

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE NORDIC NETWORK FOR RENAISSANCE STUDIES
“RENAISSANCE PROTOTYPES: TENSIONS OF PAST AND PRESENT IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE”
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Narratives on the Past, Myth, and the Vitruvian *amphiprostyle* Temple as a Prototype: Building a teleological Design for Renaissance Portuguese Churches

By Susana Abreu

Since a long time, Art History scholars have intuited a kind of “chronological” issue in Portuguese Renaissance architecture. The preference for retrograde plans, more strongly rooted in Late-Medieval models than in the newly rediscovered Antiquity, has puzzled researchers and became the matter of controversy and prejudice. In fact, and except for a few small buildings punctually exploring the Italian Renaissance theories and forms – which indeed arrived in Portugal on time through manuscripts and books –, large scale buildings usually adopted typologies already in decline elsewhere. Portuguese Renaissance architecture reveals to have been intentionally anachronistic; this is to say, it was openly judgemental on the mainstream of Renaissance art.

This paper explores the possible grounds for the critic at the core of such anachronism. To this end, it considers the prototype for a small set of very similar churches – Santa Maria do Castelo, a finely designed building in the city of Estremoz c. 1560 –, whose plan, façade and internal space were based on the amphiprostyle temple as described by Vitruvius (I B.C.) and engraved by Italian painter and architect Cesaro Cesariano (1521). The Vitruvian proportions were carefully copied into the plans of the real building, and the “Classical” façade was interpreted accordingly. This suggests that Prince Cardinal D. Henrique (the patron of this building and of some others of the same set) glanced at the history of architectural forms with a particular bias having a purpose in mind: to create a sheer Ancient building to accommodate a Christian church, a decorous prototype to be reproduced in series.

Considering that architectural forms are able to convey ideas and meanings in context – a blatant fact in the previous Portuguese “Manueline” buildings –, this paper suggests that the chosen model for the new church plan might have been more than a mere humanistic penchant for Ancient art. This plan was as alien to the Portuguese

tradition as were some Late-Medieval typologies adopted at the time. In consequence, it might be inferred that the Vitruvian type was chosen to perform a role probably shared also by all the others: the display of a sheer Nationalism structured on narratives of beginnings, old prophecies, Neoplatonic philosophy, and the strong belief in a messianic and teleological spiritual mission for the nation.

Indeed, the engraving by Cesariano, whether taken as a reliable visual source on the look of ancient buildings or not (Cesariano misunderstood Vitruvius' text and introduced Byzantine features in his reconstitution), proved surprisingly suitable to render visible the political and religious ambition of the nation: the reunification of both ancient Christian Empires – of the Occident and Orient – under the rule of the Portuguese crown.

Analysing the church of Santa Maria do Castelo and the convoluted temporality her architecture evokes (including its cross-geographical and symbolic allusions), this paper focuses on how the design of this prototype turned out to be potentially full of political, religious and spiritual meaning. By approaching the Renaissance concept of "prototype" in more than one way with the contribution of literature, philosophy and the history of ideas, this paper eventually intends to unlock the above mentioned "chronological" issue of Portuguese architecture.

The Hellenistic Romance Tradition and the Mutability of Cause and Effect in Shakespeare's *King Lear*

While it is widely established that Greek romances such as Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* influenced the themes and structure of Shakespeare's late tragicomedies, the impact of these texts, especially in their emphasis on causal fluidity, can also be felt in the high tragedies. In *King Lear* the characters must continuously renegotiate the past in order to make sense of their present. In order to reconcile himself to his impending death and the mistakes he has made leading up to it, Lear must come to terms with the idea that history itself is mutable, dependent on a continuing examination of cause and effect by those around him. Only then is he able to reunite with Cordelia in a meaningful way, and while this reunion is short-lived and one-sided, it is nevertheless characteristic of the Greek romance in which the hero must reach similar conclusions for the story to find closure. By exploring the indefinite relation of cause and effect and the inherent mutability of the historical narrative, Shakespeare in *King Lear* recontextualizes the conventions of the Hellenistic romance tradition in ways that intensify the effect and deepen the impact of his own tragedy.

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Creating Prototypes: The *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* and Antiquity

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In 1554, the *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (the History of all the Kings of the Goths and the Swedes) was published in Rome. It is a historical work in Latin, written by Johannes Magnus, the last Swedish Catholic Archbishop of Uppsala to hold residence in his home country.

Throughout the work, Johannes Magnus creates links between well-known events or people from Antiquity and events or people in the history of the Goths. These explicitly formulated similarities have been regarded as attempts at showing that the Goths were not too unlike the revered ancients, as pointed out by Kurt Johannesson in his 1982 study on the works of Johannes and his brother, the *Gotisk renässans*. The question has however still to be the focus of a more systematic investigation.

In this paper, I discuss the events and people of Antiquity as prototypes for the depictions of events and people in Johannes' work of history. With that as a starting point, I study the use of them in his work: to what extent are they used, in what way, and to which effects?

The Earthly Goddess : Sources, Gaps and Creation of the Sleeping Beauty Iconography in Renaissance Art

The notion of prototype is an opportunity to question the positivistic, correlative or logical links between European Renaissance and Antiquity. In this perspective, resurgences of antique postures in Western art of the XVIth and XVIIth century deserve to be examined in the light of the Warburgian notion of *pathosformel*. The latter, breaking down the temporal schema set up by positivists historians, offers a concept of time based on anachronism and « survivals » to rethink the dialogue between Renaissance and Antiquity.

In this study, I aim to focus on the recollection and survival of the antique Sleeping Ariadne into Renaissance art and particularly in the XVIth iconography of the Sleeping Beauty. During the Renaissance, the themes of the neoplatonic sleeping nymph or the Venetian Venus are based on the sensuous display of a female body that often recall the antique Sleeping Ariadne.

Rethinking the dialogue between Renaissance and Antiquity through the Warburgian notion of *pathosformel*, I'll try to demonstrate how the Renaissance artist does not simply repeat the antique prototype. The prototype as a « *Vorbild* » is only meaningful in his absence, in difference and gap he creates with the Renaissance creation. In this conjunction of difference and repetition, we can detect deep disruptions in the way the occidental man was considering himself. In the Venetian Venus, sometimes no longer sleeping but gazing the spectator, the Ariadne posture is charged with a new signification. Formerly attached to the abandon of the lover or the discovery of the sleeping beauty, this *pathosformel* became during the XVIth century the incarnation of the fascination for human beauty, emphasizing the dignity and the majesty of the body.

In this inversion of sense, from the human passivity waiting to be waken by divinity to the intrinsic powers of the body on the spectator, we can see how the prototype of the antique Ariadne has been rethinking and how the artist's real innovations rely in the freedom he took from the antique work. The Venetian Venus offers the spectator the same part as the ancient satyre gazing at the sleeping nymph, except this time the lying beauty is no longer the prey of a voyeur, she became the agent of a spiritual, intellectual elevation through the contemplation of her beauty.

Marion Beaufils

Bramante's Tempietto as Vitruvian prototype

Bramante's Tempietto, built in 1502 in the cloister of San Pietro in Montorio was acknowledged by its contemporaries as the reconstruction of an antique circular temple, despite the fact that it only to some extent corresponded to the standing antique edifices. Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio described and illustrated the Tempietto in their books devoted to ancient architecture (1540 and 1570), thus advocating its status as a 'classic'. Nonetheless, it was the Italian translation of Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, annotated by Daniele Barbaro and illustrated by Andrea Palladio (1556), that sanctioned its authority as an antique prototype, through its visualization of the ambiguous Vitruvian description of the peripteral temple in the forms of the Tempietto. This paper intends to assess Barbaro's and Palladio's interpretation of the peripteral temple and consequently of Bramante's Tempietto in relationship to the preceding editions of Vitruvius and of the corpus of Renaissance architectural drawings after the antique.

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'Misteriose Erudizioni Antiche': Material Continuum between Past and Present in the Villa Borghese

Abstract (198 words)

This paper will explore the material conditions for temporal continuum between past and present in Cardinal Nephew Scipione Borghese's Roman villa.

As the Roman past, manifest in myth and history, resided in the actual and imagined spaces of ancient literature, Early Modern Romans, struggling for dynastic influence in a political realm of considerable instability, mined the authoritative *topoi* of the literary past to project them onto topography of the present. In their Roman villas, sites cast as imitations of their ancient predecessors, this spatial notion of temporal continuum rested on the infusion of the site with the material presence of antiquity in the form of statuary, completed and rewritten through restoration. As the Villa Borghese was also the site of an unprecedented patronage of *all'antica* sculpture, objects of the past and present appeared to quote and mimic each other, staging the villa as a site of temporal continuum through encounters between a reconstructed past and a retrospective present.

The paper will centre on select cases of material continuum with literary antiquity in the Villa Borghese, culminating in the restored sculpture of Marcus Curtius, which shifted the supreme moment of Roman virtue through time and space to Scipione's vigna.

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The Moon and Other Modes of Folly: Ariosto and Erasmus

Erasmus and Ariosto, two of the greatest intellects of the European Renaissance, both embraced the notion that the observation of the world through the mirror of Folly and the idea of Literature as a foolish double of reality would shed light on the real nature of wisdom.

