"On the Periphery of the Reformation"

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Abstracts
(in alphabetical order)

Marvin L. Anderson (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies) "Beyond 'Babel and Fable': Jacob Boehme's Spiritualist Censure of the *Mund-Christen* and 'Historical Faith'"
Though frequently reviled as "a Fanatic, Enthusiast, and Visionary" a century after the German Reformation, the "unlearned" shoemaker and Lusatian mystic, Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), was enamoured with Lutheran theology and Luther himself, to whom he was occasionally likened a second Luther. Boehme was outspoken, however, in lamenting the abject failure of the Lutheran Church in completing its mission of reform. By the mid-sixteenth century the Catholic Church's notorious dependence on external observances had been replaced by a new externality of faith in salvation achieved by a largely verbal confession. Boehme decried the "dead letters" and "*gleisnerische Babel*" of Lutheran Orthodoxy, and inveighed against the "*Mund-Christen*" who claim that it is enough for salvation if Christians merely know and believe that Christ has died for them, without allowing him to actually change their lives. Like the Spiritualists before him, Caspar Schwenckfeld and Valentin Weigel, Boehme wanted to overcome the "historical faith."

Pamela Arancibia (University of Toronto) "The literal-moral exegetical tradition in the illustrations of Nicolò Malerbi's *Biblia vulgare istoriata*"
The *Biblia vulgarizata* (1471) was the first vernacular pandect Bible to be published in Italy. This translation by Camaldolese monk Nicolò Malerbi (1422-1481) fell within the increasingly popular exegetical tradition that favoured the literal and moral senses of Scripture over the typological one. In 1490, a fully-illustrated Malerbi's translation was printed: the *Biblia vulgare istoriata*. This paper compares the *istoriata*'s woodcuts with pictures from other popular Bible types like the *Bible moralisée* and the so-called *Biblia pauperum*. In a parallel process to the text, the iconography shifted away from the allegorical tradition, instead emphasising historic episodes and moral exempla. Additionally, the paper argues that text and image worked together to reaffirm this mode of interpretation for a mass audience, thus playing a role in propelling many Italian religious thinkers along the road to Reformation.

Benjamin Jerry Bandosz (University of Toronto) "Paracelsus' Alchemical Reformation and Hobbesian State Craft"
Late sixteenth-century England experienced a renaissance of alchemical interest. Alchemy underwent a reassessment during the Scientific Revolution and was pursued in earnest, far from being the mystical and cultish art contemporary scholars believe it to be; it "was a current topic" for men of letters in the early modern era (Linden 104). Thomas Hobbes was composing his political treatises during this time of alchemic allure and employed the rationalism of a nascent Cartesian paradigm. It is, however, negligent to tersely dismiss the alchemic context of the

political philosopher. Many alchemists in early seventeenth-century England were Royalists who sought political and religious unity of Protestants and Catholics through their art; issues central to Hobbes's Royalist-backed discourse. An alchemical residue lines the pages of *Leviathan*—the treatise's discourse resembles a transmutative art of nature. I will show how Hobbes's political philosophy conjures up alchemical theories of the homunculus and rest, among other suspect *chymical* traces.

Catherine Bates (University of Warwick) "Less is More: Sidney's Reading of the *Utopia*"
This paper unpacks Sidney's account of More's *Utopia* in the *Defence of Poesy*. What appears to be an idealist reading of More's text (spelled "Eutopia" in all contemporary versions of the *Defence*, including manuscript copies) is shown to be highly problematic, but not—or not only— for the confessional reasons often proposed by way of explanation (a Protestant poet's support for a Catholic martyr). Rather, an analysis of the *Defence* reveals Sidney's surprising sympathies with the thoroughgoing critique of idealism that More mounts in his text—above all in his identification of the money form as its principal agent and exemplification—such that Sidney's idealist, "golden" poetics is shown to mask a quite different and politically more radical position. Modern readings of the *Utopia*—especially those as politically divergent as Greenblatt and Jameson—will provide the lens through which to analyse the idealist aesthetic and its alternatives in both historical and contemporary articulations.

Sebastiano Bazzichetto (University of Toronto) "Stabat Virgo Dolorosa: New Symbolism in Italian *Lacrimae* Genre"
When we speak of the Reformation that began in Germany in 1517, we cannot forget its Italian counterpart, the Counter Reformation, also known as Catholic Reformation that officially took place some thirty years later. In poetry, after 1517, the meaning, the content and the symbolism of the genre of *Lacrimae* changes slightly but relentlessly, especially with regard to the portrayal of the Virgin Mary as mother of God. By taking into account R. Campeggi's *Lacrime di Maria Vergine* (1618), this paper aims at highlighting the changes of main literary features of the genre from Da Todi's *Stabat mater* to Campeggi's *Lacrime di Maria Vergine* to Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* so as to remark the influence of Reformation and Counter Reformation's religious principles not only upon visual arts but also on poetry and music.

