Abstracts Keynote Speakers

Prof. Brian Cummings (University of York)

The Cult of Images & the Cult of Books

Iconoclasm and idolatry are often discussed in isolation as a phenomenon within the visual culture of images. However, both an attack on images and their vindication occur in relation to the parallel status of the verbal culture of books. The critique of the cult of images, before and after the Reformation, decreed that the image is to be beheld 'as one looketh upon a book'. This phrase suggest a clear division between books and images. This is repeated by modern historians of the Reformation, who sometimes write as if the Reformers straightforwardly succeeded in replacing images with books. This has also been evident, paradoxically, on the other side, with Catholic revisionism reclaiming the world of images and decrying the dogmatic literalism of the Protestants. In this paper I will attempt to refute this. Not because the division is of no significance: rather, because iconophobes and bibliophiles, iconophiles and bibliophobes, together found it difficult either to recognise or to negotiate the material and semiotic boundaries between image and book.

Prof. Andrew Morrall (Bard Graduate Center, NY)

'On the Picture of King Charles I...written in Psalms.' Devotion, Memory and the Micrographic Portrait

The focus of this talk is a portrait drawing of King Charles I that has been in the possession of St. John's College, Oxford, the college of Archbishop Laud, since at least 1664, the date of the first surviving reference to it. The drawing is unusual in that the lines of the face, hair, beard, and details of clothing are made up of minutely written words. Today all but illegible, they were reported by early commentators to contain, variously, the Book of Psalms, or the Penitential Psalms.

Though the maker and the circumstances of the drawing's acquisition are unknown, its character as a micrographic portrait that associates Charles I with the Psalms of King David relates it to the often "curious" nature of many memorials to the king associated with his posthumous cult, as well as to that most popular of all commemorative items, the literary "self portrait" of the martyred king, the *Eikon Basilike. The Poutraicture of His Sacred Maiestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*.

Using the evidence of a poem, written as a response to the portrait in 1665, the talk will consider how the portrait functioned as an object of explicitly Protestant devotion and commemoration. It will set the work within a broad tradition of micrography in Protestant visual imagery, a kind of art that could sanction, without fear of idolatry, a form of quasi-devotional contemplation of an image, by the fact that it was formed from words.

The last part of the talk will follow a chain of responses to the drawing under different viewing conditions and altered cultural circumstances between the 1660s and the early eighteenth century, to demonstrate an inherent instability and contingency of meaning that attached to the image in the half-century after Charles's execution.

Prof. Alexandra Walsham (University of Cambridge)

'Down with Dagon: The Art of Iconoclasm and the Afterlife of the English Reformation'

This paper will investigate a category of Protestant art that appears to be inherently paradoxical: graphic images of acts of iconoclasm. It will focus attention on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century depictions of the destruction of idols and analyse their significance for our understanding of reformed visual culture – a culture that it is increasingly apparent can no longer be characterised as intrinsically allergic to iconography of any kind. Exploiting the insights of sophisticated recent work on symbolic violence across early modern Europe, it will examine a selection of engravings, prints and paintings of both biblical and contemporary iconoclasm; ask why Protestants might wish to depict these rites of oblivion; and consider the purposes such pictures served in a post-Reformation society that remained fraught with anxiety about the dangers of sight as a stimulus to spiritual fornication. In particular, it will situate these images in a context in which people were torn between a desire to extinguish all memory of medieval 'monuments of superstition and idolatry' and an impulse to preserve mutilated traces of them as a memorial and trophy of their defeat and eradication. It will juxtapose them with defaced images and broken objects that survived the Reformation and trace how these gradually changed their meaning over time. Approaching image-making and image-breaking as intrinsically linked cultural practices, the paper will consider the iconoclasm of art alongside the art of iconoclasm. It will also suggest that they illuminate the evolution of a distinctively Protestant commemorative culture and the process by which England and Europe's prolonged, tangled and complex Reformations came to be remembered as an historic event.

Prof. Nicolette Zeeman (University of Cambridge)

Theory Transposed: Chivalric Images and Idols

This paper is part of a larger project reflecting on how the very sophisticated theories about image use and abuse that were developed within the medieval church might have been appropriated and reworked in secular culture as a way of thinking about selfhood, embodiment and interiority. The larger claim of the project is that the notion of the idol is deeply imbricated not just within the religious but also the secular culture of the Middle Ages.

Drawing on the very rich body of Judaic and Christian thought and iconography associated with the pagan idol I propose to explore the figure of the medieval knight, as portrayed in contemporary images, artefacts and texts – focusing in particular on French Arthurian prose romance and Malory's *Morte Darthur*. I will be interested in the 'unreadable' image of the visored and faceless knight, but also the strangely idol-like iconography of much medieval heraldry, a visual sign system that claimed to be readable but which was also in many respects highly opaque. This will lead to some claims about the underlying ethos of Arthurian romance and the way that it explores questions of embodied identity via the figure of the armoured knight and his insignia; these will be illustrated with readings of the mechanics of recognition and 'going unknown' in the *Morte Darthur*.

Abstracts A - Z

"Quasi ob oculos": Spectacle and Recognition in Nicholas Grimald's Plays (Session 6)

Stephanie Allen, University of Fribourg

Over the past twenty years, scholars have tended to read the gorily illusionistic spectacles of violence, wounds and dismemberment depicted with an almost compulsive frequency on the early modern stage in the context of a religious reformation that, as Huston Diehl put it in the first work to address the question, "disrupted traditional modes of sight". The thoroughgoing Protestant rejection of the affective or embodied forms of piety that made the excruciatingly detailed depictions of violence in medieval genres like the saint play essentially celebratory events, left a gulf of meaning; what happens to the image of the suffering body when the body is desacralised, and the essential connection between sign and signified is brutally severed?

This paper will offer one answer to this question by considering Nicholas Grimald's Biblical plays, *Christus Redivivus* (1543) and *Archipropheta* (1548). These plays are fascinatingly double, juxtaposing scriptural narrative with pagan myth, refining popular, medieval dramatic forms in the fire of iconoclastic Reformed theology. The paper will explore how Grimald transformed the significance of the affective image at the centre of the medieval genres he appropriated: the wounded, scarred or broken body. Grimald's use of violent spectacle, I will argue, reveals an interest in the dynamics of recognition with its roots in Aristotelian *anagnorisis*, and refigures the wound as a piece of evidence, or a token of recognition.

The act of recognition, *agnitio*, is a central device of plot in both plays, and a process whose cognitive and theological dimensions compelled Grimald. My paper will begin by positioning Grimald's concept of agnitio in relation to the term's contested meaning in contemporary theological polemic, and Aristotelian *anagnorisis*. Next, I will consider how Grimald triangulates moments of *agnitio* around two gruesome spectacles: Christ's open wounds in *Christus Redivivus*, and, in *Archipropheta*, the severed head of John the Baptist. I will draw parallels with the Roman practice of revealing scarred bodies and open wounds in the courtroom, to argue that wounds in Grimald serve a quasi-evidentiary purpose, and are both vessel and metaphor for the act of *agnitio* as it is figured in Reformed theology, as the subjective, inward appreciation of one's entanglement in sin.

Biography

I am in the second year of my PhD at the University of Fribourg. I work on the SNF-funded EDOX project (http://edox.org.uk/), which is dedicated to the body of plays written and performed at Oxford University in the late medieval and early modern periods. Before my PhD, I studied a BA in Classics and English, and an MSt in Early Modern English at Oxford. My main interests are in neo-Latin, rhetoric and classical reception in early modern drama.