Both their works, the *Encomium* and the *Orlando* establish as a narrator a self-declared fool who is, constitutionally, to be regarded as unreliable, and yet who is the omniscient masterminder of the complex narrative offered to the reader, as well as being responsible for the formidable task of reshaping common notions about wisdom and the art of narration through a game which is not short of a reenactment of the liar's paradox traditionally attributed to Epimenides of Crete.

Through such reversals, as if in a game of mirrors where endless reflections deconstruct in a mindboggling fragmentation the expected developments of their reasoning, they challenged common notions and reshaped a unitary vision which returns reality in a form not envisaged before and yet is reliably grounded on the foundations of the disciplines they mastered – purged and restored from the corruption of convention.

Particular attention is to be given to the use of classical languages in this intellectual game.

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Myth, Intertextuality and Culture Memory in the Italian Renaissance

Many scholars have stressed the privileged relationship that exists between myth and intertextuality. This relationship can develop into a variety of levels and modes – from citation to allusion to intentional or unintentional reminiscence, from explicit resumption of characters, themes and plots to parallelism and other more vague forms of consonance. In this way, myth assumes a distinguished role in the transmission of Cultural Memory (Jan & Aleida Assmann's *Kulturelle Gedächtnis*). Indeed, myths tend to function, rather than as a specific "text", as a widespread cultural register (or a chain of cultural representations) that can be recognized in individual texts, but where these cannot be fully identified with the original myth itself. Bart Van Den Bossche calls this phenomenon 'mythical transtextuality', a kind of ternary relation between text, myth and another text that acts as interpretant. Others (Pierre Brunel) place emphasis on criteria such as myth's irradiation and flexibility. In any case, these scholars problematize the relationship between original and copy or/and present it in a more dynamic way. Based on the research of these scholars (and others), and with examples from Boccaccio, Gelli, Machiavelli and Petrarca, in my paper I will try to discuss how Renaissance culture draws on and readapts the classical myth in a dynamic and original way.

Assmann, Jan, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich 1992

Assmann, Aleida, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, Munich 1999

Brunel, Pierre, *Mythocritique*, Paris 1992

Van Den Bossche, Bart, *Il mito nella letteratura italiana del Novecento*, Firenze 2007

NNRS 2016 Renaissance Prototypes

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Title:

Periandro/Persiles: Undercover Prototype

Abstract:

Miguel de Cervantes' last published work, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, historia setentrional* (*The Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda, A Northern Story*) (1617) represents a dynamic interchange of past and present in its very conception, being explicitly modeled on the ancient Greek adventure novel, or rather "epic in prose" as Renaissance authors recognized it: *The Ethiopica, or Theagenes and Chariclea* by Heliodorus. "The Great *Persiles*", which Cervantes himself pretended to be the "best book of entertainment" ever written in Spanish, is just as much a part of his self-conscious projection of a "new beginning" for prose fiction as the more universally recognized *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615). This paper examines the protagonists' credibility as complex characters in relation to their laborious and accidental voyage through the Arctic and across continental Europe from Lisbon to Rome. A voyage that is set in the recent past (1557-59) marked by religious conflict, while Cervantes also incorporates events like the expulsion of the *moriscos* (1609), thus upsetting the temporal scheme and making history interact dynamically with the present.

Humanism as a Thought style

Sabrina Ebbersmeyer

The impact of Italian Humanism on the development of Western philosophy has been a matter of controversial discussions for many decades. While some historians stressed the relevance of humanist philosophy for the development of modern philosophy, others tend on the contrary to deny Humanism any philosophical significance at all. Whichever position is highlighted, it seems to be agreed that the question has to be discussed on the grounds of the *content* of Humanist writing: their concepts, ideas and theories.

I suggest taking a different approach to this question. As it seems that the traditional categories of historiography are insufficient to deal with this question accurately, I propose to extend our views by taking into account similar problems treated in other disciplines. By taking up a concept developed by the Polish scholar Ludwik Fleck within the context of epistemology, I wish to argue that the concept of *thought style* allows us to grasp the impact of Renaissance humanism in a promising manner.

In my paper I will give a sketch of the elements of the specific thought style of the Humanists in the field of moral philosophy by focusing on the moral writing of Petrarca, Salutati, Bruni and other early Italian Humanists.

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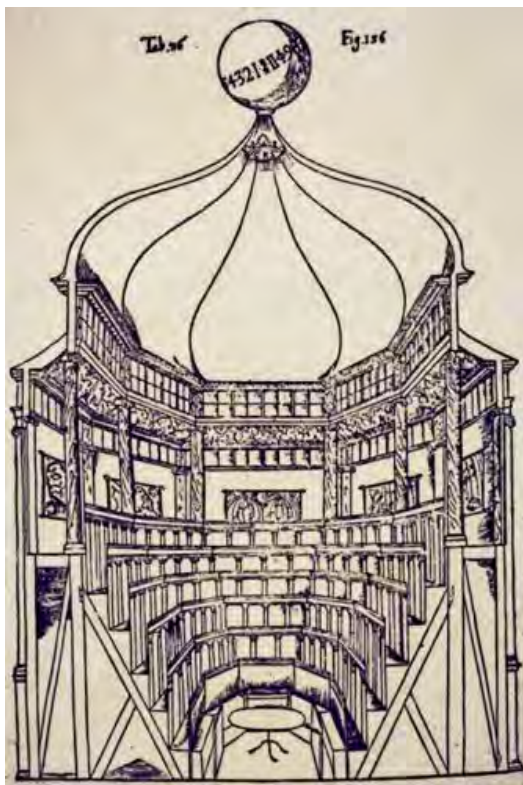
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Architectural prototypes in Rudbeck's *Atlantica* and *theatrum anatomicum*

In the aftermath of the period referred to as the Renaissance in Sweden Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702) envisaged a renaissance with his internationally acclaimed, and criticized, *Atlantica*. Building on the Swedish hyperborean theory by Bureus and Stiernhielm, the professor in medicine, architect and archaeologist postulated that Atlantis had been located in Old Uppsala. Rudbeck twists the notion of the rebirth of classical antiquity suggesting that ancient Swedish architecture had been the model for Greek and Roman architecture. In designing a grand scheme of academy buildings in Uppsala in accordance with Vitruvius Rudbeck comes full circle and reestablishes new Uppsala as the new Atlantis (likely with intentional reference to Francis Bacon). The paper reevaluates this analytical perspective by also addressing the *theatre* as it came to expression in Rudbeck's *theatrum anatomicum*. A Renaissance creation, the Vitruvian theatre not only became the prototype for building types such as the anatomical theatre, dramatic theatre and *Kunstkammer*, but also for schemes of memory and knowledge like Camillo's *L'Idée del teatro* or Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Aeternæ*. In Rudbeck's anatomical theatre the Apollonian temple and the knowledge theatre fuses into an amalgamate of native and foreign, ancient and modern prototypical relationships.

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The anatomical theatre in Uppsala depicted in *Atlantica*.



NORDIC NETWORK FOR RENAISSANCE STUDIES, THIRD CONFERENCE

Conference theme: Renaissance proto-types: tensions of past och present in early modern Europe, Oslo, 28–30 September 2016.

PROPOSAL OF PAPER

Title of paper

Cicero's theory on *elocutio* and Isidore's periodization of Latin in Renaissance linguistics: the Renaissance conceptualization of the linguistic past as a transformation of ancient proto-types

Abstract

This paper will elucidate how the Renaissance humanists re-used classical theory on *elocutio*, as encountered in Cicero and Quintilian in their meta-linguistic re-discovery of Latin as a historical phenomenon. Renaissance humanists discovered the Roman language awareness anew and adapted it to their demands and purposes. This re-discovery provided them with conceptual tools for understanding, describing, and analysing past or present linguistic states of norm and variation, whether in Latin or vernaculars. It also enabled them to dissociate from medieval language awareness. This is evident in the Renaissance debate on the nature, variation and diachronic change of Latin (in Flavio Biondo, Leonardo Bruni, Guarino Veronese, Poggio Bracciolini, Lorenzo Valla, Francesco Filelfo, Polydore Vergil). In this process, they were to transform classical Latin theory on *elocutio* into a means of evaluating the historicity and social variability of classical Latin.

This paper will also elucidate the Renaissance reception and functional reconceptualization of the periodization of the Latin language recorded by Isidore of Seville. I will demonstrate how the Renaissance humanists re-used Isidore's chronological classification and how they transformed it to a means of evaluating the historicity and changeability of the Latin language of antiquity.

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March 2016

Revival, rediscovery, *all'antica*? – The Invention of Sixteenth-Century Grotesques

It is often stated that the grotesques of the sixteenth century represent a revival of ancient models, not least as they became known to artists exploring the *Domus Aurea* (the Palace of the Emperor Nero) in Rome.

From the late fifteenth century and onwards artists began studying these ancient paintings as testified by drawings. At the same time the term grotesque – or *grottesche* – was coined, designating decorative frescoes. Yet these grotesques, which became immensely fashionable in the palaces and villas of the elite, differ remarkably from the Roman frescoes of Antiquity.