Lucilla Bonavita (Rome, Italy) "The Reformed Man in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*"
Just a year after the first edition of Ariosto's epic poem *Orlando furioso* (1516), the Protestant Reformation spearheaded by Martin Luther in 1517 will begin to separate the local church from the Church in Rome, the laity from the clergy. With the Church, the sacraments, and the clergy no longer an absolute necessity, the individual believer is free to develop a more personal relationship with the Divinity. The "Mystery" of God can now be reach without benefit of a mediator. This sort of individualism is present not only in the Protestant sphere, but also among Catholics sensitive to the suggestions and echos of Lutheran thought. Gone is the belief in working hard to obtain a greater good or faith in a final, positive outcome. The uncertitude that follows marks the beginning of modernity, characterized by the uncertainty of knowledge, the fragility of human relations, and disappearance of God from history. This presentation will examine Ariosto's epic poem in light of these categories so as to focus our attention on those characters in the *Furioso* that seem to most significantly reflect in themselves and in their

relationship with other characters in the poem this moment of existence on the eve of the Reformation.

Holly Borham (Princeton University) "*Law and Grace* at 80: The Evolution of the Quintessential Lutheran Image"
Developed in concert with Martin Luther in 1529, Lucas Cranach's *Law and Grace* composition encapsulates early Lutheran theology. The bifurcated image succinctly presents key episodes in salvation history through the opposition of law and good works to grace and faith. The highly influential painting and subsequent woodcut version demonstrate the sanction of didactic imagery amongst Lutherans in the early years of the Reformation. Didacticism in painted imagery was paralleled by the simplicity of early Lutheran worship spaces, which allowed the congregation to focus on the preached Word of God. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, to the casual observer, some Lutheran spaces seemed indistinguishable from Catholic ones. This paper will consider the evolution of Lutheran aesthetics over the course of the sixteenth century, primarily by focusing on the Bückeburg palace chapel (completed 1609), every surface of which is covered with paint, polychromed and gilded wood or marble. Along with didacticism, the central dichotomy of *Law and Grace* was abandoned in favour of other more emotive devotional practices and themes. I will address to what extent spaces and images are coded as "Lutheran" in the early seventeenth century, in the face of challenges mounted by Calvinism and the Catholic Reformation.

Elena Brizio (Georgetown University – Fiesole Campus) "On the Eve of Collapse: Siena after Pandolfo Petrucci"
Shortly after the death of its only recognized lord, Pandolfo Petrucci "the Magnificent" (who ruled the city from 1497 to 1512), Siena started its slow descent into a political crisis that ended fortythree years later with its final military defeat by Florence and the end of the centuries-old republic as the city and its territory were incorporated into the Duchy of Florence (1557). An ancient and important city republic, geographically and strategically located at the crossroad of central Italy, in the beginning of the sixteenth century Siena was facing its worst political predicament to date. After a long series of democratic governments based on a rapid turnover of public appointments, and the new, more recent experience of a 'narrow' government in which only a few people carefully chosen by the city's "signore" would have a say in government, Siena failed to find a suitable political structure that would prevent its collapse into anarchy. This paper will analyze the early sixteenth-century debate between supporters of the both the "large" and the "narrow" forms of government, and will try to point to the political causes of the republic's eventual collapse and disappearance.

Andrew S. Brown (Yale University) "The Metaphysics and Politics of Ensoulment in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*"
One of the scenes of combat that punctuate *The Faerie Queene* (1596) ends as the soul of a slain competitor does not fly to hell or heaven but rather "through traduction" penetrates the body of his brother, "In whom he liu'd a new" (4.3.13). The term "traduction" acquired charged associations in sixteenth-century England with the resurgence of traducian views, which challenged the Reformation consensus that God was the creator of human spirits by claiming that not only the body but the soul of each person was generated by parents at the moment of conception. By analyzing episodes from *The Faerie Queene* in which spirits are created,

transmitted, and even reborn, this study argues that Spenser engages with pre-Reformation tensions between theories of conception which claimed that children were subject to the ancestors who created them, body and soul, and discourses which insisted upon the right to ownership of one's spirit.

Tom Clayton, PhD candidate (Princeton University) "Accessory Knowledge: Adiaphora and Rustication in the Poetry of George Herbert"
Since Rosemond Tuve's 1952 study of *The Temple* and the English liturgy, critics have read George Herbert's collection alongside a polemical literature concerned with *adiaphora,* or "things indifferent." By this reading, the poems test positions within contemporary debates about the aesthetics, legitimacy, and efficacy of religious ceremony and practice. Rather than map Herbert's verse onto debates about church discipline, this paper treats Herbert's poems themselves *as* adiaphora, as performed and accessory facets of liturgical worship. I locate Herbert's collection, and his decision to retire to a country parish, in the context of English separatist churches interested in Erasmus's broad, irenic understanding of *indifference.* Little Gidding, where *The Temple* was first published, is the key example. This paper revisits Herbert's *Temple* in order to think about Erasmian indifference as the imaginative grounds for religious pluralism, with the purpose of understanding the lineage of the pluralism we inhabit today.

