

SAMEMES 2022
Medieval and Early Modern Afterlives
Neuchâtel, 27-29 June 2022
Conference Abstracts

Panel 1: ‘Shakespeare Remediated’, Mon 13h45-15h45

Mr Benjamin Broadribb, The Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham
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‘The ‘New Depthiness’ of *Hamlet(s)* in Lockdown’

My paper focuses on three adaptations of *Hamlet* created and performed online during the COVID-19 pandemic: *The Show Must Go Online’s* production of the play, directed by Rob Myles, performed live via Zoom and streamed to YouTube in August 2020; an episode of the webseries *Shakespeare Republic: The Lockdown Chronicles*, directed by Sally McLean and starring Tim Constantine as Hamlet, released via Facebook in September 2020; and Sofa Shakespeare’s crowdsourced film version of the play, edited together by Julia Giolzetti and released via YouTube in March 2021. All three are infused with the cultural moment of lockdown: performed at home by isolated individuals using domestically sourced props and costumes, and streamed or recorded using smartphones, laptops and video conferencing software.

It is my assertion that digital performances and adaptations of Shakespeare created during the pandemic regularly offer examples of metamodernism, which has been put forward as the dominant cultural logic of the opening decades of the twenty-first century, succeeding late twentieth-century postmodernism. Cultural theorist Timotheus Vermeulen argues that a key feature of the metamodern sensibility is a ‘new depthiness’,¹ in contrast to the ‘new depthlessness’² which characterised postmodern works. Hamlet is a character that has often been depthlessly (de)constructed in popular culture through caricatured tropes and memetic afterlives. Adapted and performed during the pandemic, Hamlet gained a metamodern ‘depthiness’ in the productions of Myles, McLean and Giolzetti, as creatives explored the character’s affective potential anew.

Ms Gemma Allred, University of Neuchâtel
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“Such Tricks Hath Strong Imagination”: Creating Magical Worlds in Lockdown *Dreams*’

When theatres closed in mid-March 2020 due to COVID-19, practitioners took their craft online, turning Zoom and YouTube into virtual theatre spaces, inviting global audiences to watch them perform online while in-person venues were unavailable. By taking Shakespeare online in new and innovative ways, the theatre industry sparked the evolution of new forms of Shakespeare on screen. Performance in pandemic was typified by innovation and agility as creatives pivoted from physical to digital spaces, as they pushed at the edges of the capabilities of Zoom and found both its limitations and advantages. Much of the work created in lockdown was, by its nature, experimental, a work in progress reflecting the conditions of its creation. As the rules of lockdown flexed and changed so too did the conventions of theatrical creation

A Midsummer Night’s Dream emerged as the Shakespeare play of choice early in lockdown, with several new adaptations offered alongside repackaged streams of ‘big theatre’ archive productions. In a digital world, the lines between reality and make believe are increasingly blurred. With a focus on created in Lockdown theatre company, CtrlAltRepeat’s Zoom adaptation,

¹ Vermeulen, Timotheus (2015) ‘The New ‘Depthiness’, in *e-flux journal*, issue 61. Available online: <<https://www.e-flux.com/journal/61/61000/the-new-depthiness/>> [accessed 25 October 2021]

² Jameson, Fredric (1991) *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 6.

Midsummer Night Stream, this paper considers how the depiction of the fairy and mortal realms in performance and adaptation created and performed during lockdown developed their own specific aesthetics, conventions, and adaptive approaches. Examining the tangibility of magic and intangible magic of theatre I ask what it is to be magical in a digital world.

Ms Emily Smith, University of Geneva

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‘Sim-ulating Shakespeare: Playing with the Plays’

The second iteration of the game *The Sims 2* (2004) – a series which invites you to ‘play with life’ – invites players into a town entitled ‘Veronaville’. Upon entering this simulated ‘world’, one finds that two of its three resident families, the Montys and the Capps, are engaged in a bitter feud – a hatred which all but two teenagers share. If this scenario sounds familiar...well, it should.

This paper will explore how the recreation of *Romeo and Juliet* staged within *The Sims 2* sheds light upon Shakespeare’s legacy in twenty-first century popular culture. It shall begin by considering the indications which this video game’s representations provide about the modern afterlife (or afterlives) of Shakespeare’s characters, poetry, and plot, in addition to the twenty-first century perception of early modern history and culture. The paper will then move to consider how *The Sims 2*, and the active online community which continues to surround it, can illuminate the modes of twenty-first century engagement with Shakespeare’s legacy. Simulation games, I will argue, both mirror and transform earlier types of textual engagement – providing an opportunity to reflect upon the interaction between technology, literary reception, and audience expectations, in video games and in modern culture more generally.

The paper will conclude by outlining the benefits of seeking Shakespeare in unexpected places – asserting that, if he were truly ‘not of an age, but for all time’, we must seek Shakespearean afterlives in *our* ages’ new spaces.

Panel 2: ‘Genre Afterlives’, Mon 13h45-15h45

Dr Nadine Weiss, University of Geneva

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‘Sonnet Writing after Milton: The Afterlife of Milton’s Sonnets in the Long Eighteenth Century’

Remarkably little has changed in the nearly one hundred years since R. D. Havens so arrestingly characterised the eighteenth-century sonnet as ‘*terra incognita*’ (Havens 1922: 488).³ Our received critical narrative has long told the story of the sonnet’s rapid decline into almost complete obsolescence following the late-career sonnets of Milton in the seventeenth century up and until the ‘Romantic’ sonnets of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats, and then subsequently those of the Victorians: Alfred Lord Tennyson, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the Rossettis, John Addington Symonds, Wilfred Blunt, Augusta Webster and Gerald Manley Hopkins. But what if this is not the whole story?

