender is rendered malleable on the stage. It is for this reason that the early modern actor was so controversial. Anti-theatrical writers frequently cited the chameleon as a pejorative figure of comparison, as documented by Jonas Barish. Building on this work by focusing on the ways in which the perceived lack within the actor’s body - the chameleon’s supposed bloodlessness being an analogue for the actor’s ability to adopt alternative characteristics - enables a space to be developed in which identity is itself performative. Taking the dramatic moment of staged bloodshed as a faultline, this paper exposes the constructedness of performed identity within early modern tragedy to establish the centrality of the corporeal space of the actor’s body in the production of meaning in literary, as well as theatrical terms.

* **Kirsty Heyam University of Leeds, ‘The Performative Body of Edward II’**

By the early 1590s, when Marlowe wrote his play *Edward II*, the story of the king’s murder by anal penetration with a red-hot spit had become historiographical orthodoxy. Popular (and often critical) assumption has argued that this method was considered sexually performative - echoing Edward’s supposed role as the passive partner in male-male intercourse - and that this aspect was prevalent in Marlowe’s play, given its foregrounding of the sexual and romantic elements of Edward’s relationship with Gaveston. This paper, however, proposes to read Marlowe’s staging of the murder as part of a textual tradition that treated the king’s body itself, not just his murder, as performative in several ways. The body of Marlowe’s Edward can frequently be seen as performative, since the emotions and fears it seems to express differ from those consciously expressed by his mind: his hands shake as he gives his last jewel to Lightborne, even as he cannot form a clear thought about the murderer’s allegiances. His actual murder - the interaction of body with penetrative implement - takes place between the lines; we only know it has taken place from Matrevis’s anxiety that ‘this cry will raise the town’. In the text, Edward’s cry is foregrounded as his body’s last performance; on stage, however graphic the penetrative murder, we must assume that the aural impact of his cry is at least equal to that of the horrifying visual spectacle. This paper shows that the performative body of Marlowe’s Edward is far from unusual in this respect. By locating Edward’s story in the textual spaces of historical narrative (including the fourteenth-century accounts of Geoffrey le Baker and the anonymous *Brut*, to both versions by Holinshed) the paper demonstrates that the penetration of Edward’s body by Marlowe’s period was almost inextricable from its agonized cry. The sexual performativity of his murder was in many cases presented as secondary to the pity sparked by his body’s performances, and by its suffering.

* **Helen Davies, Lancaster University,** **‘“Nature cannot be surpassed by art”: The Power of Prosthetics in the Body of the Soldier’**

Robert Albott’s *Wits Theatre of the Little World*(1599) argues that ‘the naturall deformity of the body, can neither be altered with sumptuous attire, colours, nor odours, but make it eyther more euident to be seene, or more doubtfull to be suspected’. Albott’s identification of how an addition to the body accentuates ‘naturall deformity’ informs this paper’s investigation into the incorporation of prosthetics and early modern disabled bodies. Taking up visual disability scholar Rosemarie Garland Thomson’s work on ‘staring’, I argue that the application of prosthetics to physical difference acts as a catalyst which creates an ‘intense visual exchange’ between the normative and non-normative body, thus enabling a conversation on somatic difference in early modern England. With an overarching concentration on the body of the soldier, this paper turns to Rafe - an impaired soldier returning from war in Thomas Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* (1600) - to consider the response to an ocular representation of prosthetics on stage. Informed by Dekker’s later *Work for Armorours*(1609) and Ambroise Paré’s *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*(1634), I explore how prosthetic intervention can medically re-enable the soldier’s body, but taken out of the space of the battlefield the heightened visibility of deformity through prosthetics can be socially disabling. Ultimately, this paper interrogates the prosthetically modified body on stage as both a performative tool and a theatrical signifier of a very real state of being.

1. ***Sphaera Civitatis.* The ‘Commonwealth’ as Political Space in Late Renaissance England 1 (Chair: Joanne Paul, New College of the Humanities, London) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, University of California, Berkeley ‘The Term “Commonwealth” in the Political Thought of Sir Francis Bacon’**

This paper examines the status of the terms ‘commonwealth’, ‘common-wealth’, ‘commonweal’, and ‘commonweale’ across myriad registers, texts, and contexts in the political thought of Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626). On the isle of Bensalem, in Bacon’s posthumous fable *New Atlantis*, one of the residents asserts that Thomas More’s *Utopia* is a ‘Feigned Commonwealth’. Within Bacon’s philosophy of mind, feigned particulars are the objects of the imagination - a faculty which Bacon cognitively separates from both memory and reason. With the assertion of Bacon’s Bensalemite, More’s *Utopia* is classed not only as an imaginative fiction, a ‘Feigned Commonwealth’, but also as a non-rational mental image. In his posthumously published *The Elements of the Common Lawes of England* (1630), Bacon illustrates the legal maxim that public necessity is greater than private necessity with reference to actions ‘against the Common-wealth’. Whereas in private law, Bacon argues, wives may be excused in the commission of crimes committed in obedience to their husbands, on the ground of a duty of obedience, in great public crimes, such as treason, this excuse is invalid, because treason is ‘against the Common-wealth’. The same holds, Bacon claims, for actions of self-preservation which, when found to be ‘against the Common-wealth’, forfeit their status as justifications. Private trespasses for self-preservation ‘iustifiable’, but public trespasses and treasons are not. This paper examines the extent to which, for Bacon, actions ‘against the Common-wealth’ relativize subordinate grounds of justification and obedience. It also examines the extent to which the claims to one’s own defense and preservation, otherwise strong grounds of justification for an action in Bacon’s legal thought (covered by the legal maxim of self-defense: *seipsum defendendo*), are forfeited in acting against the Commonwealth.

* **Raffaella Santi, University of Urbino ‘Carlo Bo’, Italy, ‘Edward Forset on “Why the Body Politique is Called a Commonwealth”’**

*A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique. Wherein out of the principles of Nature, is set forth the true forme of Commonweale, with the dutie of Subjects, and the right of the Souereigne: together with many good points of Politicall learning*, published in London in 1606 by Edward Forset, is today a forgotten book. It does not appear in the major studies of English literature, philosophy, or political thought. One of the few scholars who mentions it is D. G. Hale in *The Body Politic. A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (1971). For Hale, both Starkey’s *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* and Forset’s *Discourse* were influenced by Plato’s *Republic* and the Forsetian sovereign resembles a philosopher king in many ways. However in the seventeenth century, Forset’s book proved to be influential, at least in England. It was found in many libraries, including the Hardwick Library of the Cavendishes, of which there is the Catalogue (ca. 1630) in Thomas Hobbes’s hand. In fact, the famous engraved frontispiece of Hobbes’s *Leviathan* (1651) seems to have been inspired by Forset’s description of the Commonwealth as a great Giant in the *Preface to the readers*. This paper reconstructs Forset’s political theory, highlighting the debts to Plato and Renaissance culture, as well as considering the Forsetian elements that can be seen to have influenced subsequent political thought.

1. **Writing, Diplomacy, and Meaning (Chair: John F. McDiarmid, New College of Florida) BUILDING B2a ARTS LECTURE THEATRE J (02/2077)**

* **Joanna Craigwood, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, ‘Drama and Diplomacy’**

Drawing on both diplomatic and dramatic examples, this paper examines the performance of political relations and identity though acts of diplomatic address and naming. It asks how England used diplomatic address to negotiate its relations with neighbours and, crucially, to legitimate its own political status following such turning points as the break with Rome, the Union of the Crowns, and the English Civil War. The main focus is the reproduction and interrogation of these legitimizing processes of naming within dramatic renderings of diplomacy. This paper investigates relational political identity in the doubled ‘performative spaces’ of stagy diplomacy and dramatically re-enacted diplomatic ritual. It looks at Elizabethan plays about the life of King John that imagine legitimate English sovereignty emerging (paradoxically) from diplomatic illegitimacy or bastardy within the Catholic European diplomatic family; and it places *The Welsh Embassador* by Thomas Dekker within the context of parliamentary debates over the diplomatic representation of the British kingdoms. The paper concludes by asking how such studies of theatrical politics can move beyond new historicist assumptions, and suggests that (unlike the monolithic theatre of sovereign power invoked by new historicism) diplomatic realities entailed the continual renegotiation of distributed and fragile power.

* **Tracey A. Sowerby, Keble College Oxford, ‘Textual Ambassadors? The Roles and Rituals of Texts in Diplomatic Audiences’**

Through a series of mini case studies drawn from Tudor diplomacy, this paper will examine the ‘performative space’ of the diplomatic audience. In particular, it will focus on the role that texts played within such intercultural encounters, including letters between monarchs, ambassadors’ credentials, and a range of texts that might be considered ‘extra-diplomatic’, such as gifts given by one ruler to another. Royal letters and ambassadorial credentials were presented within the parameters defined by the ceremonial rules of the host court and the ambassadors’ instructions from their host monarchs. Other texts, even practical documents on potential policy, had to be brought to the attention of the host monarch within the rules of what constituted court etiquette. Such ceremonial was a key component of honour politics, articulating, affirming, or undermining the sovereignty of the monarchs concerned. Established protocol (and carefully contrived departures from it) was used by ambassadors and the monarchs hosting them to indicate the prestige they attached to the mission, the message(s) it brought, and to modify their relationship with the monarch sending the embassy. Equally, monarchs’ interactions with these diplomatic documents, and the subsequent uses to which they were put, were designed to send additional messages about the state of inter-princely relations. This paper also considers how the material and visual aspects of such diplomatic texts might interact with the ritual and spatial considerations of the diplomatic audience to create more complex and nuanced political messages. In particular, it will ask how the appearance of diplomatic documents could augment or qualify the textual arguments they forwarded. Just as interactions with documents held political utility by communicating messages in a coded, non-binding and frequently less confrontational manner than was possible via verbal discourse, so too could the visual and material natures of diplomatic texts.

* **Will Rossiter, University of East Anglia, ‘Wyatt, Aretino, and Brucioli: Doctrinal Diplomacy’**

This paper examines the extent to which Pietro Aretino’s paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms, *I sette salmi de la penitentia di David* (November 1534) is engaged in a reading of Antonio Brucioli’s translation and commentary, *I Sacri Psalmi di David* (May 1534), which had been preceded by his earlier 1531 edition of the Psalms. Having established this, the paper will consider the implications of this dialogue for Thomas Wyatt’s translation of Aretino’s paraphrase. It argues that many of the allegedly Protestant elements in Wyatt’s poem – which are at the heart of commentary upon the sequence – are to be found in Aretino. However, Aretino corresponds with Henrician orthodoxy because his own doctrine is by no means as conservatively Catholic as commentators would like to think. In fact, Aretino had close links with leading Italian Protestant reformers. This paper shows that Wyatt, following Aretino, drew directly upon the work of one of these reformers, the aforementioned Brucioli. Brucioli’s commentary upon the Penitential Psalms has hitherto gone unnoticed in Wyatt studies as a potential source. Wyatt’s *Penitential Psalms*, on a doctrinal level, constitute the point at which moderate, inchoate, English Protestant orthodoxy meets reformist Italian Catholicism (via Aretino) and Italian Protestantism (via Brucioli) – what we might term doctrinal diplomacy.

1. **Playing the Man: Female Cross-dressing in Stuart England (chair: Carole Levin, University of Nebraska) BUILDING B2a ARTS LECTURE THEATRE H (02/2065)**

* **Jane Whitehead, St Hugh’s College, Oxford ‘“Garments of Shame”: Female Cross-dressing in Early Stuart Society’**
* **Mark Stoyle, University of Southampton, ‘“In a Soldier’s Coat”: Female Cross-dressers during the English Civil War’**
* **Maria Hayward, University of Southampton, ‘Nell Gwyn’s Sky-Blue Satin Suit: Wearing the Breeches at Charles II’s Court’**

Seventeenth-century English attitudes towards women dressed as men were intriguingly complex and diverse. While, on the one hand, female cross-dressing could provoke intense unease and alarm among those who feared that such transgressive practices betokened the imminent downfall of patriarchy, on the other hand, the sight - or even the mere thought - of women dressed as men also had the power to arouse a range of altogether more positive responses in contemporary hearts, including curiosity, amusement, admiration, and frank desire. The papers offered by the members of this panel will consider three separate, though interlinked, episodes in order to shed light, not only on how some women used masculine costume and dress in order to ‘play the man’ in Stuart England but also on how other contemporaries reacted to their activities in what might be termed the performative spaces of the street, the camp, the stage and the court. First, Jane Whitehead will consider the remarkable furore caused by the craze for masculine attire which gripped the fashionable women of Jacobean London. Second, Mark Stoyle will explore the stories of some of the many cross-dressed women whose presence is attested to in Civil War armies. These include the Royalist ‘baggage women’ whom Charles I himself castigated for their ‘prostitute impudency’ in wearing breeches, such as the Cavalier ‘she-corporal’ who was captured by the Parliamentarians at the storm of Shelford House in 1645. What do such cases and the ways in which they were reported at the time tell us about contemporary attitudes towards the practice of cross-dressing itself and towards the presence of ‘martial women’ in the field? Third, Maria Hayward will illuminate some of the ways in which cross-dressing was viewed both on the post-Restoration Stuart stage and at the post-Restoration court. Starting with an order for a blue satin suit made for the actress - and celebrated mistress of Charles II - Nell Gwynne, this paper will explore what this outfit tells us about the sort of (wo)man that Gwynne wished to portray and, indeed, about the sort of (wo)man that her masculine admirers wished to see?

**3.30-4 TEA in Garden Court**

**4.-5.15 Plenary 1: Lena Cowen Orlin, Georgetown University, ‘The Widow’s Chamber’ (Chair: Ros King, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE THEATRE (67/1027)**

**5.15-6.30 Concert in Turner Sims: *Cut Down Comus***

**6.30-7.30 Wiley Blackwell sponsored Wine Reception in Garden Court**

**8.00- Dinner in Ceno**

**Monday 14 July**

* + 1. **Session 3**

1. **Florentine Palaces and the Performance of Identity (Chair: Meghan Callahan, Independent Scholar) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Klazina Botke, University of Groningen, ‘Different Types of Green: Two Salviati Gardens in Sixteenth-Century Florence’**

As part of a larger building project, the Florentine patrician Jacopo Salviati (1537-86) had commissioned a new garden, loggia, and courtyard for his palazzo in de via del Corso. The painter Alessandro Allori was paid to decorate the courtyard with frescoes of the Odyssey and the life of Hercules. These painted scenes were set in green woodlands or at sea, all framed with borders showing different species of birds and fish. The garden itself was filled with antique sculptures from Jacopo’s extensive collection. By walking from the courtyard into the garden, the outdoor space was to be experienced as an extension of the interior; the garden served as a background to the antique sculptures in the same way the frescoed landscapes were the setting for the mythological scenes. Jacopo’s second garden was situated in the north of the city, just behind the SS. Annunziata. On a large piece of land, exotic plants and trees, herbs, and rare botanical varieties were cultivated; all described by botanist Agostino del Riccio (1541-98). This *teatro dell' intelligenza*, enriched with modern and antique sculptures, was a source of wonder and admiration of the natural world. Jacopo Salviati commissioned the botanical garden not only for scientific reasons or his own enjoyment; it was also a way to make him visible in the city. In this paper I explore how these two green spaces were to be experiences by the beholder. I look at the way they functioned as an outdoor *Wunderkammer*, a place for scientific studies, and as a means for patrician self-representation.

* **Cinzia Maria Sicca, Università di Pisa, ‘Ascending the Ladder of Power: Florentine Family History Narrated from the Loggia to the Salone’**

This paper intends to illustrate the way in which furniture, paintings, and sculpture progressively populate the loggias, staircases, and saloons of Florentine palaces from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, outlining a more consciously narrative route in which the history of the family and its political progress are exhibited. It will argue that over the space of these two centuries the loggia or courtyard and the staircase underwent a significant change and from being empty, undecorated spaces, they became repositories of plants, furniture and especially images (armorials, family trees, portraits, busts) that served the function of illustrating the family’s allegiances and its specific place in the city’s power system.

* **Francesco Freddolini, Luther College, University of Regina, ‘Fashioning the Uomini Nuovi: Display and Performative Space in the Riccardi Casino di Gualfonda, c. 1598-1612’**

This paper explores how display created performative spaces within the architectural context of the dwellings of ‘uomini nuovi’ at the Medici court, by articulating consistent messages about the families and their position within the network of social relations. I will explore the Riccardi family and their display in the Casino di Gualfonda, acquired in 1598, as a case study highlighting strategies of social ascent for the new Tuscan elite created by Grand Duke Ferdinando I. By reconsidering the festivities for Maria de’ Medici’s wedding with Henry IV in 1600, the paper argues that the palace, and the Riccardi collection, became a stage to fashion the Riccardi as prominent courtiers, as well as an opportunity to promote themselves as active players within the context of European diplomacy. Furthermore, by reconsidering the 1612 inventory of the Riccardi collection, this paper explores how the Casino di Gualfonda became a space where Riccardo Riccardi could invent himself and his family as courtiers deploying an unprecedented gallery of Medici portraits (including Pontormo's Getty *Halberdier*).

1. ***Sphaera Civitatis.* The ‘Commonwealth’ as Political Space in Late Renaissance England 2 (Chair: Joanne Paul, New College of the Humanities, London) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Luc Borot, University of Montpellier 3 Paul Valéry, France, ‘Are Hobbes and Harrington’s Commonwealths the End of the Renaissance Commonweal?’**

Over the past decade, research has shown the long-term history of the concept of commonweal(th) from the Middle Ages to the mid-seventeenth-century revolution. Whether it was used as an equivalent of ‘society’ or ‘polity’, or to denote the network of social and political connections whereby society kept the administration of the kingdom going for lack of a proper State-apparatus, the semantic adaptability of the word made its success. But it also showed its limitations, as it concealed unresolved contradictions in the English polity. My hypothesis is that ‘commonweal(th)’ could appear as providing an alternative depiction of society’s workings, in opposition to the growing theorization of the absolutist doctrine from the late 1590s. In the parish, in the manor, or in the quorum of the county JPs, an enduring, traditional, time-sanctioned web of social and local relations embodied justice, order, and propriety, without much need for the Crown’s officers. This does not mean that the commonweal would be a *horizontal*, i.e. almost egalitarian, alternative to a *vertical* ‘body politic’ depiction of society more likely to match the nascent absolutist phraseology of James Stuart: the local commonweal was conscious of the hierarchies of its microcosm, as it was of the royal authority. This paper argues for an opposition in the method by which each view of society creates connections between its members: the commonweal implies a multi-directional circulation of information and decisions, whereas the body politic would require a vertical, downward, and only two-directional communication, initiated from the top. Both could meet in the traditional process of petitioning, for which parliaments provided a model. Hobbes’s notion of the commonwealth fitted a vertical absolutist vision of power over society. As *Behemoth* shows, it cannot survive with the commonweal as a competitor. Such a rivalry may have been a cause of the rebellion: the English thought that they could rule themselves. Harrington’s model built on the commonweal’s web of relations to generate the ‘orbs’ of the constitution of Oceana. The orders of the commonwealth of Oceana merely provided a uniform way of organizing the local institutions of the country. But, by imposing a single mode throughout the nation, it could have killed the ‘immemorial’ perception of England as a nation that could rule itself. Restoration scholars need to consider if they can perceive the life of the early modern commonweal in the republican prose of the commonwealth’s-men of the late seventeenth century.