Giorgio Vasari was one among many in the period stating that the grotesques were a rediscovery of the painting of Antiquity and an example of art *all'antica*. Yet he also claimed that the ancient prototypes were surpassed by modern versions. Within the rhetoric of praise and blame framing his *Vite*, he characterized the sixteenth-century grotesques of, for instance, Giovanni da Udine, as a “reduction” of the ancient frescoes into something much richer and more beautiful than ever seen before.

My paper proposes a mapping of the innovative qualities of the grotesques as a means to enlighten the analysis of the relation between past and present in sixteenth-century Italian art.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Born April 29 1964 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

1983 – 1992: Studies in Art History at the University of Copenhagen completed with the Danish Magister Degree.

1993 – August 1996: Ph.D.-student with a project on the subject of imagery of ruins in Italian fifteenth-century art, defended 1997, and subsequently rewritten and published as *Ruinbilleder*, Copenhagen, 1999.

September 1996 – December 1997: part time Associate Professor in Art History at the University of Copenhagen.

1998 Assistant Professor at the Dept. of Art History, Aarhus University.

2002-2013 Associate Professor at the Dept. of Art History, Aarhus University.

January 2005 defence at Aarhus University of the "disputats", *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*, published in Rome, 2003.

2006 Rigmor and Carl Holst-Knudsen's Research Award, Aarhus University.

2007-2014 Member of the Board of Directors of the New Carlsberg Foundation.

2014- Associate Professor in Art History, University of Copenhagen

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Fields of research:

- ruins and the concept of time in fifteenth-century painting
- spolia in early Christian and medieval architecture
- grotesques and the relation to art and nature in the sixteenth century

Fellowships by

- The New Carlsberg Foundation
- The Roman Foundation of Queen Ingrid
- The Fulbright Commission
- The Danish Research Council
- The Carlsberg Foundation
- The Novo Nordic Foundation
- Hender's Foundation
- The Beckett-Foundation

My publications include books and articles on medieval and renaissance art and architecture, especially Italian, and on contemporary art. Presently, I am working on a book on grotesques in sixteenth-century Italy (for a full bibliography, cf. <http://artsandculturalstudies.ku.dk/>).

Montaigne's legacy and the French Moralistic Discourse

In this paper I discuss the tension between a sceptical tradition with its roots in the ancient world and the ideas of free will and the supremacy of reason in the early modern moralistic discourse. Renaissance humanism and the growth of libertine thought generated an ambiguous conception of the subject, which merged skepticism with materialism, and a new stress on experience attempted to detach itself from the dominance of Christian ideas. The paradigm of man as the image of God is gradually giving way to a "mixture humaine" ("human mixture") as Michel de Montaigne called it. Further more, Montaigne is an important precursor for French 17th century free-thinkers such as François de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680), Charles de Saint-Évremond (1610-1703) and Ninon de Lenclos (1620-1705), and my purpose is to assess their discursive practice as an opposing element to Descartes' more rational conception of the passions and the role of Montaigne's legacy in the early modern formation of subjectivity.

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Franzén's recent publications include "The Division of Love and Feminine Desire," in *Pangs of Love and Longing. Configuration of Desire in Premodern Literature*, eds. Anders Cullhed, Carin Franzén et al., Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, "Christine de Pizan's Appropriation of the Courtly Tradition," in *Narrations genrées: écrivaines dans l'histoire européenne jusqu'au début du XXe siècle*, eds. Lieselotte Steinbrügge and Suzan van Dijk, Leuven : Editions Peeters, 2014; "Polyphony of Love in the Heptaméron," in *Allusions and Reflections. Greek and Roman Mythology in Renaissance Europe*, eds. Elisabeth Wåghäll Nivre et al., Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2015.

RENAISSANCE PROTOTYPES

Figures of Migration: Cleopatra at the Belvedere courtyard and the Night in the Medici chapel

The Belvedere courtyard at the Vatican was built by Bramante in the early 16th century and housed the famous Laokoon, the Apollo, the Torso and several other works of classical origin. Vasari mentions many of them as the very prototypes that set a standard for the *bella maniera*. Next to these well known works was also a reclining, full scale sculpture thought to represent Cleopatra. Castiglione wrote a long poem for the figure, deploring her migration from the Egyptian homeland and her tragic faith among the Romans. She is a figure of homelessness and loss, it is argued – a migrant.

For Michelangelo, who was deeply involved in the arrangements of the Belvedere courtyard, the whole complex may have served as an inspiration for the Medici chapel, begun about then years later. He used the figure of Cleopatra as a prototype for a main figure of the chapel, the Night. Like Cleopatra she is a figure of migration, originating as a goddess of Orphic theogony but sited in a Christian chapel. Like with Cleopatra, poetry is composed for her, deploring her faith and encouraging her to stay asleep during these difficult times; the sculptured figure becomes again an embodiment of migration.

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Cultural Encounter - abstracts

Cultural Encounter I: Northern negotiations of classical and Italian prototypes

Renaissance humanism engaged with Antiquity as a prototype, a stylistic aspiration as well as a source of inspiration for original production that facilitated exploration of both past and present. But Italian Renaissance culture itself was also a prototype, inspiring the cultures of other European regions. Thus, northern humanists engaged not only with ancient prototypes, but also with norm-changing contemporary negotiations of them produced by humanist from various geographical regions and cultural contexts. This dynamic is the starting-point of the interdisciplinary project *Cultural Encounter as a precondition for European identity*, hosted by Aarhus University (Denmark) and the Danish Institute in Rome.

The collaborators of *Cultural Encounter* organize two sessions. This first session explores Renaissance encounters with Classical culture in northern Europe, and examines how expressions of humanist interaction with ancient prototypes in the north were influenced by Italian examples. It covers literary, scholarly and material culture.

Integrating antiquity: Making meaning of the classical past in the musaeum.

From the late fifteenth century scholars in Italy began collecting classical antiquities. Some became part of what can be conceptualised as early art collections, while others were integrated into *musaei*: proto-scientific collections. Emulating Pliny's encyclopaedic project *Naturalis Historia*, these collections provided a physical space for the systematization and study of the knowledge, which the objects were seen to embody. Thus the Renaissance collector engaged with classical antiquity firstly through the practice of collecting and secondly through the collecting and study of classical objects. These engagements can be conceptualised as processes of *reception* (Martindale 2007): the continuous re-appropriation of the meaning of classical past into a given cultural context. Collecting activity spread through Europe in the sixteenth century via the transnational network of Renaissance scholars. In Denmark physician and antiquary Ole Worm (1588-1654) created a collection preserved in written form in a catalogue from 1655. Among his possessions were several antique coins and *Kleinkunst*. Using the theoretical framework provided by reception studies this paper will explore how Worm systematised and described the antiquities in this catalogue, addressing how the approach to antiquities was renegotiated, challenged or indeed remained unchanged, as the collecting practices travelled from Renaissance Italy to Scandinavia.

Lærke Maria Andersen Funder

Epic ambition in bucolic poetry: Recusatio, correction and renegotiation

The bucolic norms are not limited to forms and tropes, but include a frame of interpretation as well. Not only Vergil's poetry but also his career was established as prototypical among Renaissance humanists. The description of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* as three phases in a coherent career pattern found in late antique commentaries, connects writing bucolic poetry to an expectation of aspiration towards more advanced epic forms. Furthermore, the similarly well-established convention of allegory and autobiographical content expands the readers' expectation to include that the above-mentioned discourse of ambition towards epic may be trackable in the work itself. The bucolic genre provides a wonderful frame for aspiring poets to address potential patrons and recommend themselves and their poetic and academic skills. However, as it is the fate of literary norms to be challenged, this convention proves to have been the subject of negotiation in some humanist versions of pastoral. This paper addresses examples of how the prototypical conception of bucolic poetry as a beginning and a mark of ambition towards an epic aim was rejected, challenged and renegotiated by Baptista Mantuanus in *Adolescentia* (1498) and Danish Erasmus Laetus in *Bucolica* (1560).

Trine Arlund Hass

Beyond grammar: Biblical humanists and their Italian examples

The reception of Italian humanism in the rest of Europe took many different forms. With regard to Biblical scholarship, northern humanists such as Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples were inspired by Italian examples, and by the Italian ideals of returning to the ancient sources and restoring a lost classical past. On the other hand, they looked down on the alleged paganism and triviality of Italian humanism, emphasizing the religious depth and originality of the northern movement.

This paper problematizes the impact of quattrocento humanism on the northern 'Biblical' humanists, taking the reception of Lorenzo Valla's annotations to the New Testament as a starting point. This work was published by Erasmus in 1505. Soon afterwards, he produced his own edition of the Greek text, a Latin translation, and a series of notes on the New Testament, inspired by Valla's example. Erasmus' contemporaries accused him of copying or even plagiarizing Valla, whereas he himself acknowledged his debt to the Italian humanist, but also emphasized his own originality. Zooming in on Erasmus and Valla, this paper investigates the complex dynamics between northern humanists and their Italian examples, who they sought to both imitate and surpass.