The proposed paper seeks to offer a compelling counternarrative and a much needed corrective to the prevailing critical paradigm. By placing deliberate pressure on the conventional boundaries of literary periodisation that separate early modernists from eighteenth-centurists, it proposes a simple but powerfully new contemporary lens for our understanding of the development of English poetics over the course of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: instead of taking Milton as the proverbial endpoint of a Renaissance tradition of sonneteering, I am proposing that we take him instead as the singularly influential starting point to an as yet uncharted long eighteenth century of sonnet writing. Put simply, my central

³ R.D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1922).

contention is this: the Romantic sonnet is not a ‘natural’ outgrowth of sonnet writing up and until Milton, but is in fact facilitated and ultimately made possible by the precedent and intervention of long eighteenth-century sonneteers.

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‘Keats’s use of Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* and Elizabethan Minor Epics in *Endymion*’

This paper considers Keats’s long narrative poem *Endymion* as a revival of the genre of ‘Elizabethan minor epic’. Critics interested in the ‘Elizabethan’ quality of Keats’s verse usually focus on his annotation of Shakespeare’s plays, to the neglect of other types of early modern verse-writing that may have influenced him. My paper traces certain aspects of the language and narrative of *Endymion* back to three minor epics of the 1590s: Michael Drayton’s *Endimion and Phoebe*, Thomas Lodge’s *Glaucus and Scilla*, and Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*. The rural landscapes depicted in these Elizabethan poems, which all feature passages combining the words ‘eglantine’ and ‘nightingales’ (a very Keatsian near-anagram), foreshadow the lush pastoral setting of Keats’s poem and his love of verbal manipulation. I argue that *Endymion*’s extravagant (or ‘embarrassing’) style represents a self-conscious attempt on Keats’s part to recapture the luscious, irreverent, tragicomic idiom favoured by the Elizabethan writers of minor epic. In highlighting these shared qualities, my aim is to re-contextualise the underrated *Endymion* as a unique fusion of Romantic and Elizabethan styles.

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‘Knights and Ladies: The Persistence of Romance in the Eighteenth Century’

Reaching its height of popularity in the seventeenth century, the genre of chivalric or heroic romance is generally assumed to have gone decisively out of fashion (or been, in Clara Reeve’s words, ‘exploded’) in the next, as it was supplanted by the new and modern form of the novel. My research in manuscript sources, however – particularly the extensive papers preserved by the Grey family of Wrest Park – reveals that the reading and writing of romances inspired by authors like Sir Philip Sidney continued throughout this period. Although largely undertaken by aristocratic women, this engagement with romance cannot be dismissed as simply an idiosyncratic and idle hobby. Rather, it was a sustained (if often light-hearted) and collaborative intellectual pursuit that was closely linked to these women’s interest in Early Modern history and literary criticism, as well as being a form of imaginative escape and play.

By examining the various purposes that romance served within the Grey coterie, this paper cuts across the boundaries between amateur and professional work in order to reconsider the place of this genre in the eighteenth century. Much as manuscript culture is now recognised as persisting for centuries after the advent of print, romance forms a crucial and underexamined part of the history of reading and writing prose fiction in this period.

Panel 3: ‘Shakespeare’s Bibliographic Afterlives’, Mon 16h15-17h45

Prof. Lukas Erne, University of Geneva

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‘The Two Gentlemen of Zurich: Marcus Stapfer and Johann Rudolph Hess, Travellers to England (1611-13), and Shakespeare’s Bibliographic Afterlife in Switzerland’

This paper recovers parts of the biographically and bibliographically intertwined history of two early modern Zurich citizens, their joint travels and the Shakespeare quartos each of them owned. The first part contextualizes a previously forgotten copy of the third quarto edition of *Pericles*

(1611), now at the Zurich Central Library, and its original owner recorded on the title page, Marcus Stapfer (1591-1619). The copy indicates the original price of the quarto, 4*d.*, only the third known copy of a Shakespeare playbook before 1623 for which such information has been preserved. The paper shows that Stapfer, despite his short life, is a figure about whom significant biographical information can be recovered, including the fact that he composed an *Itinerarium* of travels that includes mention of the London playhouses. The second part of the paper adds to the investigation Johann Rudolf Hess (1588-1655), the owner of the other early Shakespeare quartos at the Zurich Central Library (Q3 *Romeo and Juliet* (1609), Q3 *Hamlet* (1611) and Q2 of the pseudo-Shakespearean *The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England* (1611)). Stapfer and Hess jointly undertook extended educational travels from 1610 to 1614, including to London, where they are likely to have acquired their Shakespeare quartos in the summer of 1613. The paper traces what is known about the quartos' subsequent ownership history, before concluding that Shakespeare thus appears to have had a continuous bibliographic afterlife in Switzerland since the early seventeenth century.

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'Preserved as a Relic': What Happened to Edwin Forrest's Burned First Folio?

In the Furness Memorial Library at the University of Pennsylvania, there is an unusual item: a glass case containing the charred remains of a Shakespeare folio that once belonged to Edwin Forrest, the great Shakespearean actor and Philadelphia native. Forrest's extensive collection of early modern English drama was heavily damaged by a fire that broke out in his townhome in January, 1873, shortly after Forrest's death. In the days after the fire, the Variorum Shakespeare editor Horace Howard Furness identified this burned book as Forrest's First Folio, and it has been displayed as such ever since. But it is not. In this talk, we unravel the mystery of which book is really in the glass case, how it came to be misidentified, and where the remains of Forrest's First Folio really are. Tracking this story from Furness and Forrest's papers to university archives and oral histories shows the enduring power of the Shakespearean relic to change what even the sharpest scholars and curators see when they look at a book labeled as a First Folio. It has also revealed another mystery: a missing 1637 quarto of *Hamlet*.