* **Myriam-Isabelle Ducrocq, University of Paris Ouest Nanterre, France, ‘The Construction of the Body Politic in Late Renaissance England: the Cases of James Harrington and Algernon Sidney’**

This paper examines how the representation of the body politic in seventeenth-century England shifted from that of a natural fact inherited from Aristotelianism to that of a necessary and voluntary association of individuals. As religious and political upheavals questioned its timeless existence, contemporaries came to regard it more and more as an artificial creation rather than as a God-given fact. This evolution has found its most striking expression in the description of Hobbes’s gigantic man-made creature endowed with rational faculties, whose soul is the sovereign. But it has found various other expressions in the political literature of the time. For instance, it is symptomatic that the metaphors of the State as a building, and of the legislator as an architect recur in the works of James Harrington and Algernon Sidney, two strong advocates of the English Commonwealth and subsequent critics of the Cromwellian regime. The art of politics ceases to be the art of good government (as in the City-states of the early Renaissance), and appears to be the ‘art of lawgiving’ (Harrington, 1659); the reason of state then properly becomes the principle which should give form to the whole body (Borot, 1994). Even when they disagree on the form it should take, the question of the foundation and erection of the Commonwealth clearly comes to the fore. Once designed, the political space has to be arranged and operated. Here again, their vision differs, but the common denominator are the free members ready to bear arms in defense of the Commonwealth and in Harrington’s case, enjoined to cast their ballot and assume political functions on a regular basis. As such, they are bound to occupy the public space as active citizens.

1. **Encounters, Expansionism. and their Effects (Chair: Edward Chaney, Southampton Solent University) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Sandra ToffoloEuropean University Institute, Florence, ‘Justifications of Venice’s Mainland Expansionism in Fifteenth-century Literary Sources: Between Benevolent Rule and Blunt Affirmation of Violence’**

In the course of the fifteenth century Venice acquired a large territory on the northeast of the Italian peninsula. This paper focuses on the way in which fifteenth-century writers from the city of Venice dealt with these territorial enlargements. Rather than the official state documents studied by scholars such as Law and Viggiano, it concentrates on historical writing and geographical descriptions of the territories involved, revealing that in these non-governmental sources not much consistency can be found. Sometimes writers refer, among other points, to the voluntary surrender of the subject lands, the liberation from tyrants, the just acquisition of lands by inheritance or purchase, the idea that territories had already been Venetian before, and the positive effects of Venice’s rule, but other times they speak more bluntly of the violent nature of the conquests. This inconsistency changes in the course of the century as references to the latter decrease.

When searching for an explanation for the development over time of a predominant narrative, it seems plausible that, at a time when foreign hostility towards Venice was growing, Venetians started to believe that it was safer to stress points such as the peacefulness and beneficial influence of current Venetian rule, rather than violent beginnings. Marin Sanudo’s works increasingly stressed the mainland’s links with Venice as a reaction to this growing foreign hostility, for instance. Another aspect of Venice’s political behaviour – its perceived passivity towards the Ottoman Turks – also led to foreign accusations, and this also influenced the way Venetians described their own city and state: for instance, Paolo Morosini emphasized the absence of imperialist ambitions, while Marin Sanudo stressed Venice’s good rule over Friuli. The way people depicted the various constituents of the Venetian state was therefore to a great extent a reaction to, but not a direct reflection of, the changing political circumstances. At the same time, this chronological development seems indicative of a process of a decreasing assertion of otherness over time of the Venetian mainland state.

* **Germán Gamero Igea, University of Valladolid, ‘The Court of Ferdinand the Catholic: A Muddled Entourage at the Beginning of the Renaissance in the Iberian Peninsula’**

The long reign of Ferdinand the Catholic (1468-1516) in the territories of Italy,

Castile, and Aragon coincided with a turning point in the European aesthetics of power. In addition to the diffusion of humanism in the old continent, we can observe in the Iberian Peninsula the consolidation of a royal authority based on the aggregation of different territories and political cultures. This paper analyzes Renaissance influences in this confusing

period, and specially their consequences on the court as a performative space.

The paper focuses on 1508-16, the period after the king’s stay in Naples. In these years, Gothic and Renaissance ideals were interrelated, and formed a particular way to understand antiquity, the arts, and their relationship with power. In order to understand the impact of this dynamic in the performative life of the court, the paper analyzes ceremonial modifications (especially to the civic celebrations that involved the court), the composition of the royal entourage, and the development of patronage. The paper also analyzes the internal and external causes of this situation, including the actuation of the royal family, the new political relationships, and the impact of a new generation of nobles, with their own training. The paper seeks to explain a retinue with its own personality, one which was a witness to an era that was ending, and which reflected the self-conception of the sovereign in his last years of life.

1. **BSR@SRS2: Passing through an Ideal Space: Places of Performance in the Italian Renaissance (Chair: Piers Baker-Bates, Open University) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Jill Harrison, The Open University, ‘Giotto, Sacra Rappresentazione, and Other *Trecento* Entertainments’**

As the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani recorded, on the 4th May 1304 a great entertainment took place on and under one of the most important bridges in the city, the Ponte della Carraia. Not only on the bridge, but in boats and various craft on the Arno, the citizens made a reconstruction of Hell, ‘with men disguised as demons, horrible to behold’. So many came to watch that the bridge collapsed, killing and maiming many of the spectators. As Villani related, rather than just beholding the representation of the other world, some found themselves in it. In *Trecento* Italy, all spaces were potentially performative, and there was an important relationship between painted panels, frescoes, and a variety of dramatic events - sacred, civic and royal - which were enacted in shared spaces or as part of processions, masques, tableaux vivants, and entertainments. This paper will explore the performative aspects of selected frescoes by Giotto di Bondone, most notably in the Arena Chapel, Padua, where his depictions may have formed part of an elaborate para-liturgical drama enacted on the feast of the Annunciation. The dramatic potential of the series of heroic men and women painted for the King of Naples, Robert of Anjou, in his throne room is considered through a reconstruction of the scheme. It is proposed that the frescoes may have been part of a wider programme of imagery and entertainment connected to the king’s dynastic concerns. A similar reconstruction of a further series of illustrious men and a ‘vanagloria’ painted by Giotto for the Lord of Milan, Azzone Visconti, is examined to assess its function in relation to the city’s tradition of triumphal processions and masques.

* **Rebecca Gill,** **University of Reading, ‘The Road from Original Sin to Purgatory: Performance at the Sacro Monte di Varallo’**

The Sacro Monte di Varallo is an important pilgrimage site located in the foothills of the Italian Alps, which aims to recreate episodes from the Life of Christ in a series of *tableaux vivants* housed in forty-five chapels dotted along the hillside above the town of Varallo. Following an increased interest in Sacri Monti more generally, the Sacro Monte di Varallo has been the subject of several recent scholarly works, yet very little attention has been paid to the major redevelopment of the site by the architect, Galeazzo Alessi. This paper redresses this imbalance by considering the changes introduced to the site by Alessi and how they affected the experience and performance of pilgrims as they visited the site. Due to the fact that Alessi began to design his new Sacro Monte in 1565, just two years after the closure of the Council of Trent, the paper also views Alessi’s redevelopment of the site against the background of changes that were occurring within the Catholic Church as a result of the Protestant uprising in northern Europe. For example, the addition of new chapels at the start and end of the Pilgrimage route dedicated to Original Sin, Last Judgement, Purgatory, and Hell can be read as a lesson in Christ’s role as the redeemer of mankind and the Catholic Church’s understanding of justification (the process through which a person frees themself from sin), as opposed to a simple lesson in the events of the Life of Christ, which was previously the case. By examining Alessi’s plan for the Sacro Monte through this lens of the early Counter Reformation, this paper aims to address the question of whether Alessi’s new plan for the Sacro Monte was conceived with the aim of changing the pilgrim’s experience to bring it more in line with new attitudes within the Catholic Church after the closure of the Council of Trent.

* **Tom True, Independent Scholar, ‘Cardinal Pallotta’s Remodelling of Caldarola’**

This paper explores the spaces created by a powerful, but provincial, cardinal, Evangelista Pallotta (1548-1620), as part of the extensive remodelling of his home town of Caldarola in the Marche. Taking the lessons he absorbed from the Rome of Sixtus V, Pallotta visualised, financed, and supervised a scheme for transforming Caldarola, where he drove through a vision for a new ideal city in his remote native town. His programme involved reshaping of the streetscape. In an effort to bring unity and pattern to his town, he laid out an unusual ‘double *trivium*’, where six planned roads converged with a deliberate geometrical design. The arrangement of squares according to dignity and function held the key to the composition and social structure of the town. Pallotta created three *ex novo*. These *piazze* were devised to accommodate his considerable stimulation of industry, as well as supporting ceremony and even generating new ritual. He built his private palace at the heart of the porticoed new Piazza San Martino. This type of *palazzo della piazza*, in which a Prince of the Church resides above artisan’s workshops, adjacent to the *Collegiata*, and in part of the unified fabric of a square where the civic and spiritual life of the town concentrated, is a significant use of urban space which illustrates the close relation between church and laity that characterized Pallotta patronage. This paper also explores political issues motivating the configuration of rooms and decoration in the palace, whose first important duty must have been to support Clement VIII’s visit to Caldarola in 1598. It investigates the relationship between Pallotta’s building projects and their idealized images preserved in a series of frescoes in the palace’s *Sala d’Onore* alongside allegories of spiritual, political, and diplomatic virtues. As a promoter of religious renewal and architectural change, Pallotta’s vision for Caldarola included the creation of two new parochial churches, a convent, and two hospital complexes. The ambitious urban transformation of Caldarola, incorporating artistic, architectural, and urbanistic measures, is a uniquely comprehensive example of the ideals of Sistine Rome being exercised in a miniature and provincial context.

1. **Performance and Publication Histories (chair: John F. McDiarmid, New College of Florida) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Peter Mack, Warburg Institute and Warwick University, ‘Quintilian in the Northern Renaissance’**

The complete text of Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* was rediscovered by Poggio at St Gall in 1416. Lorenzo Valla and many other humanists, including Erasmus, regarded the *Institutio oratoria* as the ultimate authority on rhetoric. This paper considers publication history of Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* in Northern Europe between 1510 and 1600, the use of Quintilian’s ideas by Agricola, Erasmus, and Melanchthon, and Ramus’s criticisms of Quintilian in his *Rhetoricae distinctions in Quintilianum* (1549). It aims to suggest some reasons for the large reduction in printings of *Institutio oratoria* after 1550.

* **Meadhbh O'Halloran, University of Cork, ‘Medieval Reading, Early Modern Writing: Christopher Marlowe’s Medieval Library’**

The library is the meeting point of literary periods: it is a space for the performance of reading, absorbing information, and the creation of new texts, and it is where medieval and Early Modern material most visibly coexists. This paper examines Christopher Marlowe’s strategic use of medieval texts: though he may have had a humanist education, yet his alma mater was a repository of medieval rather than classical texts, the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, named for the bequest of Archbishop Parker in 1575. Though a Reformist, Parker was committed to the preservation of medieval texts acquired during the dissolution of the monasteries, and the result is a library rich in Lollard material, tracts, bibles and sermons, and medieval manuscripts chosen to complement such a collection. Here medieval prose such as *Guy of Warick,* Chaucer’s *Troilus*, the medieval story collection *The Gesta Romanorum*,and instructive Catholic texts such as the *Ancrene Wisse* were placed alongside the Wycliff bible and Latin theological material. The Parker Library was not the only Reformation library to which Marlowe was exposed: John Gresshop, Marlowe’s headmaster at the King’s School, had amassed an impressive private library of over 350 books, and this collection also contained reformation works alongside prose texts. This paper focuses on how Marlowe initially encountered his medieval sources, and that this exposure was important for his own work. It suggests that this medieval material has been incorporated with intent: as a comment on the other half of the library, Reformist propaganda.

* **Louise Rayment University of Southampton, ‘Performance in the Parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, London’**

During the first half of the sixteenth century the City of London parish of St. Mary-at-Hill was wealthy and musically advanced. The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal frequently supplemented the church’s choir and a substantial choir school was developed by the organist and choir master John Northfolke during the 1520s. Evidence for musical and dramatic activity in the parish comes from two main sources: the extensive churchwardens’ accounts, which record payments for entertainment beyond what might be expected to be the scope of such documents, and a 1550s manuscript held in the British Library (Additional Manuscript 15233) containing keyboard music, poetry, song lyrics and fragments of plays. The work in the latter manuscript is attributed to seven professional musicians, poets and dramatists with a connection to the church, and appears to have been compiled as a repertoire for the choir school.

Although the church has received much attention from musicologists as the starting point for the careers of composers such as Thomas Tallis, and for its connections to the larger musical establishments in London, performance activity at the church and within the parish has not previously been examined. This paper uses evidence from the churchwardens’ accounts in combination with examples of poetry and drama from Add. Ms 15233 to reconstruct the musical and literary auditory life of this church and its choir school during the middle decade of the sixteenth century.

1. **‘Emotions and Performative Spaces in Early Modern Theatre’ (Chair: Alexander Samson, UCL) BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM B (06/1081)**

* **Kristine Steenbergh, VU University Amsterdam, ‘Space and the Effect of Performed Passion in Early Modern English Theatre’**

Recent research has stressed the materiality of the passions in early modern thinking, as well as the importance of space in interpretations of the theatre experience. Humoral theory conceived of the passions in terms of bodily fluids and spirits that moved both within and between physical bodies: emotions are inseparable from the experience of the physical environment. Theatrical performance was thought to have a material, bodily effect on the audience that could change them profoundly. As Bruce Smith has argued, ‘the entire space within the wooden O needs to imagined as full of movement.’ How was the role of space, stage location, architecture, and objects conceived in early modern thinking on the effect of performed passion on the audience? Based on early modern English play texts, attacks on and defenses of the theatre, treatises on the passions and sources on the use of space in the theatre, this paper explores the connections between theatrical space and the emotions in early modern thinking about the effect of theatrical performance on an audience. It examines how space channels and modifies affect, how it connects to the creation and control of the emotions of actors and audience, and how these issues connect to thinking about the role of emotions in the early modern social and political context.

* **Elke Huwiler, University of Amsterdam,** ‘**Emotional Affects and Political Thoughts: Swiss Plays of the Sixteenth Century**’

Swiss plays of the sixteenth century were highly political: they were written, staged, and read at a time of turbulence in a confederation with cantons of diverse religious and cultural backgrounds that were nevertheless searching for common grounds in order to build a stabilized environment. In the Early Modern Swiss Confederation, plays were staged on temporarily built stages within the city, usually integrated into festivities, and performed by the citizens themselves. By constructing narratives and staging them, citizens of urban life dealt with social, political, and religious questions. Ideas were formulated, presented, and circulated through literature and performance art, and through literary formed contents the public was informed and influenced about new concepts. This paper looks at the role performed emotions played in these processes, as well as at how the effect of staging emotions can be related to the spatiality of the performance. Based on the assumption that emotional affects of stage characters have the potential to extend to the audience, the ways in which these affects are given shape within a specific urban site known to the audience (and the players) from everyday life, are of central interest. I seek to explore the relation between these emotion-based processes during the staging of the plays and the political impact of performances in general by looking at diverse types of early modern plays from various regions of German-speaking Switzerland.

* **Marrigje Paijmans, University of Amsterdam, ‘A Dramatization of Human Nature in Response to the Politics of Spinozism’**

Theatre in the Dutch Republic during the second half of the seventeenth century was characterized by discussions about the desirability and the necessity of affect in classical tragedy. This paper discusses the tragedy *Herkules in Trachin* (1668; an adaptation of Sophokles’s *Trachiniai*) by Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679). Vondel’s *Herkules* strongly challenged spinozist assumptions about human nature being rational and sociable. The spinozists investigated human nature as a foundation for natural law, seeking a justification for the self-governance of the Dutch Republic after it freed itself from the Spanish monarch and the Dutch stadholder. While contesting spinozist views on politics, Vondel’s play at the same time resonates a spinozist notion of theatre. This paper discusses the relation between affect and space through the concept of ‘dramatization’, as it was introduced by Gilles Deleuze end recoined for early modern theatre by Frans-Willem Korsten. In contrast to theatricality, dramatization implies a world that is dramatic in itself, not in relation to a transcendental order. Dramatizing forms of theatre do not rely on staging or affect to single out this drama from society, but on the courage of individuals to acknowledge this world view. In Vondel’s tragedies dramatization involves the composition of contrasting views in society. Within my broader research I call this phenomenon *parrhêsia* (free speech), a concept from the ‘late Foucault’, as it expresses how Vondel’s many-voiced texts respond to a call for ‘truth’ in an environment where power and knowledge are highly decentralized.

1. **Space, Place, Travel, and Traffic (Chair: Matthew Dimmock, University of Sussex) BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM C (06/1083)**

* **Nandini Das, University of Liverpool, ‘Placing Arcadia’**

No place with an actual geographical presence has been metamorphosed by the imagination as thoroughly as Arcadia. The rough, mountainous region of the Peloponnese that carries the name has been all but submerged under the weight of a collective memory. Its relationship with reality is as fraught with problems as that of the genre which finds itself at home in that space – the pastoral. It is one version of the golden world which, as Wolfgang Iser had pointed out, emerged not from myth or the Bible, but from literature itself, and located itself not in a classical past or a Christian paradise-to-come, but in a contiguous present. Taking cue from Helen Cooper’s foundational work on the pastoral where she described Elizabethan pastoral’s deep involvement ‘in the central issues of life and society’, this paper examines one way in which those issues shaping Renaissance life and society left visible marks on the idea of Arcadia itself. The memories of Arcadia built up through literature, from Virgil’s transformation of the Polybian landscape, to the medieval lyric *pastorela*, and the Renaissance adaptations instigated from Sannazaro to Sidney, have been explored before. This essay will juxtapose those images with records of early cartography and travel literature, in particular the identification of New World Arcadias by explorers like Giovanni da Verrazano and Andre Thevet, in order to re-evaluate Arcadia’s uneasy relationship with civility in the Renaissance imagination.