Beyond Compare: Looking again at Milton's Similes in Paradise Lost (Session 9)

Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, University of Zurich

The debate over the nature of Milton's epic similes was at first a debate about style. Adapting Boileau's defence of Homer's 'comparaisons à longue queue', Addison championed Milton's comparison of Satan and Leviathan or the fallen angels and bees as beautiful, sublimely entertaining digressions. Johnson praised them for their amplitude but famously faulted them for lacking 'the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation'. Richard Bentley found several so silly as to doubt they were actually Milton's. For others, best represented by James Whaler and Christopher Ricks, Milton's comparisons were not leisurely recreational ambles but deeply relevant to their immediate narrative context or proleptic of future episodes. They functioned as carefully wrought homologations or as startling contrasts. Still others have focused on Milton's negative similes, those comparisons that draw attention to the gap between tenor and vehicle, a gap deemed inevitable when attempting to describe hell, heaven or paradise.

This paper seeks to look again at the narrator's drive to render visible through comparison Satan, hell, God the Father, and the Son in Books I-III of *Paradise Lost*. I shall argue that Milton's recourse to similitudes in these early books gains in urgency when read in the context of the debates on imaging the divine that the Reformation had brought to the fore. After all, Christ was the divine similitude and he had been rendered visible through the incarnation. The Christological emphasis of the 'Beauty of Holiness' had brought pictures of Christ back into England's churches in the 1630s and 1640s, and these images would be hotly defended and reviled in the public sphere. In 1643, William Dowsing, authorised by parliamentary ordinance, would take such 'pictures superstitious' down. In his epic poem Milton keeps images in view. He reminds the reader that they are similitudes, but, true to his monism, suggests that likenesses are not wholly unlike their prototypes.

Biography

I am Senior Teaching and Research Associate in Literature at the English Department of the University of Zurich. After reading English at Lincoln College, Oxford, I obtained a doctorate at the University of Geneva in early modern literature and Reformation history. I am the author of *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (OUP, 2011), and articles on Protestant polemic, Milton, and Lady Anne Clifford. My current book project, funded by a 3-year Swiss National Science Foundation grant, is titled 'Making and Breaking Images in Milton's England'.

The Once and Future Fandom: Text-image Relationship in Medieval and Modern Arthuriana (Session 8)

Amy Brown and Olivia Gunduz-Lindem, University of Geneva

Visual representations of medieval narrative exist in a dynamic intertextual relationship with the written works which depict the same events and characters. A manuscript illumination, for example, might contradict or clarify a reading of the text in which it is located; and of course a single narrative might have very different illustrations in different manuscript context. In the twenty-first century, audiences of popular television and film franchises remediate the source text, creating image sets (gifsets) and other responses, which both comment upon and shape interpretations of "canon" narrative. A character appreciation gifset devoted to the BBC's Morgana, for instance, typically puts forth panegyric in honour of that character. That set may either work with the source text's imposed reading of the character or resist it and generate an alternative reading. This paper will argue that fangenerated gifsets function as both paratext and remediation of their source text, and that the image-text relationship in the age of the Internet replicates in some capacities the intratextual dynamics which existed between medieval narrative and associated artistic traditions. We will read gifsets generated by fans of the BBC Merlin alongside manuscript images from medieval Arthurian works.

Biographies

Amy Brown is Assistant in Medieval English Literature at the University of Geneva; her doctoral thesis is on opposite-sex friendship in medieval romance.

Olivia Gunduz-Lindem is an MA student at the University of Geneva, with diverse research interests. She works as Writing Lab Monitor for the English Department.

"We will draw the curtain and show you the picture": Paintings in Early Modern English Drama (Session 2)

Jean-Louis Claret, LERMA, University of Aix-Marseille

Shakespeare and his contemporaries were obviously fascinated by the capacity of visual arts to "hold the mirror up to nature." Like drama, paintings made it possible to see what is usually too directly visible to be perceived; but they also allowed people to remember what was gone forever or to preserve a link with the deceased whose gaze they could still meet. The Elizabethans' attitudes to images were deeply ambiguous insofar as they felt an irresistible attraction to these objects that the iconoclastic authorities frowned upon as being deceitful and dangerously Catholic. Drama held the mirror up to this ambiguity. On the early modern stage were numerous images. They were talked to, kissed and cherished, but they could also be poisonous and treacherous. The lovers' tendency to turn idolatrous and to worship the image of their beloved – even sometimes to prefer the image to the real person – is a further example of this deeply ambiguous attitude. It is particularly puzzling that drama should have felt free to resort to a practice that used to be condemned by the reformed authorities as deceitful and too dangerously Catholic. Playwrights may have meant either to denounce foreign beautiful threats or to try and restore the image of a harmless though seductive activity.

Biography

Jean-Louis Claret is Senior Lecturer at the University of Aix-Marseille. He has written several books about Shakespeare's plays, about thirty articles about Renaissance drama and participated in an important quantity of conferences around the world. He is particularly interested in the links between drama and the visual arts.

"Early Modern Book Illustration and the Cultural Reception of Texts and Authors" (Session 4 – Book Illustration Panel)

Visual paratexts – produced through relief or intaglio printing – can be found in a wide range of publications, from cheap, mass-produced ephemera and ballads to prestigious and expensive volumes. Early modern stationers used illustrations to promote their publications and distinguish them from competing editions, but these images were by no means mere, apolitical adornments. The papers in this panel recognise illustration and typographic text as equally important aspects of print culture and the book trade. They demonstrate how the visual paratexts found in early modern editions of Chaucer's works, anti-Laudian pamphlets of the 1630 and 40s, and early eighteenth-century editions of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* reflect and respond to contemporary religious and political debates while altering readers' perception of authors and texts.

"The Visual (Re)interpretation of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* for the Eighteenth-Century Book Market" (Book Illustration Panel)

Emma Depledge, University of Fribourg

This paper will explore the relationship between texts and images by examining illustrations added to competing eighteenth-century editions of Samuel Butler's Hudibras, and freestanding illustrations that were issued independent of Butler's text. Butler's poem, which consists of three parts, first published in 1662, 1663 and 1678 respectively, was one of the most popular texts of the seventeenth century. Rogue printers produced no fewer than five pirated editions of the first part, and a spurious second part was published before Butler issued the genuine sequel. Hudibras, a satire that attacked various factions involved in the English Civil Wars, was one of the most frequently printed, adapted, appropriated, and imitated texts of the seventeenth century. The political and commercial exploitation of Butler's poem was continued in the eighteenth century when stationers began to include illustrations in editions of Hudibras. My paper considers the anonymous illustrations included with the 1710 edition, William Hogarth's engravings for the 1726 edition, and Hogarth's freestanding illustrations for the printseller and publisher, Philip Overton. I place these images in the wider context of Hudibras' afterlife to suggest ways in which their captions and the scenes and extra-textual characters they contained sought to influence readers' understanding of the poem's satirical focus and their perception of Butler as an author.

Biography

Emma Depledge teaches seventeenth and eighteenth-century literature at the University of Fribourg. She has published and has forthcoming essays on selling Shakespeare, Restoration Shakespeare adaptations, and editing Shakespeare, 1640-1740. She is currently completing a monograph entitled Shakespeare's Afterlife, 1642-1700: Print, Performance, Adaptation, and is co-editor (with Peter Kirwan) of *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640-1740* (forthcoming with CUP). Her latest book project explores how political crises and agents of the book trade helped to shape the genre of mock-heroic poetry.

From the Printed Page to the Digital Image: Early Modern English Books and the Bodmer Lab (Session 9)

Lukas Erne and Devani Singh, University of Geneva

The Fondation Martin Bodmer in Cologny near Geneva holds over 150 volumes of books printed in English between 1476 and 1700. They include more than 40 Shakespeare folios and quartos (the most extensive collection of early Shakespeare editions outside the English-speaking world) as well as works by Milton, Sidney, Spenser, Malory, and Chaucer. Yet most of the Bodmer copies remain unknown to scholars. A current research and digitization project based at the University of Geneva, the Bodmer Lab, is trying to change this. Among the results of the Bodmer Lab will be a bibliographic catalogue, prepared by the two of us, as well as freely-accessible digitisations of all the early modern English books at the Bodmer. What does it mean, our paper will ask, to have modern images of these early modern books available? What are the aims and methods of the project, and what are some of the findings to date? What directions for further research may be enabled by the new catalogue and the digital images?