Annet den Haan

Cultural Encounter II: The role of individually expressed ideals in the development of tradition

The second session organized by *Cultural Encounter* takes as its departure the humanist tradition built upon prototypes discussed in the first session, and focuses on the roles of individual humanists as they interact with tradition. We ask whether humanists are in practice able to follow their own ideals when using literary models of the past, or if they are constrained by factors within the tradition or the cultural environment that overrule their expressed ideals. The relationship between ideal and practice as an indication of the force of individual writers in tradition is addressed through investigations of the expressed intentions of the humanists – as seen in e.g. letters, dedications, treatises and grammars, through analyses of the actual practice of the humanists – such as translation practice and their written Latin language, and through discussions of other possible sources of influence on the actual form – such as the vernaculars, the vocabulary of one’s contemporaries, and the language and culture of the prototypes.

The theory and practice of translation: The case of Lampo Birago

The surge of interest in classical antiquity during the fourteenth and fifteenth century sparked a rise in the numbers of translations and translators, culminating during the pontificate of Nicholas V. Another consequence was the appearance of a corpus of metadiscourse on translation in the form of theoretical treatises and comments discussing the optimal practice of translation found in letters between humanists, dedicatory letters, marginalia, etc. Most translators agreed to varying degrees that in principle the best practice was to translate the sense, not verbatim as during the middle ages, but even cursory examinations often reveal that this ideal was not always achieved. One of these translations is Lampo Birago’s influential translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Antiquitates Romanae* (first printed in 1480 in Treviso almost seventy years before the appearance of the printed Greek version) dedicated to Pope Paul II. In my paper, I intend to identify what Lampo claims to do when translating by examining his prefaces and letters to see if his forecasting holds sway on his translational practice or whether other parameters such as a desire to emulate the phrasing of other classical Latin writers or genre conventions prove more powerful than the explicitly expressed goals.

Kasper Ørum Køhler Simonsen

Language Variation in Neo-Latin

Neo-Latin was often understood as a conglomeration of competing prototypes, idealizing antiquity without completely abandoning ‘medieval’ Latin. In the terminology of variational linguistics, Neo-Latin research has focused on diachronic and diaphasic variation – both present already in humanist language theory, the former

as ‘restoration’ of Latin, the latter as concern for appropriate stylistic registers. Less attention has been paid to diatopic variation, although Neo-Latin, as superstrate language in a polyglossic Europe, was a pluricentric entity that could not avoid geographic variance. To ensure a communication continuum within Europe, Neo-Latin developed strong norm-control mechanisms (esp. in literary texts, including letters), which posited classical Latin as prototypical. As the alignment with the classical prototype was constantly re-negotiated within the Neo-Latin speech community/ies, language variation was inevitable. In addition, contemporary authors whose Latin lexicon for various reasons came to enjoy paradigmatic status (Beroaldo, Erasmus, Melanchthon), amplified or invalidated aspects of the classical prototype. My paper will discuss this fluid process of language change and regression with examples from Neo-Latin Italy and Germany, trying to identify a typology of variation and exploring reasons for success and failure of individual innovations.

Johann Rammingner

Looking back upon classical Latin from Italy and from Denmark

In fifteenth-century Italy, humanists such as Valla presented themselves as the rightful heirs to ancient Roman culture and the Latin language that became the prototype for their Latin writings. The position as heirs to Antiquity seems to have influenced the form of their Latin, as they deliberately based their written Latin upon their mother tongue, strengthening the natural influence between similar languages that exist in close contact with each other. When humanism migrated north, Danish humanists were well aware of their fundamentally different position in relation to their common prototype, classical Latin, and they explicitly discussed Latin not as their own language, but as an international language, placing written Latin and spoken Danish as even more distant languages, with other possibilities for mutual linguistic influence. This paper presents new data on the use of grammatical moods and tenses in Danish sixteenth-century neo-Latin, compare it to the linguistic structures of fifteenth-century Italian neo-Latin and discuss how this historical and geographic distance to the prototypes, discussed explicitly by humanists, affect the actual linguistic structures, for example the matter of applying complex and nuanced grammatical system of moods and tenses, such as the sequence of tenses.

Camilla Horster

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Renaissance Prototypes: Tensions of Past and Present in Early Modern Europe
Oslo, 28.-30. September 2016

Paper proposal:

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Antiquitates Danicae: The Real World Ambitions of Septentrional Antiquities in Copenhagen

A review of the beginnings of medieval Icelandic studies in Copenhagen, from the start of the 17th century to the exhaustion of absolutism in the 18th century, can provide interesting insights into the ideological aspirations of early research into this area. In the first decades of the 16th century, Worm and Stephanius attempted to overcome and expand the canonical, medieval history of Saxo Grammaticus by recovering his sources in skaldic poetry and medieval sagas. These Danish polymaths, with the willing aid of learned collaborators in Iceland and Norway, laid the foundations of a pristine prototype, 'antiquitates Danicæ', a sort of pseudo-pagan, runic culture of warriors, complete with a strong protestant deference to worldly authority. Resen's *Edda Islandorum* (1665) further contextualised ancient Icelandic poetry and mythology as learned wisdom literature, while the loss of Danish territory and prestige to the rising Swedish empire, in the latter half of the 17th century, colored the heroic archeology of the Danes with death-defying and tragic dimensions, in the comprehensive and widely disseminated study of Bartholin the Younger (1689). In the middle of the 18th century a French intellectual in Copenhagen, Paul-Henry Mallet, finally infused the Danish past with Gallic liberty (soon translated into both English and German), thereby providing a much needed political meditation on civil dignity for the cerebral class in times of absolutist servility. At home in Copenhagen, however, the defeats and territorial losses of the Danish empire forced a more decidedly Norwegian angle on the antiquities project, discernible in the work of Jón Eiríksson and Schønning, who exaggerated the historical and linguistic relatedness of Denmark to Norway to justify as well deserved the hereditary rights of the Danish monarch to rule Norway and its former Atlantic colonies. The acquisition of knowledge in the form of mostly Icelandic codices or fragments from the middle ages, their translation into Latin for the purpose of publication in print, together with much learned patriotic historiography, can thus be seen to have been not simply antiquarian, head-in-the-sand and shy of reality, as it is often portrayed, but on the contrary from the very outset in the service of ulterior societal interests.

NNRS Renaissance Prototypes, proposal for individual paper

Virgil Recycled: An Early Modern Adaptation of the *Aeneid*

In 1541, Hélienne de Crenne published a translation into French prose of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The nature of this translation, perhaps better described as an adaptation, raises questions concerning the translator's view of Virgil's work and her reasons for accomplishing this version of the legendary story. In her dedication of the work to Francis I, Crenne states that she will take the liberty of partly transforming Virgil's master piece, on the one hand claiming Virgil to be the greatest writer ever, on the other asserting that she will nonetheless try to embellish his text. Crenne, accusing Homer of twisting the story of Hector's death to the advantage of the Greek, gives no less than four different versions of the events, among others that of the Trojan Dares of Phrygia, in Crenne's opinion more trustworthy than Homer. This makes sense, since, in accordance with medieval tradition, Crenne claims Francis I to be the descendant of Hector the Trojan, whose death must consequently be heroic. The present contribution focuses on the changes operated by Crenne in relation to Virgil's epic and how she relates and adapts the story to her own present time.

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“To perform an act whereof what’s past is prologue”: Being and Time in
Shakespeare’s Late Plays

In Shakespeare’s late plays – *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter’s Tale*, and *The Tempest* – each character’s actions find their meaning only through the lens of later events, leaving the relationship between what has been and what shall be ever shifting, mutable. Their business, like ours, is one of imposing a significant narrative on the past, but each new exegesis just reinforces the persistent tension between a pre-existing and a freshly constructed order. The true significance of events always lies beyond the horizon and can only become manifest in time; the end determines our understanding of the overall structure, gathering into unity what was once fragmentary, haphazard, unnecessary. Existence as such assumes a teleological imperative, an acceptance that a full conception of anything must include not merely the material, the formal, the efficient causes, but also the final cause, the purpose for which things come into being. Rather than draw focus on the individual, or even the individual’s relation to other individuals, these plays, through their engagement with temporality, suggest the relation between man and the divine, between seeming chaos and an order beyond reason, exploring in the most fundamental sense the nature of the human condition.

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Dramatic History and Historical Drama (#1: Spain)

Panel proposal, NNRS, Oslo 2016

Lope de Vega, who perfected the Spanish late sixteenth-century history play, famously pondered historical drama as a highly effectful means of "rekindling famous deeds and words in the memory of the people". Due to its eminent ability to make history come alive before the eyes of an audience, the emerging historical drama was certainly the most popular instance of what may reasonably be termed the contemporary obsession with history and thus – as critics have not failed to notice – the most important aesthetic vehicle of collective memory and cultural identity formation during this crucial period of nascent European nation states. However, besides its lucid visualization of the past, and ensuing hold on the collective imagination, both rather well-researched, could there be other, as yet undescribed features particular to the historical drama? Does it have a specific enunciatory mode or special take on history – vis-à-vis historiography *strictu sensu*, for example? Which aesthetic and performative elements support its specific way of dealing with the past, if indeed we may speak of such?