* **Liam Haydon, University of Kent, ‘“Some outlandish Fruits”: Foreign Trade, Domestic Spaces’**

In 1633 the physician James Hart published a comprehensive collection of remedies, which included a whole range of new and exotic (‘outlandish’) ingredients such as citrus fruits, melons, and spices. These were assessed according to their humoral qualities, and some were recommended for use in medicine, but in the case of oranges and lemons were ‘rather to be reckoned among sauces than otherwise’. Hart’s text, while revealing the interaction between cookery, medicine, and trade, places the foreign into the kitchen. He is not alone in doing so: in the early seventeenth century, a whole range of recipes (and home remedies) using these new fruits, vegetables, and spices were printed. However, though the ingredients were new, the recipes (and treatments) were not; these foreign foods were the cause of traditional English dishes being adapted or even changed completely. It is this domestic space, as ‘performed’ through its ‘own’ texts like cookery books (which are both functional but also aspirational), as well as its representation on stage or in pageants, that will be examined in this paper. The use of exotic food, both figuratively and literally, demonstrates an awareness of the practice of exchange, conceptualized as a profitable hybridity between Englishness and the Other - English ideas and practices are improved when they are mingled with the foreign. By considering these moments of exchange, we can get a sense of the way England’s changing relationship with the rest of the world was conceptualized - not as a space for conquest, colonisation or exploitation, but as a partner in development.

* + 1. **Coffee in Garden Court**
    2. **Session 4**

1. **Gender and Performativity (Chair: Alice Eardley, University of Southampton) BUILDING 2 ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Clare Egan, University of Southampton, ‘Women and Libel Performance in the Communities of Early Modern Devon’**

Libel - the spreading of a message in order to defame a person - was a common offence in the provincial communities of early modern England. The surviving records from the court of Star Chamber have been studied predominantly for the insights they give into the popular political engagement and literacy of people at the lower levels of society. This paper argues that provincial libels should be seen as performances devised by and enacted in early modern communities; the manner in which they were made public relied on an envisaged spectator equipped with local community knowledge, interpretative skills, and performance expectations. Having established the performance nature of provincial libels and in light of recent scholarly focus on the experience of women in early modern society, it is important to ask what roles women played in libel and, in particular, what their relationship was to the performance aspects of libel in provincial communities. The Star Chamber records for libel in the county of Devon will be used to demonstrate that women did play active roles in the engineering and reception of libel performances whilst the paper also considers to what extent the records and the court that produced them might affect the view we have of women in early modern libelling.

* **Jessica Malay, University of Huddersfield, ‘Transforming Space through Performance: The Production of Anne Clifford’s Westmorland’**

Anne Clifford, best known for her early seventeenth-century memoirs, inherited a large portion of Westmorland in 1643. The civil wars and political instability in the region delayed her arrival in what she always called ‘the lands of mine inheritance’ for another six years, until July 1649. Once there, she quickly began a campaign to establish her authority in the region. This campaign drew upon her understanding and experience of royal strategies of display and performance witnessed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts. Through building projects, progresses, and textual engagements, the Clifford lands in Westmorland became a performance space through which Anne Clifford sought to reinscribe the landscape both politically and socially. Her grand rebuilding projects, including five castles, one large manor house, and nine churches, sit alongside her more enigmatic, powerful, and evocative projects such as the monument outside Brougham castle, Hugh’s seat, and Julian Bower. Her repairing and rebuilding of the region’s infrastructure also reformed and reshaped a landscape decimated by war. Drawing upon theories of spatial production and performance by Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and others, this paper explores how Anne Clifford transformed Westmorland into a performative space transfigured and made manifest through her own bodily performance within the space, which became at times literally transcribed upon the landscape.

* **Katarzyna Kosior, University of Southampton, ‘Constructing a Ceremonial Space: the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow and Barbara Zapolya’s ordo coronandi (1512)**

Three ingredients were indispensable in order to tangibly metamorphose an ordinary woman into a queen of Poland: the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow, the regalia, and the gestures and movements which accented the ceremony. The Wawel Cathedral performed both the function of a stage where the monarch was displayed to his subjects and the role of separating the spectacle from the general audience, contributing to the sacred mystique of coronation.Polish literature has focused on coronations of kings, with contributions from Michał Rożek and Aleksander Gieysztor. However, ceremonies of kings and queens placed emphasis on different aspects of royal power, which was reflected in particular employment of the ceremonial space. While a king’s coronation focused on the change of rulership, symbolically conveying it through, for example, a horseman breaking his lance in the middle of the nave, crowning a queen legitimised the monarchy through displays symbolising her fertility.

This paper discusses the ordo coronandi composed for Barbara Zapolya, Sigismund I the Old’s wife, who was crowned in 1512. The ordo not only organized the cathedral’s sacred sphere according to the coronation’s gendered agenda through enclosing the ceremonial space with placing of objects, but it also ascribed symbolic meanings to the regalia. It examines the ways in which the cathedral’s space was exploited to display the ceremony to the gathered nobility and to emphasize the symbolism of the sacred objects used for marriage and coronation ceremonies. It also explores the function of the ritual movements prescribed by the ordo coronandi in combining elements of coronation into a ritual performance.

1. **BSR@SRS 3: Spirituality and Theatricality in Renaissance Art and Architecture I (Chair: David Rundle, University of Essex) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Joanne Allen, American University, ‘Liturgical Performative Spaces in Old St Peter’s during the Renaissance’**

The second half of the fifteenth century witnessed an expansion and elaboration of the performative spaces for liturgy in Old St Peter's. Improvements were made to the stalls and lecterns of the canons' nave choir and new choir stalls were constructed in the sacristy in 1464. Intarsiated wooden cupboards for the Sala dei Scrittori in the Biblioteca Vaticana, which remain *in situ,* can give us insights into the style and quality of this lost furniture. Perhaps the most important furniture commission in this period was for Sixtus IV's new choir chapel, situated in the left nave aisle of Old St Peter's and dedicated in 1479. A drawing of the choir stalls appears in the 1554 sketchbook of Giovanni Colonna da Tivoli. Three diagrams of the choir appear on this folio: an elevation of all three rows; a plan of the arm-rests of an individual stall; and a plan of seven corner stalls. Annotated dimensions in Roman *piedi* on the diagram enable a reconstruction of the choir and comparison with similar wooden constructions across Italy. Unusually disposed in three rows, the choir furniture was highly elaborated with intricately carved stall-dividers and arm-rests. Close similarities with other contemporary Franciscan choirs (in particular the celebrated extant stalls in the Frari in Venice) suggest an intended statement of Franciscan identity on the part of Sixtus IV. This paper will situate Sixtus IV's nave choir chapel within broader themes of space, access, and liturgical performance in Old St Peter's. How were the basilica's diverse performative spaces differentiated in terms of the decoration and arrangement of their furniture? What were their liturgical functions and which members of the Vatican community were granted access to them? By addressing these issues, this paper attests to the unique history and status of one of the most important churches in Renaissance Italy.

* **Catherine Fletcher, University of Sheffield, ‘The Masks of Alessandro de’ Medici: Performing Politics in Florence and Beyond’**

After the assassination of Alessandro de’ Medici, Duke of Florence, in 1537, Pietro Monferrati, keeper of the ducal wardrobe, was called to account for the large number of items that had been removed it in the days following the duke’s death. The list he supplied noted two categories of item of which the duke had *assai* (plenty): *maglia* (chainmail) and *habiti da mascore* (masquerading costumes). Earlier wardrobe accounts confirm that numerous dressing-up clothes were produced for the duke and his courtiers in the five-and-a-half years of Alessandro’s rule. One box of masks, recorded in the wardrobe accounts for spring 1533 when Alessandro was spending time in the company of his future father-in-law, the Emperor Charles V, suggests courtiers were disguising themselves as peasants, women, Moors, Turks, hermits and Charles’ celebrated adversary, Barbarossa (Khair ad-Dīn). While, no doubt, dressing up was sometimes a leisure pursuit, it could also be a deeply political activity. In 1531, the *condottiere* Ferrante Gonzaga reported that the citizens of Cuna, in the Sienese contado, who were fiercely opposed to the local presence of Spanish ambassador Don Lope de Soria, expressed their contempt by ‘going about the place dressed up as [Don Lope], in a ridiculous and vituperous manner’. With that context in mind, this paper assesses the possible interpretations of Alessandro’s masks. Alessandro was a highly controversial prince – the first of the Medici to rule Florence as the city’s duke – and his exiled opponents took every opportunity to undermine his rule, accusing him of tyranny. His masquerading became a feature of their tales of his wickedness. After Alessandro’s assassination most of his political papers were destroyed. However, by cross-referencing his wardrobe accounts with the extensive diplomatic sources for this period, it is possible to reconstruct much of the political context for his, his allies’ and his courtiers’ masquerading, thus creating a more nuanced picture of his performance - in all senses - as a ruler.

1. **Jesuits as Counsellors** **(Chair: Erik De Bom, KU Leuven) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Harald E. Braun, University of Liverpool,** ‘**Botero the Counsellor’**

Giovanni Botero (1544-1617) is mainly known as the ‘father’ of reason of state. However, in his major treatises *Delle cause della grandezza delle cittá* (1588), *Della ragion di Stato* (1589), and *Le Relazioni universali* (1591-96), the ex-Jesuit provided contemporary readers with more than sophisticated principles of statecraft. He brought together demography, economy, culture, communication, and geography, and offered new ways of analysing and understanding the politics of power, space, and empire. Each treatise also responded to one of the overarching concerns of his career and writing: the languages, strategies, and practice of counsel. Whether he taught at Jesuit colleges, advised Borromeo cardinals, or instructed the young princes of the House of Savoy, Botero consistently sought to generate and convey the knowledge needed to address salient issues of the day. Building on recent research and renewed interest in his life and thought, this paper seeks to offer fresh perspectives on ‘Botero the Counsellor’.

* **Nicole Reinhardt, Durham University,** ‘**Confession Inside Out: The Case of Hernando de Mendoça (1562-1617)’**

This paper examines the use of confession as a space of counsel in the writings of the Spanish Jesuit Hernando de Mendoça. He denounced the use of confession within the Society of Jesus as a means to create of secret and ‘absolutist’ control of its members. His accusations first circulated in manuscript, but were published in French translation in 1615. Interestingly a decade earlier, in 1602, Mendoça wrote a public memorandum on what he saw as the problems of conscience his penitent, the viceroy of Naples Conde de Lemos, had to face. The secret rationale of the ‘vice-roy’s’ confession was thus unveiled to denounce venality and corruption in the ‘vice-kingdom’. Both texts addressed confession under the aspect of ‘scandal’, alternatively as a hidden tool of discipline within the Society of Jesus or as a way denouncing public scandal in the political sphere. The paper questions how far Mendoça’s concepts concerning the exercise of counsel and confession can be explained within wider debates on the role of confession, and why his opinions and his politics were, and continue to be, condemned by fellow Jesuits.

* **Martine Gagnon, UCL, ‘A Spanish Friar in the English Court: James Mabbe's English Translation of Tratado de republica y policia christiana by Fray Juan de Santa María’**

James Mabbe (1572-1642) is known for his translations of Spanish prose literature, namely that of Miguel de Cervantes, Fernando de Rojas, and Mateo Aleman. He has been credited as the first serious English Hispanist and critic of Spanish works. However, most existing scholarship has yet to focus in depth on his achievements with regard to his work on two Spanish political and religious treatises. This paper will discuss what influence his 1632 translation of Fray Juan de Santa Maria’s political text had in England under Charles I’s personal rule and exercises in authority, which caused tensions to rise throughout the nation. A treatise concerning appropriate rulership written by a Catholic Spanish monk came to exemplify a model for court politics in the tumultuous period before the outbreak of the English Civil War. Mabbe’s translation may also reveal to contemporary scholarship more about his political affiliations and beliefs as well as those of his English readership.

1. **Performing Bodies (Chair: Liz Oakley-Brown, Lancaster University)  BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Jamie McKinstry, Durham University, ‘Limitless Bodies: Exploring the Performative Space of Dissection in John Donne’**

The act of dissection reveals a mysterious space: though the body’s structures and organs are largely familiar today, they remain fascinating due to their intricacy, beauty, and fragility. The excitement of dissection was similarly apparent at the first public demonstrations of the ‘art’ in the sixteenth century and this paper considers the representation of the dissected body as a performative space in the poetry of John Donne. This space, although clearly defined, becomes limitless and is soon filled with anatomical features and the desire for even more answers and discoveries. Past knowledge is summoned and interrogated whilst the possibility of future explorations and understanding is glimpsed with each anatomical feature. The body also defines the limits of the activity and focuses attention, framing the very act taking place. Indeed, in its stark, disintegrated state it also foregounds concerns about whether or not this performance should be being witnessed at all. Donne’s poetry explores how the performative space of a dissection could be both localized and expansive and, indeed, how this was essential to capture excitement and promise, but also to calm fears and uncertainties. In ‘The Damp’, ‘The Legacy’, ‘The Funeral’ and ‘A Valediction: Of My Name in a Window’, anatomy and dissection are used as conceits to call attention to the performance itself and what might occur after that point in time, particularly in relation about the reunification of the body and soul in heaven. This paper reveals the ways in which the corporeal space of dissection offers both a present fascination and a privileged view into a new anatomical future.

* **Chris Stone, University of Leeds, ‘Publically and Privately Performed Anatomies in the Works of John Milton’**

The practice of early modern anatomists can be broadly drawn into two categories - public and private dissections. Public dissections, which non-academic audiences would be privy to, focused on particular goals, such as demonstrating the removal of a particular organ through well-established means. Private dissection tended to be more explorative and was used to teach students or to further the research of the anatomist. Given that Milton’s works display a preference for viewing the body as a unified form, the prevalence of expressly anatomical practice within his writings is an unexpected feature. However, within *Paradise Lost* and the much less frequently studied *Commonplace Book* there are proffered spaces containing both of these types of dissection. Milton’s *Commonplace Book* is regularly treated as merely offering a collection of source materials that can be mined to help establish ‘Milton’s bookshelf’. This paper proposes that, though never intended for public consumption, it offers a unique insight into Milton’s understanding of the nature of knowledge when considered as a performative space. Milton dissects the corpus of his own reading in it and draws out what intrigues him for further examination like a surgeon performing a private dissection. The second half of this paper approaches the topic of the dissection of Adam in *Paradise Lost* through the lens of the public dissection. We are shown the process by which his rib is removed and Eve formed in a fashion that demonstrates performative (rather than explorative) practice. Adam’s dissection is at once more bodily than the dissection apparent in the *Commonplace Book* and, simultaneously, neglects the realities of slicing open the human body, instead focusing on a definable endpoint (the creation of Eve). The paper demonstrates the manner by which the methodologies of Renaissance dissection impact upon Milton, causing him to create spaces in which both the public and private branches of anatomical practice can be performed through literary means.

1. **Music, Space, and Performance in the Visual Culture of Sixteenth-Century Italy (Chair: Andrew Pinnock, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Tim Shephard, University of Sheffield, ‘Musical Spaces in Italy c.1520: Representation and Performance’**

Spaces intended for, or likely to be used for, music-making in Renaissance Italy often featured decorations in which musical instruments, music-making, musical characters or narratives, and even music notation, appeared. These musical images would inevitably have suggested particular ways to interpret and understand musical performances taking place within the spaces they decorated. In fact, such visual representations of music - whether ‘realistic’ or fantastical - play a central role in shaping the experience of music, giving musical performances imaginative resonances appropriate to their particular settings and participants. Such visual efforts to shape musical experience within specific settings were often purposeful and intended, falling within Michel de Certeau’s notion of ‘strategic’ spatialising practices. This paper examines this phenomenon using two case studies: the studiolo of Alfonso I d’Este, decorated in the 1510s and 1520s, in which images of Bacchic music-making in landscape settings abound; and the Capirola Lutebook of 1517, a book of music in lute tablature in which, through the visual decorations, on key pages the musical notation is located within a landscape setting populated by exotic animals and birds, hunting dogs, satyrs, and nymphs.

* **Daniela Roberts, Civic Museum, Brunswick, ‘Listening to Paintings: Visual Representation of Music Performance in Italy in the first half of the Sixteenth Century’**

In the sixteenth-century debate about the relative status of the different arts, Leonardo da Vinci claimed painting to be superior to music and poetry owing to its permanence and comprehensiveness of perception. To support this notion he focused on live performance instead of notated composition, relying also on the widely accepted superiority of vision to hearing. Vasari, however, approached the argument from a different angle and ascribed performative qualities of music, such as audibility, to paintings in order to elevate visual art to the higher sphere of the Liberal Arts. This paper intends to examine how musical performance is portrayed in paintings originating from North Italy, and to look at the artistic methods used to convey the character of music and to create a performance space, where the passing of time is tangible. More specifically, the paper asks how these images, in positioning music books or displaying the facial expressions and gestures of the musicians, involve viewers in an interactive way, inviting them to complete the visual presentation. It also considers how music’s visual representation is used rhetorically to transmit and intensify visual impressions, and to evoke a multi-sensory reception. Traditions of the verbal description of visual art, such as *ekphrasis*, already indicate the importance of a word-based re-performance of the visual in order to bring the painting alive.