Panel 4: 'Life After Chaucer: Early Modern Readers and Chaucer's Literary Heritage', Mon 16h15-17h45

Prof. Mary C. Flannery, University of Bern

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'Myrthe' and 'ribaudye': *The Canterbury Tales* and the Afterlife of Chaucerian Obscenity'

If one were to hunt through medieval manuscripts and early print editions of Chaucer's works and those of his imitators for any references to his obscene humour, the results would be disappointing. A rare reference to Chaucer's ribaldry may be found in John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (c. 1421), where Lydgate warns readers that some of Chaucer's tales could be characterized as 'ribaudye'. The prefaces and 'proems' of early print editions of Chaucer's works tend to focus much more on Chaucer's status as the pre-eminent poet of medieval England, the 'first fyndere of our fair langage', as Thomas Hoccleve had put it (*Regiment of Princes*, 4978), than they focus on his comic writing. Chaucer's reputation as any kind of humorist receives only the slightest of mentions in these editions, if any at all. William Caxton, for example, in the 'Prohemye' to his second edition of *The Canterbury Tales* (1483), only briefly makes mention of 'Myrthe' after assuring his readers that they will encounter 'tales whyche ben of noblesse, wysedom, [and] gentyllesse'.

This paper explores the connection between *The Canterbury Tales* and Chaucer's reputation as a bawdy humorist in paratexts and critical commentary across the centuries. While the tales told

by those fictional pilgrims on the road to Canterbury may not *all* feature farts, fornication, and feces, no text is as closely tied to Chaucer's obscenity—or, indeed, to Chaucer's reputation in general—as *The Canterbury Tales*. This paper considers the transition from rare fifteenth-century remarks concerning Chaucerian obscenity to the image of 'merry' and 'jolly' Chaucer that came to the fore by the eighteenth century.

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'Chaucer's Old Words and Early Modern Readers'

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Chaucer's language could be deemed problematic for any number of reasons: its use as a fashionable affectation, its potential for obscenity, its susceptibility to error, or its archaism. By the 1590s, 'Chaucerism', a pejorative neologism probably coined by Thomas Nashe, was synonymous with old-fashioned words. This paper tracks the intersections of these contemporary concerns about Chaucer's language through the annotations made by early modern readers in medieval manuscripts containing his works. In particular, I will study the practices of correcting, glossing, and emending carried out by different early modern annotators in a range of fifteenth-century manuscripts representing various parts of the Chaucer canon.

The paper will detail how early modern readers sought to perfect and improve what they saw as an outmoded, error-prone, and sometimes illegible Chaucerian manuscript text. As I will argue, the annotations in medieval manuscripts reveal the anxieties about linguistic archaism and textual corruption harboured by those who read Chaucer in old written copies. The annotations also demonstrate the striking extent to which readers relied upon contemporary printed editions of Chaucer's *Workes* to correct and update the poet's language in old copies, and thus supply a rich but overlooked seam of evidence for his early modern reception.

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'18th-century Chauceriana: Genre, Form and the Book Market'

In 1715, the London publisher Jonas Barr printed *The Miller of Trompington*, a long poem which reprises Chaucer's Reeve's Tale in mock-heroic style. The author is anonymous, and the work does not stylistically resemble any of the other better-known Chaucerian modernisations of the period. Nor does it sit comfortably with the more famous mock-epics. In addition to being notably shorter than the likes of the *Rape of the Lock* or the *Scarronides*, it cannot work, as those texts do, to undermine and lampoon its source, because the satire on chivalric and 'classic' narrative structures is built-in to Chaucer's tale. And yet it is also starkly different from the modernisations printed by George Ogle in 1741, adding the new generic frame; and unlike John Smith's mock-epic tinged *Miller's Tale*, the anonymous *Miller of Trompington* was not printed in a collection: apparently it was marketable as a stand-alone text.

In this paper I will visit other fragments of 18th century Chaucerian pastiche beyond the close modernisations, and use evidence from booksellers lists and rare book provenance to offer some preliminary suggestions on the likely *audience* for the anonymous *Miller of Trompington*, and the readerly appetites for prestige and parody to which Jonas Barr sought to market this book.

Panel 5: 'Nationalism and History', Tue 10h45-10h15

Prof. Kyle Pivetti, Norwich University, USA

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'The Veteran's Body: *Cry Havoc!* and Remembering Disability in Shakespeare's Histories'

In his one-man show *Cry Havoc!* (2012), Stephan Wolfert recounts the night he goes AWOL and stumbles into a 1991 local production of *Richard III*. ‘Like me, deformed’ Wolfert says of Shakespeare’s king, ‘he even had the same posture I had when I was paralyzed in high school, to the right and slightly back, and like me, in spite of our deformities, joining the military and excelling, and like me, finding that that military service is probably now over.’ Wolfert links physical ability to the veteran’s experience, and he goes on to discover how both experiences are rendered shameful.

I follow Wolfert’s implications to reveal how the history plays grapples with ‘disability’ and ‘disorder’ in the form of the veteran. Wolfert goes on to compare Shakespeare’s characters to Henry Lincoln Johnson, a black American awarded the French Cross of War for service in WWI. Wolfert describes Johnson as the ‘American Coriolanus’, a violent and traumatized soldier who returns to a civilian life of segregation, denial, and tragedy. Race and ability thus combine in this Shakespearean figure. He represents the veteran upon whom the status of the commonwealth depends; he also symbolizes shameful pasts that operate at odds with the cohesive national body. Drawing on memory studies, I argue that these traumatized figures paradoxically produce the very social collective celebrated in Shakespeare’s histories.