Matthew da Mota (University of Toronto) "Ownership and Dominion: Vitoria's Conception of Sovereignty and the Influence of Pre-Reformation Colonial Thought on the Political Philosophy of Grotius and Hobbes"
Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes are considered the first theorists of Law and Sovereignty. Much of their work, however, focuses on sovereignty and the rights of sovereign states; ideas that Francisco de Vitoria began to develop nearly a century earlier in his works *De Indis* and *De Jure belli Hispanorum in barbaros*. These works developed from the need for European states to create a legal framework to govern their new colonial projects in the Americas, as well as responding to the religious and political shifts occurring in Europe on the eve of the Reformation. This paper will argue that the context of colonialism and the religious-political shifts leading to the Reformation, were essential in shaping Vitoria's theories. Furthermore, Vitoria's work would fundamentally shape Grotius's and Hobbes's theories; particularly the importance of Eurocentric conceptions of commerce, property, and profit as essential aspects of their definitions of civil society and sovereignty.

Clorinda Donato (California State University, Long Beach) "'God, How Great is the Arrgance of an Augustinian Friar': Constructing Luther in Naples, 1700"
This paper analyzes and contextualizes a 99-page manuscript biography of Martin Luther written circa 1700 in or near Naples entitled *Il Nascimento di Fra' Martino Lutero* (*The Birth of Martin Luther*). It presents an anecdotal biography of the sixteenth-century priest from Wittenburg whose ninety-five theses denouncing the Catholic Church, nailed to his door on 31 October 1517 forever changed the religious and political landscape of early modern Europe. This manuscript adds a bourgeois voice to the several erudite Italian biographies written about Luther from the time of his death in 1546 until the end of the eighteenth century. It provides a unique testimony to the reception of Luther and his teachings and the rhetorical weapons, such as this biography,

that were constructed to combat him. The manuscript also elucidates a number of little known facts about the view of heretics and reformation culture in early modern Southern Italy. The areas of Luther's life upon which the anonymous biographer focuses shed light on the preoccupations of the society contemporary to its writing, paramount among them his arrogance and lack of consideration for the pope, problems that plagued the Church in the early-modern Kingdom of Naples. The devil in Luther, as well as the heavy emphasis on gender roles in the description of Luther's wife, a former nun, and their married life and religious work together, bring up the timeless question of women's role in the Church; the biographer's considerations and treatment of Luther's attack on papal abuses and the selling of indulgences by church officials show us to what extent the issue of faith versus money still ignited debate across all walks of life in early-modern Italy. Ultimately, this manuscript offers a salient example of the means used to persuade the less erudite to steer clear of heresy, and to embrace Catholicism uncritically, a goal that would never be reached in the Kingdom of Naples.

Abdullah Farooqi (University of Toronto) "The View from the Edge: The Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries in Islamic Discourse"
Just as the European world was deeply defined by the events preceding 1517, so too were the Islamic lands immediately surrounding the Mediterranean: 1492 saw the fall of Muslim Granada to the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, and 1501-1502 witnessed the creation of the Spanish *moriscos*; in the first decade of the 16th century, the North African Wattasid dynasty began to crumble in the face of the millenarian Sa'adians; and in 1517, the Mamlūk Sultanate of Egypt was conquered by the Ottomans. By examining contemporary and later Islamic chronicles, this paper seeks to explore how this period of history was seen by those outside European lands. In particular, this paper inspects some of the ways in which Islamic writers recorded and remembered the profound changes experienced by Spanish Muslims before the onset of the Reformation, especially in the context of Spanish interactions with North Africa and Egypt.

David B. Goldstein (York University) "Educating the Humanist Stomach in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*"
From the perspective of humanist childhood education, food is one of the main instruments of discipline and learning. In More's *Utopia*, children up to the age of five sit separately from their parents, while older children either act as waitstaff or "stand by in absolute silence" and wait for their elders to hand them whatever food they deem fitting (Norton, 2nd, 43). Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium*—which Norbert Elias famously made the cornerstone of his magnum opus, *The Civilizing Process*—counsels that "It is a good thing to wait a short while before eating, so that the boy grows accustomed to tempering his affects" (Elias 2000, 76). Rabelais' Gargantua eats with wanton excess until Pantagruel reins him in by using the table as the first and most important stage (in all its meanings) of humanist learning. Vernacular pre-Reformation texts such as Caxton's *Booke of Curtesye* also promulgate the idea that, along with the schoolhouse, the table is the chief scene of instruction for children, especially boys, in the arts of civility and self-governance. In Shakespeare's plays, by vivid contrast, the attempt to use food to discipline and civilize children often clashes with children's use of food for far other means—in the service of erotic love and, more generally, as an entry into the wider and wilder world of material experience. Most strikingly, Shakespeare takes up the question of how the humanist table looks from the perspective of girl children rather than the boys to which most of these treatises were addressed. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the strategy of withholding food, which in

Erasmus and More appear benevolently patriarchal, becomes a sadistic act of sexual control when directed at the unruly Kate. The scene of the table, which the humanists imagine as a way of teaching civility to boys, becomes in Shakespeare's plays a set of techniques for policing the sexuality of girls, as well as, more generally, a highly charged locus for both the transgressive and difficult entry into adulthood, and the theological challenge to a transubstantive Eucharist. I argue that post-Reformation stagings of table instruction both yearn for and complicate Catholic understandings of the eating self.