* **Vladimir Ivanoff, Artistic Director, Sarband, ‘Staging the Sounds of the ‘other’: Western Visual Representation of Oriental Music Practice in the Early Sixteenth Century’**

The visual representation of musicians and musical activities in the Ottoman Empire/Middle East has been a regular feature in western descriptions of oriental ‘otherness’ and it’s classification in relation to the ‘self’ at least from the fourteenth century. From the late fifteenth century, German-speaking countries, as well as Italy and Venice, were central in creating the western picture of the ‘Orient’. Depictions - whether souvenir miniatures by Ottoman artists, illustrations in travel accounts or pilgrim guides, paintings, broadsheets, or ‘live depictions’ in the form of ‘oriental’ masquerades and staged festivities - were manipulated, either unconsciously or for strategic interests. The specific location of an illustration in a travel account, a changed performance situation or space, or the alterations in the clothes or in the instruments of the depicted musicians always show as much about the personal and cultural background of the authors as they give us a picture of ‘oriental’ musical performance practice: they create the performance space for this mute and unheard music. This paper shows how modifications of oriental musical practice in German and Italian illustrations staged a musical culture whose sounds and social context were largely unknown to the European audience. In so doing, they provided it with western connotations thereby helping viewers and readers to connect with the sounds of the ‘other’.

1. **Scenery, Pageantry, Needlework as Performance Spaces (Chair: Tracey Hill, Bath Spa University) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Lucinda Dean, University of Stirling, ‘The Use of Landscape and Architecture as Backdrops/Scenery for Performative Spaces in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Scotland’**

The importance of the West Port and processional route through Edinburgh as a space for entry festivals in Scotland, particularly in the sixteenth century, has been discussed by a number of historians and architectural scholars. The Stirling Palace Project has brought to life the Renaissance palace and court of James V and Marie de Guise to illustrate its function as a place of social dynamic and identity. Recently research on the continuities and changes in Scottish state ceremony from 1214 to 1603 has shown that the spaces in which royal and civic festivals were performed encompassed an extensive array of additional sites to those which have received attention thus far. This paper will focus on a number of performative spaces in which the ceremonies of the Scottish monarchy were acted out during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to provide examples of the diversity of settings. The paper analyzes how such spaces were transformed to assist in the projection of an image of magnificence under the scrutiny of foreign eyes, the reactions of visitors who observed and took part in such display (where possible), and how the context enveloping Scottish ceremony shaped it to merge tradition with foreign influence to produce unique demonstrations of Scottish royal authority.

* **Emma Kennedy, University of York, ‘Performing the Prince of Wales; Printed text and lived performance in the printed London entries of Henry and Charles Stuart, 1610 and 1616’**

Scholarly interest in the inaugurations of Princes Henry Stuart and Charles Stuart as Princes of Wales (in 1610 and 1616 respectively) has usually focused on celebrations was at court, in masques, and in banquets. The customary series of pageants contributed by the City of London for each Prince’s procession through the city is usually viewed as subordinate to these celebrations. So, too, the accompanying texts by Anthony Munday (*London’s Love to the Royal Prince Henry*) and Thomas Middleton (*Civitatis Amor*) are less-studied than the court masques. This paper seeks to remedy this, examining both *London’s Love* and *Civitatis Amor* as texts in which contemporary politics, urban ritual, and new techniques of pageant-writing collide. Both Middleton and Munday, as experienced writers of printed drama, had by the time they came to commemorate the princely inaugurations, already confronted the problems and opportunities arising when printed text interacted with performance (during or after). How did they bring this experience to bear on the complex, hybrid occasions of both Stuart princes’ inaugural civic processions?

* **Claire Canavan, University of York, ‘“Drawne to life”: Early Modern Needlework and Acts of Reading in the Material Environment’**

Bookbindings were popular sites for embroidery during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Wrought by both professional and non-professional needleworkers, they often enclosed bibles and psalm books in covers which extracted and retold biblical stories, including Abraham’s banishing of Hagar and Ishmael, the sacrifice of Isaac, and Jacob’s wrestling with the angel. These bindings extended their textual contents beyond the page and projected them into the surrounding space where they might find connections with other needlework narratives that could, in the words of one viewer, ‘seeme not so much wrought, as Writt’. Related biblical subjects were worked onto cushions, caskets, panels, and hangings. Orientating books and their readers outwards into their material environments, embroidered bindings encourage us to consider texts as part of a symbiotic network of significant objects within a space. This paper uses embroidered book covers as a springboard to think about how acts of reading were shaped by and enacted through the textile spaces in which they were performed. Bruce Smith’s theory of ambient reading has drawn our attention to reading as a spatially situated activity, suggesting that the visual environs could provide an informative or distracting context. Smith’s theory continues to prioritize the text, whereas this paper seeks to understand acts of reception within an environment in more holistic terms. Bringing extant sewn objects into conversation with detailed responses to needlework recorded in personal letters, poetry, and prose fiction, it reveals that needlework constituted a richly significant and vividly performative medium which constructed reading as active and embodied spatial *praxis* that could be applied to a range of artefacts. This paper reveals how embroidered bindings ask us to understand books within a contexture of material prompts to interpretive and responsive acts, and to see literacy as something performed well beyond the space of the page.

1. **Thomas Middleton Panel (chair: Alice Hunt, University of Southampton) BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM B (06/1081)**

* **Susan Anderson, Leeds Trinity University,** ‘**Spaces of Exchange in Middleton’s London’**

This paper explores the way spaces of exchange, particularly shops and shopping streets, were represented on early modern stages and streets through examining a sample of Middleton’s city comedies, and his Lord Mayors’ Shows. These genres feature widely differing, even opposing, presentations of concepts such as accumulation, value, and commerce. Such apparent disparity within work linked by a single dramatist might be accounted for through a consideration of structures of patronage and audience. But it is also possible to understand the differences as a demonstration of the way that performance spaces might also produce meanings. Five of the twelve city comedies in the collected works of Middleton contain at least one scene that takes place in a shop. These scenes are highly attuned to the ways that shops are spaces which simultaneously work with and against social codes such as received notions of gendered behaviour, categorizations of space as private/domestic or public, and boundaries of class and wealth. Because of the inherent importance of commerce to the function of the shop, these scenes concentrate the nascent capitalist dynamics of the city, bringing them into a space where they can be tested on a human level, and brought into confrontation with ethical principles. These same principles are explored in Middleton’s Lord Mayors’ Shows. Although this genre ostensibly speaks to a sense of brotherhood, charity, and non-capitalist forms of exchange, it is in fact dedicated to celebrating wealth and its accumulation. The arguments for magnificence and largesse that the Shows present are a way in which the wealth of the overseas merchants can be constructed as ethically acceptable. The Shows needed to link newer social and economic practices with more familiar forms of virtue and value. By using Middleton as a point of commonality between different approaches to exchange, it is possible to build up a broader understanding of the interaction between kinds of space and kinds of exchange within the specific cultural context of Jacobean London.

* **Lynsey Blandford, Independent Scholar, ‘Private Warfare and Public Performance in Middleton’s *The Peacemaker*’**

The masculine world of private warfare and its bloody consequences are depicted within an unlikely pamphlet, Thomas Middleton’s *The Peacemaker; Or, Great Britain’s Blessing* (1618). The work celebrates the King’s contribution to European peace while portraying other nationalities and their ruin by conflict. Private warfare is attacked for its international repercussions and the pamphlet calls for a reformation of aristocratic masculinity, namely from duelling and drunkenness to moral sobriety and self-control. This paper explores Middleton's portrayal of duelling as a public performance of an outdated and destructive masculine ideal. Middleton explores this same issue in *The Fair Quarrel* (1617), a play written with William Rowley. The main plot charts a duel between a Colonel and a Captain, which begins with verbal insults and concludes in near death. Most significantly after the duel, guilt and repentance for adhering loyally to the gentleman’s code is the overriding response from the protagonists. By dramatizing a violent duel on stage, Middleton and Rowley illuminate the changing attitude towards the masculine performance of physical ‘justice’ in a public space. Physical violence on stage is entertainment and yet in the real world is morally condemned for its wider implications. Middleton's pamphlet combined with the dramatic portrayal of a duel reveals the development of anti-duelling sentiment in which a male act of defending ‘honour’ is perceived as an anti-social performance. Following a number of high profile aristocratic duels, James I began a campaign which prohibited the reporting of cases in 1613 and banned all challenges in 1614. Middleton presents a focus shared by the legislation when he places personal responsibility for peace, both domestically and internationally, on the individual elite man. The pamphlet is not purely an exercise in condemning men who assert their dominance in public, it also acts as a vehicle to uphold James I as the keeper of European peace and present an idealized portrait of masculine integrity.

* **Jennifer Panek, University of Ottawa, ‘The Dance of Shame: Pregnant Performances in Middleton’s *More Dissemblers Besides Women* and *The Nice Valour*’**

Despite recent research to historicize the passions, shame in its relation to sexuality has received little attention since Gail Kern Paster’s *The Body Embarrassed* (1993). This paper is part of a larger project on the staging of early modern sexual shame, attending to queer theorist Michael Warner’s call ‘to discriminate much more finely among the possible contexts and mediations of shame […] not to systematize a new theory of shame, but to remind us how little we understand simply by calling it shame’. The paper analyzes two peculiar dance performances on the Jacobean stage that foreground a particular experience of female sexual shame: in *The Nice Valour* (1622), Middleton repeats a motif staged earlier in his *More Dissemblers Besides Women* (1614), in which a young woman, disguised as a boy to hide a late-term unwed pregnancy, is obliged to perform a dance that not only symbolically exemplifies her shame but literally risks the humiliating exposure of her true identity and sexualized condition. Whereas Paster uncovers a paradigm in which early modern high-status men displace their anxieties about bodily uncontrol onto the unreliable and permeable ‘grotesque’ bodies of women and low-status males, I argue that these plays go beyond this paradigm to elicit more complex and inclusive responses to bodies - even female, transgressive ones - that helplessly betray their sexual nature.

* + - 1. **Buffet lunch in Garden Court**

**1.30-3.00 Session 5**

1. **Thomas Churchyard: Identity and Performance in Early Modern Texts (Chair: Andrew McRae, University of Exeter) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Kerri Allen, Dalton State University, ‘On Birds and Men: And Now Presenting Thomas Churchyard’**

Thomas Churchyard’s prolific body of work continually evinces his often shrewd observations of human behaviour, defining Churchyard himself as a poet of social discourse. His country house poem ‘A Letter in Maie’ and friendship poems ‘A good description of a freende’ and ‘Of the fickle faithe of men’ (all from *A Pleasant Laborinth Called Churchyardes Chance* (1580)) offer examples of Churchyard’s penchant for discoursing on virtue. At the same time, however, through these poems, Churchyard constructs a multi-layered identity: while he casts himself as an astute judge of human vice and as a loyal friend, he simultaneously portrays his own human frailty.

* **Liz Oakley-Brown, Lancaster University ‘“if I a poore plaine writer”: Performing Thomas Churchyard’**

Well-known for his engagement with the theatricality of Elizabethan royal progresses and the ventriloquization of Jane Shore and Thomas Wolsey in *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1563/1587), this paper considers the ways in which Thomas Churchyard self-consciously constructs an authorial identity that is simultaneously forthright and enigmatic. Working out from the dedicatory epistle appended to his collaborative translation of Emmanuel van Meteren’s *A true discourse historicall, of the succeeding gouernours in the Netherlands, and the ciuill warres there begun in the yeere 1565* (1602), this paper suggests that the writer indefatigably, and strategically, presents his persona as ‘poore’ and ‘plaine’.

* **Matthew Woodcock, University of East Anglia, ‘Thomas Churchyard Presents: Voice and Character in Entertainments for Elizabeth I in Bristol and Norwich’**

This paper examines the complex management of different, often competing voices in Thomas Churchyard’s pageant narratives written for Elizabeth I’s progresses to Bristol in 1574 and East Anglia in 1578. These entertainments represent the only occasions where the prolific Churchyard turns his hand to dramatic writing, yet demonstrate a deft construction and interplay of voices and characters from many different interest groups. Churchyard’s entertainments see him scripting parts for both real and mythological individuals, for the host cities themselves, and for the queen, while at the same time continually drawing attention to his own role as author and impresario. Indeed, one of the most fully drawn characters that stands out in these texts, especially during the 1578 Norwich visit, is Churchyard himself.

1. **Italian Architectural and Estate Performances (Chair: Piers Baker-Bates, Open University) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Sandra Cardarelli, Independent Scholar, ‘A Display of Wisdom and Magnificence in the *Contado* of Siena: Reconsidering the Significance of the Frescoes of Palazzo Corboli at Asciano’**

The mid-*Trecento* fresco decoration of Palazzo Corboli at Asciano, a strategic outpost in the *contado* of Siena, has hitherto been regarded mainly as a derivative of Sienese political iconography. This building and the images that adorn its interior have received little attention since the first in-depth study published by Maria Monica Donato in 1988. This paper aims to reengage the attention of art-historians and historians alike on neglected aspects of the conception, function, and reception of these paintings and their location. It places this commission within the social and historic context in which these were conceived and produced, the public and private spaces where they are displayed, and the relationship between text and image. It offers a new reading of their meaning, purpose, and possible reception by the local and wider society of the time through the analysis of iconography, composition, and attribution. The Asciano frescoes are viewed as signifiers of the identity of their patrons as an emerging ruling family, and their attitude to power, wealth, and pleasure. The paper proposes that they constituted the backdrop for the performance of the social, political, and devotional life of the powerful Bandinelli family.

* **Wouter Wagemakers, University of Amsterdam, ‘Patrons as Point of View: Architecture and Patronage Networks in sixteenth-century Verona’**

Returning to his home town Verona in 1526 after a decades-long absence proved a turning point in the career of architect Michele Sanmicheli (1487/8-1559). While the people of Verona were still learning to cope with their experiences during the War of the League of Cambrai (1508-17), when thousands of inhabitants died and large parts of the medieval city were badly damaged or destroyed, Sanmicheli was hired by the Republic of Venice to help design and build new fortifications throughout the Venetian empire. He also received prestigious commissions in Verona by private patrons. What prompted this sudden success? In this paper Sanmicheli’s activities are addressed from the point of view of his patrons in Verona, in the aftermath of the war. Following up on a suggestion by architectural historian Howard Burns, this paper shows why it is necessary to look at interrelationships between patrons in order to explain the success of a single artist. The paper concentrates on the Della Torre family, one of the most powerful families in sixteenth-century Verona as well as one of the fiercest supporters of Sanmicheli, and reveals why they were a crucial node in Sanmicheli’s patronage network.

* **Giovanna Guidicini, University of Plymouth, ‘Double Act: Performing Gentility and Good Husbandry at Villa Angelelli-Zambeccari’**

This paper presents the garden and farming estate of Villa Angelelli-Zambeccari (Bologna, Italy) as an eloquent performative space celebrating its patron’s multifaceted personality.

The layout of the building, garden, and surrounding fields was re-modelled in the seventeenth century by Senator Giovanni Angelelli when in need of a country seat fitting his elevated status. However, the design was also inspired by the senator’s pragmatic approach to farming and agricultural improvements, popularized at the time by the agronomist Vincenzo Tanara and the traveller Leandro Alberti. Villa Angelelli-Zambeccari’s estate became a double stage, where genteel past times suggesting cultivated refinement were performed alongside sensible displays of modern husbandry and successful farming. This paper discusses archival records (experts surveyors’ maps and accounts) showing the Villa’s outdoor space as a measurable, regulated, and proportioned stage, in line with Renaissance concepts of beauty and order. The paper also reveals how the Villa’s cycle of frescoes from the same period (while not specifically referring to this particular estate) provide the necessary complementary information regarding the genteel and the rustic actors of this double outdoor enactment. On one hand, the frescoed images presented the gardens as inhabited by elegantly dressed figures busying themselves with refined past times, and enjoying the odd meeting with classical deities and wondrous beasts. On the other hand, noble characters are more often shown overseeing farming activities in well-tended fields and giving directions to healthy-looking farmers. The paper suggests that the themes chosen by Angelelli for his cycle of frescoes suggest the senator’s pride and interest in managing the estate - a hypothesis confirmed by the close relationship between residential and productive spaces in the Villa he commissioned.

1. **‘(Re)constructed Spaces for Early Modern Drama’ (Chair: Greg Walker, University of Edinburgh) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Sarah Dustagheer, University of Kent,** **‘To see, and to bee seene […] and possesse the Stage, against the Play’: Actor/Audience Interaction in the Repertories of the Children of the Queen’s Revels and the King’s Men at the Blackfriars’**

This paper examines the nature of the relationship between the onstage stool-sitters and actors on the Blackfriars stage, and how the proxemics of actor and audience affected playwrights who wrote for this space. It identifies the responses Children of the Queen’s Revels’ playwrights had to this performance condition between 1600 and 1608, before examining the ways in which the King’s Men developed similar responses at the Blackfriars after 1609. The paper concludes with some consideration of the newly opened Sam Wanamaker Playhouse. This ‘reconstructed’ Jacobean indoor playhouse will replicate the close proximity between actor and audience. How will a modern audience respond to the spectator role created by the texts performed? And how might the audience relationship created at the Wanamaker relate to contemporary theatre trends for provocative performer/audience interactions?

* **Eleanor Rycroft, University of Bristol, ‘Performance-as-Research in the Great Hall of Hampton Court and the Palace Ruins at Linlithgow’**

In 2009, John Heywood’s *The Play of the Weather* was staged in the Great Hall of Hampton Court as part of the AHRC-funded ‘Staging the Henrician Court’ project. In 2013, David Lyndsay’s *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was staged beside the Palace of Linlithgow, while a reconstructed version of Lyndsay’s missing interlude of 1540 was subsequently staged in the ruins of the Palace’s Great Hall as part of ‘Staging and Representing the Scottish Renaissance Court’, also funded by the AHRC. These theatrical events all involved some form of lacunae at either the level of scripts, original spaces, architectural features or the documentary sources: omissions which may have been academically frustrating but often proved critically productive. The collaborations between scholars, heritage organizations and professional theatre and film-makers at the heart of these projects raised important questions about the benefits, challenges, and insights we gain through practice-based research. This paper will focus upon the scholarly approaches which proved successful, those which have not, and what is useful to consider when re-articulating historic sites as performance spaces.

* **Oliver Jones, University of York,** **“‘Explain this dark enigma”: The Queen’s Men and Performance-as-Research in Stratford upon-Avon’**

While extensive provincial performance by Elizabethan professional companies is now widely acknowledged, little has been done to investigate their plays in the context of the venues they once visited. Unlike the lost London theatres, these venues survive throughout the country and offer us a chance to reintroduce performance into an original space. This paper will discuss my work on *The* *Troublesome Reign of King John*, a Queen’s Men play I staged at Stratford in 2011. The paper demonstrates how an archaeological and historical understanding of the Stratford Guildhall not only enhances contextual understanding, both of its inhabitants and visiting players, but directly shapes the performance choices and decisions taken by those players. This in turn has implications both for our wider understanding of early modern staging, and for approaches to ‘original practice’ methodologies.