Biographies

Lukas Erne, Professor of English at the University of Geneva, is the author of *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (CUP, 2003, 2nd edn 2013) and *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (CUP, 2013). He is general editor of SPELL (Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature) and a board member of SAUTE and SAMEMES. He is currently working on an edition of the printed commonplace book Belvedere (with Devani Singh), on editions of English retranslations of early modern German versions of plays by Shakespeare, and, for the Bodmer Lab, on the Shakespeare collection at the Fondation Martin Bodmer.

Devani Singh is a postdoc at the University of Geneva. She obtained her Ph.D. in English from the University of Cambridge in 2015. Her research interests span the period 1400-1700, and include the history of reading and material texts, the book trade, and the early modern afterlife of medieval books. Her article on the paratexts in Thomas Speght's *Workes* of Chaucer is forthcoming from the Chaucer Review

The Ancient Gods between Idolatry and Poetic Imagination: Stephen Batman's 'strange intermixed stratagem' (Session 6)

Anna-Maria Hartmann, Christ Church, Oxford

Stephan Batman was a prolific author, a loyal Church of England clergyman, and a talented visual artist. In 1577, he published the first English mythography, The golden book of the leaden gods [...] with a description of their several tables, and what each of their pictures signified. Batman's 'gods' in this book are comprised of pagan deities, Catholic saints, and Protestant sectarians. Although Batman's verbal descriptions of these figures and their attributes are based on a series of Southern German woodcuts from the mid-sixteenth century, this mythography contains no representational images. It would therefore be easy to assume that it is a straightforward, anti-idolatrous tract. My discussion shows, however, that Batman's conceptualisation of these images is far more interesting. Studiously avoiding the term 'idol', he develops a concept of 'imagined gods' that is akin to Jean Calvin's 'fictitious gods' in *The Institutes of Christian Religion*; nevertheless, he makes room for a positive evaluation of the ancient gods as poetic images. Batman calls this ambiguous state of affairs a 'strange, intermixed stratagem'. This approach allows him to sanction the use of images in poetry and art, and at the same time condemn the 'imagined gods' of the Catholics and sectarians, which have no redeeming features. Batman's work is significant for the history of images in early modern England, because it reconciles two perspectives on images of ancient gods that are usually seen as contradictory: their negative religious function as idols and their positive moral and social function as poetic images.

Biography

I completed my Ph.D. at Trinity College, Cambridge in 2012. Since then, I have been Christopher Tower Junior Research Fellow in Greek Mythology at Christ Church, Oxford. Next year, I will be a stipendiary lecturer in English Literature from 1550-1760, also at Christ Church (2016-2017). I have published on various aspects of the work of Francis Bacon, as well as on myth in early modern England. I am currently completing my monograph, titled Reading the Ancient Gods: English Mythography in 'Its European Context 1500-1650' (under consideration of Oxford University Press).

Margery Kempe's doctrine of images in the wake of the Wycliffite debates (Session 6)

Einat Klafter, University of Geneva

Scholarly consensus considers The Book of Margery Kempe an exemplar of late medieval lay popular devotion, and positions her and her text within a continuum of affective piety. However, a careful reading of the handful of scenes in which Kempe mentions or interacts with devotional artifacts will show that this is not the case. Reading Kempe's work in relation to her textual community – the authors she mentions or references in her work – and in the context of the historical circumstances against which The Book was produced in the 1430s in East Anglia, uncovers the author's idiosyncratic approach to artifact veneration and reveals the influence on her work of local ideas and events, particularly those related to the Wycliffite-fueled image debates. In connection to this conflict, The Book presents a complex and image-critical doctrine regarding religious artifacts and their employment within the devotional practices of the faithful.

Kempe lays out her doctrine through personal examples throughout her text, by illustrating what constitutes proper use of artifacts as well as improper and potentially-idolatrous engagement with images; how images can be beneficial devotional aids; what are effectives alternatives; and lastly what objects can be legitimately believed to be miracle-working without incurring the sin of idolatry.

This paper will focus on examples of Kempe's doctrine on proper and improper artifact-aided devotion, which divides artifacts into three large categories of devotional objects – man-made, Godmade and God Incarnate. This will reveal a unique view of image veneration that deviates from the practices of affective piety supported by other European mystics and authors, and calls for a deep reexamination of Kempe's position in connection to her local and historical context.

Biography

Einat Klafter is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Geneva. She wrote her doctoral dissertation – "The Atypical Treatment of Popular Devotional Practices and Religious Artifacts: The Book of Margery Kempe, in its historical and cultural context" – at Tel Aviv University, where she also received her undergraduate degree in Art History and English Literature.

Her research interests lie in late medieval vernacular culture, popular devotional practices and artifacts. In particular, her research focuses on vernacular theology and mysticism, The Book of Margery Kempe, how local ideas and political interests influence the performance of devotional practices, and, currently, questions related to sanctity of place and pilgrimage practices.

Images and Proclamations: Defining Image During England's Early Reformation up to 1549 (Session 5)

Katherine Krick, Durham University

Religious imagery was a key part of the medieval English person's devotional experience. The presence of images in churches and in homes connected medieval people with the figures upon whom the religious events of the church year were based. Many of the images contained universal elements, ways of depicting figures like Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, that were similar from Italy to Scotland and Spain to Poland.

In this paper, I will explore how the English Reformation altered the definition and use of images in a religious context. The images of concern in this paper were not only the pretty pictures on walls, but the woodcuts on paper that could be tacked up at home or the miniatures in religious books that were used at services by clergy and laity. The two physical types (paint and print) were tied to each other by various royal proclamations under Henry VIII and Edward VI. The woodcuts used in Books of Hours versus the Book of Common Prayer of 1549 show how images changed from being the 'books of the illiterate' to being acceptable so long as not idolatrous. The campaigns under Edward VI and Elizabeth I against wall paintings that resulted in many of them being destroyed or at least hidden beneath layers of whitewash show how, to some English people, all images were considered idolatrous, while in some cases, the word became image. Above all, this paper will explore how the English Reformation, particularly as promoted by royal authority, was not a one-size-fits-all religious movement, as the presence (or not) of images can attest.

Biography

Katherine Krick is a final year doctoral candidate at Durham University in the History Department. Her thesis is a critical investigation of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* and its links to Use of Sarum service books of c.1450-1545. In particular, she looks at how the latter (earlier) books influenced both the content and construction of the former. She currently works as a full-time library assistant, since her world revolves around the printed (and written) word.

The Tableau as Rhetorical Effect in the Writing of Samuel Richardson (Session 10)

Erzsi Kukorelly, University of Geneva

From his first to his last published texts, Samuel Richardson's intention to improve his readers remained unabated. In his epistolary novels, correspondents write "to the moment," that is, "while the Hearts of the Writers must be supposed to be wholly engaged in their Subjects" (preface to *Clarissa*); more than this, they write "in so probable, so natural, so lively a manner, as shall engage the Passions of every sensible Reader" (preface to *Pamela*). The reader, we are led to understand, is inevitably improved by what she reads.

This paper explores another technique that Richardson uses in his writing: the textual tableau, or hypotyposis. Beginning with his first printed text, *The Apprentice's Vade-Mecum*, as well as in his *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions*, and in his novels, Richardson uses painterly sequences such as portraits and conversation pieces in order to persuade his readers to adopt a specific moral point of view. By directing readers' gaze towards a carefully constructed picture, he is able to delimit with precision what they see, including and excluding, describing certain details, and representing relations of power and affect. In such moments, Richardson is very much showing us what is going on, rather than telling us what to think. The tableau functions to slow narrative time; indeed it is frozen, and dramatic action is suspended in painterly stasis. Readers are invited to judge for themselves, since no narratorial authority is available to guide reception and interpretation. By reacting to the textualized picture, readers are invited to measure their moral worth by gauging their emotional response.

