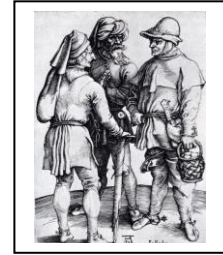


# TORONTO RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION COLLOQUIUM

Founded by Natalie Zemon Davis and James K. McConica in 1964



## **Communities of Print: Authors, Readers, and Printers in the Early Modern World**

**A Conference in Memory of Natalie Zemon Davis and James K. McConica  
on the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Colloquium**



Natalie Zemon Davis and James K. McConica  
(Photo © Konrad Eisenbichler)

**Organized in partnership with  
the University of St Michael's College, the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, the  
Department of History at McMaster University, the Istituto Italiano di Cultura (Toronto),  
and the University of Toronto**

**St Michael's College, University of Toronto  
70 & 81 St Mary Street, Toronto**

**To register for the conference please use the following link:  
<https://www.trrc.ca/conferences/2024-conference-communities-of-print/>**

## Programme

### Thursday, 26 September 2024

3:30 pm	<b>Registration and Publishers' Displays</b> Loretto College lobby, 70 St Mary's Street
4:00	<b>Welcome</b> (Room 400, Muzzo Family Alumni Hall, 121 St Joseph Street) Megan Armstrong, Chair, Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium Irene Morra, Principal, St Michael's College Fr. James Farge, Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies
4:30	<b>Plenary, The Frederick Charles Furlong Memorial Lecture</b> (Room 400, Muzzo Family Alumni Hall, 121 St Joseph Street) Ann Blair (Harvard U) <i>Erasmus and the Frobens: A Partnership in Making and Marketing Books</i>
6:00	<b>Reception hosted by the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies</b> Fr. Shook PIMS Common Room, 59 Queen's Park Crescent East

### Friday, 27 September 2024

<b>8:30</b>	<b>Registration and Publishers' Display</b> , Loretto College lobby, 70 St Mary's Street	
	<b>Sessions A, Charbonnel Lounge</b> 81 St Mary's Street	<b>Sessions B, Romero Room</b> 70 St Mary's Street
9:00	<b>A.1) Humanists Reading</b> Chair: James M. Estes (U of Toronto) 1) Riemer Faber (U of Waterloo), <i>The Function of Erasmus' Adages in the Formation of the Republic of Letters.</i> 2) Robert Twiss (U of Toronto), <i>Bibliographic Data and Reading Practices: Reflections on Fifty Years of Scholarship.</i> 3) Tim Wade (Pembroke College, Oxford), <i>Print, Community and Conflict in the Erasmian Republic of Letters, 1517-1521.</i>	<b>B.1) Materiality of Religion</b> Chair: Konrad Eisenbichler (U of Toronto) 1) Karen Melvin (Bates College), <i>Summoning the Powers of the Holy Sepulcher to New Spain.</i> 2) Nicholas Terpstra (U of Toronto), <i>Mounts of Piety?: Modelling Behaviour around Space, Sense, and Race in Early Modern Italy</i> 3) Megan C. Armstrong (McMaster U), <i>A Rite of Inclusion: Catholic Palm Sunday Processions in Early Modern Jerusalem.</i>