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‘Nations in Thread: Tapestries and National History in Modern Britain and Beyond’

At this point in history, the Bayeux Tapestry holds the status of template for the visual representation of national history in many English-speaking countries. Rendering salient historical episodes and turning points in a medieval-coded medium, imitations, adaptations and continuations of the Bayeux Tapestry expressly or by implication purport to represent a total history of the nation. Chauvinistic rhetoric surrounds some of these textile narratives; this is the case with several tapestry medievalisms I discuss that originated in the discursive orbit of Brexit. Others give voice to less directly or exclusively political conceptions of national identity, such as the monumental Great Tapestry of Scotland, which condenses millions of years of geological, social, cultural and political history into 143 metres of embroidered cloth and ends on the inauguration of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Many of the new tapestries foreground the local bonds of solidarity of those that made them, for example the Ros Tapestry, a community project from New Ross in County Wexford, Ireland. Heritage tourism and international popular culture contribute to the ongoing revival of the national narrative tapestry, for example in English Heritage’s Modern Bayeux Tapestry, which features episodes from English history chosen by children. This revival, the broader argument of my paper goes, is part of a more general surge in national medievalism: since the turn of the century, the Middle Ages have increasingly assumed their old role of doubling as the symbolic cradle of nationhood. The paper will explore the implications of who tells the nation’s story – the stitchers are overwhelmingly women – and why this haptic, ineluctably material medium might lend itself to that telling.

Prof. Denis Renevey

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‘The Difficult Afterlife of the Yeoman: Robin Hood in Anthony Munday’s *The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington* and *The Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington*’

This paper will consider the process of gentrification undergone by the figure of Robin Hood. This begins already in the late medieval *Gest of Robyn Hode* and reaches full completion in Anthony Munday’s sixteenth-century plays, *The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington* and *The Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington*. In the Middle Ages, Robin is typically presented as a yeoman, and this paper will begin by looking at the complex status of the medieval yeoman, focusing in particular on the socio-political implications of representing yeomen in literature. From the time of Munday’s plays onwards, Robin Hood the yeoman is replaced by Robin the wrongly destituted nobleman, whom

Munday titles the earl of Huntington. The paper aims to investigate the changes in cultural taste and political views taking place between the late medieval and early modern periods that lead to such a drastic transformation of this role model.

Panel 6: 'Reinventing Female Characters', Tue 10h45-10h15

Ms Honor Jackson, University of Neuchâtel

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'Eve, Dryden's *The State of Innocence* and the Afterlife of *Paradise Lost*'

Although today *Paradise Lost* is the better-known text, Dryden's semi-opera, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, circulated widely in manuscript from around 1673, before going through an impressive nine print editions between 1677 and the turn of the century. The abiding critical interpretation of *The State of Innocence* is that Dryden's adaptation evacuates Milton's poetics, politics, philosophy and theology and reframes it either as a cynical mockery of Milton or as a poorly executed but sincerely Royalist heroic play – but this does not account for its lasting popularity or for its peculiar depictions of both Adam and Eve. In this paper I aim to offer evidence for reading *The State of Innocence* as political critique, developing from recent recognition of the effeminacy of Dryden's Adam and its relevance to critical depictions of Charles II, and focusing on Dryden's representation of Eve as a powerful female figure who manipulates weak men. I argue these tropes were associated with the dangers of Catholic women in the period and most specifically, in the 1670s, with James Duke of York's new Catholic bride: Mary of Modena.

Dr Anne-Claire Michoux, University of Zurich

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'Hearing Shakespearean Heroines on the Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Stage'

The late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries witnessed an ever-increasing number of stage adaptations and rewritings of Shakespeare's plays. Eighteenth-century scholars have commented on the ways in which playtexts were revised to meet the sensibilities of the age.⁴ Playwrights also took advantage of the recent admission of women on stage to rewrite Shakespeare's female characters and occasionally introduce new female parts altogether. Jean Marsden has argued that female parts were radically revised to serve as vehicles for a restricting definition of femininity as domestic, pious, and passive, Shakespeare's plays thereby reconfigured as stage conduct manuals.⁵ This paper will challenge this understanding of Restoration and eighteenth-century rewritings of Shakespeare's female characters as exemplars of the bourgeois ideal of femininity, by focusing on the changes to female voices. This paper will examine the revisions to female parts in *As You Like It*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Henry V*, alongside the late eighteenth-century adaptation of Aphra Behn's *The Rover*, Kemble's *Love in Many Masks* (1790) and its changes to Behn's heroines, for a fuller understanding of how far these new incarnations of Shakespeare's heroines conformed or subverted contemporary ideals of femininity.

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'The Origin Story of Ophelia in *Hamlet's Big Adventure (a prequel)*'

⁴ See, among others, Jean Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1995); Jenny Davidson, 'Shakespeare Adaptation', in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Peter Sabor and Fiona Ritchie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 185-203.

⁵ Jean Marsden, 'Rewritten Women: Shakespearean heroines in the Restoration', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. Jean I. Marsden (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 43-56.

In 2019, the Reduced Shakespeare Company (RSC) returned to *Hamlet*, the text which forms the focus of their first play. This paper offers a practice-based insight into the company's artistic process on their eleventh play, *Hamlet's Big Adventure (a prequel)*, drawing on script drafts and interviews with actors/directors/writers Reed Martin and Austin Tichenor, dramaturg Kate Pitt and actors who worked on the play in its initial workshop phases at Shakespeare Napa Valley. The paper's predominant focus is on how and why Martin and Tichenor place Ophelia at the centre of their narrative and whether this represents a step towards greater female representation in RSC productions, which have traditionally featured all-male casts. In addition, I will consider the play's representation of Ophelia in relation to four other twenty-first century responses to *Hamlet* on stage and screen: Steven Berkoff's play *The Secret Love Life of Ophelia* (2001); the Ophelia episode of comedy web series *Sassy Gay Friend* (2010); Park Chan-wook's horror film *Stoker* (2013); and Claire McCarthy's drama film *Ophelia* (2018).