1) Staging Historical Encounter

This paper proposes what may be termed a historiographical reading of *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Colón* (1596), exploring Lope de Vega's plausible but not veristic, creative and performative staging of one of the absolute milestones of early modern history: the discovery of the fourth continent by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The accent lies on the Spanish dramatist's use of various aesthetic and performative 'takes' to counter precisely that dogmatic writing of history with which he has recurrently been charged by modern critics: how exactly does the play make its specific historiographical point? Which scenic effects and aesthetic devices support it? On the basis of this exploration of Lope de Vega's aesthetic historiography and what may be termed its theatrical vocabulary, questions concerning the play's interaction with its own historical context and function in relation to the contemporary process of nation formation are further addressed: how does Lope's subtle rendering of one of the most consequential cultural encounters of all time relate to contemporary debates on imperial ethics and the Black Legend?

Sofie Kluge (sofiekluge@sdu.dk)

2) Fictionality as Historical Source in *El Rey Don Pedro en Madrid*.

Historiographical material dealing with the reign, civil war and final assassination of king Pedro I of Castile present a series of idiosyncratic characteristics that, in the past 15 years, inspired a reconsideration of the role of fiction in the writing of history. From the narrative manipulation of information found in Ayala's *Chronicles*, to the still unproved existence of a lost – and truthful – chronicle which would exonerate the king, and including the apologetic discourses in revisionists works up to the 17th century, the story of Don Pedro is marked by uncertainties. In this paper, I will explore how Lope de Vega negotiates such uncertainties through the use of aesthetic and performative strategies. The paper will consider Lope's methodology and use of sources – historiographical and legendary – in the context of new theoretical approaches to the study of medieval historiography and its intersection of fictional devices. How does the dramaturg deal with what is uncertain and what is considered truthful in the sources? Through what scenic devices does

the play enhance the fictionality of the sources? In what way can the play be considered a commentary on the debate surrounding the figure of Don Pedro as it plays out through the centuries?

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3) The representation of *morisco* cultural identities in *Amar después de la muerte*

The presence of a large minority of *moriscos* –baptized descendants of muslims, who maintained a group identity– in 16th century Spain was the cause of social tensions which led to legal measures, a *morisco* uprising which was violently crushed, and finally, the expulsion of the whole group from Spain in 1609. A few decades after the expulsion, Calderón, taking his lead from a novelesque account of the uprising by Pérez de Hita, wrote *Amar después de la muerte*, a play which has often been noted for its sympathetic attitude towards the *morisco* characters. Calderón is however, very selective in which parts of *morisco* society he represents and how he represents them. He combines *morisco* cultural identity with other principles of group identity –notably class– and with pre-existing literary codes. Taking these aspects into account, it becomes clear that Calderón does not portray “the *moriscos*” as an indiscriminate “Other”, but rather as various groups in which ethnic or religious identity may indeed be secondary to other aspects of collective identity.

Erik Willem Coenen (ewcoenen@pdi.ucm.es)

Dramatic History and Historical Drama (#2: England)

Panel proposal, NNRS, Oslo 2016

Lope de Vega, who perfected the Spanish late sixteenth-century history play, famously pondered historical drama as a highly effectful means of "rekindling famous deeds and words in the memory of the people". Due to its eminent ability to make history come alive before the eyes of an audience, the emerging historical drama was certainly the most popular instance of what may reasonably be termed the contemporary obsession with history and thus – as critics have not failed to notice – the most important aesthetic vehicle of collective memory and cultural identity formation during this crucial period of nascent European nation states. However, besides its lucid visualization of the past, and ensuing hold on the collective imagination, both rather well-researched, could there be other, as yet undescribed features particular to the historical drama? Does it have a specific enunciatory mode or special take on history – vis-à-vis historiography *strictu sensu*, for example? Which aesthetic and performative elements support its specific way of dealing with the past, if indeed we may speak of such?

1) Historical mimesis in-between the real and the imaginary

In this paper I will discuss how the early modern theory of imagination might inform our understanding of representations of historical events and characters on the English stage. As Hamlet famously put it, 'the purpose of playing' is to hold 'the mirror up to nature', but how was this mirror conceived? How was real events mirrored? Albeit that defences of poetry, such as Philip Sidney's, argued that poetry might depict a world better than the world as experienced, it was exactly a feigned, unreal world. For this very same reason, critical positions conceived the imaginary as essentially unreal and false and somehow inferior to the original. In both cases, staged representations of historical events were clearly not representations of authentic truth, but verisimilar, 'like truth'. Key questions include: How did the contemporary theory deal with this mimetic remove from the real and what characterised the scenic mimetic practice?

Ulla Kallenbach (ulla.kallenbach@gmail.com)

2) Dissimulating History: Machiavellian Poetics in Shakespeare's *King Richard III*

The hypocritical and dissembling Machiavellian tyrant or usurper occupied a central position in many early modern historiographies, political theories, and history plays. Though this was the case in most of Europe, it was, however, especially present in Tudor England where religious unrest and political conspiracies posed a threat to the country's security and stability. In this paper, I will analyze and discuss what may be described as a Machiavellian aesthetic of dissimulation, present in Shakespeare's history plays. Taking as its point of origin *King Richard III*, the paper will discuss how the historiography of Shakespeare's history plays sought to intervene in and discuss the ethical implications of political Machiavellianism. Furthermore, the paper will discuss the following questions: How does Shakespeare incorporate and recreate contemporary discourses on Machiavellianism? What poetic, performative and creative strategies does Shakespeare use in his representation of historical dissemblers? How can we theoretically define an aesthetic of dissimulation and use it meaningfully in relation to early modern historiography?

David Hasberg Schmidt (davidhasberg@hotmail.com)

3) The Metaphorical Moor: a historiographical perspective on Shakespeare's *Othello*

When stabbing himself in the ending of *Othello* the title character merges with the 'Turk' who plays a significant role in the drama as an actual external enemy and as a distorted image of the internal culture. According to the geographical references Othello is not just a 'moor' in general; he is related to the Ottoman Empire. The connection between the play and the enthronement of James I points to various actual, historical and metaphorical aspects in the depiction of both Venice, the Turks and the 'moor of Venice'. James implemented a substantial change in the current pragmatic policy towards the Ottoman Empire; he attributed a great symbolic meaning to the defeat of the Turkish fleet in 1571 and of the wrecking of the Spanish Armada in 1588 – symbolically referred to in the play when, contrary to the historical facts, the Turks' vessels go down off Cyprus; the historiographical understandings of those circumstances were ruled by an apocalyptic framework, a kind of divine dramaturgical composition. Read in such a perspective the main character appears astonishingly complex, not at all stereotyped, while his counterpart, Iago, may be understood as a demonic 'Spanish' character.

Bent Holm
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Nec Tylensium industria silentio obliteranda: Selling Saxo Back to the Danes in the Seventeenth Century

The *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus was one of the works rediscovered during the Renaissance which had the greatest impact upon conceptions of Nordic antiquity. Moreover, it provided a cultural background for the project of a Danish resurgence in the Early Modern period. The *Gesta Danorum*'s influence within Scandinavia was mainly mediated through the edition published in Paris in 1514 and Anders Sørensen Vedel's Danish translation (1575).

I will present my research on another source: Icelandic translations of Saxo Grammaticus, which appeared in the seventeenth century. Various sagas were produced out of Saxo's source material, many of which were subsequently copied or adapted into poetic versions. In discussing them I will consider how far this translation/adaptation work can be seen as an attempt to reconstruct the prototypes which Saxo originally used. In the introduction to the *Gesta Danorum*, Icelandic sources are mentioned, and thus translation of the narrative material 'back' into Icelandic could be seen as a way of recapturing the lost originals. Moreover, I will show how these reconstructed Icelandic versions were, on more than one occasion, returned to saga-hungry Danish scholars, who deemed such texts to be more authentic and thus serviceable to their philological aims.

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Abstract, proposal

Negotiations of Model Text – and Apostolic Gender – in Early Modern Scandinavian Bible Translations

As is well known, Bible translations formed an essential foundation to scriptural and literary culture, and thus to national identity, of early modern Scandinavian states. An important issue for the definition of each nation, then, was how the relation between model text/source language and target language was designed – and how the model text was defined.

This paper will follow such aspects of the Bible translations into Danish, Finnish, Icelandic and Swedish, discussing their relation to their models through the case of the shifting gender of the apostle Junia/Junias in Romans 16.7.

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Christian Platonism: varying lines of interpretation

As the Christian Platonism crafted by Marsilio Ficino reached more northern climes, it was taken up in a variety of contexts. This paper will note three quite separate strands: the Pauline and Dionysian Platonism of Ficino's later years that appealed to John Colet and Erasmus in their work of renewal within the Church; the Platonic valuation of beauty as adopted by Edmund Spenser in his *Fowre Hymnes*, begun in the 1570s but reprised in the 1590s; and a Catholic commentary on the *Pymander* of Hermes Trismegistus published in Krakow during the 1580s by the Franciscan Hannibal Rosselli. All three will be related to the directions taken by Ficino's own Christian Platonism and will show how from his first beginnings as a translator of Plato, Ficino's work established a platform of scholarship that proved capable of supporting numerous divergent trends.