10:30	<b>Health pause</b>	
11:00	<b>Plenary</b> , Charbonnel Lounge, 81 St Mary's Street Anthony Grafton (Princeton U) and Joanna Weinberg (U of Oxford) <i>Collaboration and Conflict in the Printing House: Johann Buxtorf Edits the Rabbinic Bible (1618–19)</i>	
12:30	<b>Lunch (ad lib.)</b>	
2:00 pm	<b>A.2) Technologies of Printing (1)</b> Chair: David Neufeld (U of Waterloo) 1) Randall McLeod (U of Toronto), <i>Aldus Manutius and the Printers of Lyons.</i> 2) Adriana Daniela Ciocci (U of Toronto), <i>Convergences of Tacit Knowing in Seventeenth-Century English Prints</i>	<b>B.2) Questions of Identity</b> Chair: Andreas Motsch (U of Toronto) 1) Katherine Acheson (U of Waterloo), <i>Early Modern English Women Author Portraits in Print.</i> 2) Konrad Eisenbichler (U of Toronto), <i>The Return of the Landsknecht ... Pregnant with Child.</i> 3) Jacqueline Murray (U of Guelph), <i>Saint Galgano and the Intersectionality of Sanctity.</i>
3:30	<b>Health pause</b>	
4:00	<b>A.3) Technologies of Printing (2)</b> Chair: Elizabeth Cohen (York U) 1) Chiara Alessia Campagnaro (The Warburg Institute), <i>Making a Good Impression: Margherita Marescotti's Petitions in the Seventeenth-Century Book Trade.</i> 2) Ellen Siebel-Achenbach (U of Toronto), <i>Reconstructing Bookbinding Sewing Frames from Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg.</i> 3) Abby Zanger (Cambridge, MA), <i>Elisabeth Chéron: Female Poet, Translator, Artist, and Polemicist on the Margins of Print in Seventeenth-Century France.</i>	<b>B.3) Reputation</b> Chair: Jacqueline Murray (U of Guelph) 1) Dylan Reid (Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies), <i>Printing Carnival: Rouen's Abbey of the Conards Expands its Influence.</i> 2) Barry Torch (York U), <i>The Push to Publish Neoplatonism: Jockeying for Reputation in Quattrocento Rome.</i>
5:30	<b>Health pause</b>	
6:00	<b>Evening recital/talk</b> (Charbonnel Lounge, 81 St Mary Street) Bud Roach (U of Toronto) <i>Venetian Music Publishing and the Unstoppable Chitarra Spagnola.</i>	

## Saturday, 28 September 2024

8:30	<b>Registration and Publishers' Display</b> , Loretto College, 70 St Mary's Street	
	<b>Sessions A, Charbonnel Lounge</b> 81 St Mary's Street	<b>Sessions B, Romero Room</b> 70 St Mary's Street
9:00	<p><b>A.4) Global Transmissions</b> Chair: Alan Verskin (U of Toronto)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Heather Madar (Cal Poly Humboldt U), <i>Albrecht Dürer and Networks of Global Print Transmission</i>.</li> <li>2) Bilha Moor (U of Denver), <i>A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Cosmography in Relation to Sebastian Münster's Cosmographia universalis</i>.</li> <li>3) Yixin Alfred Wang (U of Toronto), <i>'The Tatar Yoke: Ming and Jesuit Ethnographic Propaganda during the Manchu Invasion, 1620-1644</i>.</li> </ol>	<p><b>B.4) Images and Identities</b> Chair: Jennifer Mara DeSilva (U of Toronto)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Ariana Ellis (U of Toronto), <i>Punishment and Propaganda: Scaffold Literature and Politics in Sixteenth-Century London</i>.</li> <li>2) Caliesha Harris (McMaster U), <i>Representing the End Times in a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Text</i>.</li> <li>3) Margaret Schotte (York U), <i>Poetry, Pilgrimage, Print: A Maritime Story</i>.</li> </ol>
10:30	<b>Health pause</b>	
11:00	<p><b>A.5) Science and the Imaginary</b> Chair: Thomas V. Cohen (York U)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Chantal Gustaw (U of Toronto), <i>The Anatomical Illustrations of Frederik Ruysch – The Intersection of Faith and Scientific Knowledge</i>.</li> <li>2) Tina Kocic (McMaster U), <i>If the Fates Allow: Categorizing Marsilio Ficino's De Vita as Sympathetic and Demonic Magic</i>.</li> </ol>	<p><b>B.5) Sacred Texts in the World</b> Chair: Germaine Warkentin (U of Toronto)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Denise Brazzale (U Fribourg), <i>The Impact of Savonarola on Florentine Incunabula Production: The Case of the Printer Francesco di Dino</i>.</li> <li>2) Gabrielle M. Hamelin (U Montreal / U di Verona), <i>Bible Access in post-Tridentine Venice</i>.</li> <li>3) Weiao Xing (U of Tübingen), <i>New England Printing and the Algonquian Bible in the Seventeenth-Century World</i>.</li> </ol>
12:30	<b>Lunch (ad lib.)</b>	
2:00 pm	<p><b>A.6) Editorial Practices</b> Chair: Laura Ingallinella (U of Toronto)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Chris Nighman (Wilfrid Laurier U) <i>Marketing Consolation: Basel Publisher Johannes Amerbach's Promotion of a Medieval Best Seller</i></li> </ol>	<p><b>B.6) Networking</b> Chair: Colin Rose (Brock University)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Thea Lindquist (U of Colorado Boulder), <i>Patterns of Collaboration and Exchange in the Publications of Members of a Seventeenth-Century German Cultural Society</i>.</li> </ol>