The decision to break with several RSC traditions, such as adding 'abridged' to the play's title, dispensing with a metatheatrical conceit onstage and focusing on a single text, will be further considered in terms of the socio-political context in which the play was conceived and how it capitalised on their previous successes with Shakespearean adaptations. Finally, I ask why Shakespeare's longest tragedy is the play to which this company of comic abridgement returns most frequently, from 1981 to the present day.

Panel 7: 'Political Afterlives', Tue 14h15-15h15

Dr Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, University of Zurich

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'Poster Boy for Whig Liberty: the "Matchless John Milton"'

This paper showcases the deliberate fashioning of John Milton's afterlife at the hands of Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), the heir of philanthropic dissenters and a self-proclaimed Whig. Between 1754 and 1770, Hollis sent gifts of specially prepared books and images, usually anonymously, to libraries and individuals in Europe and America in the hope of educating his readers in Protestant Liberty. At the head of his pantheon of seventeenth-century British authors stands the "matchless" John Milton. I propose to trace the mechanisms by which Milton becomes Hollis's poster boy for what Allen Reddick has designated "his war by deeds of stealth". Looking at the four "liberty-prints" which Hollis designed for Toland's *Life of Milton*, and re-reading Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644) in the light of the rabidly anti-Jesuitical books that Hollis sent to the library of Zurich, Switzerland, we witness the appropriation and simplification of Milton's complex understanding of civic and religious freedom for propagandist ends.

Dr Hiram Morgan, University College Cork

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'Making History: Brian Friel, Hugh O'Neill and the Making of Modern Identity'

Hugh O'Neill (1550-1616), 2nd earl of Tyrone and last Gaelic lord of Ireland, was a ruthless politique and charismatic general who led the Irish in their final war of resistance against the English conquest. This paper will look at how this Irish leader has been characterized since in ways that often bear little relation to the actual historical personality.

After his death O'Neill was depicted as a new Jugurtha by English commentator, Sir James Perrott (1620), as a Catholic hero by Catholic archbishop, Peter Lombard (1632), as the first Irish nationalist by Younger Irelander, John Mitchel (1845) and as a reluctant rebel by Irish revisionist, Sean O'Faolain (1941). Most influential has been Friel's remarkable play *Making History* (1988) set mostly in Rome where he has Lombard writing up O'Neill's life whilst he was in exile there. It is configured as a struggle between a Catholic propagandist making a wrecked politician into a star

and an aging O'Neill who is obsessed with a personal life of love and loss. This drama is far from the truth but does catalyze lots of issues about history writing and the politics of identity. Friel's work seems all the more relevant now that the Irish leader is about to take on a new afterlife in a major TV blockbuster series. Entitled 'The O'Neill', it appears from pre-production reports to be a cross between *The Tudors* and *Game of Thrones*.

Panel 8: 'Material Memory', Tuesday 14h15-15h15

Dr Diana Denissen, University of Lausanne

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'The Afterlives of Late Medieval Religious Women: Spiritual Life Writing and Memorial Sisterbooks'

The voices of late medieval Northern European religious women can be found in autobiographical texts from England and the Low Countries and in so called 'sisterbooks', which describe the lives of sisters from female communities in Germany, the Low Countries and current-day Switzerland. The lives of these religious women were supposed to serve as models for the women who read about them in later generations. These 'afterlives' are fascinating examples of historiobiography mixed with hagiography.

In this paper, I will explore what these texts can (and cannot) tell us about life as a late medieval religious woman in Northern Europe. I will explore how rewriting hagiographical themes and tropes for new female and collective narratives formed spiritual female communities across space and time. I will also reflect on some more general questions: With what purpose were these different afterlives written? And how can a transnational and multilingual perspective contribute towards a more European and dynamic perspective on medieval women's life writing and spirituality?

Mr Ben Wilkinson-Turnbull, University of Oxford

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'Recycling Rings: The Palmerston Chocolate Cups and the Edible Materiality of Memorialisation'

In 1722, Anne Temple née Houblon, Viscountess Palmerston (1683-1736) inherited a large collection of gold mourning rings engraved with *memento mori* inscriptions from her father. Unable to wear these texts all at once, and unaware of who they were once intended to memorialise, the Viscountess devised a novel afterlife for the rings that allowed her to retain their prior materiality and memorialising function. Rather than simply melt the gold down, Palmerston instructed the London-based master goldsmith John Chartier to rework the rings: transforming them into a pair of inscribed *memento mori* chocolate cups for the use of herself and her husband.

By the mid seventeenth century the distribution of gold mourning rings engraved with *memento mori* inscriptions at funerals had become widespread. Wealthy individuals such as Samuel Pepys left large sums in their wills to pay for hundreds of gold rings engraved with short edifying texts to be distributed at their funerals. But such texts were not always worn or even kept by their intended recipients. This paper uses the afterlife of Abraham Houblon's newly recovered collection of inscribed mourning rings to reconsider an understudied genre of popular extracodexical literature. In so doing, I will demonstrate how the material afterlife of recycled texts can be used to rethink our critical understanding of early modern commonplace culture, memorialisation, female authorship and antiquarianism.

Panel 9: 'Critical Afterlives', Tuesday 15h45-17h15

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‘Afterlives of the Apocalypse: Contributions of Bibliophilic Clubs and Learned Societies to the Study of Medieval Apocalypse Manuscripts in the Early 20th Century’

During the first years of the twentieth century, several erudite studies of illuminated biblical manuscripts were undertaken as part of the activities of European clubs of bibliophiles and learned societies. A distinctive series of publications dedicated to the book of Revelation or the Apocalypse involved learned medievalists and philologists who explicitly worked under the auspices of these clubs and societies, most notably Léopold Delisle, Paul Meyer or Montague Rhodes James. Each study contained a comprehensive reproduction of the plates in facsimile enriched by a more or less thorough analysis of the manuscript tackling its history, illustration and script. The question of the value of the scientific knowledge produced by clubs of bibliophiles and learned societies (which are not always easy to distinguish) has long been debated. This paper will examine the publications about Apocalypse manuscripts to assess their contributions to the study of codicology, art history, palaeography and philology. In particular, it will consider the extent to which methodologies associated with different groups impacted the production of scientific knowledge on medieval texts. Do the intellectual choices made by the authors highlight a specific reception of medieval texts of the Bible in the academic community of the period? I shall address these questions in focusing on the cases of three closely tied studies of the Apocalypse: one publication was issued by the *Société des Anciens Texts Français*; the two others were issued by the Roxburghe Club.