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Title:**Medicine at the University of Tartu in the first half of the 17th century****Abstract:**

The University of Tartu was the second university of the Swedish Kingdom, founded in 1632 with the aim to spread Lutheranism eastwards. In the 17. century the University of Tartu was one of the smallest in Europe. One of the three higher faculties there was the Faculty of Medicine, but for several reasons there were very few students studying at that faculty. The medical works from the first period of activity of the University of Tartu (between 1630 and 1656) are three medical disputations and two orations on medical themes. Because of the lack of the students of medicine, medical works were mostly presented by the students of theology.

The approach to medical themes in Tartu in the first half of the 17th century was twofold. On the one hand, the situation can be described as rigid following of the Greek and Roman authors and the Bible. On the other hand, contemporary medical authorities from the 16th and 17th centuries were becoming increasingly influential.

The problems, tensions and contradictions reflected in the medical works of the first half of the 17. century at the University of Tartu are the theme of my presentation.

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The Renaissance – an ambitious project

Arguably, no one has ever loved classical antiquity more than Francesco Petrarch. He mastered Latin perfectly, he wrote letters to his ancient 'friends', Homer, Cicero and others, he worked for a revitalization of Rome. To him, the ancient heroes and writers were more vivid than his contemporaries, and he deeply mourned the situation of Rome – a city in ruins. What could be done? An intriguing answer was given by B. Huss and G. Regn (2007): Petrarch's project was to create the Renaissance, no less.

The paper explores this idea further through a close reading of selected passages of Petrarch's unfulfilled epic poem on Rome's war against Carthage in 3. century BC: *Africa*. A reading of selected passages reveals the part Petrarch wants to play. Scipio's triumph as saviour of Rome takes place on the Capitol, as did Petrarch's triumph: his coronation as a poet. And, as Homer tells Ennius in a dream: Rome will be revitalized, saved, in a remote future, by a young Florentine named Franciscus. Thus, Petrarch makes Homer and Ennius present him as a heroic character – but was he really able to play that part?

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Forms of Desire 1: Importing the Past

This is the first of two panels which seek to explore the relationship between form, desire, and temporality across a variety of languages and texts. The concept of ‘form of desire’ is taken from Manuele Gragnolati’s *Amor che move: linguaggio del corpo e forma del desiderio in Dante, Pasolini e Morante* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2013). In essence, Gragnolati argues that a text’s form both embodies and is inflected by the type of desire narrated in that same text. In the first panel, ‘Importing the Past’, this desire is explored in relation to the past, in particular to past texts—whether literary or historical—ranging from English, French, and Italian examples. In the second panel, ‘Imagining the Future’, the complex relationship between futurity and desire is examined as regards texts which portray a future which is anticipated (in Loys Le Roy’s *De la vicissitude*), reliant on rumour (in Camões’s *Os Lusíadas*) and, finally, impossible (in Petrarch’s *Triumphus Eternitatis*).
Chair tbc.

Emily Mayne, ‘Whose feet are they, anyway? Dealing with past poets in *The Faerie Queene* IV.ii’

This paper explores the implications of several allusions to Lucretius in Book IV of *The Faerie Queene* in relation to its often underhand dealings with literary forebears both more and less ancient. Critical discussion of Spenser’s familiarity with Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* has focused on the poem’s apparently sensational materialism and purported atheism, rather than its potential contributions to thinking about literary imitation and authorship. Scholarship has moved from denial (in order to ‘rescue’ Spenser from the charge of materialism) to more recent arguments for Lucretius as an important source for Spenser’s conceptions of cosmology, sexuality, and society. These discussions share the idea that (quoting the Variorum Spenser) ‘it is impossible to separate questions of philosophy and of source’: Lucretian allusions necessitate Lucretian philosophy. But this need not be the case. Spenser’s description of his relationship with Chaucer, ‘well of English vndefyled’, in Book IV (canto ii) uses language which recalls Lucretius’ discussion of his relation to Epicurus, and yet, upon closer inspection, characterises the relationship between ancient authorities and new voices in a way that Lucretius rejects, and which points far more closely towards the religious and social contexts of late sixteenth-century England.

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Jennifer Oliver, ‘Porcine prototypes: Rabelais’s war-pigs as natural, artificial, and political bodies’

This paper explores connections and tensions between war machines and statecraft in Renaissance fiction through the image of the body. In the *Quart Livre*, questions of individual private life – in Panurge’s quest to discover whether he should marry – provide the impulse for encounters with models of community and conflict that recontextualise timeless debates. As Lorna Hutson has argued, for Renaissance readers military historical texts ‘offered conceptual tools for the emplotment of fictions of private life in that they rendered the habits of mind [...] graphically intelligible’. Such modes of reading posit these histories as

prototypes of the sixteenth-century present, and I will argue that Rabelais's text performs a particularly rich 'strong reading' of his classical military sources alongside an array of commonplaces on the theme of invention. The reworking of textual forms is mirrored in a sustained concern with physical form in military episodes; while mechanistic analogies were (and remain) commonplace in political thought, such imagery also tests the practical and ethical limits of allegory. What happens when the boundaries between man and machine become blurred? In particular, what can semantically flexible terms such as 'engin' tell us about the exploration of these boundaries in the period?

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Emily Jennings, Prototypical eschatology and the Thirty Years' War: An old prophecy repurposed

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Forms of Desire 2: Imagining the Future

This is the second of two panels which seek to explore the relationship between form, desire, and temporality across a variety of languages and texts. The concept of 'form of desire' is taken from Manuele Gragnolati's *Amor che move: linguaggio del corpo e forma del desiderio in Dante, Pasolini e Morante* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2013). In essence, Gragnolati argues that a text's form both embodies and is inflected by the type of desire narrated in that same text. In the first panel, 'Importing the Past', this desire is explored in relation to the past, in particular to past texts—whether literary or historical—ranging from English, French, and Italian examples. In the second panel, 'Imagining the Future', the complex relationship between futurity and desire is examined as regards texts which portray a future which is anticipated (in Loys Le Roy's *De la vicissitude*), reliant on rumour (in Camões's *Os Lusíadas*) and, finally, impossible (in Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*).
Chair tbc.

Emma Claussen, 'Seeking Perfection: Potential Futures in Loys Le Roy's *De La Vicissitude*'

This paper will offer a reading of the final chapter of Loys Le Roy's *De la Vissicitude* (1575). *De la vicissitude* articulates a cyclical view of historical time but ends on a note of cautious optimism about the future, advancing a (proto-) genetic argument about the possibility of the future to generate, or re-generate, forms and types. In the final chapter of *De la Vicissitude*, after the preceding survey of all known Western cultures (past and present) that makes up the rest of the text, Le Roy suggests that these cultures offer a limited set of prototypes for development and that new forms will take the place of old ones, as a result of an inexhaustible human desire to (pro-) create, and to thus reach towards a 'perfection' located in future time rather than in a past golden age. *De la Vicissitude* itself has been read as a 'prototype' text in the 'Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns' that played out fully in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This paper will assess *De la Vicissitude* on its own terms as well as exploring its 'prototypical' status in the later quarrel, to explore the ambiguous nature of futurity in this mid-sixteenth-century text.

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Simon Park, 'Fama and Foregone Conclusions in Camões's *Os Lusíadas*'

In *Os Lusíadas*, Vasco da Gama and his crew are not always received with open arms. This paper explores how the work of rumour (*fama*) mediates and, to a great extent, predetermines the reactions of the people the Portuguese encounter during their Imperial quest. It argues that the success of the Descobrimentos, as Camões sees it, is strongly affected by rumours that run ahead of the Portuguese and that travel faster than their ships. Considering the power of *fama*, then, this paper places new emphasis on the framing of the Isle of Love scene in Canto IX to suggest that this climactic episode serves as a prototype for the ideal colonial encounter: Fama mollifies the Other and establishes Portuguese supremacy even before they physically arrive at their destination. With an eye to the future, Camões suggests that if the Portuguese control the rumours spread about them, they will better be able to achieve the greatness the poet so desires for his homeland.

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Jennifer Rushworth, 'Back to the Future: Petrarch's Vision of Eternity'

This paper proposes a new reading of Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis* (*TE*), in terms of an imagined but impossible future. Building on the recent work of Manuele Gragnolati and Francesca Southerden (according to whom the *TE* represents a 'lyric fantasy'), I argue that the problem with Petrarch's Paradise is that it takes earthly experience as its prototype. This assumption is a heterodox move that can only lead to formal replication of mourning for an absent Laura, rather than any more Dantean, divine solution. It is also an idolatrous inversion that, in Augustinian terms, places creation (and one creature in particular, Laura) above the Creator. Petrarch's model Paradise fails to live up to the archetype established by his poetic predecessor, Dante. All too aware of these multiple tensions, Petrarch produces in the *TE* a Paradise that is not only personal but even self-destructive, as the text formally undoes itself in its final lines, circling back to its beginning whilst ending on an open, unresolved question. This close reading of the final Triumph will enable a discussion of broader questions of futurity and eschatology in Petrarch, under the aegis of the concept of the prototype.