	2) Antonio Ricci (York U), <i>Ariosto Cancels Machiavelli</i> . 3) Marius Rusu (Rutgers U), <i>Ludovico Ariosto's 1766 Venetian Edition: Editorial Practices and Criteria</i> .	2) Hannah Soroka (McGill U), <i>Protestant Sociability, Providential Expectation, and the Universal Reformation in a Seventeenth-Century Epistolary Exchange</i> .
3:30	<b>Health pause</b>	
4:00	<b>Closing Roundtable</b> (Charbonnel Lounge, 81 St Mary Street) Chair: Nicholas Terpstra Participants: Megan Armstrong, Ann Blair, Paul Cohen, Thomas V. Cohen, Anthony Grafton.	
5:30	<b>Closing Reception</b> , Romero Room, 70 St Mary's Street	

**Registration:** is obligatory for speakers, chairs, and audience members; to register (\$100 CDN)

**Location:** 70 and 81 St Mary's Street, St Michael's College and Loretto College, University of Toronto

**Accommodations:** for venues in the area, see <https://crrs.ca/events-main/visiting-toronto/>

**Membership:** to become a member of the TRRC (\$21/yr), visit <https://www.trrc.ca/membership/>

**Updates:** for further updates, please consult the TRRC web page at <https://www.trrc.ca/>

**For more information,** email: [konrad.eisenbichler@utoronto.ca](mailto:konrad.eisenbichler@utoronto.ca)

### **Organizing Committee**

Megan Armstrong, Konrad Eisenbichler, Nicholas Terpstra

### **Student Assistants**

Nadim Al Nakhl, Simona Di Martino, Aidan Flynn, Jennifer Liu

**The TRRC is profoundly grateful to the following for their generous support**

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Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies  
Italian Cultural Institute (Toronto)

**Abstracts**  
**(in alphabetical order)**

**Katherine Acheson**  
**(University Waterloo)**

**“Early Modern English Women Author Portraits in Print”**

Printed author portraits grew in popularity in the early modern period. Portraits of women authors became important parts of the marketing of books and the crafting of authorial identity, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century. These portraits expressed qualities of the content of printed works by the authors they represented. They also represented, or conferred, authority within particular realms, such as theology, pedagogy, or trades. For women authors, the portraits also reflected the essential and ideal qualities of womanhood in the era, particularly for women who held, however provisionally, the right to speak in public through print. For female literary authors, these ideal qualities included whiteness, expressed through attributes including, but not limited to, their ample white bosoms. These representations were both powerful and motivated, by women authors and publishers alike.

**Megan C. Armstrong**  
**(McMaster University)**

**“A Rite of Inclusion: Catholic Palm Sunday processions in early modern Jerusalem”**

The early modern Franciscan brothers in charge of the administration of Catholic pilgrimage in the Holy Land had long operated in an extraordinarily diverse religious landscape, one that was sacred to all three Religions of the Book. The Palm Sunday procession was an old and cherished Islamic privilege, one that granted the Franciscan *custos* the right to ride an ass through the streets of Jerusalem in imitation of Christ during Easter. Relying upon pilgrimage treatises and internal Franciscan sources, a close examination of the performance of this rite after 1517 suggests that the friars found it a critical mechanism for inscribing, and legitimizing, a place for the Catholic tradition in the sacred geography of Jerusalem, a city in the throes of profound religious and political change following its conquest by Ottoman forces.

**Ann Blair**  
**(Harvard University)**

**“Erasmus and the Frobens: A Partnership in Making and Marketing Books”**

Between 1514 and 1526 Erasmus published a total of 272 books with Johann then Hieronymus Froben in Basel. Given this lasting partnership we can assume that by and large author and printer both approved the many decisions involved. This corpus offers opportunities to analyze their strategies for marketing books, pleasing buyers and readers, and responding to and

forestalling criticism. I will ponder cases in which texts were published together and the use of paratexts.

**Denise Brazzale**  
(University of Fribourg)

**“The Impact of Savonarola on Florentine Incunabula Production:  
The Case of the Printer Francesco di Dino”**

Commencing in 1494, immediately following the expulsion of the Medici, Savonarola wielded considerable influence in Florence. His powerful sermons not only had a profound impact on citizens' lives but also resonated notably in literary circles and the city's incunabula production. My intervention aims to scrutinize the changes evident in the production of printer Francesco di Dino, aligning with the Savonarolan reform. This analysis seeks to illuminate the transformation in the literary genre of the printed works, showcasing the profound influence of Savonarola's reform on both the cultural and printing landscape of Florence.