In La Fibre Littéraire: Le Discours Médical sur la Lecture au XVIIIe Siècle, Alexandre Wenger draws our attention to the function of the tableau as an efficacious literary form, and suggests that by engaging readerly imagination as fundamental to the production of meaning, the tableau produces a "epiphany of sensibility, an awareness that is at once psychic and organic" (123). I intend to apply this finding, as well as the views of English writers such as Hugh Blair (Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 1783) and Lord Kames (Elements of Criticism, 1762), to Richardson, as I explore the rhetorical effect of the textual tableau as an agent of moral reform in his writing.

Biography

Erzsi Kukorelly is chargée d'enseignement at the University of Geneva, where she teaches and researches eighteenth-century topics.

A "vivid description of a scene, event, or situation, bringing it, as it were, before the eyes of the hearer or reader" (OED).

"Mists of Error": A Reformation Image (Session 5)

Alice Leonard, University of Neuchâtel

Diarmaid MacCulloch declares that in the Reformation '[i]n the place of images came words' (MacCulloch 2004: 559). But what if words contained images? In this paper I will focus on one image which was used repeatedly in Reformation discourse: the 'mists of error'. This evocative figure of speech was used to refute Catholicism by representing it as false and misleading. The phrase demonstrates the significance of 'error' in the Reformation, where to be in 'error' was to have wrongly interpreted scripture and to have wandered away from God. The Reformation itself could be described as a movement of correction. The literary confutation of Catholicism became a major industry in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, as Patrick Collinson argues, and the accusation of 'error' was a principle rhetorical instrument (2010: 409). Identifying 'wrong' spiritual belief or interpretation was one the main tasks of Reformation writers, as demonstrated by substantial textual evidence.²

The image 'mists of error' represents falsity as ambiguity and obscurity. Protestant emphasis on literalism and its hostility to allegory could position imagery itself as a 'mist of error'. Yet the phrase is used by Luther, Calvin and King James to argue against Catholicism, suggesting that our familiarity with the idea of Protestant suspicion of figurative language is not always accurate.³ This paper will explore the uses and meaning of this recurring image, arguing that it not only reveals a Reformation rhetoric of error but also that its form as an image complicates the idea of Protestant iconoclasm.

Biography

I am a Post-doctoral Researcher in early modern English Literature at the University of Neuchâtel. I received my doctorate in 2015 with a thesis entitled 'Error in Shakespeare: Shakespeare in Error'. This was a joint project between the University of Warwick (UK) and Neuchâtel. My post-doctoral research expands the focus from error in Shakespeare into wider early modern contexts to investigate textual, humanist and religious error. I am currently examining the representation of error in early modern dramatic errata.

Many religious books during the sixteenth century invoked 'error' in their titles, for example: T. C., A spiritual purgation sent vnto al them that laboure of Luthers errour (London, 1548); Anon, The waie home to Christ and truth leadinge from Antichrist and errour (London, 1554); John Knox, An answer to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist, and aduersarie to Gods eternal predestination. And confuted by Iohn Knox, minister of Gods worde in Scotland. Wherein the author so discouereth the craft and falshode of that sect, that the godly knowing that error, may be confirmed in the trueth by the euident Worde of God (Geneva, 1560); Thomas Cottesford, Tvvo very Godly and comfortable letters, written ouer into England The one to a Godly and zealous Lady: wherin the Annabaptists errour is confuted (London, 1589).

John Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 472 [3.2.4]; Martin Luther, *A commentarie or exposition vppon the twoo Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jude* (1581), pp. 168-169; James I, King of England, *Daemonologie* (1597), p. 54.

This Body of Instruction: John Donne's Sermon at the Funeral of Sir William Cokayne (Session 7)

Mary Ann Lund, University of Leicester

The heraldic funeral of the former Lord Mayor Sir William Cokayne on 12 December 1626 was probably the most image-laden event in St Paul's Cathedral during John Donne's deanship. Following the highly ordered ceremonial prescribed by the College of Arms, Cokayne's coffin was accompanied by hundreds of mourners in procession, a heraldic standard and penons, knightly regalia, and many yards of black fabric. As preacher on the occasion, Donne chose a Bible verse about Lazarus, and he treated his subject-matter as 'This Text which you Heare ... complicated with this Text which you see, The dead body of this our Brother'. This paper, informed by my editorial work on the sermon for *The* Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Vol. 13, explores Donne's treatment of Cokayne's body as a visual text that 'complicate[s]' scripture. The physical body of the deceased—embalmed, incased in lead and wood coffins and covered by a pall on a standing hearse—is an image both present and concealed. In a sermon about imperfection and impermanence, it is an obvious emblem of the mutability of human flesh, but at the same time. Donne signals to his listeners that the corpse has been expensively preserved against putrefaction, and surrounded with the costly trappings of heraldry; the funeral is far from an ordinary commemoration of dust to dust. That these heraldic images are firmly secular, being indicators of Cokayne's personal status and his role as alderman of the city of London, presents a further challenge to Donne. This paper will examine how Donne translates this distinctively image-heavy occasion into spiritual instruction, and furthermore consider how he uses the body in front of him to frame another major question of corporeal presence and absence, in the fraught theological territory of sacrament.

Biography

Mary Ann Lund is Lecturer in Renaissance English Literature at the University of Leicester. She is the editor of *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, Vol. 12: Sermons Preached at St Paul's Cathedral, 1626 (Oxford UP, in press 2017), and is currently editing Vol. 13: Sermon Preached at St Paul's Cathedral, 1626—8. She is the author of *Melancholy, Medicine and Religion: Reading 'The Anatomy of Melancholy'* (Cambridge UP, 2010), and has written articles on subjects including John Donne, Robert Burton, Richard III, Shakespeare, sermons, and the history of medicine.

"Fides est de non visis" in Debate: Seeing the Divine (Stage Prop) in the Towneley Collection (Session 2)

Camille Marshall, University of Lausanne

Religious images and especially portrayals of the Godhead are more than mere pictures, and require an adequate response from the beholder. While they became widely problematic during the Reformation, the mystery plays (a genre where divinity was not only portrayed, but also performed) and the popular favour they received well into the sixteenth-century are nothing short of remarkable. Remarkable but not unproblematic nor oblivious to the changes of their times. For instance, the reformed Banns to the Chester cycle warn the audience that when God is meant to come into play, they should "a voyce onlye to heare / and not god in shape or person to appeare" (11. 201-2). While the Towneley plays (most likely compiled, and perhaps in part written or adapted, in the mid-sixteenth century) also display strategies of avoidance, they offer more complex reflections on religious images as well as on the ironies of religious semiotics. The best-known example is that of the Second Shepherds' Play in which the comedy of the stolen sheep placed in a crib and receiving the shepherds' misdirected affection sheds an ironic light on the adoration that the Christ-child, or rather the "mop" or doll, receives at the end of the play. While both are symbols of divinity, and yet also stage props, only one is to be interpreted as legitimate object of devotion according to context. This paper will thus show how some of the Towneley plays offer a playful reflection on Catholicism as a sign-based religion and on the relative arbitrariness of symbol validity, and how this discussion is enabled by the dramatic genre itself. At a time when the Mass was scrutinized for its theatricality, it is only fitting that theatre should participate in the debate.

Biography

Camille Marshall is a doctoral candidate and graduate assistant at the University of Lausanne. Her research, conducted under the supervision of Prof. Denis Renevey, focuses on the composite collection of scriptural drama that are the Towneley plays, and more specifically on their presentation of visual signs of faith that might be considered to negotiate with reformed ideals. The provisional title of her project is "Playing and Doubting the Godhead in the Towneley Scriptural Plays."