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‘Authorial Afterlives and Discursive Authority in Eliza Haywood’s *The Wife*’

Eliza Haywood was a prolific writer, whose oeuvre spans many genres, from racy amatory novels through periodicals for women to conduct books for wives and servant girls. This paper looks at the last of these, as it examines one of the ways in which Haywood seeks to augment her writerly authority, a vital rhetorical issue in the literature of conduct. For a genre that assumes that readers wish to change their comportment, it is important to establish discursive authority. In *The Wife*, Haywood does this in a number of ways, many of which consist in beckoning to outside sources of social authority. One such way is by the use of anecdotes, where people (including the author) invoke their own or observed experiences, which are then mediated and interpreted by the benevolent author to best support her readers’ needs.

Another way, and this is the avenue I shall investigate, is by quoting canonical authors of the past. Haywood often refers to outside authors to reinforce her conduct advice, at times explicitly pointing out that readers need not trust her own, singular authority, since it is backed up by the more established authority of her forbears. In my paper, I will address three main points: first, I categorize the authors and genres that Haywood introduces; second, I investigate the manner whereby she invokes them and reorients them to her readers’ needs; third, I suggest ways in which this practice contributed to the afterlives of the authors Haywood uses. Indeed, donning the cloak of outside textual authority is a mutually beneficial strategy in obtaining and maintaining cultural power: for Haywood herself in the competitive print market of mid-eighteenth-century Britain; for the outside authors as a viable relay of their ongoing authority.

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‘Machiavelli’s French Match: Dynastic Politics and Religious Toleration after the French Wars of Religion’

This paper addresses Niccolò Machiavelli's afterlife in sixteenth-century religious and political polemics and early modern drama with regard to his underappreciated role in discourses of religious toleration. The Elizabethan figure of the Machiavel is often associated with religious violence and hypocrisy, as exemplified by the allegedly treacherous part played by Catherine de Medici in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. However, the French Wars of Religion also produced an alternative strand in Machiavelli's reception, which variously praised or condemned the Florentine for the policies of religious toleration and confessional coexistence which he allegedly inspired with his secularising approach to religion. This aspect of Machiavelli's afterlife first became the focus of intense political debate in England during the failed negotiations for an interconfessional marriage between Elizabeth I and the Catholic Duke of Anjou and Alençon. There are significant continuities, for instance, between the pamphlet warfare surrounding the French Wars of Religion and one of the most notorious attacks on the marriage, Philip Stubbes' *Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf* (1579). Like the Catholic League in France, the Protestant Stubbes found pernicious Machiavellianism at work in the lukewarm religious policies of the Catholic Valois dynasty, which was willing to compromise with Protestants both at home and abroad. Stubbes warned against the same Machiavellian disregard for confessional politics in the proposed marriage between the Catholic Duke and the Protestant Queen. Finally, this paper suggests that this strand of Machiavelli's afterlife also offers new perspectives on his reception in early modern drama.

Panel 10: 'Textual Afterlives', Tuesday 15h45-17h15

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'Unity and Fragmentation in the Third Arden Shakespeare series (1995-2020)'

This paper aims to consider how the two categories of unity and fragmentation shape the course of the third Arden series. I will begin by placing the two terms within the larger context of the institutional and intellectual conditions of the 1980s and 1990s, before narrowing the parameters to two of the Arden 3 demonstration texts for unity and dispersal: Reg Foakes's conflated *King Lear* (1997), and Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor's two-volume, three-text *Hamlet* (2006). Here I aim to show how the pressures of unity and fragmentation are played out in the editorial postures taken by each editor. I will also be interested in how the reader experiences the text, and the different expectations that the editors imagine for their readership. In the final section, I gather insights from a variety of perspectives to argue for a more theatrically-inflected and materially-oriented sense of conflation.

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'The Chaucerian Afterlife of Ovid's Metamorphic Metapoetics'

Chaucer is notoriously resistant to the process of allegoresis which led to so many medieval reinterpretations of Ovid's works. Rather, his interest in the Roman poet lay most pointedly in the metapoetic aspect of Ovid's writings, particularly when the latter reflected on the instability of the *auctor* and *autoritas* constructs as well as the problem of art to transmit meaning accurately. In this paper, I shall posit that Chaucer recognised in Ovid's works the use of metamorphosis to reflect on the process of poetic *inventio* as a transformation of reality, but also of his sources, into a new literary product. In Chaucer, the metapoetic metamorphosis is perfected and goes underground, on a textual rather than a physical level, being deployed by the vernacular author to reflect on poetic *inventio*, but also, and most importantly, to think about the process of transmission through translation. In other words, with Ovid, Chaucer interrogates the processes of transmitting meaning accurately, *especially* when a break-down between source and retelling is effected by translation into

another language. After a short discussion of Ovid's own metapoetic reflection through metamorphosis, I shall discuss two of Chaucer's Ovidian passages in which I feel the translation process is influenced by his predecessor's engagement with metapoetics: The ekphrastic representation of the Dido and Aeneas story at the beginning of the *House of Fame*, and the Ceys and Alcyone episode that introduces the *Book of the Duchess*

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'Marriage in the Kingis Quair: A Sixteenth-Century Perspective'