**Chiara Alessia Campagnaro**  
(The Warburg Institute)

**“Making a Good Impression: Margherita Marescotti's Petitions  
in the Seventeenth-Century Book Trade”**

My research seeks to expand the historiography of book history by examining the historical book trade networks fashioned by women printers in early modern Italy. This paper considers the understudied Florentine printer, Margherita Marescotti, who took control of the Marescotti firm after the death of her husband, Cristofano, in 1611. There is little biographical information on Margherita, however, a group of petitions at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, written by Margherita as well as other male printers in early seventeenth century Florence, sheds light on her printing ventures. As a businesswoman navigating the Florentine book trade, Margherita relied on her daughter, son-in-law, and workmen, as well as the patronage of the Medici dukes. By examining Margherita's petitions and their social, political, and economic context, I aim to understand how women printers advocated for their work, fostered business contacts, and participated in book trade networks.

**Adriana Daniela Ciocci**  
(University of Toronto)

**“Convergences of Tacit Knowing in Seventeenth-Century English Prints”**

In this paper, I highlight skill-based knowledge within the production of seventeenth-century English letterpress printing, from the creation of paper to the final print. I claim that an overlooked area of print history is the embodied knowledge of the workers within print-related technologies, which I call the Print Craft Quartet (PCQ) — papermaking, type foundry, ink making, and printing. Using early modern techniques, I analyze each technology using my experience as a novice printer and papermaker. I support my experience with a seventeenth-

century print manual and archival studies of seventeenth-century volumes respected in the history of science. The evidence derived from these multianalytical approaches supports my claim that the embodied knowledge of craftspeople evades textual description; however, letterpress printed sheets are artifacts of their labour.

**Konrad Eisenbichler**  
(University of Toronto)

**“The Return of the Landsknecht ... Pregnant with Child”**

The case of Daniel Burghammer, a German landsknecht who in 1601 surprised his wife, fellow soldiers, and everyone in town by giving birth to a baby girl, has attracted attention from when it was first reported that very same year in Conrad Lautenbach’s *Historicae relationis continuatio* to the present day when it appeared on ABC News (2008) and in scholarly works on intersex people. Although his story comes up regularly in early-modern literature on hermaphrodites and modern literature on intersex people, no scholar has actually parsed the original narrative to figure out what, exactly, was going on and why various people and institutions responded as they did. This paper will briefly survey the literature on this case and the original narrative in order to raise a number of questions that may or may not have answers, but that nonetheless point to the cultural and scientific context that framed the event.

**Ariana Ellis**  
(University of Toronto)

**“Punishment and Propaganda: Scaffold Literature and Politics in Sixteenth Century London”**

In the sixteenth century public executions were central to London’s justice system. Purposefully organized as spectacles, the rise of public print broadened the audience for executions and spread the infamy of the event beyond community borders. The popularity of scaffold literature in early modern London is strikingly apparent in the large number of contemporary examples, particularly of mass printed pamphlets rife with sensationalized descriptions of the execution process. Using key contemporary case studies, this paper will examine the propaganda and politics imbued within this system of public justice. I will explore how printed pamphlets and spectacles of justice worked hand in hand to reinforce the security of the crown by weaponizing cultures of shame within local London communities and encouraging an impression of judicial transparency.

**Riemer A. Faber**  
(University of Waterloo)

**“The Function of Erasmus’ Adages in the Formation of the Republic of Letters”**

The dissemination of classical proverbs was an important feature in the formation of the Republic of Letters. The humanists’ collaborative program of cultural development was served especially by Erasmus’ *Adages*, and the exercise of them instilled a sense of community. Using the related adages ‘with a crass Minerva’ and ‘of the more clumsy Muse’ (*Adag.* 1.1.37, 38), this paper seeks to illustrate how Erasmus deploys proverbs in his own writings and introduces them into the public domain. We then shall observe how other humanists (e.g., Melancthon,



Francesco Cattani, Jean Bodin) adapted the two sayings purposefully, to signal their participation in the shared intellectual enterprise and to engage in a friendly discourse on the semantic range of these proverbs and their various usages. Thus we shall gain a deeper appreciation of the humanist strategies and mechanisms that enabled the *Adages* to forge a widespread community based on research and fellowship.