"See, Sirs, see here! a Doctor rare": Framing Satire in Early Modern Broadside Images of Mountebanks (Session 10)

Genice Ngg, SIM University, Singapore

Itinerant mountebank shows in early modern Europe, as well as famous mountebank acts in England, created a readily identifiable character in the foreign mountebank by the seventeenth century. Seventeenth- to mid eighteenth-century English satirical broadsides include drawings with parodied speeches or songs, and these highlight the performance aspects of the medicine show. One popular seventeenth-century broadside titled "The Infallible Mountebank or Quack Doctor" presents the verse "See, Sirs, see here! a Doctor rare," a humorous spoof of the mountebank's harangue that promises miraculous cures. Above the text and covering almost half of the broadsheet, is a woodcut image of a mountebank show. The theatrical framing is the point of this visual satire: the quack doctor in lavish attire is caught in mid demonstration on stage, with his advertising bill and a vial of medicine, performing together with his costumed monkey and a Merry Andrew clown assistant. Street theatre was one key aspect of the mountebank's act that made him an iconic figure distinguishable from other medicine pedlars, but the theatrical framing of the mountebank was never neutral in early modern England: it always served to satirize the mountebanks as medical frauds.

This paper looks at satirical broadside images of mountebanks in the context of early print culture, where images and text were easily replicated and adapted in print materials, such as broadsides of speeches and songs, illustrations in books, caricatures, and book collections of ephemera. The focus is on the image and text in "The Infallible Mountebank": its association with Marcellus Laroon's drawing of the notorious Dutch mountebank Hans Buling, and how the satirical verse "See, Sirs, see here!" could be readily paired with other images of mountebanks and caricatures of individuals. With the adoption of different satiric frames and treatments, early modern broadside representations of the mountebank present a static and reproducible theatrical character, yet flexible to allow for different satirical appropriations as it acquires iconic status.

Biography

Genice Ngg is an Associate Professor at SIM University, a private university in Singapore. She is currently the Dean of the School of Arts and Social Sciences. Her research interests include seventeenth-century and Restoration English literature. She is currently working on medicine and literature in early modern England, particularly the presentation of mountebanks in broadsides, plays and prints.

Tragedy and Iconoclasm: The Case of Timon of Athens (Session 3)

Fionnuala O'Neill, University of Bergen

Focusing on a case study, Shakespeare's collaborative tragedy *Timon of Athens*, this paper explores the reception of Reformation ideas about images and image-breaking on the early modern stage. The religious Reformations gave birth to new anxieties concerning the power and status of the image, and in particular its dangerous potential as the object of blasphemous idolatry – something which led one historian to speak of a culture which "hardened into iconophobia" in England during the 1580s. In recent years, however, this has given way to a more nuanced historical understanding of the specific contexts in which images were usually targeted. Reformation iconoclasts focused on religious art within specifically liturgical and devotional (as opposed to pedagogical or even aesthetic) contexts. In this way, religious iconoclasm cast into doubt the function and capacity of art and embodied imagery for truth content, and their power to facilitate an authentic encounter between human beings and the divine.

Concerns about the idolatrous potential of the embodied imagery and speaking pictures of the stage (the stage's so-called "incarnational aesthetic") permeate late sixteenth-century discourse about the theatre, and in particular the writings of the Puritan anti-theatricalists. This paper explores the impact of these anxieties about the power of art and the image upon the early modern stage. Drawing on the morality play tradition, the early scenes of *Timon of Athens* stage a debate between a Poet and a Painter about the respective power of words and imagery. The paper argues that these scenes respond directly to Reformation debates about the power of art to embody truth content, and in particular to concerns about the nature and function of the newly secularised and commercialised stage. Examining also the later, violently disrupted "banquet scenes" in the play – laden with Eucharistic overtones – I will suggest that their language reflects passages from the Book of Ezekiel on idolatry and iconoclasm, thereby responding to Reformation discourse about images and image-breaking. Ultimately, the paper will argue that *Timon of Athens* explores what is at stake in the failure of faith in the power of the image to mediate a genuine encounter with divine truth content, and that it identifies this failure of faith as tragic.

Biography

Fionnuala O'Neill Tonning is a researcher in early modern English literature at the University of Bergen in Norway, where she is currently writing a monograph on early modern theatre and iconoclasm. From August 2016 she will be Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Agder. Before moving to Norway she was Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh, and before that Lecturer in English 1550-1660 at the University of Southampton. She has previously published on Shakespearean geopolitics and on comparative revenge tragedy. She received her PhD with a doctorate on Shakespeare and early modern scepticism from the University of Edinburgh in 2013.

Simon van de Passe's Urania: A Literary Work Envisioned in Its Frontispiece (Session 10)

Rahel Orgis, University of Neuchâtel

The extent of Lady Mary Wroth's involvement in the publication of the first part of *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania* remains uncertain. It is clear, however, that Simon van de Passe's engraving for the work's frontispiece is tailor-made, portraying the enchantment called the Throne of Love, as it is described in Wroth's text. Apart from illustrating a key episode of the *Urania*, Simon van de Passe's frontispiece provides readers with important further information about the work's nature, I would argue. Indeed, the frontispiece can be regarded as a sort of visual reading manual for readers and encapsulates the narrative structures and thematic focus of the text. It symbolically represents the difficulties and pleasures of the work and suggests a number of reading modes to the prospective readers of the *Urania*. This is, on the one hand, achieved through the composition of the frontispiece itself and, on the other, through the generic associations evoked by the landscape and buildings depicted. In particular the allusions to the romance genre encoded in the frontispiece raise specific reader expectations and thus activate reading practices and strategies in which early modern readers would have been competent due to their familiarity with the genre. Simon van de Passe's frontispiece of the *Urania* thus constitutes a fascinating example of an image informed by a literary text, which it informs in its turn by directing readers visually to some of the work's key features.

Biography

Rahel Orgis holds a degree in English and American Literature, French Literature and Linguistics from the University of Berne and a PhD from the University of Neuchâtel. Her doctoral thesis on Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* was awarded the distinction summa cum laude. Rahel has published several articles on Wroth's *Urania* and is preparing her monograph *Narrative Structure and Reader Formation in Lady Mary Wroth's* Urania for publication with Taylor&Francis. Currently, Rahel holds a fellowship from the Swiss National Science Foundation and is based at Albert-Ludwigs University in Freiburg im Breisgau to work on her new research project analysing the development of the narrator in early modern fiction.

"Where there is a frequent preaching, there is no necessity of pictures': John Donne's Preaching as a Substitute for Visual Images" (Session 7)

Sonia Pernet, University of Lausanne

The post-reformation departure from visual representations called for a new understanding of the transmission of the word of God. John Donne (1572-1631), who was famous for his preaching during the second half of his life, mentions in one of his sermons that 'the eye is the devils doore, before the eare' and explains that, on the contrary, 'the eare is the Holy Ghosts first doore'. The ear was therefore the main conduit through which the believer and the divine could meet. Although this encounter between God and Man was essential to the salvation of the latter, properly hearing the word of God through preaching could prove challenging for members of the congregation. Therefore, the preacher had to find ways of conveying the abstract and complex concept of the divine to his hearers in a graspable way, or, in other words, in a way that spoke to both their imagination and feelings. In order to do so, Donne recurrently employs an elemental and natural imagery of phenomena that had been sensorially experienced by most of his auditors to illustrate the relationship between God and Man and to make it accessible to his audience. What is more, these specific images are not constrained in the boundaries of an era, but are similarly understandable by Donne's readers long after his death.

Biography

I am currently in my last year as a PhD Student in English at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. I am part of a SNF funded project on John Donne named 'Space, Place, and Image in the Prose and Poetry of John Donne', along with Dr. Kirsten Stirling and Kader Hegedüs. My research focuses on Donne's sermons, more specifically on how Donne's choice of images related to the sacraments of the reformed church as well as to the act of preaching helped create an encompassing space of encounter between God and Man.

Donne, Preached at St Paul's, Easter 1628, p.10.

The Jesus Monogram: Word or Image? (Session 1)

Denis Renevey, University of Lausanne

The Byzantine icon with the Monogram JHS, 1450–1500, by Andreas Ritzos⁵ represents the three letters of the Jesus monogram standing clearly against a gold background. However, a closer look at each letter reveals within each a visual representation. The inside of letters 'i' and 'h' depict Crucifixion scenes, while the inside of letter 's' represents two scenes of the resurrection. How are we then to read the monogram? As a frame into which several visual representations are represented, as integral part of the visual representations, or rather as a linguistic sign whose lexical field invites several meanings?