1. **The Spanish Scholastics on Sovereignty (Chair: Harald E. Braun, University of Liverpool) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Annabel S. Brett, University of Cambridge, ‘War and Political Agency in the Second Scholastic’**

This paper considers the question of sovereignty in the late scholastics from the point of view of warfare. How does the act of war impact on their conception of political agency and agents? How does the space of warfare relate to the space of political power? Is the concept of sovereignty of any use in elucidating their answers to these questions? The paper will cover a range of authors from Francisco de Vitoria to Juan de Lugo.

* **Erik De Bom, KU Leuven, ‘Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto on the Nature and Scope of Public Power’**

The concept of *potestas publica* plays a crucial role in the political thought of Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto. For Vitoria it was a means that would help him to set up a centralized government that protects its people both against internal disorders and external enemies. A crucial step in creating such a government was to make sure that the commonwealth as a whole had more power than its individual members. As a consequence, it was only the commonwealth which had the power to take a private person’s life if necessary. It was also the only agent who had the authority to declare war. However far reaching public power was in Vitoria’s conception, it was not without limits. First, it was restricted by the fact that it must respect individual rights, such as property rights and the right to marry freely. Second, it was bound by certain constraints in its external relations in that it was committed to the *ius communicandi*, which included, among other things, the right to travel, to trade, and inter-marry. This paper compares Soto’s conception of public power to that of Vitoria. Special attention is paid to their use of concepts such as *potestas*, *auctoritas*, and *dominium*. At the same time, the paper discusses how their idea of public power was embedded in their legal, philosophical, and theological program.

* **Megan K. Williams, University of Groningen, ‘Ambassadors of Christendom: Diplomatic Mobility and the Construction of Sovereignty in the Sixteenth-Century Thought and Reception of Francisco de Vitoria’**

In weighing arguments to justify Spanish intervention in, and ultimately sovereignty over, the Americas *De Indiis* (1537-38), Spanish Dominican theologian Francisco de Vitoria famously discarded titles based on imperial or papal dominion, right of discovery, and the Amerindians’ alleged irrationality, unbelief, or mortal sin. What remained was the principle of natural communication or, more precisely, diplomatic immunity in transit. ‘The Spaniards’, Vitoria suggested, ‘are the ambassadors of Christendom, and hence’ - since ‘ambassadors are inviolable in the law of nations’ – ‘the barbarians are obliged at least to give them a fair hearing and not expel them’. Refusing an ambassador admittance to a given territory was not only contrary to common consensus, but it might be construed an act of war. In asserting the potential legitimacy of the diplomatic-mobility title to justify Spanish sovereignty, Vitoria was extending familiar canonist arguments for licit intervention from a Mediterranean context to the New World. However, Vitoria framed the canonist obligation to receive travellers not in terms of papal pastoral jurisdiction over all rational souls, but in terms of the Scholastics’ social conception of humankind, and as the natural right of all, and particularly of diplomats, to travel without interference. For Vitoria, the observance of what might be termed diplomatic immunity in transit repeatedly appears as prime exemplar of the *jus gentium*, or law of nations. Scholars have dismissed diplomatic free passage as an exceptionally shaky foundation upon which to erect the edifice of Spanish sovereignty in the Americas. This stems from the fact that, as Annabel Brett has rightly observed, the right of natural communication Vitoria invoked and ‘the resulting “porosity” of commonwealths’ meshes poorly with leading narratives about the rise of the modern sovereign state. Yet, this paper suggests, the issue of diplomatic mobility was closely intertwined with that of sovereignty in the sixteenth century since the period of Vitoria’s peak productivity was one deeply concerned with diplomats in transit, and the tension between the twin claims to universal mobility and princes’ increasingly assertive claims to sovereign dominion.

1. **Performing Conversion in Early Modern Texts (Chair: Helen Smith, University of York) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Elisabeth Engell Jessen, University of Copenhagen, ‘On the Friday after the Conversion of St. Paul’: Jacob Boehme’s ‘Aurora’ as a Conversion Text’**

This paper investigates how the religious writer, mystic, and alchemist Jacob Boehme (1575-1624) represents conversion in his first work, the highly complex and unfinished ‘Aurora’, which circulated amongst readers in manuscript form and pirate copies from 1612. Whilst not representing a conversion narrative in the typical (though now sometimes disputed) sense of the word, the paper suggests that ‘Aurora’ can be understood as taking its readers, one at a time, by the hand and leading them towards an experience of conversion, initiated by reading the first page and being completed after reading the last and putting down the book. This readerly experience of conversion is facilitated by a variety of conversion markers which appear in the form, structure, and language, as well as occasional references to the author’s own experience of conversion. Finally, the paper discusses how the topos of the conversion was received and represented in the work of the popular, but now overlooked, Behmenist illustrator, Dionysius Andreas Freher. The paper discusses the way in which the definition of a conversion narrative within current scholarly literature is unnecessarily limited and how, by broadening the definition, we can move towards a more adequate understanding of what a conversion text is.

* **Abigail Shinn, University of Leeds, ‘“Certain Meteors of the Lesser World”: Sleep, Beds and Dreaming in Protestant Conversion Narratives’**

Dreams are a common occurrence in the conversion narratives produced by Protestants in Early Modern England. These include: the nightmares which plagued Richard Norwood and recounted in his *Confessions*; the elaborate dreams recollected by the Muslim Digep Dandalo, which are interpreted by his preacher Thomas Warmstry as signs of his removal from the ‘delusions of that great Imposter Mahomet’; the dream narratives, nightmares, and moments of revelation and crisis which take place in bed, including the story of a convert who ate her own pillow, recounted in Vavasor Powell’s *Spiritual Experiences of Sundry Believers* (1653).

The interpretation of dreams has been a central tenet of Christian thought throughout the ages, but this paper argue that for post-Reformation Protestants the dream, the nightmare, and occurrences in bed, could signal an individual’s elect status and offered proof of conversion. In order to contextualise this phenomenon, the paper considers how sleep and dreaming were understood in early modern medical treatises, and how sleep was organized and experienced, including the design of bedchambers and beds, and whether people shared a bed with a spouse or strangers. In situating the convert’s dream narrative within a material and cultural frameworkthe paper not only suggests that the sleeping convert represents an important site for divine and demonic influence, but that s/he can illuminate our understanding of the role of sleep and dreaming in the early modern religious imagination.

* **Lieke Stelling, Leiden University, ‘Conversion in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century Drama’**

In previous research I have shown that the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English theatre did not portray interfaith conversion as a radical change of religious identity, but rather as a reassuring form of continuity and a means to confirm the idea that religious identity is fixed. In this way, plays responded to concerns over the stability of (Protestant) Christian identity. These were aroused not only by the fear of Ottoman expansion, Catholic domination, and actual conversions to Catholicism and Islam, but also by the embrace of Protestantism by religious enemies. After the Restoration, anxiety over religious stability remained, and was exacerbated during the years leading up to the Glorious Revolution, when King James II, a convert to Catholicism himself, started to make attempts at Catholicizing England. At the same time, new voices were heard that expressed a more relaxed view of religious identity, including those that advocated religious toleration and that promoted the return of the Jews to England. This paper considers how early Enlightenment ideas of religion affected stage representations of conversion in restoration drama, such as can be found in, for instance, John Dryden’s *The Conquest of Granada* (1670-71) and *Don Sebastian*, *King of Portugal* (1689). The main question that will be addressed is to what extent these ideas also involved a new dramatic understanding of conversion in which converts were believed to be able to radically and permanently shed their former non-Christian (or Catholic) identity and exchange it for a righteous (Protestant or Catholic) Christian one.

1. **Cultures of the English Civil War (Chair: Mark Stoyle, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Dawn Goldstone, Aberystwyth University, ‘A Reading of the Rationale for Arise Evans’s Pauper King’**

Described by Christopher Hill as a ‘lunatic scheme’ (1974), this paper suggests that Arise Evans’s concept of a pauper king deserves serious consideration and needs to be read alongside mid seventeenth-century political debates about the nature of statecraft, society, and power. This paper argues that Evans’s construction of a pauper king - a king who lives in poverty but wields absolute power - is far from being a random or hysterical response to the civil wars and interregnum. Rather, for Evans, it is a rational assessment of the corruption of court culture and of the impetuous ambition of an increasingly fragmented society. Evans formulates his vision of a pauper king from his reading of the scriptures and from his immediate experience of civil war, regicide, and an interregnum. The paper suggests that an intriguing comparison can be made between the cognitive processes that motivate Evans’s notion of a pauper king, and Thomas Hobbes’s treatise on power, sovereignty, and the state of nature.

* **Signy Thora Gutnick Allen, Queen Mary, ‘Enemy or Traitor? Debates on the Extra-Legal Nature of Treason in Civil War and Interregnum English Pamphlet Literature’**

This paper examines the ways in which English pamphlet literature published following the outbreak of the English civil war and up to the publication of James Harrington’s *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, contested a purely legal understanding of the terms ‘treason’ and ‘traitor.’ Too often, historians examining the development of the concept of treason during this period have limited their discussion to court cases and legal argumentation, or written descriptions of them. While such studies are valuable, pamphlet literature suggests that for some thinkers, this legalistic definition of treason as a crime which could be addressed by the justice system was overly simplistic, and even dangerous to the state. Writers such as Henry Parker argued that treason should be understood extra-legally, as it represented an act which transcended the law and the latter’s ability to address serious threats. In an era in which references to ‘rights’ was increasingly common, it was asserted by some that traitors had lost all legal rights, throwing the ability of the court to convict and punish such figures into limbo, and necessitating a re-examination of the legal status of the traitor. This re-examination can only be seen if we set aside legal history and look at works of narrative or political theory. The paper concludes by discussing this debate in relation to the works of Thomas Hobbes and James Harrington.

* **Amy Calladine, University of Nottingham, ‘Staging Surrender? The Theatre of Siege in Civil-War England’**

The experience of siege in civil-war England brought the horrors of war into the space of the town. Despite the curtailment of civic autonomy and the challenge of battle-scarred topographies, a range of contemporaries actively appropriated ritual codes to cast the city as stage and foster order from chaos. The exchange of power in the besieged town was heavily choreographed, informed by bi-partisan codes of military honour and enacted with precision by winners and losers. In theory, defeated troops retained the right to process out of the town suffering ‘no jeers or other injuries’ as the victors stood by and waited for the keys to the city. However, such codes were open to interpretation and could be exploited by civic authorities to project the tenacity of urban communities and the spaces which they inhabited. This paper will present an exploration of these processes at work, analyzing performative rituals in both the immediate post-siege context and as part of the commemorative discourses which developed over following years. By exploring the articulation of siege rituals in both Gloucester and Chester (the former resisting Royalist siege in 1643, the latter surrendering to Parliament in 1646), this paper seeks to unpick the layers of meaning behind the crafting of urban identities at a time of intense contextual dislocation.

**3-3.30 TEA in Garden Court**

* + 1. **Session 6**

1. **The *Poly-Olbion* Project (Chair: Andrew Hadfield, University of Sussex) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Andrew McRae, University of Exeter, ‘Introduction to The *Poly-Olbion* Project’**

‘The *Poly-Olbion* Project’ is an AHRC-funded project based at the University of Exeter, which commenced work in September 2013. It is essentially an editorial project, concerned to produce a new scholarly edition of *Poly-Olbion*, written by Michael Drayton with ‘illustrations’ by John Selden and maps by William Hole, and published in two parts in 1612 and 1622. This paper will outline the aims of the project and address some of the challenges and questions that have manifested themselves in the first nine months of work. It will also outline the impact-oriented work that the project is undertaking.

* **Daniel Cattell, University of Exeter, ‘Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion*’**
* **Sjoerd Levelt, University of Exeter, ‘Selden’s Contributions to *Poly-Olbion*’**

1. **‘Space in Early Theatre: Inside, Outside, and Within’ (Chair: Ceri Sullivan, Cardiff University) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Philip Butterworth, University of Leeds, ‘Medieval Spatial Conventions in English Outdoor Theatre’**

All theatre, in its execution, is governed and guided by staging conventions as determined by the purpose of the work, the conditions within which it is performed, and the time taken to move towards and complete its audience perception and reception. Such conventions may be implicit or explicit, conscious or unconscious, and deliberate or accidental. They determine ways in which audiences relate to the theatrical event; they condition rules of engagement for audiences; they establish relative realities and pretence and they guide (and sometimes condition) audiences in their responses.This paper examines the implicit and explicit spatial conventions associated with pageant vehicle performance and place and scaffold forms of staging in the English medieval theatre.

* **Peter Happé, University of Southampton, ‘Concepts of Space in some English and French Cycle Plays’**

This paper addresses concepts of dramatic space in the York cycle and compares them to contemporary practice in some of the French cycle plays including those by Gréban, Michel, and the performances at Troyes, Lille, and in the Auvergne. It concentrates on the choice of the mode of presentation. In doing so it compares presentation on pageant carts or in other processional configurations, with performances on fixed locations involving the exploitation of multivalent sites, with the further possibility of interconnection and movement between. The topics are further considered with reference to actual space onstage, together with the creation of imagined or offstage space which makes a significant contribution to theatrical experience.

* **Bob Godfrey, University of Northampton, ‘“Make room! Make room!”: The Development of Created Space for the Actor in Early Modern Drama’**

The stage is indisputably the first and ultimate ‘performative space’. The actor inhabits that space in face of all kinds of audience and no more so than in the period from c.1570 to c.1620. In the earlier part of the century he was largely peripatetic having to perform in a wide range of not necessarily suitable spaces, from houses of the gentry, for instance, or at court itself, town halls, university and school halls. This paper examines how the late arriving professional theatres may be said to have changed both the circumstances and conventions that fashioned approaches to acting. Furthermore, it considers how the theatrical profession, by virtue of its commercial success, gained a veneer of celebrity that gave it a ‘performative’ space in society.

1. **Performative Paintings (Chair: Gaby Neher, University of Nottingham)**

**BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Elizabeth Alice Honig, University of California, Berkeley, ‘“A Lodging for Lazarus”: Representing Placement & Position in Late Elizabethan England’**

A remarkable wall painting of 1580 at Pittleworth, near Southampton, is the starting-point for this talk. It is an ambitious rendering of the parable of Dives an Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31), involving an interlocked sequence of both narrative images and inscribed texts, based on a popular song or prayer, that retold the story for the owners of an Elizabethan manor house. This paper considers how a sixteenth-century public conceived of this parable in terms of placement and position, and how these paintings and contemporary texts used the story to explore social and eschatological geographies. The tale of Dives and Lazarus is one of the key pieces of Biblical evidence concerning the fixed nature of place in the afterlife, and was regularly discussed in Tudor debates over the relative positions of Heaven (above) and Hell (below) and the impossibility of transit between them (Catholic purgatory). At the same time, the parable is of course the key text concerning social position and its transformation between earthly and eternal existence: the high may become low, and the low high. In the sixteenth century, as now, a message that favoured beggars over the wealthy could be appealing or problematic, and was open to quite a bit of nuancing. The treatise from 1593, ‘A Lodge for Lazarus’, extends the Biblical story through a series of spatial metaphors into an argument about social justice. I analyze this text alongside the complex spatial sequencing of the Pittleworth paintings, and consider the rhetorical power of ‘lodging’ in Elizabethan concepts of the rightful occupation of social space.

* **Sue Hedge, University of East Anglia, ‘Playing from the “gallery”: the Amberley Panels as Metatheatre’**

This paper explores the theme of ‘Performative Spaces’ through a series of early sixteenth-century paintings of female Worthies. These painted panels were once part of the wall decoration of a reception room in Amberley Castle, Sussex, a former residence of the Bishops of Chichester. The Worthies, originally positioned high on the wall as if looking down at the occupants of the room from painted *trompe-l’œil* balconies, reference the visual traditions of pageantry and spectacle. The paintings are highly unusual in an English context and this paper briefly examines possible influences on their patron, Robert Sherborn, including the function of architecture during ceremonies at the bishop’s palaces in his previous diocese of St David’s. The Amberley paintings’ illusory effects interrogated the relationship between viewer and viewed. They transgressed spatial boundaries and exploited the fundamental tension between materiality and reception: here, between the material of wooden panels, frames, muntins and rails, and the suspension of belief induced by its representations. This paper examines this interplay between reality and imagination and between spectator and onlooker, and argues that it created the context for the paintings to make a further intervention in the activities of the room. Each image was accompanied by a painted verse. These poems draw on, and partially reinforce, a rich intertextuality embedded in images of female Worthies, yet they also seek to reinterpret these characters. The disruption and resulting instability of the imagery creates a *locus* of contestation concerning female power and virtue. The *Querelle des Femmes*, had long been a staple of literature, drama, and entertainment. The paintings both generated and contextualized the debates and entertainment that took place in the room. Often treated simply as decoration, these panels demand a wider analysis of their performative and transformative role.

* **Raluca Perta Duna, University of Bucharest, ‘Discovering an Unknown Sixteenth-Century Self-Portrait: “Of whom is this painting?”’**

This paper presents the history of discovering the author of a mid- sixteenth-century self- portrait with professional attributes (palette and pencils). The panel (17x13 inch) is in a private collection in Norfolk and it is in the property of the same illustrious local family since c. 1720. Two photographs of this painting were discovered in the summer of 2012, at Heinz Library, London. They had been sent to NPG in 1975, by ‘Mitchell’, who cleaned the panel at the time, and neglected ever since. The presence of palette and pencils in a self-portrait of this period signals the possibility of a master’s hand. The sitter’s appearance is similar to that of Antonio Moro in the Uffizi self-portrait. I am convinced it really is a masterpiece, probably an early self portrait of Anthony Mor, possibly made in London, during his short stay here, not finished and abandoned for unknown reasons. The little dimensions of the painting suggested the panel was intended for personal use and also designed to fit travel necessities. We know that Mor had a quarrel at the London court with another Flemish painter and that he left in a hurry to return to his wife in Utrecht. This may have happened in 1553 or 1554, when Mor was employed to paint Mary I for her husband, Philip II. The costume of the sitter, even if not well rendered (only the head and the hands are finished) is very similar to the costume of a female sitter in a miniature by Levina Teerlinc, dated around 1555 (V&A Museum, London). My paper also discusses the way the genre of European self-portraiture with professional attributes in the 1540-50s is strongly related to the Antwerp school, and to the London tradition (e.g. Holbein, Levina Teerlinc, Flicke, and Gower) of early self-portraiture with professional tools. The history of art may be considered a performative space. An art object in a private collection, by an unknown artist, is performing a possible story – plausible or not – at a certain moment, for a certain audience. ‘Of whom is this painting?’, the first line of Lampsonius’s eulogy of Mor (written on a paper, pinned over the blank easel in the Uffizi self-portrait) is a decisive question for the art historian, as for any viewer, a question that implies a performative rhetoric, already present in the self-representations of the Renaissance painter and brought to obsession in contemporary art.