Brian Gourley (Cookstown, Ireland) "(Re)Reading *The Ship of Fools* in the Early English Reformation"
Sebastian Brant's 1494 work *Das Narrenschiff* (*The Ship of Fools/ Stultifera Navis*) was a cultural and publishing phenomenon within the immediate pre-Reformation years. It has been described as the first global literary bestseller, and yet comparatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the work and its dissemination in English. The Benedictine Alexander Barclay was chiefly responsible for the first full length translation of the work into English in 1509 with the printer Richard Pynson's involvement ensuring that *The Ship of Fools* became a text that reached a mass Anglophone audience. This paper will explore how the trope of the ship of fools was read and interpreted in the pre-Reformation British Isles, and what impact if any the Tudor Reformations had on its interpretation and circulation, and seek to ask if *The Ship of Fools* came to be read by English Protestants as an anti-Catholic propaganda text.

Mitchell L. Hammond (University of Victoria) "From Tainted Humours to Viscous Poison: Sixteenth-Century Perspectives on the Great Pox"
After the fall of 1494, the malady known as the "French Disease" or the "Great Pox" raised alarms and a host of questions for observers throughout Europe. Scholarly attention has often focused on the concept of contagious "seedlets" credited to Fracastoro and a growing recognition of the sexual transmissibility of the disease. This paper suggests that, after about 1525, writers on the pathology of the pox reassessed earlier conceptions of the disease that focused on "burned," "peccant" or "overheated" humours. They did so for several reasons. Post-mortem observations revealed the presence of viscous, phlegmatic material that some observers connected to pains or to a contagious poison. Another reason was the growing therapeutic reputation of guaiac, the wood imported from the Indies, which botanists classified as a warming, drying agent that could effectively treat many "cold" ailments. Finally, many writers claimed that the disease was losing its vital force as it proceeded further from the time of its perceived origins. The refiguring of the pox as a "cold" disease reflected the influence of post-mortem examination in pathology, the continued use of historical reasoning by medical practitioners, and the pervasive impact of engagement with the Americas in European concepts of nature.

John Paul Hampstead (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor) "Sannazaro's Teleology: History and Doctrine in *The Virgin Birth* (1526)"
In the first book of Jacopo Sannazaro's Latin epic *De Partu Virginis* (*The Virgin Birth*), God begins his speech outlining his plans for humanity with a rhetorical question: "Will there be any end?" Sannazaro's baroque, richly textured poem weaves sixteenth-century Catholic doctrine throughout his depiction of first-century Judea, and his account of the Incarnation reveals the moral and aesthetic harmony of Christian historiography, in which Arnaldo Momigliano claimed

"chronology and eschatology were conflated." Mary is a virgin not because she is unmarried but because she has taken a vow of chastity; the visit by the Magi institutes the Adoration of the Eucharist; God brings Jesus into the world partly to reform worship and abolish animal sacrifice. In this paper, expanded from a section of my dissertation, I analyze a resurgent, Counter-reformation epic published the year before the Sack of Rome, in which a strikingly supple and resilient worldview is presented where Catholic doctrine is *semper eidem*, 'always the same', despite the protests of recent dissenters.

Ronald Huebert (Dalhousie University) "The Redressing of the Altars: William Laud and the English Reformation"
William Laud valued clerical vestments in part because of the contribution they made to what he thought of as the desirable *spectacle* of Christian worship. In this way, and in many others, he was out of step with the direction taken a century earlier by the English reformers which had been, at times, overtly iconoclastic, and with the direction soon to be taken by the parliamentary puritans. Since Laud appears not to have disagreed sharply with reformers either in England or abroad on matters of doctrine, I can't help but wonder why he chose a path for himself that would, repeatedly, lead to controversy, and that would eventually result in his execution. I hope to find clues that would help to solve this enigma not so much in Laud's official pronouncements as a high-ranking prelate within the Church of England, but rather in his personal observations, his diary entries, and even the reports of his dreams.

Rosalind Kerr (University of Alberta) "From Justus Lipsius to Erycius Puteanus to Isabella Andreini: Creating the Ideal Citizen in Post-Reformation Italian Theatre"
Once Luther ushered in the fall of European Christendom, the question of where citizens should pledge their loyalty became a matter of great urgency that found numerous answers in the revival of classical humanism. One influential Flemish humanist, Justus Lipsius, attempted to provide solutions compatible with Christianity by setting out the criteria that the ideal citizen should follow in order to lead a virtuous life. One of his foremost pupils, Erycius Puteanus, who became a professor of rhetoric in Milan, disseminated these ideas to the famous actress Isabella Andreini, who was dedicated to creating theatre performances that had the power to persuade spectators to follow the path of virtue. My presentation will examine key concepts expressed in the letters she exchanged with Puteanus between 1600 and 1602 at the time of her acceptance into the Accademia degli Intenti. My conclusion will argue that in the wake of the reformation, theatre reasserted itself as a powerful alternative to religious authority.