The *Kingis Quair*, attributed to James I of Scotland (1394-1437), is thought to have been written in the early 1420s just after James's release from captivity in England but before his triumphant return to Scotland with his English queen, Joan Beaufort, in 1424. Recent criticism of the poem focuses on its potential usefulness to James as a means of self-advertisement to his future subjects. These readers point out how, by fictionalizing his life story in a Boethian dream vision, James manages to represent his incarceration as an experience on which his suitability to reign might be founded. In contrast, this paper begins by recognizing that the unique extant manuscript containing a copy of the *Quair* dates to the turn of the sixteenth century. Rather than focusing on what the poem might have meant for James and his early fifteenth-century readers, I propose to consider its significance for the *Quair* manuscript's later medieval commissioner, Henry Sinclair (d. 1513) and his household. This approach affords fresh attention to the texts with which the *Kingis Quair* is copied into the Sinclairs' book: Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid*, in which the deity denounces men's mistreatment of women; the *Lay of Sorrow*, a complaint in a woman's voice about her abandonment by her lover; and the *Quare of Jelusy*, in which a poet's sympathy with a lady he spies weeping spills over into an emotional diatribe against jealousy. Amidst such company, I suggest, the *Quair*'s own worries about women's treatment by men, especially within marriage, become clearer than has hitherto been found.

Panel 11: 'Excerpting and Archiving', Wednesday 09h30-11h00

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'The Afterlife of 'Commonplace Markers': what Impact did they Actually have on Play-Readers?'

Thanks to a well-known article by Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass (2008), over the last decade, 'commonplace markers' have largely been held responsible for having promoted early modern drama to a 'literary' status at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Lesser and Stallybrass's argument is based on the popularity that these typographical markers gained around the turn of the seventeenth century amongst publishers of drama, who began to apply these devices, once only used for classical texts, to vernacular plays. This treatment, according to Lesser and Stallybrass, automatically promoted vernacular drama to a higher cultural status; however, their analysis does not consider what impact these markers had on those reading the plays, and especially those reading plays for commonplaces and *sententiae* to be extracted and collected in their notebooks. The practice of adding commonplace markers and that of reading for commonplacing were directly related, and thus, in order to gain a better and more complex understanding of the role that these typographical signs played in the reception of early modern drama it is necessary to study their 'afterlives', that is to study how they were received by readers. In this paper, I will present evidence from both printed and manuscript collections containing dramatic extracts from the first half of the seventeenth century, in order to understand how successful 'commonplace markers' were in mediating the reception of the plays in which they were present. I argue that this

success was limited, and challenge current ideas of their role in the promotion of a 'literary' status for early modern drama.

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'Donne's Digital Afterlife'

This paper will consider the ongoing John Donne Society Digital Prose Project, whose declared aim is to 'build a digital archive of primary materials related to the prose works of John Donne.' As its website further declares, 'this is a collaborative project,' relying on volunteers to transcribe, proofread, edit texts and acquire digital images. In this paper I would like to discuss my experience of involving MA students in the project and in what ways their involvement proved a valuable aspect of an MA seminar on early printed books. Students' contributions to the 'crowdsourced' community project not only gives them an appreciation of the processes lying behind digital remediation but also contributes (perhaps paradoxically) to their understanding of the materiality of the early printed text.

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'Look Thee, I Speak Play Scraps!'

Renaissance dramatists read and watched each other's plays and quote their colleagues' words at every turn. Like Hollywood scriptwriters, they recycled good one-liners for laughs, often explicitly: 'My horse, my horse, my kingdom for a horse – look thee, I speak play scraps!' (John Marston, *What You Will*). In 21st-century terms, playwrights garnered 'likes' by having catchy 'memes' or 'hashtags' 're-tweeted'. Thousands of phrases first spoken onstage entered a verbal continuum which also includes *sententiae* and phrases with Classical origins. In the 1590s, this web of words spread to anthologies and gave successful theatrical words an afterlife in poetry, fiction, pamphlets, commonplace books and sermons.

Research into this extended verbal network has been dispersed in Classical, English and Shakespeare studies, with valuable data saved but often dormant in *NQ* items, indexes, 19th-century dissertations and annotated editions. A SNF-funded database now offers a much-needed overview. WordWeb-idem.ch, an open-access corpus of 5000 text extracts, maps a network of one-liners, motifs and catchphrases which link over 450 plays to each other and to Classical and vernacular sources. Obscure, familiar and electronically identified materials are re-represented and contextualized and can be searched for authors, texts and quoted phrases. This unprecedentedly comprehensive collection displays Elizabethan Classical learning, clarifies Shakespeare's contribution to the language of his age and maps the (after-)life of individual phrases such as 'sea of troubles' (33 entries from Euripides to Bunyan) or 'pampered jades' (16 entries from Seneca to Wycherley).

Panel 12: 'Antiquity', Wednesday 9h30-11h00

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“‘[W]eake Woeman” Studying “higher matters than their cappasitie can reach to”?: Lady Mary Wroth's Appropriation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the *Urania*'

In the second part of Mary Lady Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, the protagonist Antissa goes mad writing inappropriate poetry because, according to her nephew, an amateur scholar of Ovidian poetry leads her to dabble with literature that is beyond women's mental capacity. This

instance of explicit critique of a female author within the first English romance authored by a woman has continued to trouble critics. Reading the episode in conjunction with Wroth's own adaptations of two tales from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, my paper proposes an alternative approach to the stringent critique on Antissa's writing. Rather than criticizing female authorship per se, I argue, Wroth addresses the question of how to adapt canonical texts like the *Metamorphoses*. Wroth's own treatment of Ovidian material thereby suggests that she favours radical appropriation over imitation and pastiche, implying that it is not Antissa's authorship that poses problems, but her uncritical emulation of a canonical male text.