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Satyrs, Prototypes and Emulation: Creating Past and Present in English Satire of the 1590s

The present paper examines the complex interplay between classical prototype and early modern practice in that most metamorphic type of writing: satire. Variouslly labeled a “mode” and a “genre” by modern critics, satire as produced in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England is indebted to well known classical role models such as Juvenal, Horace and Persius; yet it also stretches across other forms of writing such as drama, and distinctions such as that between “formal” and “Menippean” satire are only partly valid when mapping the complexities of satire evinced in for example well known poets such as Donne and Jonson, but also in the vogue for satirical literature in the 1590s as represented by for example John Marston, Joseph Hall and Thomas Nashe. While these authors have often been dismissed using adjectives like “marginal”, they were widely read in their own time, and Hall even claimed (mistakenly) to be the first satirist in the English language. Thus, the myth of a satirical “beginning” in the English Renaissance opens up a broad discussion on canonicity, origin and projected future – all too neglected in the discussion of a mode of writing that has received renewed attention in the wake of recent political and medial development. Satire, in short, offers provocative ways of considering both the past of the Renaissance and the Renaissance as past.

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The Old Genre in New Shapes

Abstract

The aim of my paper is a collation of selected Renaissance concepts of an universal chronicle, each of them aiming to accommodate the medieval genre to the Early Modern context. The first example is a MODERNISATION based on Livian rhetoric model: *Rapsodie historiarum Enneadum [...]* by A. C. Sabellicus (1498,1504), replacing periodization by the Six Ages and the Four Monarchies with the secular system of the Enneads. A scholarly variant of modernisation is represented by *Memorabilium omnis aetatis [...]* by J. Nauclerus (1516) – the chronicle conservative in terms of a concept of history but innovative (to some extent) in periodical frame (130 Generations as an “overlay” applied to the Ages and the Monarchies). The next example is *Chronica* by J. Carion (1533), adopting a medieval form to Protestant needs by REINTERPRETATION of the vision of the Monarchies, addressed rather to a popular audience. Finally, the *World Chronicle* by M. Bielski (1551) could be considered as an attractive result of RECOMPOSITION of the universal chronicle, written in Polish as an encyclopedic collection of relatively independent parts; partly based on Nauclerus and Carion, opponent (and complementary) to Sabellicus.

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Christina, Queen of Sweden, as a prototype of perfection in Dutch renaissance

Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–1689), became surprisingly popular among Dutch poets in the 1640's. The "Prince of Dutch poetry", Joost van den Vondel, wrote a series of glorifying odes to the Queen, among others, "De koninglijcke Idea", in which she appears as a prototype of the Platonic idea of beauty. Reyer Anslo – a member of a Norwegian immigrant family in Amsterdam – took up the competition with Vondel and wrote the pamphlet *Pallas, of wysheit van Christina (...)*, where the queen is celebrated as the perfection of classical virtues associated with the goddess Athena: wisdom, courage and war strategy.

A third Dutch poet, Jan Six van Chandelier, got obviously enough of the panegyric mode of his fellow poets and wrote one of the most peculiar poems of the Dutch Golden Age: "Duitschlands vreedde, aan Kristina der Sweeden"; in the middle of this ironic eulogy, Six declares that his quill does not "stand it anymore", and the text comes to an abrupt end.

My paper is comparative analysis, where I show how Six, who called himself *rhymer* and his poems *sketches*, problematizes the notion of divine perfection in renaissance culture, with its roots in classical, neo-platonic concepts. At the same time, I will show this criticism had social and religious implications.

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Proposal for individual paper

The Pattern of Election in English Late Renaissance

Abstract

The conversion narratives of Renaissance England have often been read as authentic autobiographies of the period. But even though the narratives were presented as autobiographical writings, they had also by this time become prescriptive – which in turn makes them paradoxical: The conversion narrative was legitimized and authenticated through its own repetition because everyone recognized the pattern of election. This made the narrative both predictable and easily copied. The pattern had its foundation in the conversion narrative's two archetexts: the conversions of St. Paul and St. Augustine.

This paper traces the rhetorical pattern of the late Renaissance conversion narrative, as it was inherited from St. Paul and St. Augustine, and as it was outlined in Edmund Bunny's conversion manual *A Book of Christian exercise* (1584). The study will use examples from the anthology published by Vavasor Powell in 1653; *Spiritual Experiences by Sundry Beleevers*. I will argue that the highly rhetorical construction of these narratives means that we should read them as literature, and not as autobiography: Renaissance England had in fact made the Pauline and Augustinian narratives into basic recipes, easily followed even by amateurs.

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Old and new in the treasury at Stockholm Castle

Abstract proposal for third conference of the Nordic Network for Renaissance Oslo, 28-30 September 2016

Inga Elmqvist Söderlund

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The treasury and at Stockholm Castle *Tre Kronor* developed as a collection from 1630. This treasury presented a rather different collection of object than what is presented at the Treasury museum at Stockholm castle today. The inventories of the timespan from 1630 until 1653 show a mixture of artefacts with different functions made of precious metals, paintings and naturalia. The Frenchman Charles Ogier noted in his diary after his visit in 1635 that this kind of collecting had formerly not been a custom among the Swedes. This paper will scrutinize the collection from the question of old and new and its relation to more southern European collections as prototype. It will present a flux of objects, some apparently stable in the collection, whereas others were more transient. Among the collected objects, what was new and what was old? Is it possible to ascribe the objects particular meaning in being old or new, or long in possession or recently acquired?

Note: I may not be able to join the conference the first day because I am chairing an event in Istanbul. I would be very grateful if you could schedule my presentation for the last day of the conference.

Abstract for *Renaissance Prototypes*

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“Petrarch’s prototype of the ‘modern’ self and the secondary creation of *Familiars*.”

My paper inquires into Petrarch’s construction of a prototype for his “modern” self in *Familiars* I.1 and XXIV.13, the first and the last epistles of *Familiars*. The term “modern” is within brackets to indicate that the “modernity” of the Petrarchan self should not be regarded as something discovered by scholars (from Burckhardt onwards); rather, the impression of “modernity” derives from Petrarch’s shrewd formation of his self as a prototype appearing to be constantly in flux, endlessly set in creation.

The Petrarchan self-prototype is the nucleus of the frame story for *Familiars* that the epistles *Familiars* I.1 and XXIV.13 establish. The frame story consists of a metafictional dramatization, both of Petrarch’s writing of the epistles and his development of *Familiars* through a secondary process of creation, a recycling and reconstruction of his previous letters – that Petrarch describes as an “artless” (*hurridulus*) raw material – into an artful sculpture of his self. Petrarch locates his self-sculpture-prototype on a paradoxical border between the fictive present of his dramatized literary creation and a mysterious stretch of non-chronologic time, via a linkage of his writing practise to the medieval concept of the contemplative rest (*requies*), thereby forever dislocating the completion of his self-prototype to the future.

Short Bio: Håkan Trygger is a PhD student in comparative literature at the Department of Culture and Aesthetics, Stockholm University. His thesis studies Petrarch’s theory on literature, literary creation, in short the “poetics” of Petrarch. Håkan Trygger is also a member of the editorial board of the Swedish journal *Aiolos*, and has co-edited a special issue on the Latin epistles of Petrarch together with Unn Falkeid (2015). He has moreover published articles on Petrarch and other subjects (in Swedish) and teaches at Stockholm University.

Panel Proposal for "Renaissance Prototypes. Tension of Past and Present in the Early Modern Europe"

The Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters (Oslo)

28-30 September 2016

Sappho, Ovid and the Phoenix – Poetical Re-workings by Women Poets During the Sixteenth Century

Organizer: Johanna Vernqvist

Chair: Unn Falkeid

This panel seeks to explore how Classical tropes, styles and metaphors reappear and are re-negotiated in the poetics of women writers during the Sixteenth century. The three papers elaborate on the “new Sappho” as a literary strategy in Louise Labé’s *Œuvres* (1555), on the metaphor of the mythological phoenix in Gaspara Stampa’s *Rime* (1554) and on the Ovidian tradition as it appears in the very first women-authored anthology *Rime diverse d’alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* (1559) by Ludovico Domenichi. In their strategic use of “prototypes”, these poets claim, adopt, and transform past traditions. However, it is not only the ancient past that is relevant for their poetical re-working, but also the contemporary context full of echoes from Petrarch and the poetic movement following him. Thus, we can trace how these poets, being Petrarchists, negotiate early modern as well as ancient tradition according to the new literary taste in mid-Sixteenth Century Europe. The subversive ways in which tradition is re-used show the inventive character of the poets and editors of Renaissance, and also, on a more general level, how understandings and readings are always displaced and constantly put off to a future time.

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Louise Labé Lesbienne: The Figure of Sappho and the Woman Poet

In 1546, the poems of Sappho are rediscovered in Renaissance France, with the printing of fragment 1 and 31 by famous humanist printer Robert Estienne. 9 years later Louise Labé, lyonnaise poet writing in a Petrarchan tradition, claims to have inherited the lyre that once sang of “l’amour Lesbienne”, presenting herself as a reincarnation of the ancient Greek poet – “la nouvelle Sappho”. As such, she inaugurates a tradition in European literary history, where women poets present themselves as “new Sappho” for a variety of purposes. In Renaissance France the figure Sappho represents literary excellence, but also transgression – of gender, sexual practices, politics. My paper will explore the idea of “the new Sappho” as a literary strategy used by women poets in the Renaissance. I will focus primarily on the French poet Louise Labé, but will conclude by considering a few other “new Sappho”, such as the English poets Katherine Philips and Aphra Benn.