Benedetta Lamanna (University of Toronto) "Gender, Genre and the Erudite Reformation: The Correspondence of Olympia Morata (1526-1555)"
This paper proposes an examination of the female zeitgeist of the Reformation, via the correspondence of Italian Protestant evangelical Olympia Morata (1526-1555). Tracing letters written by Morata while living in Italy and while living in exile in Germany, the paper explores concepts of knowledge, literature, and learning, and how they buttress Morata's concept of "divine studies". By analyzing Morata's notion of scholarship as a sacred activity, we can in turn uncover the importance of letter writing to Morata as a female Protestant evangelist. Her letters reveal sophisticated, self-determined notions of salvation and Christian friendship, made possible by the exchange of letters and books. This study seeks to establish connections between gender and genre, scholasticism and religion, thereby shedding light on realities and perceptions of the

Reformation, as experienced by an underrepresented female voice in early modern Italian literature.

Maybelle Leung (York University) "Tuscan Caps and Italian Masques: Fashionable Affectations in Marlowe's *Edward II*"
My essay looks at the "Italianified" male fashion in Marlowe's *Edward II,* situating that against emerging Renaissance conceptions of courtly fashion, social mobility, and the increasing import of foreign styles and aesthetic sensibilities. In particular, Amanda Bailey notes, the rise of flamboyant young men sporting foreign fashion and flattering their way into the queen's favour caused much anxiety among Elizabeth's courtiers (91). Building off of Bailey's observations, I will look at how Gaveston's presumptuous "Italian dress" (412) and love for "Italian theatre" (53) are contextualized against the rise of a homosocial counterculture that threatened existing categories of class, social mobility, and in the case of Gaveston and King Edward, bodily access. In this way, my paper looks at the manner in which Renaissance England constructed "Italianness" as social and sexual transgression, especially in coincidence with emerging legal punishments for sodomy (Stymeist 237).

Suzanne Magnanini (University of Colorado) "Anticipating Reform: Love and Clandestine Marriage in Jacopo Caviceo's *Il libro del Peregrino*(1508)"
When examining late 16th-century literary depictions of clandestine marriage, scholars often note the ways in which these representations register the changes brought about by the Council Trent's Tametsi Decree of 1563. In this paper, I argue that an early modern international bestseller, the priest Jacopo Caviceo's romance *Il libro del Peregrino* (1508), anticipated Catholic reformer's rejection of clandestine marriage. While many love stories of the period feature an obstructive family, a clandestine marriage, and a tragic end for one or both lovers, Caviceo's tale is unique in that the young couple marries three times, in three progressively more public ceremonies: before an abbess, before a convent of nuns, and finally before their extended families and local nobility in Ferrara. Through a close reading of these scenes, I will also demonstrate how the three weddings enact the ways in which civic interventions in the marriage process serve to silence the *verba de praesenti* that the post-Tridentine Church would place at the centre of any legitimate marriage.

Shannon McSheffrey (Concordia University) "The Hospitaller's Cloak: Sanctuary, Justice, and Jurisdiction in England before the Reformation"
In 1506, two felons about to be hanged for their crimes made an unusual attempt to claim sanctuary: as they were being led from the Canterbury peace sessions by the sheriff's officials, they both took hold of the cloak of a Hospitaller knight present at the proceedings and declared that they claimed the sanctuary of St. John of Jerusalem. From at least the twelfth century, accused felons could make claims of sanctuary in church buildings of various kinds, but this is the only case of a religious person's clothing being claimed as sanctuary. If this claim seems far-fetched to us, we should not assume it as preposterous in the early sixteenth-century context; they were disallowed by the court, but not immediately, as one of the cases was sent up to a higher court to be determined. In the end, neither men was hanged. As I will discuss, the royal justices may have taken the claim more seriously than we would at first assume, because it drew upon a number of ideas circulating in early Tudor England both about sanctuary generally and

the Hospitallers in particular.

Aaron Miedema (York University) "The Reform of the Duel in Sixteenth-Century Italy"
This paper examines the shift of the duel across the broad spectrum of the sixteenth century. The increasingly aristocratic participants, the rapidly burgeoning literature (both the theoretical literature and the role of literacy in dueling), and the relationship between the duel, and the state, and the church (this give the solid link the Council of Trent's prohibition on dueling in 1561). In essence arguing that the duel changed its character in the sixteenth century, but, it was not an invention of that century.