Although there is no illumination or object of English provenance that plays so subtly with the linguistic and visual potential of the monogram, several examples show that scribes and illuminators played with its ambiguity. The way in which use is made of the monogram in some manuscripts shows that the letters 'ihs' are sometimes decoded as linguistic signs, and sometimes as visual signs, thus inviting different hermeneutic practices. Although the monogram is often found in the margins of manuscripts, such as in The Book of Margery Kempe or in small handwriting at the top of every single folio of Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 861, it displaces texts to find more significant space in some manuscript folios, such as for instance Cambridge, Magdalen College, MS Pepys 2125, fol. 118r or British Library, MS Additional 37049, fol. 24r. The monogram thus becomes part of a fairly elaborate illustration with a particular design and confirms the late medieval tendency of images taking over central space in Books of Hours and other late medieval productions. But the life of the Jesus monogram exists beyond vellum as its support: the paper pushes the discussion further with a consideration of the representation of the Jesus monogram on church walls and ceilings, as well as other material objects.

Biography

Denis Renevey is Professor of Medieval English Language and Literature at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. He is the author of several articles and book chapters on late medieval religious literature. His book publications include *The Doctrine of the Hert: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, co-edited with Christiania Whitehead and Anne Mouron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), *A Companion to the Doctrine of the Hert: The Middle English Translations and its Latin and European Contexts*, co-edited with Christiania Whitehead (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010). His most recent book, *Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, *Science and Medicine*, co-edited with Rachel Falconer (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2013), explores the meeting of the literary and scientific spheres of knowledge in medieval and early modern England.

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Devils on Stage: Dramatic Representations of the Supernatural in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (Session 5)

Kilian Schindler, University of Fribourg

Early modern audiences may have watched Marlowe's play about a pact with the devil with considerable unease. One anecdote about a performance in Exeter, for instance, records that "as Faustus was busie in his magicall invocations, on a sudden they were all dasht, every one harkning other in the eare, for they were all perswaded, there was one devell too many amongst them" (qtd. in Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage 3:424). Such stories suggest a breakdown between reality and dramatic representation, and Marlowe's play does indeed repeatedly tantalise its audience to question the ontological status of what they are (not) seeing or hearing on stage. However, this is not to say that Doctor Faustus should be considered as some sort of inverted, satanic liturgical drama. On the contrary, Faustus himself repeatedly voices opinions on the devil's limited power or even nonexistence which were also held by contemporary radical Protestants such as the Anabaptist David Joris or members of the Family of Love. These pronouncements may seem rather ironic since Faustus frequently consorts with Mephistopheles and other devils. However, the inconsistency of Mephistopheles' behaviour, theological problems with the concept of the pact, and not least Faustus' own possible susceptibility to hallucinations invite the audience to take such doubts seriously. In this paper, I therefore intend to demonstrate that Marlowe's play continuously interrogates the ontological status of Lucifer and his infernal companions, and that this interrogation is bound up with an exploration of various dramatic modes of representing the visible, the invisible, and the imaginary.

Biography

Kilian Schindler is a doctoral candidate at the University of Fribourg. His doctoral thesis on religious conflict, heresy, and toleration in early modern English drama is being jointly supervised by Professors Indira Ghose (Fribourg) and Lukas Erne (Geneva). He is a contributor to a new edition of Sebastian Castellio's *De haereticis an sint persequendi* (1554).

From imagines verborum to imagines librorum: Text-Image-Text Articulation in a Late Medieval English MS (Session 1)

Stephen Shepherd, Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles

I would like to propose a paper for the Conference that inquires into a procedure of image-text articulation I have been studying in an illustrated MS of the 14th-century English reformist poem, *Piers Plowman*. The MS is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 104; I am preparing an electronic edition of its text, complete with full-color facsimile, for the Piers Plowman Electronic Archive. In the process of developing XML markup for this edition, I have been challenged by instances where illustrations in the margins (drawn by the main text scribe) physically touch words in the poem, sometimes in astonishingly allusive ways—not just at the level of kinesthetic puns (e.g., the image of a figure standing on the word "stand"), but also extending to the point of alluding to texts and passages that exist beyond the poem itself (e.g., a figure that touches a line of the poem relating to the parts of the soul, but which, by holding up a geometrical emblem, alludes to a specific chapter on the soul in the *de Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomeus Anglicus).

Text and image thus coalesce in a way reminiscent of a procedure in the Luttrell Psalter that Lucy Freeman Sandler identifies with the term *imagines verborum*, illustrations that play on words or parts of words. In the Douce MS this extends into something more like *imagines librorum*, illustrations that visualize words within the adjacent text, but which then redirect toward other books.

For the proposed paper, I would explore, beyond work I have already published, one or two of the more sophisticated instances I have encountered, and venture some propositions about how to account for the scribe's procedure, theorizing new ways of anticipating scribal originality, even as it manifests in the re-copying of familiar texts. To present the paper, I would need to be able to project high-resolution images, either from my laptop or from a flash drive.

Biography

Stephen H. A. Shepherd is Professor of English at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, California. His primary interests are in medieval English manuscript studies and textual criticism. He has produced editions of Middle English texts for W.W. Norton and Co. (Middle English Romances, Malory's Morte Darthur, Langland's Piers Plowman), and the Early English Text Society (Turpines Story). He is currently researching the relationship between text and marginal illustration in two English manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 104 (Piers Plowman) and San Marino, Huntington Library, MS EL 9 H 17 (the "Ellesmere" or "Vernon" Psalter).

"True Portraiture': Seeking Chaucer's Image in Early Modern England" (Book Illustration Panel)

Devani Singh, University of Geneva

Images representing Geoffrey Chaucer circulated in manuscripts of his works during the fifteenth century but it was in 1598 that his engraved portrait was first included in an edition of his works. The edition was Thomas Speght's *Workes of our Ancient and Learned English Poet*, a bestseller that would receive a second edition only four years later, in 1602. As scholars of Chaucer have recognised, the engraved portrait and its accompanying heraldic background form a powerful piece of visual propaganda, an attempt to embed the medieval poet within foundational, and aristocratic, English history. This paper will focus on the place of Chaucer's portrait in the fraught representation of that history. It will trace the attempts by Speght and John Stow, his collaborator, to recover Chaucer's 'true portraiture' and will demonstrate that their treatment of the image reflects both antiquarian zeal for the medieval past embodied by Chaucer's portrait, as well as a post-Reformation anxiety towards that past. After discussing this ambivalent treatment of the author's image, the paper will present some responses of early modern readers to the multiple meanings of Chaucer's engraved image in Speght's editions.

Biography

Dr Devani Singh is a postdoc at the University of Geneva. She obtained her Ph.D. in English from the University of Cambridge in 2015. Her research interests span the period 1400-1700, and include the history of reading and material texts, the book trade, and the early modern afterlife of medieval books. Her article on the paratexts in Thomas Speght's Workes of Chaucer is forthcoming from the Chaucer Review.

"Who from the picture would avert his eye?": John Donne's "The Crosse" and the via negative (Session 7)

Kirsten Stirling, University of Lausanne

John Donne's "The Crosse" is generally read as an anti-iconoclastic defence of the "image," the "picture", the physical crucifix: "Since Christ embraced the Cross itself, dare I / His image, th'image of his Cross deny?" (Il. 1-2). Helen Gardner (1952, 92) describes it as Donne "defending the cross as a pious and proper personal possession." Yet at the precise midpoint of the poem, Donne evokes a material artwork of quite a different sort. The lines "As perchance, Carvers do not faces make, / But that away, which hid them there, do take" (11. 33-34) refer to the practice of sculpting wood or stone to remove, rather than add, material from the medium to create the work of art. While these lines have been compared with Michelangelo's evocation of the art of the sculptor in his Rima 151 (Smith 1971, 648), it seems more likely that Donne's source for this is the sixth-century Mystical Theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, which compares the via negativa – the way of approaching knowledge of God through a recognition of what he is not – to "sculptors who... carve a statue [removing] every obstacle to the pure view of the hidden image, and simply by this act of clearing aside they show up the beauty which is hidden" (Pseudo-Dionysius 1987, 138). Donne's reference to Dionysius's statue and the idea of a God who is beyond human understanding or representation complicates the apparent celebration of the material image of the crucifix, and the second half of the poem establishes a much more complex approach to the cross and to the visual imagination more generally.