**Anthony Grafton (Princeton University) and Joanna Weinberg (University of Oxford)**

**“Collaboration and Conflict in the Printing House:  
Johann Buxtorf Edits the Rabbinic Bible (1618–19)”**

A double act. Joanna Weinberg (Oxford) and I have now finished a study on Johann Buxtorf the Elder, the great Basel Hebraist, that is full of new information on his work as editor and censor of Jewish texts, on how he dealt with Christian and Jewish printing workers in the shops of Waldkirch and Koenig, and sometimes on how they dealt with him. This talk will fit several of Natalie Zemon Davis's interests, but it will also raise questions about humanism and biblical studies that were central to Jim McConica's scholarship.

**Chantal Gustaw  
(University of Toronto)**

**“The Anatomical Illustrations of Frederik Ruysch:  
The Intersection of Faith and Scientific Knowledge”**

With the development of printing and illustration techniques, anatomists were able to visually represent the concealed mysteries of the inner body. This paper will examine how, in a tradition that can be traced back to the woodcuts in Andreas Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, the work of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Dutch anatomist Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731) blended art and science in a way that broke down traditional disciplinary boundaries. The illustrations in Ruysch's *Thesaurus Anatomicus* immortalized the contents of his cabinet of rarities, combining the accuracy of scientific rigour with artistic genres and elements such as classicism, metaphor, and *memento mori*. The development of both scientific and illustrative techniques in the early modern era, particularly the copperplate engravings that were used extensively in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, allowed Ruysch and his artistic collaborator to produce ever more detailed visual images. These illustrations are examples of an intersection of faith, science, and contemporary philosophical thought.

**Gabrielle M. Hamelin  
(Université de Montréal / Università di Verona)**

**“Bible Access in Post-Tridentine Venice”**

The 1596 *Index of Forbidden Books* prohibited the possession or reading of Bible translations and vulgarizations following the Church's belief that universal access to the Scriptures would generate heresy. However, Venice's need to preserve its book publishing industry and its customary hostility against the Holy See resulted in a soft implementation of the post-Tridentine

religious control and censorship policies. This presentation centres on the analysis of the Venetian inquisitorial trials and of the inquisitors' correspondence with the Roman Curia on censoring and publishing matters in the 17th and 18th centuries. It highlights how the loopholes within the Venetian book control system and the renewal of the religious editorial offer enabled the circulation of the Scriptures in its many textual manifestations despite the prohibitions. Further reflections will be made on the means of accessing biblical knowledge for individuals from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, of varying financial capacities and differing levels of literacy in post-Tridentine Italy.

**Caliesha Harris**  
(McMaster University)

**“Representing the End Times in a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Text”**

This study examines a rare sixteenth-century exegesis of the second book of Esdras, an apocryphal text foretelling the imminent apocalypse. Authored by Marco Antonio Lovisino, a noble physician from Udine, and published in Venice in 1571, the exegesis is a significant historical artifact. It contains nine unique woodcuts illustrating various apocalyptic scenes from Second Esdras accompanied by commentary in vernacular Italian. The text is rich with meaning, and by delving into the eschatological rhetoric and symbolism, it provides insight into three crucial contexts: the rise of printed apocalyptic prophecy, the influence of Christian humanism and patronage, and the pervasive fear of the Ottoman Empire as a fatal threat to the Christian tradition. The text reveals an author stepped in the intellectual and religious culture of sixteenth century Venice amidst a period of profound transformation.

**Tina Kocic**  
(McMaster University)

**“If the Fates Allow: Categorizing Marsilio Ficino’s *De Vita*  
as Sympathetic and Demonic Magic”**

Renaissance Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino drew from classical texts while writing his treatise on astrological magic, *De vita*. He incorporated polytheistic elements into his model of magic, an odd choice because “paganism” was considered dangerous. Analyzing Ficino’s works, I argue that Ficino attempted to reconcile polytheistic and Christian elements, creating a unique type of magic that was difficult to categorize as natural or demonic. The magic in *De Vita* merits scholarly attention because this was a highly influential work on a subject considered heretical at the time – magic was of concern to religious authorities. This study contributes to ongoing discussions in Renaissance history on the reception of “pagan” texts and the ambiguous categorization of magic. By contextualizing Ficino’s works with practices accepted by the Church, I illustrate how Renaissance humanists attempted to test and negotiate religious boundaries that demarcated what was considered spiritually sacred and profane, with mixed success.