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Gaspara Stampa: Re-thinking the Phoenix

The mythological phoenix with ancient roots described by Herodotus among others, reappears as a metaphor in Petrarchan poetry. Petrarch identifies with the phoenix rising from its ashes to live again, only to attack itself and vanish due to sorrow over Laura's death. In Renaissance poetry the bird's ambiguous sexual nature made it a valuable symbol of both duality and unity. We find it in John Donne's poem "The Canonization", in Shakespeare's sonnets and his famous "The Phoenix and Turtle" and Veronica Gambara has the animal represent her beloved hometown as rising from its fall caused by the capture of the French. Within Christian tradition the bird is said to represent Christ's resurrection or God's eternal love. In this paper I will discuss the ways Gaspara Stampa make use of this strong metaphor. I will argue that Stampa negotiates and rethinks Neoplatonic notions of love and Petrarchan poetry, by using metaphors strategically in order to neutralize the split between spiritual love (Higher Venus) and physical love (Lower Venus). Focusing on the ever-returning fire, the flame, the phoenix metaphor in her poem is put to use for the possible eternity of earthly love.

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'Come a donna si convien': Initial Considerations on the Ovidian Tradition in Lodovico Domenichi's *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* (1559)

The lyric imperative of the Petrarchan model had the effect of displacing the *capitolo in terza rima* from the canonical lyric meters, since it was not among the forms 'sanctified by use' in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (Cox 2013, p. 49). However, in the 16th-century, the form of the amorous *capitolo* mostly survived as the elected meter of the lyric epistle, in which the authors directly expressed their sorrow for the absence or betrayal of the beloved. Not by chance, the critic and literary author Ruscelli clearly stated the antiheroic and elegiac dimension of the meter and its adaptability to 'elegie, o epistole, e altri sì fatti componimenti amorosi, o domestici, o ancor flebili'. In this paper, I intend to analyse the *capitoli* chosen by Lodovico Domenichi for its 1559 anthology, the first one entirely composed by poems written by women authors of his time. I wish to interpret these cases as possible examples of the reception of Ovid's *Heroides* as mediated by Tebaldeo's *capitoli* in his *Opere d'Amore*, which determined both terms and tone of 15th and 16th-century Ovidian tradition in the lyric. Indeed, the *capitoli* chosen by Domenichi are distinguished by an evident lack of expressive 'verve' replaced rather by a faded and languid tonality, in accordance with conventional gender expectations and mid-Cinquecento Neoplatonic aesthetics.

Abstract for
'Renaissance Prototypes:Tensions of Past and Present in Early
Modern Europe'

by professor Ståle Wikshåland, UiO

L'Orfeo and the new genre of opera

In the two very first Orpheus-operas from the Renaissance—Iacopo Peri's *L'Euridice* (1600) and Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607)—the ancient myth of Orpheus is transformed into a mere sketch or outline of a new genre to come, namely opera.

This paper aims to explore how Orfeo's persuasive singing to the powers of Hades in *Possente spirto* of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* concurrently refers to itself as a *virtuoso* display of music's own rhetorical powers. In this way Monteverdi challenges his immediate and famous predecessor Iacopo Peri's portrayal of the very same moment of the fable in his *L'Euridice*. Moreover, *Possente spirto* evokes the musical splendour of he who stamped the composition with his own signature—Claudio Monteverdi. Hence, the staging of Orfeo becomes at the same time a *mise-en-scène* of Monteverdi, the composer, himself. The process may be described as self-fashioning—that is, indicative of a new tendency toward 'an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process' (Stephen Greenblatt).

Thus, Monteverdi in *L'Orfeo* communicates a new kind of subjectivity through a subtle play on different styles and modes of expression, as the past is recast as a trial run for the present.

Recurrent Archetypal Happening in the Viennese Panegyric Orations on King St Ladislaus

When the 'Hungarian' nation was constituted at the university of Vienna in 1414, the holy king Ladislaus (1040–1095) was chosen as its patron saint. Comprising members hailing from the large area of Central and Eastern Europe, this corporation was responsible for organising annual orations on St Ladislaus, which were regularly delivered on 27 July at St Stephen's Cathedral.

My paper will focus on a portion of these Latin festive speeches—namely, those delivered during the reign of Leopold I, between 1655 and 1693. In these, St Ladislaus is not only modelled on ancient biblical and mythological prototypes, but he himself becomes a prototype for the modern king and emperor, Leopold, who is even occasionally portrayed as a reincarnation of the medieval ruler of Hungary. The Viennese panegyrics thus combine three levels of history—ancient, medieval, and modern—in order to convey a particular ideology and political propaganda.

The early modern theory of imitation, as set out by Georg Stengel in his *Vis et virtus exemplorum* (1634), helps us understand that in these orations history is not conceived of primarily as a linear sequence of events in time; rather, the past, present, and future coincide in the extra-temporal space of an invisible reality, while the visible is just an actual individualised manifestation of the ever-recurring archetypal happening. When seen from this perspective, the purpose of history consists in the repeated attempt to draw ever nearer to the perfection of an archetype.

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Proposal for a session at the NNRS conference in Oslo,
Minna Skafte Jensen, Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, Peter Zeeberg:

Prototypes in Latin historiography

We present three examples of history conceived in constant dialogue with ancient and later models. The authors in case are the Albanian Marin Barleti (c. 1460-1512), the Danish Johannes Svaning (c. 1500-1584), and the Dutch Johannes Meursius (1579-1639). Barleti and Meursius both lived abroad when composing their works, Barleti in exile in Venice, Meursius in Denmark as royal historiographer. While Barleti was so eager to express himself as if he lived in ancient Rome that Christian views were almost overshadowed, both Meursius and Svaning wrote their Danish histories from a distinct Christian point of view, in the Protestant tradition of Philipp Melanchthon.

These three historians' use of prototypes did not lead to any reduction of the models; rather, antiquity served as the uncontested frame of reference. They lived in a period of European culture when Latin was the default language for writing history, and the fact that they wrote the same language as their models and even consciously imitated their style made this kind of intertextuality very intimate. The recycling involved took place not only between ancient and modern, but also between contemporary works, or even within the work of a single author.

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Ancient prototypes in Marin Barleti's biography of Scanderbeg

Barleti's biography of the Albanian commander Scanderbeg, who between 1443 and 1468 fought the Turks successfully, was published in Rome 1508. The author is explicit about understanding his hero as a new Alexander the Great; the name Scanderbeg is actually Turkic for 'Lord Alexander'. Besides, in many passages of the work his contemporary readers will have been able to recognise well-known persons and events from antiquity in his descriptions of 15th century topics. His implicit negotiations with classical predecessors established a sense of Albanian culture as a legitimate heir to the Greco-Roman past.

He was deeply rooted in ancient rhetoric. Cicero himself had stated that writing history was first and foremost a rhetorical task. Barleti followed this maxim so

carefully that the pagan Roman worldview is more manifest in his work than the Christian one, even though his portrait of Scanderbeg is focused on his being the Christian protagonist against the Muslim Turks.

There is little to suggest that Barleti saw Alexander as a prophecy of Scanderbeg, and especially, the latter is no prediction of a glorious future. Barleti's eyes were turned backwards – the glory of both Alexanders belonged to the past.

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Hans Svaning's History of Denmark, models and counterparts

Hans Svaning (ca. 1500-84) spent 27 years writing a Latin History of Denmark. The manuscript was kept at the University Library in Copenhagen and was destroyed by fire in 1728. But luckily two important chapters had been printed, and furthermore a number of excerpts from other passages have been preserved in manuscript form. The author himself published the chapter on King Hans (1481-1513) as part of an official Danish answer to the 'false accusations' against Denmark in Johannes Magnus' history of Sweden (*Refutatio calumniarum ...* 1561), and there is no doubt that the entire work was conceived with Magnus' work in mind. As far as can be seen from the preserved parts, the history was written as a series of biographies of kings, a form with several possible models, ancient as well as later. This form may well have been chosen as an answer to Magnus' focus on series of Swedish kings. Likewise the narrative and characterization of persons can in many instances be seen as counter-images to Magnus'.

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A fusion of Tacitus and Melanchthon: Johannes Meursius' history of Denmark (1638)

In 1625 the Dutch humanist and philologist Johannes Meursius (1579-1639) was engaged as royal historiographer by the Danish king Christian 4. As a result of this commitment he was able to publish a history of Denmark, in Latin, in the course of the 1630s. He based his work on the unpublished and now lost history of Denmark by Johannes Svaning written in the 1560s (cf. the proposed paper by Peter Zeeberg).

However, Meursius' history bears a distinct mark of early 17th century fascination with Tacitus and the political maxims found in his history of the Roman principate. A seminal work in this 'Tacitean movement' was Justus Lipsius' *Politiorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex*, 1589, a handbook of political thought consisting of quotations from classical authors, in particular Tacitus. Meursius' Danish history bears witness to his familiarity with both Tacitus' and Lipsius' works, in terms of political discourse as well as style.

At the same time Meursius' work is deeply coloured by a Melanchthonian view of history. The paper will focus on this somewhat unusual combination of Tacitean realism and Christian moralism in Meursius' history of Denmark.