1. **‘Voices and Books in Renaissance England’ (Chair: Neil Rhodes, St Andrews) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Jennifer Richards, Newcastle University, ‘The Sound of the Tudor Classroom: Schemes and Tropes’**

In the preface to *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550), Richard Sherry recalls that ‘longe ago, I was well acquainted wyth [the figures of speech], when I red them to other in the Latin’, adding that he was ‘ready to make them speak English’. How exactly does *elocutio* (style) sound in Renaissance English? This paper explores the kind of sources that might help us to recover this elusive quality. It aims to explain why *elocutio* (style) and *pronuntiatio* (delivery) need to be studied together. And it asks: what difference does reading aloud make to+ our understanding of Renaissance rhetoric and the way that the figures were marked?

* **Richard Wistreich, Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester, ‘Reading for Singing for Sociability’**

Thomas Morley's well-known story in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) tells of the guest humiliated by being compelled to admit that he was unable to sight-read music and sing his part in the after-dinner madrigals. This revelation appeared (at least to the young man himself) to cause others to cast doubt on his very identity (‘Yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up’), and it caused him to ‘sit upon thorns’ until he could make good his deficient education. This paper investigates the relationship between vocality and the anxieties of musical literacy in the context of the social pastime of singing from part-books.

* **Gavin Alexander, Cambridge University, ‘Voices in Books: Poet, Composer, and Singer in the Lute Song’**

Whose are the words of a song? This paper looks at representations of authorship and voice in printed lute songs and their paratexts. Although the songbooks do not attribute their texts this does not mean that composers, readers, or singers had no interest in their origins and possible contexts, in what might be lost or gained in translation. What is the significance of a growing interest in presenting songs in identified voices (an entire collection in the voice of Penelope Rich), or with dramatic context, or even in Mummerset, leading finally to a collection that identifies its poets? Comparative evidence is taken from manuscript sources, printed verse miscellanies, and madrigal books.

1. **‘Rumour and Reputation: The Power of Gossip in Early Modern England’ (Chair: Maria Hayward, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Helen Graham-Matheson, UCL, ‘“He has a bad wife”: the Importance of Women’s Reputations to the Functioning of Edwardian Politics’**

Using the cases of Anne Seymour, duchess of Somerset and Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, this paper highlights and discusses the impact of the contemporary public reputations of the wives of the Edwardian Protectorate upon the functioning of domestic and international politics, c.1547-53. Anne Seymour’s unfavourable reputation has endured for centuries. Acting as first lady of England in the absence of a queen consort, she is a cautionary tale of a woman with too much political authority. Under-recognized primary evidence demonstrates how Anne’s contemporary reputation undermined the policies of the ‘Good Duke’ of Somerset, England’s Lord Protector, c.1547-49, and contributed to the Protectorate’s undoing. Following Anne’s fall, Elisabeth Parr took over the role of England’s first lady, and, mindful of Anne’s example, took significant steps to publicly proclaim and protect her personal reputation at the Edwardian court c.1550-53, to avoid similar loss of favour and achieve recognized political authority.

* **Clare Whitehead, QMUL, ‘“With a Kingdom’s happiness / Doth she private Lares bless”: Representing Anna of Denmark in early Jacobean England’**

In May 1603, days before her intended departure on a journey from Edinburgh to London, Anna of Denmark, the Queen consort of the recently proclaimed James I of England, suffered a miscarriage and lay ill for weeks before recovering enough strength to begin the journey that would reunite her with her husband in England. This paper will examine the rumours that surrounded the queen’s illness in Scotland in order to suggest their impact on the interpretation and representation of her identity during her progress to London. By highlighting the Queen’s role as both wife and mother, and the characterization of this role in dramatic literature during this period, this paper will demonstrate how her reputation and the circulation of rumours regarding her reproductive abilities can affect understandings of the performances given on this journey.

1. **BSR@SRS 4: Spirituality and Theatricality in Renaissance Art and Architecture II (Chair: Oren Margolis, Somerville College, Oxford and Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, Vienna) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Piers Baker-Bates, The Open University, ‘Performing the Passion: the Religious Art of Sebastiano del Piombo as Sacred Drama’**

The Veneto-Roman artist Sebastiano del Piombo developed a particular religious art through the course of his active career at Rome, between about 1511 and 1536. From the beginning, Sebastiano concentrated on religious subjects - especially single figure images of episodes from the Passion, such as *Christ carrying the Cross* or the *Pietà*. These were not remote and ethereal but dramatic images of human suffering that were intended to connect directly with the pious viewer and to invite them to share in the sacred drama of Christ’s Passion as engaged participants. This religious art was intended to evoke directly those emotions of sorrow and pain that the audience was meant to feel upon contemplating the sufferings Christ had undergone for their salvation, com-passion in the truest sense of the word. These developments were only intensified after the brutal sack of the city in 1527, when Sebastiano himself suffered great hardships. The difference between this and the religious art of Sebastiano’s predecessors and contemporaries at Rome is stark, apart from Sebastiano’s friend and ally, Michelangelo. Federico Zeri first explored these unique aspects of Sebastiano’s religious art but rather than, as Zeri, seeing Sebastiano as an artist of the Counter-Reformation *avant la lettre*, this paper demonstrates how Sebastiano’s art interacted directly with the spirituality of his contemporaries. The performative aspects of his sacred art were rooted directly in the religious and cultural climate of contemporary Rome. This paper explores the reasons behind Sebastiano’s aesthetic choices, the means by which they were achieved (such as his invention of oil painting on a stone surface), and the patrons who supported these developments, notably those from the Iberian Peninsula. It will also demonstrate how influential these developments by Sebastiano were to be among and beyond his successors at Rome.

* **Peter Fane-Saunders**, **Durham University, ‘Renaissance Readings of the Ingenuity and Opulence of Ancient Theatres’**

In trying to understand the ancient theatre’s place in the Italian Renaissance, historians have tended to focus on two main sources: the *De architectura* of Vitruvius and the ruins of classical antiquity. In *De architectura*, the sole surviving ancient treatise on the art of building, Vitruvius describes in theoretical terms the generic form of the Roman theatre, a description that was confirmed by archaeological excavations conducted during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet neither source offers a complete picture of the rich and idiosyncratic design of theatres in the ancient world. Additional information can be gleaned from a host of ancient writers, a point not lost on Renaissance humanists, architects, and antiquarians. Authors such as Horace, Ovid, Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, and Cassiodorus, provided them with precious clues about the ornament and operation of theatres and other show-buildings in ancient Rome. The wealth of detail in their accounts plugged a considerable gap in Renaissance knowledge. This paper assesses responses to these literary sources in Renaissance Italy, revealing their significant contribution to contemporary debate about the ancient theatre, its decoration, and spatial configuration. The paper takes as case studies two designs – known only through classical literature – that fascinated and horrified the Renaissance in equal measure: the theatre of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, an extravagant building that incorporated a stage made of marble, glass, and gold, with 3,000 bronze statues set between the columns; and the twin theatres of Gaius Scribonius Curio, wooden structures that, once the plays were over, ingeniously rotated on pivots to form an amphitheatre for gladiatorial games.

1. **Performance, Story-telling, and Place (Chair: Alice Hunt, University of Southampton) BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM B (06/1081)**

* **Sheila Sweetinburgh, University of Huddersfield, ‘Performing Narratives of Religious Conflict in Henrician England’,**

This paper draws on the depositions assembled in 1543 in response to the Prebendaries’ Plot, and explores the ways participants on both sides of the religious divide employed spaces and objects in their attempt to construct a coherent narrative concerning what was the ‘true’ faith. This paper is about process, that is the oral performance in the highly charged space of the parish church, and thereafter how that could be reported to Archbishop Cranmer’s commissioners to formulate a cohesive account of their actions and those of their opponents.

* **Claire Bartram, Canterbury Christ Church University, ‘“Feats, illusions and Transes”: the Staging of Demonic Possession in Elizabethan Society’**

This paper takes a case study from Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* to explore the shifting significance of this ‘true storie’ of demonic possession cast first as a legal document, then as a private theatrical performance, and finally as a cautionary tale. The paper considers the interface between different types of literary and non-literary texts focusing on the ‘imaginative’ potential of work-a-day administrative texts and notions of authorship in provincial society.

* **Catherine Richardson, University of Kent, ‘“When the candels or lamps be light’’: Narrative, Sociability, and Performative Space in the Early Modern Parlour’**

This paper analyses the kinds of stories circulating around parlour fires, focusing on the location of the room, the context of the fireside, and concepts of community. As well as investigating the location, form, and decoration of extant parlours, inventories will be used to evoke a sense of the comfort, luxury, and novelty afforded by this room and the stories circulating within the imagery used to decorate it. Literary and judicial sources suggest the kind of stories being performed there. The paper argues for the interplay of different kinds of narrative within the same space, and for its role in the structuring of middling-status leisure time.

1. **Prodigious Fish, Vagabonds, and Lunatics: Performing Unusual Spaces in Early Modern Drama (Chair: Daniel Carey, NUI Galway) BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM C (06/1083)**

* **Maria Shmygol, University of Liverpool, ‘“Such a fish as never was heard of”: A Whale for a Stage in William Percy’s *The Aphrodysial; or, Sea Feast* (1602)’**

William Percy imaginatively exploits the dramatic potential of the underwater world as a performative space in which a very unusual performance takes place inside a baleen’s stomach. My paper will focus on the play’s sub-plot, in which a group of fishermen find a prodigious baleen capable of uttering oracles in many languages, which they repeatedly attempt to capture in order to present it at court. After deploying a series of wily tactics the fishermen succeed and the baleen is brought to court as a great marvel, much to everyone’s astonishment. However, when the fishermen decide to ‘break ope the oracle’ and eviscerate the creature, the courtiers are even more astonished to find that the baleen is nothing more than a fraud when they discover that Coüs, an engineer’s apprentice who had been residing inside the baleen’s stomach, was responsible for the seemingly prodigious utterances. This paper focuses on Coüs’s use of the baleen as a performative space in which the ontological boundaries between human and animal break down and produce a monstrous wonder. It considers the prodigious baleen in a wider framework of early modern marine monsters in court masques and pageantry, to illustrate the ways in which Percy’s baleen can be read as a critique of such artificial staged wonder. The discussion extends to the production and receptions of constructed wonders in the fields of natural history and engineering, in which similar (non)monsters are created through the merging of dried natural specimens into ‘Jenny Hanivers’ and through mechanical components into automata. The paper addresses the epistemological difficulties of responding to strange bodies which occupy uncertain ontological ground between the natural, monstrous, and prodigious.

* **David McInnis, University of Melbourne, ‘Reads Pages and Leaves: Reading, Watching and Travelling in Early Modern Drama’**

Travel plays involving mercantile, religious, and colonial perspectives have received a steady stream of critical attention, but considerably less attention has been given to the figure of the stage traveller whose peregrinations are governed by desire alone. Often lampooned in satirical drama by Jonson and others, travelling characters occur in a number of early modern plays, often in the context of a debate about the merits of voyaging. In this paper, I move beyond the critical censure of such idle voyagers to consider instances where the traveller (and thus the playgoer) derives pleasure from their wanderings, whether because: they witness the marvels they had previously read about in books; they value the transformative potential of venturing beyond their native soil; or they simply revel in the opportunity to immerse themselves in exotica. The connection between reading, writing, and travelling is particularly important in this regard, for it potentially subverts the intuitive expectation that travels are only recorded for profitable, utilitarian purposes. Peregrine Joyless in Brome’s *The Antipodes* is an obvious example of the wanderlust-afflicted character type, but in this paper I focus on lesser studied examples of celebrated travel, including Mirabell in Fletcher’s *The Wild-Goose Chase*, Old Fortunatus in Dekker’s play of the same name, and Springlove, Meriel, and Rachel in Brome’s *A Jovial Crew*. I consider the travelling-character as a recurrent ‘type’ and use this characterological approach to consider the role and value of staged travel for early modern playgoers.

* **Rachel Willie, Bangor University, ‘“this reading of books is a pernicious thing”: Journeys of the Mind in *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687)’**

This paper addresses the relationship between reading, staged spectacle, and fabricated travel. Aphra Behn’s Restoration farce *The Emperor of the Moon* has often been considered in relationship to staged spectacle, but it is also concerned with the transformative effects of reading. Dr Baliardo has his senses corrupted by reading texts such as Francis Godwin’s *The Man in the Moon* (published 1638) and believes the moon houses an elite society. Reading has transformed Baliardo into a ‘lunatic’ who is ‘always travelling to the moon’. This relationship with an imagined society leads him to dismiss terrestrial suitors as too earthly a match for his daughter and niece, and the two women’s lovers assume the disguise of the emperor of the moon and the prince of Thunderland to win his consent. Performing the part of moon dwellers allows the text both to utilize the performance space of the Restoration stage, and to connect reading, travelling, and deception with epistemology. In constructing her fraudulent celestial visitors, Behn appropriates late seventeenth-century scientific learning. Fabricated travel becomes a way of knowing the moon and engaging with natural philosophy as the ontological barriers between real and imagined space become fractured. The binary divisions between the earth and the moon, the oracular distinctions between reading and viewing spectacle, and the differences between motion/travel and remaining static break down as the play’s setting of Naples accommodates different performed space.

**5.15- 6.15 Plenary 2: Simon Thurley, English Heritage, ‘Godly Ceremonies: Architecture and Liturgy in English Royal Palaces’ (Chair: Chris Woolgar, Director of CMRC) BUILDING 67 NIGHTINGALE LECTURE THEATRE (67/1027)**

**6.15-7.30 Special Collections Gallery, Hartley Library: Private view of ‘The Esarly Modern Image’ and wine reception sponsored by the University of Southampton Library and CMRC**

**Announcement of the winner SRS Book Prize 2014.**

**7.30 Dinner (own arrangements)**

**Tuesday 15th July**

* + 1. **Session 7**

1. **London Ceremony (Chair: Tracey Hill, Bath Spa University) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Chloe Porter, University of Sussex, ‘Streets Paved with Men: Spectators and Spectacle in *The Magnificent Entertainment*’**

Describing the huge crowds that attended James I’s royal entry into London in 1604, Thomas Dekker writes that ‘the streets seem’d to be paved with men: stalls instead of rich wares were set out with children, open casements fill’d up with women’. Figuring spectators as a part of the street furnishings, Dekker constructs viewers watching the royal entry as a passive, materialized ‘background’ to the active pageant procession. Such a construction of viewers as a ‘viewed’ backdrop is echoed in accounts of Lord Mayor’s Shows by writers including Thomas Middleton and Thomas Heywood. In contrast, eyewitness accounts of early modern pageants suggest audience members interacted with these shows in fluid, unpredictable, and sometimes violent ways. Critics working in this area have therefore emphasized the distinction between printed text and performance in the context of pageantry, and explored the ways in which the ‘chaos’ of the ‘real city’ can be traced in the ‘official’ discourses of the pageant texts. Building on Tracey Hill’s important work on the transmission of pageants from ‘street to print’, this paper argues that the contexts of text and performance attendant on these shows merge in the moments at which playwrights figure spectators as viewed spectacle. Every year, the London Livery Companies paid for alterations to the city streets and buildings as necessary for the passage of the pageant, bringing employment and prosperity to the city. Londoners were therefore complicit in re-shaping the city streets with which they are associated in Dekker’s reductive vision. Describing viewers as the viewed, writers of pageant texts thus engaged with a concept of London and Londoners as malleable in the service of mercantile prosperity as that which shaped the making and performance of these entertinments.

* **Barbara Wooding, Independent Scholar, ‘“On her head a model of Steeples and Turrets”: Staging the City in Renaissance London’**

Since medieval times the entire city of London assumed on occasion the character of a stage on which rituals of kingship such as royal entries and marriages, or state funeral processions, are performed. In the Renaissance, such pageants were increasingly adopted by livery companies to celebrate their own rites of passage and transformation. This paper argues that as the fabric of the city assumed the character of theatre-in-large, so playwrights in the commercial theatre adapted and transformed grand state and civic occasions for the smaller spaces of playhouse, hall, and inn yard. Borrowing worked in both directions, for pageant makers adopted dramatic techniques in the same way that their theatrical counterparts deployed processional elements in plays. Where some dramatists, such as Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, wrote for both types of performative space, for others, Shakespeare being the most notable example, adaptation was in one direction only. So far as is known he wrote only for the commercial stage. This paper investigates the dynastic rituals of the funeral procession of Elizabeth and the royal entry of James. It then focuses upon two Lord Mayor’s pageants, *The Triumphs of Gold* written by Anthony Munday for the Goldsmiths’ Company in 1611, and *The Triumphs of Truth*, written by Thomas Middleton for the Grocers’ Company in 1613. It shows how writers adopted theatrical techniques to dramatize and contain the spectacle of the mayoral show. The paper also analyzes the ways in which Shakespeare and Middleton deployed the rituals of pageantry to enrich theatre performance.

* **Victoria Anker, University of Edinburgh, ‘1640s London: the City as a Politicised Space of Ceremonial Performativity’**

This paper explores how the city of London became a politicized geographical space for the performance of ceremonial triumphal entries during the turbulent 1640s. Traditionally triumphal entries were a ritual form in which the powerful position of the entrant was displayed through visual, aural, and written demonstrations of authority, as the work of David Bergeron (on royal and mayoral entries) has shown. In November 1641, having twice cancelled similar events, Charles I performed his first and final ceremonial entry into London. Staged during a period of political uncertainty, the triumph was designed to reinforce the authority of the English monarchy, ordained by God, uniting the citizens of London through the presentation of the monarch as the sovereign protector of his people’s freedom and liberties returning to the metaphorical heart of the nation. In doing so, the royal triumph provided a model through which the performers took ownership of the city. As the geographical centre of the body politic, the city of London was economically and socially entwined with the royal court, a relationship Ian Archer has traced in the ceremonial performances of monarchy under Elizabeth I and James I. Charles I’s entry however, failed to unite crown and city; when war broke out nine months later, the city declared for parliament. It is this paper’s contention that in the 1640s, as the court first dislocated to Oxford and then scattered overseas, this relationship between ruler and ruled was subverted by parliament as it repeatedly appropriated and imitated the rituals of monarchy. In 1643, for instance, the citizens of London witnessed the parliamentary politicization of the ceremony, as the Earl of Essex, utilizing vice-regal modes, entered the city in a triumphal demonstration of parliamentary superiority. As with Charles’ entry, crowds were huge and jubilant, leading this paper to question whether the city was more concerned with the spectacle itself or the underlying fight for political authority, as well as the extent to which the reactions of the citizens were representative of the country as a whole.