Ambra Moroncini (University of Sussex) "Beauty and Grace: Michelangelo's poetry before and during the Reformation"
If Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) had not been the universally celebrated 'divine' artist, his poetry today would most probably be scarcely studied. There is in fact a discrepancy between the artist's greatness and his far more limited readership and fame as a poet. Yet his three hundred poems, which span more than half of the 16th century, can be regarded as an invaluable document to the understanding of his religious beliefs and unique 'language of art'. Indeed, the same gradual pursuit of the true faith, where the influential religious thought and spirituality of Marsilio Ficino, Girolamo Savonarola and Juan de Valdés all played a pivotal role, can be traced both in his art and in his poetry. This paper will aim to highlight Michelangelo's poetic and spiritual journey from Neo-Platonism to the doctrine of *sola fide*, achieved not least because of the artist's association with Vittoria Colonna, the poet who had fashioned Petrarchan verse into the privileged means for diffusing the renewed evangelical spirituality.

Elizabeth Pentland (York University) "Shakespeare and Excommunication: The Papal Context of *King John*"
Only two of Shakespeare's plays explicitly refer to excommunication. One of them is *King John*, a play that dramatizes, among other things, the excommunication of a thirteenth-century English monarch. The other is *Much Ado About Nothing*, a romantic comedy set against the backdrop of Aragonese rule in Sicily. There, the reference is accidental, one of many malapropisms uttered by the clownish constable, Dogberry. Both plays present us with events that took place long before the European or English Reformations. But both plays nevertheless invite their audiences to think about excommunication in verbal or political contexts strongly associated with the English Reformation. The proto-Protestant rhetoric in Shakespeare's *King John* has long been recognized. Narrowing the focus a little, my paper will explore how explicit or implied references to excommunication in the two aforementioned plays and one other—*Love's Labour's Lost*—engage with Reformation-era controversies over this particular instrument of papal policy.

Lidia Radi (University of Richmond) "'Exposed and sore neglected': Pjeter Budi's Account of Albanian Catholicism."
In the second part of the 15th century, following the death of their national hero Skanderbeg, Albania lost its independence from the Ottoman empire and many of its territories were re-conquered by the Ottomans. Over one century later, nationalistic feelings reemerged and a Catholic intellectual bishop Pjeter Budi, during his trips to Italy, invested himself with the mission of calling the Vatican's attention to the plight of the Albanian people. In this context, Budi emphasized the presence among his people of fervent Catholics yearning to live their faith

as they had in the 15th century under Skanderbeg, a convert to Christianity who had successfully defended Albanian autonomy. My paper will investigate the letter that Budi sent to Cardinal Gozzadino along with a collection of poems, considered to be among the first examples of Albanian literature. I will focus my attention particularly on the ways in which Budi characterizes and perhaps idealizes 15th century Albanian Catholicism – largely untouched by subsequent Reformation theology – from the perspective of late 16th /early 17th century Catholic ideology.

Thomas Renna (Saginaw Valley State University) "Ulrich von Hutten, Arminius, and the German Nation"
Much of modern historiography on Ulrich von Hutten's (1488-1523) patriotism has centred on his role as a forerunner to the German nationalism typical of the early German humanists. Hutten's exhortations to Emperor Maximilian I seem to equate the Holy Roman Empire with the German nation, at least in the sense of a common loyalty. Modern scholars (Strauss, Holborn, Kalkoff, Neward, Grimm, Scheuer) concur that Hutten urged the emperor to liberate the German Church from the papal Curia. Hutten's *Dialogue* on Arminius–the German who annihilated 3 Roman legions in the Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE– in the Underworld (published 1529) is often seen as one aspect of this humanist attack on the papacy. But while it is acknowledged that Hutten's *Dialogue* was directed primarily at the imperial court, modern emphasis is on its use by the later Lutherans. Not enough attention has been given to the political setting of its composition in 1519-20. Hutten scholars give little heed to the modern studies of *natio* and *imperium* at the time of Maximilian. I will argue that Hutten's portrayal of Herman the German was influenced by other German humanists with their vision of a "German" empire which was independent of the ancient Roman empire. In particular the concept of *Germania* as a rival empire in the works of C. Celtis, H. Bebel, and J. Wimpfeling was well known in humanist circles. Hutten used their notions of the empire in his view of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. I use the E. Böcking edition of Hutten's *Opera.*

Nicole Rice (St. John's University, NYC) "The Drama of Purification and Cultural Change in York"
The liturgical celebration of post-childbirth purification, or churching, was a central occasion in the lives of many premodern English women. Although the official liturgy of purification was revised in 1549 and 1552, many aspects of the ritual remained constant across Catholic and reformed practice: the service was chiefly an opportunity for new mother, midwives, and friends to celebrate her safe delivery. In a civic spectacle likely related to its patron saint's role as protector of pregnant women, York's great Hospital of St. Leonard sponsored a Purification of the Virgin pageant in the town's annual Corpus Christi Play from the late fourteenth century until 1477, when the pageant was reassigned to the artisan groups Laborers and Masons, who performed it until 1561. The extant pageant text, revised or written around 1477, dramatizes Mary and Joseph's visit to the temple to present the infant Jesus, and his joyful reception by the aged lay couple Simeon and Anna. This revised Purification drama, which eliminates the midwives and sons of Simeon featured in the Hospital's original pageant, emphasizes the Christ child's encounter with male worshipers, removing the focus from the mother, eliding the female figures central both to the original pageant and to the evolving liturgical ritual. In considering play text together with production history and liturgy, I suggest that on the eve of the Reformation, these civic- and artisan-sponsored changes in dramatic production created a rupture

in the cultural meaning of the Purification that was far more radical than the eventual changes in the reformed liturgy.