**Thea Lindquist**  
(University of Colorado Boulder)

**“Patterns of Collaboration and Exchange  
in the Publications of Members of a Seventeenth-Century German Cultural Society”**

This paper draws on large-scale data analysis to investigate the publication patterns of members of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (1617–1680), the first and—at nearly 900 members—largest cultural society in early modern Central Europe. Our work takes a computational approach to Society research for the first time, by analyzing members' collective publication output using VD17 bibliographic data. Scholars have long recognized the Society's significance in the development of the German language, and of member publications in disseminating ideas related to its agenda to a broader audience. These publications are also a location of scholarly and social discourse, among members and with the reading public and scholarly communities across time and space. This paper investigates the volume of and networks revealed in these member publications across the Society's three phases, thus increasing our understanding of the role of print in the emergence and functioning of the Society as a community of scholars.

**Heather Madar**  
(Cal Poly Humboldt University)

**“Albrecht Dürer and Networks of Global Print Transmission”**

The significance of prints to the cross-cultural exchange of visual materials in the early modern period is well known with European prints found in numerous locations around the globe. While a wide variety of European prints moved globally, works by Albrecht Dürer are notable in this regard. Dürer's printed works (and the artist himself) already moved internationally within European contexts during his lifetime. His works also appear in many non-European contexts by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century through the 18<sup>th</sup> century in locations as far flung as Columbia, Ethiopia and Japan. This paper will examine the global transmission and reception of Dürer's prints during the early modern period, focusing particularly on the networks of transmission that facilitated this exchange. While the exact processes of transmission are not recoverable in all cases, available details shed considerable insight onto broader trends of global exchange and the movement of prints during this period.

**Randall McLeod**  
(University of Toronto)

**“Aldus Manutius and the Printers of Lyons”**

The above photo of pp. H4v–H5r from the CRRS library shows a Lyons octavo imprint of the text of Prudentius, which Aldus had printed in roman type in quarto format in January 1501, the year also of his revolutionary first octavo in italic type. His octavo format and italic typeface were soon widely imitated (and ripped off), as here, in Lyons, and elsewhere. The top of H4v has a horizontal offset of a line from elsewhere in Prudentius, not from the page opposite. The recto opposite, signed ‘H y’, with the tail of the y poorly cropped, so as to suggest a v (the roman

numeral for 5—v not being a sort in this fount), also has offset, but running diagonal, and so also not from the page opposite. Examples of offset appearing on most every page of the volume testify to the configuration of the sheets for this copy in its ‘booking’—in, that is, the gathering of its sheets into a once-folded pile, suitable immediately for sale or warehousing and suitable eventually for binding. (Apparently, the booking of the whole of this edition was made prematurely, before the ink had dried.) This bibliographic talk would reconstruct the typical make-up of this booking, which is attested to in copies in many other libraries, including the University of Toronto’s Fisher Library. The text of the middle of quire H survives in two settings, one in half the copies, the other in the other half. This mystery will be explained. A significant conclusion is that the text at the centre of quire H (with its spectacular diagonal offsets) has *divided authority*.

**Karen Melvin**  
(Bates College)

**“Summoning the Powers of the Holy Sepulcher to New Spain”**

Imaginings of Holy Land as it was during the lives of Christ and Mary figured prominently in Catholic devotional practices in seventeenth and eighteenth-century New Spain. How might ordinary people have viewed these places and their significance? Some possibilities are suggested by a group of unsanctioned prayers connected to Jerusalem’s Holy Sepulcher. These prayers were copied and shared in the style of modern chain letters, and they circulated widely despite Inquisitorial prohibitions against them. Part of their appeal was the protection they promised against life’s vicissitudes, including childbirth, death at sea, the evil eye, and death without confession. The prayers’ promises, proof of effectiveness, and instructions for activating varied, but all referenced Christ’s Passion and all shared the same foundational claim: their powers derived from where the original had been found in the Holy Sepulcher.