1. **SRS Postdoctoral Fellows Panel: Early Modern Health (Chair: Alice Eardley, University of Southampton) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Jennifer Evans, University of Hertfordshire, ‘Pernicious (Pre)Pubscent Problems: Youth, Sexual health, Fertility and Masculinity in Seventeenth- Century England’**

Masculinity in early modern England rested upon the male body exhibiting potency, strength, and rationality. Understandings of the healthy male body were therefore a foundation for ideas about gender and sexuality. This paper will investigate whether there was a concern in early modern England that disorders which afflicted the male reproductive organs before or during puberty could prevent the proper and fully development of adult masculinity. It will consider whether disorders such as the stone in the bladder or testicular hernias, or their treatments, were thought to endanger the development of the male reproductive organs. In particular it will consider whether medical and surgical treatises expressed a concern that these boys would grow up to be infertile or impotent men unable to take their place as the head of a household. It will demonstrate that while certain writers expressed anxieties of this nature, this was not necessarily a widespread concern, and was consistently outweighed by concerns about the potential for diseases and treatments to kill children before achieving adulthood.

* **Sara Read, Loughborough University ‘The Antidote of that Mislikes You So’: Female Body Size and Health in Early Modern England’**

In his satire ‘To his Mistres A. L.’ (1595), Thomas Lodge claims that a female correspondent had sought his advice about how to ‘take away your pursiness [shortness of breath] and fat’. The poem goes on to describe Renaissance norms about what was considered to be ‘acceptable’ natural fat and which, conversely, was considered to be a sign of moral weakness. In other discussions of bodily size a moral aspect of one’s outward appearance is similarly assumed. For example, in her 1671 midwifery treatise, Jane Sharp commented that having large breasts could be just a natural happenstance, but equally could be caused by a woman sleeping too much and so being idle. In the same way, Sharp contends, that too much ‘handling’ of the breast encouraged blood to gather there and enlarge them. A woman’s outward appearance is here imbued with meanings about her moral conduct. This paper tests and contextualizes the Renaissance hypothesis that a natural propensity to a larger frame was fine, but if this was caused by immoderation in diet or behavior, then it was a sign of moral laxity.

* **Eleonora Carinci, Independent Scholar, ‘“Speciala alle tre stelle in Padua”: Camilla Erculiani’s *Letters on Natural Philosophy* and Scientific Debate’**

Camilla Erculiani lived in Padua in the late sixteenth century and worked with her husband at the pharmacy ‘alle tre stelle*’*, near to University. In 1584 Erculiani published *Lettere di Philosophia Naturale* (Cracow, 1584) which includes four letters, three by her, and one the physician Giorgio Garnero. The letters present ideas about the natural origins of the Flood through a number of scientific theories based on, or inspired by, Galenic and Aristotelian thought. As far as we know, Erculiani represents the unique case of Early Modern Italian female apothecary who published a book, and it is very likely that her position gave her the opportunity to meet and discuss with contemporary doctors and philosophers. My paper will considers *Lettere* in relation to the cultural networks which made possible its publication, and the role paid by Erculiani’s *spezieria* for the genesis of her work. Indeed, through an analysis of the text and other sources, it is possible to offer an idea of the role of apothecaries as spaces of exchange of ideas in Padua, as well as the role of women in ‘scientific’ debate.

1. **Staging the Supernatural (Chair: Alice Hunt, University of Southampton)**

**BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Carole Levin, University of Nebraska, ‘The Magic and Power of Turquoise in Shakespeare and English Renaissance Culture’**

One of the most poignant moments in *The Merchant of Venice* is when Shylock learns that the ring he valued above anything was not only stolen by his daughter Jessica, but traded for a monkey. Shylock cared about the ring out of sentiment; his dead wife had given it to him while he was courting her. But the turquoise, coming from Persia and Arabia, was also a valuable stone in sixteenth-century England. A 1527 inventory listed a turquoise ring valued at £10, about $5000 in today’s equivalent. Gold rings with turquoise are listed with ruby, diamond, and sapphire rings. Turquoise rings were treasured enough to be specifically listed in wills. Turquoise also had other potential values. One lapidary warned that wearing a turquoise would cause both anger and boldness; a book about health argued that wearing turquoise saved someone from slipping or falling, and if the person did fall, they would not be hurt; another text promised that wearing a turquoise ring would help staunch bleeding. Perhaps the best value of wearing a turquoise, yet another text suggested, was that wearing it would chase away troublesome thoughts. Had the ring worked this way for Shylock? His already narrowed life became far much more difficult after he lost it. This paper examines the meaning of turquoise in Shakespeare and English Renaissance culture.

* **Rachel White, Lancaster University, ‘“it shewed rather what was performed, than intended”: Staging the Mock-state of Purpoole in the *Gesta Grayorum*’**

The *Gesta Grayorum* (published 1688) chronicles the Gray’s Inn Revels of 1594-95, when the Inn of Court was transformed into an extensive playing space: the mock-state of Purpoole. Though created for a period of misrule, Purpoole can also be viewed as a utopian state in which knowledge and rationality are given precedence within the festivities. Indeed, the *Gesta Grayorum* simultaneously offers a detailed account of the revels and an ordered body-politic which refuses to condone, even in performance, the enactment of superstitious belief. The mock-trial of a sorcerer, accused of causing the events of the embarrassing ‘Night of Errors’, is not only a performance for the benefit of the disgraced state of Purpoole to regain its reputation in the eyes of the Templarians, but is a play of ‘Law-sports’ culminating in the pardon of the prisoner and the triumph of rationality over superstition. Contemporary trials concerning sorcery in the real state seldom ended with such a verdict: thus Purpoole’s reaction to sorcery as a body founded in law stands in opposition to that of the real Elizabethan state. Building on recent critical responses to the text, which have emphasized both the performative aspects and the influence of Francis Bacon, this paper considers the integral role of knowledge and rationality as a part of the ideological infrastructure of the mock-state and, by extension, of the macrocosm of the state-proper. It argues that the pomp and grandeur of the revels, and the existence of the *Gesta Grayorum*, reveal a period of misrule united with a Baconian utopian state founded upon reason.

* **Debbie Lea, INTO Manchester, ‘The Supernatural on the Stage’**

Typically in order to access the world of witchcraft and witch trials it is expected that historians will consult trial documents or didactic treatises. Yet other sources exist which can prove equally informative. Witches were a familiar feature of the early modern stage, with Shakespeare’s three hags from *Macbeth* simply being the most well-known. Witches played prominent roles in Johnson’s *The Masque of Queens* (1609), Middleton’s *The Witch* (1615-16), and Decker, Ford and Rowley’s *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621). These dramatic representations, no less than confessions, demonologies, and pamphlets, are invaluable in the quest to uncover the ‘meaning’ of witchcraft. Moreover, each theatrical venture featuring witches not only reflected fears of the unknown, but also fed into the social, political, and religious discourses. Johnson and Shakespeare’s witches were fictitious, but on occasion playwrights would dramatize contemporary cases. By focusing upon dramatic interpretations of Lancashire’s two major seventeenth-century witch trials, this paper argues that, similarly to the trials themselves, each of these interpretations absorbed and commented upon contemporary issues; the Personal Rule, Exclusion Crisis, and alleged papist conspiracies were all discussed through the medium of Lancashire’s witches. In this fashion, not only were events in Lancashire disseminated to a wider audience, but its witches became a vehicle for issues which extended far beyond the county’s borders. Confessional tensions, monarchical policies, and intellectual disputes were all addressed. Analyzing these representations reveals that what at face value appear to be amusing relics of a more superstitious age are, like the witches themselves, more complex and possess the potential to reveal much about the evolution of the representation of witches.

1. **Thomas Nashe Panel (Chair: Jennifer Richards, Newcastle University) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Andrew Hadfield, University of Sussex, ‘The Date and Meaning of *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*’**

This talk will argue that there is something unusual about the publication of *Summer*, Thomas Nashe’s only surviving sole-authored play, just as there was about its original performance before Archbishop John Whitgift at Croydon. Nashe was usually in the print shop to oversee publication of his works - hence the jibe that he was ‘Danter’s man’ - but there are no serious press corrections for *Summer*. This suggests that there might be very specific reasons for the publication of the play in late 1600. This paper analyzes the various ways in which the play might be read, and its performance reconstructed.

* **Neil Rhodes, St Andrews University, ‘Thomas Nashe on the Arts and Humanities’**

Nashe attended the college that was surely the premier institution in England for the study of the arts and humanities during the sixteenth century - St Johns College, Cambridge. He was proud of the affiliation and gave St John’s a mini-encomium in the preface to Greene’s *Menaphon*, along with a eulogy of the St Johns’ fellow, Sir John Cheke, the first Regius Professor of Greek in the university. But one of Nashe’s favourite books (as McKerrow documents), was Cornelius Agrippa’s work on the uselessness of learning, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*, which was first published in 1530 and reprinted over and over again until 1598, with an English translation appearing in 1569 (reprinted 1575). This paper discusses Nashe’s views on the arts and humanities in the light both of the St John’s academic tradition and Agrippa’s debunking of the values it represented.

* **Matthew Dimmock, University of Sussex, ‘Lingulam Terrae: Orienting Nashe’s *Lenten Stuff*** ‘

Thomas Nashe’s *Lenten Stuff* (1599) is a dazzling satiric encomium to the port town of Great Yarmouth and to the red herring caught in such quantities by the fishing fleet based there. In it Nashe deftly decentres a London-centred perspective on the world, reflecting his own recent travails in the capital, and places Yarmouth at the heart of a complex web of connections. In this one place, multiple spaces and temporalities jostle for prominence as Nashe reflects on England’s relationship with the world and in particular her fame abroad at a time of shifting political and mercantile horizons. This paper will consider these imaginative geographies and their implications, and how we might read them in terms of the ever-present red herring.

1. **Varieties of Early Music (Chair: Jeanice Brooks, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM C (67/E1001)**

* **Emily Peppers, University of Edinburgh, ‘Visualising Harmony: The Viol in French Sixteenth-century Art and Culture’**

Based on surviving archival documents, printed books and artwork, the mid-sixteenth century can be understood as a crucial period of the viol’s development and establishment within French culture. Seen as a musical instrument of cultural refinement and taste, by the 1550s it had been played in royal and ducal courts for twenty years and began to appear in the most sophisticated and extravagant pageantry and fêtes. The viol became a favourite symbol of the École de Fontainebleau, frequently depicted in illustrious stained glass commissions, drawn, painted and printed visual media. François I’s choice to employ artists of almost entirely Italian origin to decorate the walls of his palaces, maintained and developed by his son Henri II, also shaped the aesthetic style and visual programme of French visual media for generations to come. These Italian artists, at the same time working within their learned foreign styles and cultivating a decidedly new French visual language, chose the viol as one of their main symbols of music to communicate chosen mythological and allegorical programmes across a wide range of visual media. This paper examines the cultural, aesthetic, and artistic significance of the viol in sixteenth-century France.

* **Luca Guariento, University of Glasgow, ‘From the Divine Monochord to the Weather-glass: Changing Perspectives in Robert Fludd’s Musical Philosophy’**

By profession a successful doctor in medicine, Robert Fludd (1574-1637) wrote on about almost the whole spectrum of knowledge available at the time. Rooted in the so-called Platonic-Pythagorean tradition, fond of Hermetic and Rosicrucian themes, he nonetheless professed himself as a strong believer in the Church of England, with biblical exegesis a constant presence in his work. He attempted to build a coherent and consistent philosophical system in which an all-informing leitmotif is the concept of the divine harmony by which God arranged the cosmos. His work emphasized the importance of divine proportions, without which there cannot be order nor good music, and neither the world nor man can live. But to what extent is the idea of music as a tool to investigate both the macro- and the microcosm consistent throughout the Fluddean opera omnia? The divine monochord, the wonderful metaphor of both the musica mundana and musica humana illustrated in one of his first published works, is certainly one of the strongest foundations of Fludd’s philosophy. However, his work as a physician influences his later writings as another more scientifically up-to-date instrument - the weather-glass - assumes importance. This paper reveals the ways it is used both metaphorically and practically in many contexts with a single aim: defending and demonstrating a view of the world which, in the first half of the seventeenth century, was being inexorably challenged by new ideas, new cosmologies, and new discoveries.

* **Andrew Pinnock, University of Southampton, ‘Varieties of English Opera, 1650-1700’**

Two large gaps in the evidence base on which early English opera historians depend have recently been filled. Beth Glixon’s work on the ‘English *Erismena*’ shows that, though skilfully made and eminently performable, the English translation/adaptation of Francesco Cavalli’s all-sung Italian opera *L’Erismena* (1655) was never intended for professional production. Work by Bryan White and Andrew Pinnock (independent but complementary) shows that Henry Purcell’s *Dido & Aeneas* - whatever happened to it subsequently - originated as a court masque in the closing years of Charles II’s reign. With these two key uncertainties resolved it should now be possible to construct a more convincing account of the development of English opera in its first fifty years of existence than any previously available. This presentation identifies areas where the revisionist research agenda has most to offer, and shares recent research on these ideas.

**10.30-11 Coffee in Garden Court**

**11-12.15 Plenary 3: Wendy Heller, Princeton University,** **‘Sylvan Song: The *Locus Amoenus* in Seicento Opera’ (Chair: Peter Mack, SRC Chair and Director of the Warburg Institute) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE THEATRE (67/1027)**

* + 1. **Buffet lunch in Garden Court**
    2. **Session 8**

1. **Literature and Politics in the 1630s and 1640s (Chair: Ceri Sullivan, University of Cardiff) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE B (02/1083)**

* **Cian O' Mahony, University College Cork, ‘Writing and Performing Militarism in the works of Ralph Knevet’**

This paper focuses on the public and private writings of Ralph Knevet, the Norfolk clergyman who extensively imitated the poetry of Edmund Spenser and George Herbert in the early 1630s. The paper will concentrate specifically on Knevet's reception of contemporary instructional military literature, imported and translated from the continental originals through notable Norfolk figures such as Jan Cruso. The paper demonstrates the importance of such didactic military texts, and their general aim of galvanising English support for the pan-European Protestant cause, for a writer such as Knevet, who ambitiously sought to complete Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* with a three-book addition, *A Supplement of the Faerie Queene* (1635). By analysing the impression didactic texts circulating within the literary sphere of Norfolk had on the production of native epic and dramatic texts, this paper demonstrates how pragmatic and educational Protestant military literature influenced Knevet's representation of anachronistic chivalric romance. They infuse his work with a sense of realism and purpose in an attempt to recuperate the mode of political allegory to comment on the foreign policies of Charles I. The description or performance of military activity within the text will also be the focus of an analysis of Knevet's reception of masque and pastoral traditions in his drama, *Rhodon and Iris* (1631), performed for the 'Florist's Feast' in Norwich, the only such record of a dramatic performance in the city since the visit of Queen Elizabeth in the previous century.

* **Colin Lahive, University College Cork, ‘“Those blest / And Halcion dayes”: History and Contemporary Politics in Thomas May’s *The Victorious Reigne of King Edward the Third*’**

This paper discusses Thomas May’s *Victorious Reigne of King Edward the Third* (1635). Commissioned by Charles I following May’s *Continuation of Lucan’s Historical Poem* (1630), which was written in a politically sensitive manner that appealed to the king, the poem provides a remarkable insight into the politics of the personal rule. Although on one level the poem valorizes royal authority through a portrayal of the positive aspects and successes of Edward’s reign up to the point when ‘his fortune beganne to decline’, a closer examination of the text reveals the ways in which it turns the rhetoric and visual language of the court back upon itself in order to challenge the legitimacy of the king’s absolutist policies.

1. **Pirates, Docks, and Executions: Early Modern Watery Worlds (Chair: Claire Jowitt, University of Southampton) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE C (02/1085)**

* **Jemima Matthews, Nottingham University, ‘Performing the River Thames on Stage and Page’**

This paper considers the space of St Katherine’s dock and questions what it means to perform this space in different settings: on both private and public stages, and in archival sources. The paper discusses the dock ina court masque, a city comedy, a set of legal depositions, and a plan of riverside properties. Via a close analysis of these four sources it analyzes the ways in which this particular river site functioned in the cultural imagination. The performance of the dock in Ben Jonson’s *The Masque of Augurs* (1622) is contrasted to the way in which the site features on the public stage in the ship wreck of *Eastward Ho!* (1605) by Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston.The paper discusses how local trades and sites of cultural production within the area are navigated in both private and public performances. This form of site performance is contrasted to the way in which the same local nodal points are negotiated in a plan of riverside property prepared as part of an Exchequer Case (c.1590) and the set of legal depositions from another case (17 November 1589 - 16 November 1590).

* **Sue Jones, Birkbeck, ‘Pirate Executions’**

Executions for the crime of piracy were a regular occurrence in early modern London. These were highly ritualized performances, involving a procession of the condemned pirates from their prison, through the streets of London, ending at the scaffold at Execution Dock in Wapping. Taking as its focus the 1583 hanging of the pirates Purser and Clinton, this paper is a reading of Execution Dock as performative space, and an examination of how the principal actors in these scaffold dramas used this space to assert their own different identities. Execution Dock has received relatively little attention from scholars in comparison to that afforded to other sites of execution such as Tyburn. Punishment for crimes at sea fell under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Admiralty which demonstrated its authority through execution rituals which significantly differed from those for terrestrial crimes. The execution ceremony was a performance which expressed maritime identity throughout, enhanced by the presence of officers of the Admiralty court performing their duties in full regalia, carrying the ceremonial silver oar of the Admiralty court. Holding these executions in Wapping, home to a large community of sailors, and in full view of anchored ships was intended as a warning to any who might be tempted to take up a life of piracy - but it also meant that the pirates were playing on familiar territory to a crowd of their peers. Pirate executions were public performances with spectators watching from the riverside and from boats on the river. There was a general expectation that condemned prisoners should achieve a ‘good death’ by confession and repentance – but would pirates, supposed enemies of all mankind, adhere to this role? Many condemned pirates did submit to the authority of both Admiralty and God; others played a different part - attempting to subvert the authority of the state and the execution ritual through their use of gesture, clothing, or speech. This paper discusses the efforts of the Admiralty to control the space of Execution Dock through ritual, and the pirates’ attempts to claim the space as their own.