Anthony Russell (University of Richmond) "'La forza della virtù': Vasari on Skill and Holiness"
Vasari's life of Fra Giovanni da Fiesole (Fra Angelico) provides an interesting case study for this conference's theme of retrospection. In his 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Vasari significantly expanded his account of Fra Angelico, placing even greater emphasis than in the 1550 edition on the continuity between this artist's moral and artistic "virtù." I will explore here some of the ways in which this biography constructs a possibly nostalgic vision of a "simpler" time in which religious art was less subject to a tension or conflict between aesthetic and spiritual values. For example, the 1568 version includes an expanded and evidently anxious reflection on the response to beautiful—and in particular naked—figures in church art. This is, implicitly, not a problem raised by Fra Angelico's oeuvre. The degree to which Vasari's nostalgic vision turns out to be problematic is revealed in Vasari's life of Fra Filippo Lippi, another Quattrocento painter-monk, noted for his rampant libido. In the first edition of the *Vite*, Vasari prefaces this life with a discussion of the power of an artist's skill (virtù) to excuse his vices. Though in the later edition this preface is deleted, the problematic relationship between artistic talent and moral integrity remains. In the context of an increasingly vigorous counter-reformation ideology, in other words, these two Quattrocento lives both construct and qualify a nostalgic vision of the convergence of artistic and moral virtù. In my conclusion, I will offer some suggestions as to how Vasari's hagiographic life of Michelangelo attempts to re-imagine this convergence.

Ewa Anna Rybałt (Marie Curie Skłodowska University, Poland) "Venetian Philo-Lutheranism as an Example of the Modernization of the Local Ecclesiological Identity."
The 23rd of October 1531 the Dominicans of the monastery of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice appeared before the doge Andrea Gritti. The friars informed him that if the monastery would be forced by the pope to submit to the *osservanti* – the strict monastery rule - *più presto si fariano lutherani.* The threat of the Dominicans passing to Lutheranism was connected to the inner conflicts that divided most of the monasteries in the Middle Ages. As a consequence of the growing importance of the cities' role the contemplative life style was subjected to revaluation, in benefit of the equality between contemplative life and vita active. Because of the importance of the Venetian Dominican monastery in the city's social and cultural life, Martin Luther's ideas strengthened the Venetian's Church's search for ecclesial autonomy from Rome, but on the other hand it had also an influence on the ideal of The Good Shepherd, which was connected to the discussion about the conflict between *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa.* The marked out issues: discussions on the ideal models of Christian life, and especially sacerdotal life, and the search of the *sui iuris* identity of the local Venetian Church, throughout the critique of Rome, are exposed in the works of the artists connected to the Dominicans: Lorenzo Lotto, Tintoretto and Veronese.

Matteo Soranzo (McGill University) "On the Eve of the Reformation: Omens and Signs at the time of Giorgione"
That the years leading to Martin Luther and the German Reformation were characterized by widespread hopes and millenarian anxieties is a well known fact, especially after Ottavia Niccoli's *Profeti e popolo nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (1987). Less known, however, is the vast production of astrological *vaticinia,* which was often intertwined with the revival of Joachim of

Fiore and his theories, especially after the invention of printing. In this paper, I will focus on the content and circulation of G.B. Abioso's apocalyptic prognostications, their influence upon late Quattrocento literature, and more specifically on the work of humanist and poet G.A. Augurelli (1440-1524), one of Bernardo Bembo's protégées and a friend of Marsilio Ficino, Ermolao Barbaro and Aldo Manuzio. In doing so, my paper will contribute to reconstruct the cultural climate of the Republic of Venice on the eve of the Reformation, with special attention for its literary and artistic expressions.

Jennifer Strtak (University of Cambridge) "The Invented Pre-Reformation Tradition of the Order of the Thistle and the Reintroduction of Catholicism in Late Seventeenth Century Scotland"
On 29 May 1687, a royal warrant was issued for the 'revival' of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle. The warrant stated that the medieval Order had become dormant during the reign of Mary I of Scotland, the last Roman Catholic sovereign of the northern kingdom until James VII. However, with no evidence to support a pre-1687 existence, the warrant was nothing more than a carefully crafted fictional narrative that combined legend and history to legitimise the institution of a Catholic order of knighthood in post-Reformation Scotland. An examination of the invented tradition of the Order of the Thistle has indicated that James VII exploited the breakdown of the institution of the Catholic Church during the Reformation in the foundation story of the Order. This allowed the king to establish the 1687 Order as an ancient societal institution that fell into desuetude during the Reformation. By virtue of the king's Catholic ambition, the Order was given new life, becoming a medium of religious reform in late seventeenth century Scotland.