**Bilha Moor**  
(University of Denver)

**“A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Cosmography in Relation to Sebastian Münster’s  
*Cosmographia universalis*”**

This paper argues that the Ottoman capital of Istanbul in the second half of the sixteenth century knew a larger variety of European printed books than suggested in the scholarly literature. I present a sixteenth-century Ottoman cosmography on the Old World written by Ibn Zunbul (d. after 1574), an Egyptian polymath, active under two political entities – the Mamluks and the Ottomans. Only one illustrated manuscript of this cosmography exists. It was copied in Arabic and illustrated by Ibn Zunbul himself in 1563, at the height of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent’s reign (r. 1520–66). First, I propose that this manuscript evinces an association between the Islamic and the European cosmographical traditions. Second, I suggest that the Ottoman cosmographer was acquainted with the German scholar Sebastian Münster’s (d. 1552) popular *Cosmographia universalis*, that he borrowed certain compositions from it, and responded to the general framework of this printed work, which presents an overview of the world, enriched with cityscapes and topographical views.

**Jacqueline Murray**  
**(University of Guelph)**

**“Saint Galgano and the Intersectionality of Sanctity”**

Natalie Zemon Davis changed how we think about history, shifting our gaze from the rich and powerful to reveal the complicated lives of Martin Guerre and Bertrand. Davis insists not only on the centrality of gender and identity but also of intersectionality in the past. Galgano of Chiusdino (c. 1140-1182) is an excellent example of the intersectionalities of sanctity, the layers of identity that can be superimposed upon a saint by subsequent vitae. Galgano followed the conventional pattern of holy men, fleeing the world, becoming a hermit at Monte Siepe, gaining a reputation for piety and attracting followers; he was canonized in 1185. This paper will provide a micro-analysis of the multiple identities that were layered upon Galgano, from the twelfth to sixteenth century, as new versions of his vita added new miracles, different religious orders appropriated him (Cistercians, Dominicans, and Augustinians), and different civic groups (Chiusdino, Monte Siepe, Siena, University of Siena) claimed him as their own. The one constant across the vitae and across the centuries is Galgano’s signature miracle: inserting his sword into a stone.

**Chris L. Nighman**  
**(Wilfrid Laurier University)**

**“Marketing Consolation:  
 Basel Publisher Johannes Amerbach’s Promotion of a Medieval Best Seller”**

Iohannes de Tambaco (d. 1372) was a Dominican theologian, educator and writer whose major work is *De consolatione theologiae* (1366) was highly influential. Among the six distinct versions of this text, *Consolatorium theologicum* (Typ I) is by far the most prolific, with over 100 extant manuscripts and five imprints from 1492 to 1509. This paper examines the influential *editio princeps* of Tambaco’s *Consolatorium* (ISTC ij00437000), printed at Basel by Johannes Amerbach, a very prolific publisher and humanist scholar. I demonstrate Amerbach’s intentional promotion of the text as not only a work of consolatory literature, but also utilitarian reference work that could be effectively used as if it were a florilegium (i.e. a topically organized collection of authoritative Latin quotations), an approach replicated in all four subsequent reprints by other printers. The paper also considers evidence for the reception of *Consolatorium* as a quasi-florilegium even before Amerbach published this text.

**Dylan Reid**  
**(Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies)**

**“Printing Carnival: Rouen’s Abbey of the Conards Expands its Influence”**

The Abbey of the Conards was the festive association that organized carnival celebrations in sixteenth-century Rouen, France. In the 1530s, the Conards began to use printing technology, as authors and publishers, to broaden their impact and their audience. They printed satires, distrib-

uted pamphlets during their carnival procession, and published a grandiose account of their carnival festivities. Individual members also took advantage of print to publish comic and satirical works. In a sense, the Conards developed a new culture, and economy, of print to enhance what had been an oral and performative culture. In doing so, they took advantage of a local printing industry that was expanding from a focus on professional works and textbooks into cheaper, more accessible formats. Meanwhile, the Conards' new focus on print brought them into conflict with local authorities, forcing a process of negotiation of what they could get away with in print.

**Antonio Ricci**  
(York University)

**“Ariosto Cancels Machiavelli”**

In a letter to Lodovico Alamanni written in 1517, Machiavelli complained that Ariosto had left him out of the lengthy catalogue of renowned men and women of letters included in the final canto of the *Orlando Furioso*, published the year before to great acclaim. That the exclusion was deliberate is confirmed in the third and definitive edition of the poem (1532), where the Secretary's name is, again, absent. Both editions were printed in Ferrara under the poet's personal supervision and with his financial participation. Ariosto's presence and agency in the printing house allowed him to supervise the composition of his text and determine its formal presentation. The choices he made, particularly in the design and placement of illustrations, will serve to decipher the reasons behind his eloquent silence.