* **Samantha Frénée, Orléans University, ‘The Female Pirate’s Recourse to Justice: Petitioning the Monarch’**

This paper focuses on two scenes in which female pirates petition the monarch for justice: first, the famous historical meeting between Grace O’Malley, the pirate queen of western Ireland, and Queen Elizabeth I of England (and Ireland) in 1593; second, the fictional meeting between Bess Bridges and Mullisheg, the King of Fez in Thomas Heywood’s play, *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I* (c. 1597-1603). It addresses the ways judicial access to a monarch by a pirate is possible, and whether such access is restricted by gender and class? O’Malley’s access to Elizabeth was due in part to her social connections, but may also have been motivated by personal interest on the part of Elizabeth herself, keen to meet another female ‘monarch’ of her own age and an infamous pirate to boot. In the case of Heywood’s play, the heroine is from the bottom of the social scale; a tavern maid, and her access to the king is due to her beauty and the king’s sexual desire for her, a desire which leads him to place her next to him in the position of a queen when dealing out justice at court. In these incidents, the political process of petitioning the monarch for redress and favours takes place in the performative space of the royal court and can be seen as the monarch’s public stage as law-giver for his or her people. The paper also discusses the interconnections between the two scenes. Bess, as a law-giver (with Mullisheg) and representative of the English nation and its foreign policy, is an allegory for Elizabeth, but could Bess, as both pirate-queen and ‘fair maid of the west’, also have been inspired by Grace O’Malley’s exploits as the pirate-queen of the far west of the ‘English’ Isles, and who also managed to negotiate her place in England’s foreign policy? By looking at the circulation of cultural energy in the literary and non-literary texts, this paper will reveal the cross-currents of references between O’Malley, Edmund Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, Philip Sydney’s letters and literary works, and Heywood’s *Fair Maid of the West.*

1. **Performance and in Art and Poetry (Chair: Gaby Neher, University of Nottingham) BUILDING 2, ARTS LECTURE THEATRE D (02/1089)**

* **Joanne Anderson, University of Sussex, ‘Woven Bonds: Kinship Imagery in the Early Renaissance’**

Italian society was rooted in the family. The bonds of kin were defined and performed in diverse spaces, not least in parish churches and chapels. In addition to their function as sites of devotion, commemoration, and burial, the expansive walls offered families opportunities to construct and display their position within local communities. Fourteenth-century Bolzano was no exception to the general rule, but the difference lies in the detail. Unusually, its sacred walls play host to a number of cycles and votive images of the Virgin Mary’s parents, her own girlhood, and her extended family. While critics have discussed the influences of migratory Venetian masters in the artistic production of this cross-cultural town, the design of these visual programmes, their tailored iconography, and likely function over time and space merits attention. Through a series of interlinked case studies, this paper presents the appropriation of the *sacra familia* and the activity of weaving as a vehicle for patriarchal care and social status, and in so doing, solves a riddle of *ius patronatus*. More broadly, it offers a reflection on the development of kinship imagery and its relation to the performance of family values in early Renaissance Italy.

* **Catherine Hunt, University of Bristol, ‘Holes and Cavities in Early Modern Art: the Viewer’s Response’**

In a number of Netherlandish and German paintings of the early modern period we find striking holes or cavities in the ground abutting the lower picture frame, some of which are covered by a grill or approached by steps. Many of the earliest examples are found in depictions of the Adoration of the Magi, but later instances can be found in paintings of a variety of religious and moralizing themes. The contents of the hole are largely left to the viewer’s imagination, and so this space is one that engages the viewer in a different way to that of the more explicitly defined zones elsewhere in the picture. Furthermore, the placing of these holes, contiguous with the viewer’s space, raises interesting questions about the relationship between the viewer and the figures and events depicted. This paper explores whether the practices of staging religious drama provides a way of interpreting these spaces. In visual representations of dramatic performance there is some evidence of a shared visual vocabulary, most obviously in the concepts of hellmouths and limbo. It also proposes that the placing of these painted holes, at the boundary between viewer and viewed, can be compared to the relatively fluid dynamic between actors and audience in religious drama, which tended to be modelled more on participation than spectatorship. The re-use of these devices in later moralizing art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may also be understood as a ‘staging’ of a moral dilemma, where the illusionistic space is converted into a place where the viewer actively participates in, rather than merely observes, the dilemma presented. Picture spaces are understood as performative as they evoke experiences of participation in dramatic performance, acts of witness, or moral decision-making.

* **Joel Swann, HSMC, Hong Kong, ‘Suck ev’ry letter’: George Herbert and the Written Word’**

Beneath George Herbert’s theorizations of language and poetic style, lies an interest in writing that extends to the most basic conceptions of the written text. Letters and words can be something grand and imposing, when made by God or inadequate and meager when made by man. What is more striking is the poet’s interest in the way meaning can be separated out into words, words into letters, and on occasion, letters into their component strokes. Poems like ‘IESU’ and ‘Love-Joy’ show obscure and fragmented characters gradually forming themselves into transcendent wholes, suggesting the poet’s faith in the fundamental ‘integrity’ of the written word (Miller-Blaise). Yet a number of other poems are deeply involved with the opposite: processes of fragmentation, of meaningful words being broken down. The results are not necessarily negative: in ‘Church-Monuments’, the speaker hopes that his body ‘may learn / To spell his elements’ by closely inspecting the dust hidden by a gravestone. Like the Bible, an important meaning of the body lies not in an appreciation of the text, but understanding its most minute ‘elements’. If they have a meaning, it is not to do with something other than what designated signification is. This paper investigates the preference for fragmentation over integration that is often seen in Herbert’s theory of writing. It suggests that writing’s most valuable aspect may be simply in its inscription and production, and not the meaning to which it is supposed to point. An interest in letters and less suggests that Herbert’s writing is bound up with a language of division and fragmentation (words like ‘part’, ‘dust’, ‘frame’, ‘parcel’) that are some of the most conspicuous and remarkable aspects of his poetry in general.

1. **Site-Specific Performance and Spaces (Chair: John McGavin, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM A (67/1003)**

* **Nancy Alexandra M. Johnson, University of Edinburgh, ‘Mary Stuart’s State Apartments at Holyrood as Performative Space’**

When Mary Stuart returned to Scotland to assume her personal reign in August 1561, accompanying her was a flotilla of more than a dozen ships. This convoy transported not only an extensive Valois household of artisans and other specialists, but also ‘furnishings befitting a queen of France’ as part of her provisions as queen dowager of France. Masquing clothes with gold fringe ornamentation were packed alongside dozens of antiquity-themed tapestries and beds of estate. Her Valois cargo would provide the stage set for the *mis-en-scene* of monarchical enactment at her state apartments. Following thirteen years at the French court, Mary faced enormous challenges in Scotland. After deposing her Regent the previous year, her magnates then ran Scotland as a semi-republic, and shortly before her return, they wrote to offer her their loyalty while simultaneously pledging Elizabeth their support. Accordingly, it was critical that Mary quickly assert sovereign authority over her subjects to gain control of her kingdom. Moving into Holyrood, Mary immediately set about rearranging James V’s layout to accommodate the room distribution necessary for the theatrical performance of royal daily life. For this performative space, she designed a daily court schedule for the enactment of monarchy, applying the programme Catherine de Medici would also later recommend for her son. Mary drew her court to Holyrood and kept them happy with a full schedule of courtly events and entertainments. Reflecting Stewart style, Mary had her court become performers in this enactment of monarchy, not merely audience. This paper assesses how Mary fashioned her performative space for the spectacle of daily court life and to assert sovereign authority.

* **Stuart Morrison, University of Kent, ‘An Audience’s “good hands” and the Politics of Site-Specific Performance’**

This paper first uses the induction scene from Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* in order to see how theatrical spaces were used to forge a relationship between audience and actors. The paper also explores how the induction scene uses the collective memory of the theatre-going public to define this relationship. From this the paper establishes a model of the early modern stage as a space for negotiations between performers and playgoers. The site-specific aspect of the paper comes from textual examinations of the play *Sir Thomas More* found in Harley MS 7368 and Shakespeare’s *All is True, or Henry VIII*. By looking at the early performance history of the plays, or lack thereof, this paper aims to show the concerns around spatial and temporal proximity of drama to its source. By viewing scenes of public spectacle as potentially dangerous, and by considering the reign of Henry VIII as a taboo subject in public discussions, this paper argues that issues of memory, time, and space are key to the understanding of these texts in their early modern context.

* **Shanyn Leigh Altman, University of Sussex, ‘There in the womb we are fitted for works of darkness’: Performances of Evil in Donne’s Dark Spaces**

In John Donne’s final sermon *Death’s Duell* the womb is presented as a hostile environment that nurtures evil and cruelty. Based on the biblical comparison of the womb and the grave, Donne explores the paradox that as man is born so he begins to die ‘manifold deaths’ by being delivered from one womb into another – from the maternal womb, into the body, into the grave. Through the use of conflated images of life and death, womb and grave, Donne creates a suspended space in which the soul is tormented by the corruption of the flesh. This paper will examine the representation of the womb in *Death’s Duell* as a prison from which no man can escape until he is ‘delivered’ into the afterlife, and will argue that, in this work, the ingestion of sinful blood provided as nourishment from womb to tomb can lead to a living martyrdom.

1. **Seventeenth-Century Romance (Chair: Nandini Das, University of Liverpool) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE ROOM B (67/1007)**

* **Catrin Griffiths, Birkbeck College, ‘Interregnum Romances’**

The aftermath of the Civil War saw a flowering of political romance. Writers such as Richard Brathwaite (*Panthalia*, 1659), Sir Percy Herbert (*Cloria and Narcissus*, 1653/4, *The Princess Cloria*, 1661), and William Sales (*Theophania*, 1645/55) produced lengthy romans à clef that sought to fictionalize recent history from a Royalist perspective. Interregnum political romance is often framed by scholars as an ideologically closed chronicle of defeat and loyalty. However, these romances demonstrate a qualified adherence to the king’s cause. Rather than marshalling the devotional strategies of royalist elegy to canonize an executed king, they interrogate the uses of political power. This paper reads the execution block as the extreme performance space of power as interregnum romances, notably Herbert’s *Cloria* and Brathwaite’s *Panthalia*, return time and again to the scaffold. The paper considers how post-Civil War romance’s restaging of execution partly cedes political authority to the crowd, and questions the extent to which the narration participates in pamphlet accounts of executions. In the years following the regicide, romance rescue from the executioner’s sword becomes unavailable as a strategy within historical fiction. The scaffold, not the battlefield, becomes the primary space where heroism is performed, created, or, significantly, denied.

* **Alice Eardley, University of Southampton, ‘I tore some old papers; among others, a romance’: Recovering the Lost History of Mid-Seventeenth-Century English Romance**

It is well known that the heroic romances produced by French writers including Gautier de Costes de la Calprenède and Madeleine de Scudéry were extremely popular in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. There is, however, a surprising absence of English imitations of these works, which are usually based around ‘true’ historical narratives and the lives of historical figures. At present, the best known exception to this rule is Roger Boyle’s *Parthenissa* (1655). Exploring a series of case studies, this paper will suggest that we have been looking in the wrong place for English versions of the popular French romances and will demonstrate that, while numerous examples of English imitations of French romance may not have been printed, there was a healthy culture of manuscript circulation of these works. Robert Boyle was reading and circulating his brother’s romance in manuscript long before it ever came to print; Lady Hester Pulter composed her own proto-feminist imitation of Scudéry’s romances for circulation within her own family; and Sir Henry North wrote and circulated his own manuscript romance, *Eroclea*, amongst friends and associates, several of whom produced critical responses or recorded sections of the work in their commonplace books. These manuscripts offer a glimpse of a lost chapter in the history of fictional prose in England and have much to reveal about the ways people understood and were responding to works produced across the channel.

* **V.L. Forsyth, Tulane University, New Orleans, ‘Pastoral Drama and Seventeenth-Century Seascapes; Or, the Most “strange surprising” Source for *Robinson Crusoe*’**

Have you ever thought about leaving your cares and responsibilities behind you, running away from it all to reinvent yourself as a bartender on a beach in Mexico? Apparently this is a common desire: a Google search reveals this very dream as ‘Escape Fantasy 17’ in the ‘Escape From Corporate America’ blog. Even if Mexico is not your dream, have you ever fantasized about escaping to some tropical island? Many people today would reply in the affirmative - so many that it is surprising to realize that this was not always the case. In the sixteenth century islands were held in suspicion as those wishing to escape it all fantasized about running away and becoming shepherds. This paper explores what happened to cause tastes to change from a preference for pastoral settings to a preference for tropical islands.Conventional wisdom would have it that this change in taste was a response to the eighteenth-century European discovery of Tahiti. I argue that the change began much earlier; that, in fact, it began with the shipwreck of *The Sea Venture* on Bermuda in 1609. I will trace the impact of recent travellers’ tales of Bermuda on Shakespeare’s *Tempest* and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger’s *The Sea Voyage*, two plays that developed a kind of maritime pastoral by crossing conventional pastoral drama with the new uninhabited island setting. The distinction between landscapes and seascapes thus breaks down, as the desert island setting of the seventeenth-century stage turns out to have evolved from earlier pastoral drama. Indeed, many of the tropes that ensured Tahiti had such a strong impact on the European imagination (including its beautiful setting, mild climate, and licentious women) can be shown to have their roots in seventeenth-century plays set on desert islands that combined pastoral drama with accounts of the Bermuda shipwreck. Incidentally, both *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage*, travelling a circuitous route that takes in Thomas Shadwell’s operatic version of *The Tempest* in 1674 and Henry Neville’s *Isle of Pines*, can also be shown to have had an influence on Robinson Crusoe’s island, a fact so little known that David Fausett does not mention it in *The Strange Surprizing Sources of Robinson Crusoe*.

1. **Renaiassance versus Risorgimento in Italy: A Comparison of Political Thought and Historic Debate (Chair: Chris Woolgar, University of Southampton and Director CMRC) BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM B (06/1081)**

The word ‘Risorgimento’ was used for the first time in the eighteenth century to designate that period of Italian history that we now call the Renaissance. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the publication of sixteenth-century political texts recalled the glorious epoch in which Italy fought against foreign emperors and the population reacted against oppression with courage and pride. The crisis that characterized Italy in those years revealed to contemporaries many analogies with the climate of uncertainty and anxiety that pervaded the late Renaissance: in both cases dramatic scenarios sparked an urgent need to identify new political solutions. With the neo-Guelph illusion shattered, the issue of national identity and the creation of a united State returned to the top of the agenda: in the inception phase of the Risorgimento process, the historic debate was re-launched from Renaissance political philosophy.

* **Maria Elena Severini, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Firenze,** **‘The “magnanimi consigli”: The First Nineteenth-Century editions of Francesco Guicciardini’s *Ricordi***

In the early decades of the nineteenth century Francesco Guicciardini’s *Ricordi*, published towards the end of the sixteenth century, returned to Italian bookshops and libraries in new garb, culminating in Giuseppe Canestrini’s national edition. The political maxims of the Italian historian, set amidst other important works for the birth of modern Italian political thought, offer up the image of the Florentine writer that circulated in the period leading to Italian unification. To the eyes of nineteenth-century readers, Guicciardini’s advice to the ruling class represented a clear example of the realpolitik, laicality, and liberalism that characterized late-Renaissance political thought. In this way, such editions become a mirror through which two crucial periods in Italian history can be compared.

* **Christian Satto, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, ‘Toscanina and Italy: the Political Value of Giuseppe Canestrini’s Edition of Guicciardini’**

The nineteenth-century edition of Guicciardini’s works edited by Giuseppe Canestrini that was published in Florence between 1857 and 1866 deserves particular attention from scholars of Italian political history at the time of Unification. The *Introduction* to the work is of considerable political value and offers a cogent link with the contemporary scenario. On the one hand it retrieves the Tuscan political tradition prior to the principality as an indication of the independence of Tuscany from the Hapsburg grand-ducal dynasty, totally aligned with Austria at the time. In the second place, it illustrates an interesting attempt to restore dignity to a lay, anticlerical and anti-secularist strand of political thought and to use it to interpret contemporary reality. In the contextualisation of Guicciardini at the hands of Canestrini, who was always close to the moderate liberal Tuscan group, we can glimpse the debates, ideas and aspirations behind the Tuscan political culture of the time.

1. **‘Pitch Perfect: How, Where, and What to Publish’ BUILDING 6, NUFFIELD LECTURE ROOM C (06/1083)**

This session is devoted to thinking about how best to publish early modern material, and to thinking in particular about the differences between academic and trade publishing, and writing for general rather than specialist readers. With the rise of the impact agenda, many academics are exploring the variety of ways in which they can package and publish their work. This panel/workshop, will be led by two industry experts and two academics who write cross-over books. They will discuss a range of publishing strategies, opportunities and pitfalls, from submitting articles to top-notch journals to identifying a commercial book idea and approaching literary agents. There will be plenty of time for questions and contributions from the audience.

* **Catherine Clarke is an agent and managing director at Felicity Bryan Associates in Oxford, and former Publishing Director at Oxford University Press (Trade Books Department)**
* **Jennifer Richards (University of Newcastle) is the Editor of *Renaissance Studies* and a CUP and Routledge author who has also published essays in some of the major history and literature journals in the US.**
* **Anna Whitelock (RHUL) is the author of *Mary I: England's First Queen* and *Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court*, both published by Bloomsbury**
* **Alice Hunt (University of Southampton) is a CUP author and is now writing *England's Republic, 1649-1660* for Faber and Faber**

**2.30-3 TEA in Garden Court**

**3-4.15 Plenary 4: Greg Walker, University of Edinburgh, ‘*A Satire of the Three Estates*: Renaissance Scotland's Best Kept Secret’ (Chair: George Bernard, University of Southampton) BUILDING 67, NIGHTINGALE LECTURE THEATRE (67/1027)**