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'Heraclitus the Dark? The Legacy of Flux in Early Modern Thought'

In his renowned essay for Raymond Sebond, Montaigne states that philosophers

aim at being hard to understand ... to emphasize the vanity of their subject-matter and to give our minds something to do! ... That is why Epicurus avoided perspicuity in his writings and why Heraclitus was surnamed *skoteinos*, 'Dark'. Difficulty is a coin which the learned conjure with ...⁶

An association with obscurity and difficulty has dogged the reception of Heraclitus' work and the quality of his character since his death in ca. 480 BCE. This is understandable, in one respect, considering that over thirty different philosophers and essayists (through more than forty discrete texts) contribute to the fragmentary canon of Heraclitus' philosophy. No original or authoritative textual legacy can be brought forth to defend his reputation.

While there have been efforts made to readdress the reception of Epicurus' legacy in English early modern culture, little work has been completed on advancing our understanding of Heraclitus' literary afterlife in the period.⁷ My paper provides redress for this critical lacuna, and aims to advance our understanding of his work's presence in early modern writing beyond the reductive and ahistorical caricature he acquires as a melancholic (primarily through the writing of Lucian and Juvenal).⁸ I focus on how his theories of flux and mutability percolated through sixteenth and seventeenth-century philosophy and poetry, tracing the history of transmission of these concepts to establish a connection between Heraclitus and Epicurus that has been hitherto neglected in our appreciation of the intellectual climate of the age.

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'Seah on *enta geweorc*: Perceiving the Roman Past in Old English Poetry'

The Old English poetic formula (*eald*) *enta geweorc* literally denotes the '(old) work of giants' but seems to refer in most instances to the ruined stonework of Britain's long-departed Roman inhabitants (Frankis 1973). Nearly every occurrence of the phrase (*eald*) *enta geweorc* harks back not merely to some indistinct time in the distant past, but evokes something specifically of the latent *Romanitas* which the Anglo-Saxons saw themselves as having inherited following their own settlement of Britain in the fifth century and St Augustine's subsequent mission from Rome in AD 597. Indeed, (*eald*) *enta geweorc* is but one element of a more clearly defined poetic *topos* that also describes architectural features characteristic of Roman buildings. Importantly, the surviving remnants of these Roman ruins participate in the discourse on earthly transience immanent in Old

⁶ M.A. Screech, ed. *Michel De Montaigne: The Complete Essays* (London: Penguin, 2003), p.566.

⁷ See Adam Rzepka, 'Discourse Ex Nihilo: Epicurus and Lucretius in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Dynamic Reading: Studies in the Reception of Epicureanism*, eds. Brooke Holmes and W. H. Shearin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸ Catherine Keene, *Juvenal and the Satiric Emotions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 124.

English poetry, alluding by way of contrasts to the heavenly splendour of the eternal – and intact – City of God, turning these Roman ruins into sites of contemplative significance.

In order to establish a link between the perceiver and the subject of his contemplation, this *topos* appeals to the sense of touch, hearing and particularly sight: in *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, and *Maxims II*, the ‘old work of giants’ is gazed upon and kept alive in the mind’s eye, whilst in *The Wanderer* and *The Ruin* the imagined sound of the revelry of the ruin’s deceased inhabitants brings something of Britain’s Roman past vividly back to life. Indeed, it is through explicit allusion to these faculties of perception, this paper will argue, that the old work of giants and the Anglo-Saxons’ Roman inheritance were rendered meaningful to contemporary audiences of Old English poetry.

Panel 13: ‘Reviving Ages Past’, Wednesday 14h00-15h00

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‘Reviving the Elizabethan Past in William Davenant’s Interregnum Drama’

This paper focuses on the role played by the New World in William Davenant’s revival of public drama during the Interregnum. Davenant initially co-opted anti-Spanish sentiment as a means of strengthening his arguments for the utility of public drama to uphold the values of the Commonwealth, but the New World drama that he actually went on to produce was far from simple Protectorate propaganda. I explore the complex representations of the New World, Anglo-Spanish conflict, and the afterlives of Elizabethan colonialist figures and tropes in Davenant’s operatic-dramatic entertainments, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658) and *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (1659). Written and staged during the final years of Oliver Cromwell’s Protectorate, and following the failure of the Protector’s ‘Western Design’ in the Caribbean, these entertainments reimagine material from an heroic Elizabethan past in order to speak to mid-seventeenth century colonialist ambitions and domestic politics. As my paper will demonstrate, Davenant’s New World drama revives heroic historical figures such as Drake to reflect on the political and moral mechanisms that underpin ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ types of colonial conquest, and in turn invites reflection on—and critique of—domestic political order and leadership.

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‘Speaking from Beyond the Grave: Ghosts and Genetics in Shakespeare’

Victor Hugo is said to have summoned the spirit of Shakespeare in a séance which led to the deceased writer tapping out the encoded text of the first act of a new play. This is obviously beyond the pale of what we can reasonably consider Shakespeare’s influence in the textual life that his works have led in the 400 years since his death. However, it is an apt metaphor for the clear influence he has had beyond the grave. Shakespeare famously sought immortality in his writing and made such claims explicit in his sonnets. Milton writes in *Areopagitica*, ‘As good almost kill a man as a book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God’s image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself’ (720), and Shakespeare is an apt example of how true this is as the influence of his works has far exceeded his biological lifetime.

In 2003, Shakespeare’s afterlife took on an even more profound metaphorical meaning as his complete sonnets were among the first texts recorded in DNA. His encoded works may not have been tapped out on a tabletop during a séance, but nevertheless, they have found their way back to life. This paper aims to look at Shakespeare’s employment of ghosts, specifically in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *The Winter’s Tale*, in light of his understanding of notions of inheritance as both a biological and cultural reality, but also to treat his texts as ghosts that continue to haunt our literary sphere, and to explore the metaphor of the cultural transmission of text to the emergent idea of the textual nature of the body.