Biography

Kirsten Stirling teaches in the English department of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. Her current research is on John Donne's religious poetry and visual art, and she is completing a book on this topic, titled 'Donne Picturing God'. She has published various articles on the same subject in *Word and Image*, the *John Donne Journal* and elsewhere. She is a commentary editor for the *Divine Poems* volume of the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* and is a contributor to the *Oxford Handbook of John Donne*. She is also the author of *Peter Pan's Shadows in the Literary Imagination* (Routledge 2012, paperback 2014), and *Bella Caledonia: Woman, Nation, Text* (Rodopi 2008).

Staging the Paragone in Lyly and Shakespeare (Session 3)

Jeff Thoss, Free University of Berlin

A familiarity with the Italian *paragone* debate can be presumed to have existed in English culture at least since the 1561 translation of Castiglione's Libro del Cortegiano, which greatly popularized the quattrocento discussion on the relative merit of the arts. My paper proposes to examine its reception in two early modern dramatic works, John Lyly's Entertainment at Mitcham (1598) and William Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* (ca. 1606). All in all, the notion of a rivalry between the arts does not find favour in contemporary word-and-image studies, where it has largely been discredited as a dated 'grand narrative' that produces predictable and questionable hierarchies while cementing media differences. Based on the work of play theorists Johan Huizinga and Roger Caillois, I argue for a (re-)conceptualization of the paragone that stresses its nature as a type of agon and views it as a processual game played with media, a dynamic testbed where word and image can be freely probed. I contend that such a playful approach to the rivalry between the arts is exhibited in Lyly's and Shakespeare's texts. Both literally as well as figuratively stage the *paragone* in the form of a dialogue between a painter and a poet tasked with creating the best representation of the same object, their patron. In the exchange between the two representatives of their respective art, typical paragone arguments are put forth and upheld just as much as they are ironized and subverted. In addition, the difference between word and image is continually (re-)negotiated in ekphrastic and pictorialist passages, in games of medial mimicry. Finally, both the *Entertainment* and *Timon* refuse to 'declare a winner' to the agon, instead postponing a resolution to a hypothetical future and thereby evincing the open-ended nature of the rivalry of the arts. Rather than settling the hierarchy between word and image and offering English artists readymade answers to the questions posed by a changing media landscape, the paragone tradition thus provided a framework enabling creative reflection about what an image (and what a text) is in Early Modern England.

Biography

Jeff Thoss is a lecturer in English at the Free University of Berlin. He completed his doctoral dissertation in transmedial narratology at the University of Graz and is currently working on ekphrasis, pictorialism and the *paragone* in English literature. His research interests comprise narrative theory, intermediality studies and comics studies. Publications include *When Storyworlds Collide: Metalepsis in Popular Fiction, Film and Comics* (Leiden: Brill/Rodopi, 2015), a chapter on adaptation and media rivalry in *Storyworlds across Media: Towards a Media-Conscious Narratology* (ed. Marie-Laure Ryan and Jan-Noël Thon, Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2014) and an essay on ekphrasis and cartography in *Word & Image* (2016).

Interpreting the Image of Harold's Companion in the Bayeux Tapestry

Olga Timofeeva, University of Zurich

The Bayeux Tapestry, produced in the late 1070s-early 1080s, commemorates the battle of Hastings and the events leading up to the Norman Conquest. It was designed and embroidered by English artisans, which is made clear by the peculiarities of the Latin captions accompanying the scenes of the tapestry. The loyalties of the people involved in its production seem to be clear: Harold Godwinson, the Anglo-Saxon opponent of William the Conqueror, is first seen at the Norman court, fighting in Brittany together with William and swearing fealty to him, and then breaking his pledge and usurping the crown of England at the death of Edward the Confessor.

This paper revisits the relation between the main frieze where this narrative takes place and the images in the upper and lower borders, which, according to critics, can be interpreted as a commentary, a satire, a secret code or a purely ornamental addition to the main story. In particular I look at the departure-to-Normandy feast in the earlier section of the tapestry and connect it to the scene from the Crow and the Fox fable in the lower border. This in turn highlights the link between the Harold of the tapestry and another character that accompanies him in many, seemingly, key scenes of the narrative. I tentatively identify this character with Harold's brother Gyrth, comparing the Bayeux Tapestry to other contemporary sources, and suggest how this identification can illuminate our understanding of the circumstances in which this work was conceived and commissioned.

Biography

Olga Timofeeva is professor of English historical linguistics at the university of Zurich. She works on medieval language contact and language acquisition, discursive construction of identity in medieval English texts, historical sociolinguistics, and historical syntax. Her books include *Non-finite Constructions in Old English, with Special Reference to Syntactic Borrowing from Latin* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2010).

Virgilian Ekphrasis in Late Medieval and Early Modern England (Session 3)

Juliette Vuille, University of Oxford

In book I of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas and Achates stop in awe in front of the painted walls of Juno's Carthaginian temple, admiring a mural that describes the events of the Trojan War. This ekphrastic episode elicits particularly interesting reformulations in the medieval and Early Modern periods. In this paper, I argue that the multiplication of "retellings" of this episode through different artistic media (poetry, painting, engraving, sculpture...) between the 14th and the 16th centuries is revealing of an on-going questioning at this particular moment in time by artists of how best to convey a story: is it through painting, sculpture, poetry, or performance? Is it through text or through image? I shall evidence how important Virgil's passage is for this interrogation by looking at three adaptations of the episode in the late Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period, respectively by Chaucer, Rafael, and William Gager.

Chaucer's adaptation of the ekphrastic moment in the *House of Fame* demonstrates the poet's association between image and imagination, as he represents the story of Aeneas' adventures through a shifting and ambiguous array of artistic media on the walls of the Temple of Glass. The story takes a life of its own, shedding its association with a single artistic medium or author: in the same way it existed in the medieval imaginaire, is at once Virgil's and Ovid's, poetic and sculptural. Rafael, on the other hand, uses the episode of Juno's Temple in the Quos Ego engraving to express the superiority of painting over sculpture and poetry, in the context of the *paragone* debate which pitted the artists of the Italian Renaissance against one another regarding which artistic medium - whether sculpture, painting, or even poetry - was most suited to convey rilievo, both in the meaning of relief and illusion of reality. Finally, William Gager effects a more light-hearted reappropriation in his Latin *Dido* play when he has Cupid ape the ekphrastic episode on a plate of food. As with Chaucer, the audience's imagination is engaged, needing to imprint the dish before them with the image of Troy. While, however, the most important aspect of the ekphrasis in Chaucer was the free-standing story, separate from who tells it, here it is the one who utters the story who is most important. The artistic likeness matters not, it is the artist/performer, Cupid, who, through a tour de force, can convince his audience.

Biography

Juliette Vuille is currently in the second year of a three-year postdoctoral fellowship granted by the Swiss National Fund to pursue her research on "The Metapoetics of Chaucerian Messengers: Literary Theory Embodied" at the University of Oxford. She completed her doctoral dissertation – "Holy Harlots: Authority, Gender, and the Body in Medieval English Hagiography" in 2014 at the University of Lausanne, and has since worked and taught at the Universities of Lausanne and Geneva. She has published articles on late medieval female mystics, medieval translation, and palaeography, and is in the process of adapting her PhD dissertation into a monograph.