Lily Tarba (University of Toronto) "The Rhetoric of Emergent Probability in Reformation Thought"
Ian Hacking, in his historical and philosophical study of the concept of probability (*The Emergence of Probability*), states that probability as we know it today has two aspects, "it is connected with the degree of belief warranted by evidence, and it is connected with the tendency, displayed by some chance devices, to produce stable relative frequencies," (1) and most importantly, "neither of these aspects was self-consciously and deliberately apprehended by any substantial body of thinkers before Pascal" (1). The link between probability and randomness first appeared in print in 1662 in *Port Royal Logic* (18). Although around 1660 there were several thinkers other than Pascal, such as Leibniz, Huygens, John Graunt, among others, who independently arrived at the basic precepts of probability (11). Of interest to this paper is the en masse emergence of probability in Europe in 1660 and the variables that facilitated it. The focus of this paper being the implementations of probabilistic language in writing rather than the conceptual development of probability. The paper examines the emergent language and rhetoric of probability in thinkers that comprised this "prehistory of probability," such as Galileo, Pierre Gassendi, Edward Herbert, followed by Descartes and Hobbes, in order to, in the end, demonstrate how the seemingly objective and neutral language of statistical thought came to be used as justification in ideological political discourse.

Alexandra Verini (UCLA) "Spiritual Utopia and Female Community at Post-Reformation Syon Abbey"

With the dissolution of the monasteries, Syon Abbey, a foundation of the Bridgettine order and the richest nunnery in England, was exiled to Europe. Traveling first to Flanders and then to France, the community eventually resettled in Lisbon in 1594 and remained there for almost three centuries. In this paper, focusing on a seventeenth-century illuminated petition to the King of Spain (the Arundel Manuscript), I argue that during its exile Syon represented female community as a figure for a lost, utopian medieval Catholicism. Repurposing negative stereotypes usually associated with religious women, including weakness and subservience, the images and texts in this manuscript, as well as the gaps between them, portray the sisters as figures for all recusant Catholics. In doing so, they make a case for their own survival and for the importance of female community as a means of preserving the pre-Reformation past and reenacting it in the future.

Ryan Whibbs (George Brown College) "Fish, Fridays, and Fasts: Great Household Fasting Habits after the English Reformation, 1500-1670"
The evolution of fasting habits during the English Reformation is not well understood. Certainly one would expect to see an interruption in the pre-Reformation fasting habits common to English-Catholic households, but the picture painted by great-household diet accounts during the period after 1530 is not so clear. In many cases, it is possible to see a great flourishing of fish and seafood cookery occurring within the English great-household context, even in the households of good Protestants. Occurring in patterns loosely based on the fasting habits of pre-Reformation England, but also informed by Reformation theology, the diet accounts of many English great households reveal a complex and sometimes uncomfortable evolution in personal beliefs among elite Protestants regarding the religious significance of fasting. Based on household diet accounts from the English royal household under Henry VIII (MS E 101/96/31, 1541-2) and Charles II (MS LS 9/1, 1661-2) held in the National Archives; the Household Book of Anne Cranfield, Countess of Middlesex (MS LP 1228, 1622) held at Lambeth Palace Archives; and the diet accounts of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland (MS CH BA 13, 1575) and Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland (MS CH SC 67, 1620) held in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House, this research presents new evidence regarding the regularity and nature of fasting habits after the English Reformation. Although it is certainly possible to see evidence of the Reformation in the fasting habits of elite English Protestant households, it is also possible to see the same households clinging to elements of the old fasting habits in revealing manners. Coinciding somewhat with Eamon Duffy's perspective of a gradual move away from the old Catholic traditions, the diet accounts reveal that one of the most direct, longstanding, and confusing impacts of the English Reformation within the domestic sphere was in the unlikely area of what to cook on days which had, for centuries before, been fasts.

Barbara Wisch (SUNY Cortland) "'Holy Rome, I salute you!' Martin Luther's Visit to the Eternal City on the Eve of the Reformation"
In November 1510, twenty-seven-year-old Martin Luther departed his friary of Augustinian Observants at Erfurt, Germany, and set out on foot for Rome. He and his Augustinian companion were sent to discuss the contested union of the Observants and Conventuals in their own Order with Giles of Viterbo, the eminent Vicar General. When the travellers reached the ancient walls of Rome more than a month later, Luther is said to have fallen to his knees, exclaiming "Holy Rome, I salute you!" Some of the sacred sites Luther visited are known from his own later writings and those of his followers; others, scholars have surmised, he must have seen through

the eyes of a pious pilgrim. This illustrated talk will explore some of the churches and shrines he encountered during his month-long sojourn, and then will revisit these sites as they appeared in the later sixteenth century to examine transformations wrought during the Catholic Reform.