Visual and Textual Representations of St Cuthbert in Fifteenth-Century Northern England (Session 8)

Christiania Whitehead, University of Warwick

This paper will explore fifteenth-century textual and visual representations of St Cuthbert, the great Anglo-Saxon saint of northern England, whose cult was curated by the Durham Benedictine priory at Durham Cathedral from the late eleventh century. Textually, it will draw upon the little known fifteenth-century, Middle English metrical *Life of St Cuthbert*, which survives in a single manuscript from Castle Howard, and was in all probability, a Durham Benedictine production. Visually, it will focus on a series of fifteenth-century wooden panel paintings that portray scenes from the life of St Cuthbert in the choir at Carlisle Cathedral. It will examine whether the visual narratives of these panels are primarily indebted to Bede's *Prose Life of Cuthbert* or to later composite versions of Cuthbert's life such as the metrical *Life*, how these panels portray Cuthbert for a fifteenth-century Cumbrian municipal audience, and why Carlisle Cathedral should have been chosen as the site for this visual sequence, bearing in mind the links between Cumbrian Cistercian abbeys and the cult of Cuthbert in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If time allows, some comparisons may also be made with the fifteenth-century stained glass programmes that once portrayed scenes from Cuthbert's life before their post-Reformation destruction, at Durham Cathedral.

Biography

Christiania Whitehead is an Associate Professor (Reader) in Medieval Literature at the University of Warwick. From Sept 2016 she will also be the Research Fellow for the SNFS funded project, 'Region and Nation in Late Medieval Devotion to Northern Saints', based at University of Lausanne. Her recent books include *North of England Saints*, 600-1500, ed. by M. Coombe, A. Mouron & C. Whitehead (Turnhout, forthcoming 2016), *The Doctrine of the Hert: A Critical Edition*, ed. by C. Whitehead, D. Renevey & A. Mouron (Exeter, 2010), and *A Companion to the Doctrine of the Hert*, ed. by D. Renevey & C. Whitehead (Exeter, 2010). She has published a number of articles upon the cult of St Cuthbert in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and is currently completing a book on the Cuthbertine ascetic tradition.

"Primates and portraits: the Visual (Mis)representation of William Laud" (Book Illustration Panel)

Rachel Willie, Bangor-Aberystwyth Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Wales

When William Laud (1573-1645) was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, he and his associate clergy looked to Apostolic inheritance as a means of asserting episcopal authority. However, Apostolic succession, with its appeal to history and lineage, was not without its problems. In parliamentary debates in 1640, both those sympathetic to the episcopacy and its detractors observed that appealing to apostolic antiquity presented the bishops in ways that might be construed as popish. Laud's reforms in church worship and Arminian leanings were censured by some and would eventually become a contributory factor in parliament's decision to execute him. These parallels were made more apparent in anti-Laudian pamphlets published throughout the 1630s and early 1640s and representations of Laud in cheap print alluded to his purported papal pretensions. In the early 1640s, a series of satirical attacks on Laud were printed and these texts comprise woodcuts that represent the hapless primate. Visual culture flirts with Laud's image to present a negative iconography, but this iconography is not limited to static portraiture: while many texts reproduce a portrait of Laud, others depict his ghostly image or directly respond to the narrative of the pamphlet. Such imagery echoes some playtexts and ballads and establishes a mode of representation that is recycled in the 1650s. This paper will address some of the difficulties in unpacking perceptions of the relationship between church and state in mid-seventeenth century pamphlets and how visual imagery connects (or disconnects) these representations with ideas of Popery, regicide and the body politic.

Biography

Rachel Willie is honorary research associate at the Bangor-Aberystwyth Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Wales. Her publications include a monograph, *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1647-72* (MUP, 2015); *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530-1700* (OUP, 2015), co-edited with Kevin Killeen and Helen Smith; articles on the paper stage and the circulation of print, Milton, and on English Civil War martyrology. She is currently researching a monograph on the early modern moon and has essays forthcoming on religion, literature and translation; reading aloud; and contrafacta music, memory and Restoration ballads.

Performing Art: Images on the Early Modern Stage (Session 2)

Gillian Woods, Birkbeck College, University of London

What does it mean to perform art on the early modern stage? Statues that move, brazen heads that talk, and wax figures that signify both human beings and monuments appear in plays and masques from across the period. By troubling the distinction between actor and 'prop', subject and object, these representationally unstable moments actively engage audiences with the question 'what is an image?' Scenes in which artful images are part of the dramatic action self-consciously interrogate both the mechanisms of theatricality and the significance of visual culture. This paper focuses on such instances because it is here that theatre explicitly reflected on, and positioned itself in relation to, other visual arts. I will explore the practicalities conditioning the performance of images: what material properties might have been used and what was their significance? —what gestures and acting styles might have been employed to perform art? More broadly, I want to analyse the ideological, theological and aesthetic stakes of staging statues and icons that refused to stick within clearly material categories. I argue that performed art affords an important site for re-viewing drama's visual meaning and clarifying the significance of the early modern image.

Biography

Gillian Woods is a Senior Lecturer in Renaissance Literature and Theatre at Birkbeck College, University of London. She is the author of two books – *Shakespeare's Unformed Fictions* (Oxford University Press; joint winner of the Shakespeare's Globe Book Award) and *Romeo and Juliet: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (Palgrave Macmillan) – as well as numerous articles on Renaissance drama. She is currently co-editing a collection of essays entitled 'Stage Directions and the Shakespearean Stage' for Arden, in addition to working on a project about staged invisibility and a book on 'Performing Art: Visual Arts on the Renaissance Stage'.

"The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy": visual elements of the printed funeral sermon in early modern England (Session 1)

Hannah Yip, University of Oxford

There has been a burgeoning scholarship on the early modern English sermon in recent years, particularly regarding their manner of performance, their role as socio-political rhetoric, their portrayal of women, and their place in print culture. However, the visual elements of the printed sermon – design, illustration, presentation, typography, and textual imagery – have so far been largely underrepresented within these flourishing studies. By examining the collaboration between visual design and textual imagery in the printed funeral sermon, this paper attempts to demonstrate that much work remains to be done regarding the study of visual elements of the published sermon, and their significance as a rhetorical device in the preacher's absence.

The scope of the paper is determined by its exclusive concentration upon the printed funeral sermon in early modern England. The nature of this genre is a paradoxical one: the sermon centres on one or two persons, and often purports to address a small group of the deceased's loved ones present at the funeral; yet the boundaries between private and public are inevitably blurred, owing to its accessibility through publication and its frequent self-portrayal as a 'paper monument' to the deceased. This interplay between the public and private poses important questions about how personal the visual elements were, and the levels of interpretation afforded to the public.

Several case studies form the bulk of the paper, and explore themes such as the funeral sermon's above-mentioned affinity with the funerary monument – as prominent displays of commemoration in early modern England, as means for didactic reflection, and as public, yet often intimate, materialisations of grief – and textual references in light of this. The case studies also investigate the significance of image placement within the text and highlight instances of illustrations working as moral agents, dictating how consumers were to read the sermon without the aid of a preacher.

It is hoped that this paper will argue the case for considering textual imagery, illustration and visual presentation as integral elements of the printed sermon; in particular, the extent to which the visual enhanced the transmission of emotions and morals in published commemorative literatures of early modern England. The paper also proposes other lines of enquiry into the visual characteristics of the printed sermon, such as the examination of different editions of the same sermon and possible censorship, or lack thereof, of images and imagery during certain periods of religio-political upheaval.

Biography

Hannah Yip studied at the University of Oxford, where she was awarded the degree of Master of Studies in Literature and Arts with distinction in 2015. She was the Associate Editor of the third volume of VIDES – Volume of Interdisciplinary Essays (2015), a journal compiled by students of the M.St. in Literature and Arts, and presented her contribution to the journal at an OUDCE Graduate Seminar. Alongside a full-time career as a sub-editor, she has presented papers at the Universities of Lancaster, Coventry and Portsmouth. Her research interests include religious and commemorative print culture in early modern England.