**Bud Roach**  
(University of Toronto)

**“Venetian Music Publishing and the Unstoppable Chitarra Spagnola”**

In 1606, Girolamo Montesardo published his *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura*, including a chart of chord fingerings for the strummed Spanish guitar, which was to mark the beginning of a revolution in Italian art music. With no need for the formal music training required to master the lute, the baroque guitar allowed anyone to provide a simple, chordal accompaniment to their singing of the popular tunes of the day. Exploring the nexus of melic poetry by Chiabrera and Marino, the humanist beginnings of the *stile rappresentativo*, the rise of the *Commedia dell'arte*, and the success of Venetian music publishing houses such as Magni and Vincenti, this recital-lecture demonstrates both the appeal of the instrument, and the reasons for its rapid displacement of the renaissance lute as the favoured accompaniment for popular song, including performances of the rich repertoire available to us from Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Felice Sances, and Claudio Monteverdi.

**Marius Rusu**  
(Rutgers University)

**“Ludovico Ariosto’s 1766 Venetian Edition: Editorial Practices and Criteria”**

Few Italian poetic works have left a more lasting mark on the European literary system than the *Orlando Furioso*. Since its publication, Ludovico Ariosto’s epic poem has been considered a Renaissance masterpiece, and a revered part of the Italian canon. At the same time, the *Orlando Furioso* has always been dotted with numerous ecdotal questions, which often made it arduous to navigate the poem’s publishing history. In the XVIII century, the efforts to provide a reliable edition of Ariosto’s poem (and other works as well) culminated in the 1766 *Opera Omnia*, printed in Venice by Francesco Pitteri. The work, edited by the Ferrarese intellectual Giovanni Andrea Barotti, was received with unanimous applause, and represented the very first attempt to collate Ariosto’s literary production with a philological criterium. Besides that, little else is known about the edition’s publishing history. A collection of documents conserved at the Biblioteca Ariostea in Ferrara may illuminate the edition genesis and explain textual choices. The documents (6 volumes of a 1741 Ariosto edition filled with *marginalia* by Barotti), could highlight editorial practices in modern Venice and offer an original perspective on the *Orlando Furioso*’s circulation in the XVIII century.

**Margaret E. Schotte**  
(York University)

**“Poetry, Pilgrimage, Print: A Maritime Story”**

In 1755, two characters met aboard a merchant ship in the middle of the Indian Ocean. Marguerite Silvé, a wealthy young mother en route from her home in India to France, crossed paths with Jean Riou, a carpenter. What family business took the possibly mixed-race Marguerite to sea? British privateers later seized their ship and confiscated documents that hint at a surprising connection. Riou filled his notebook with anguished love poetry and a sketch of Marguerite. The young carpenter also listed religious books he dreamed of reading when he made it back to shore, and a record of the souvenir broadsides he purchased on a pilgrimage. This talk will consider Riou as a consumer and producer of text— despite only basic literacy he saw himself as a poet. He was also one of the only people who captured details of Marguerite’s brief life as these two figures travelled between worlds.

**Ellen Siebel-Achenbach**  
(University of Toronto)

**“Reconstructing Bookbinding Sewing Frames from Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg”**

Jost Amman’s 1568 woodcut of a bookbinding workshop (in *Das Ständebuch*) features an apprentice using a sewing frame. This simple frame is in stark contrast to an elaborate later version in Amman’s “Two of Books” (1588), a print of a similar composition (albeit in different spaces). Whereas the tool of 1588 features adjustable threaded rods and adaptability to different work surfaces, the earlier example is attached to the table, limiting its mobility in order to accommodate large block binding. Sewing frames were a key technology in the preservation, organization, and circulation of printed

materials in Early Modern Europe and, as such, this paper details my experimental reconstruction of Amman's tools. Set within Hannah Arendt's "work" and "labour" distinctions, I position the processes of making as a gateway to understanding the relationship between the tool's materiality and functionality. I will conclude by demonstrating and offering audience engagement with the tools.

**Hannah Sparwasser Soroka**  
(McGill University)

**"Protestant Sociability, Providential Expectation, and the Universal Reformation in a  
Seventeenth-Century Epistolary Exchange"**

From 1657-1660, Henry Oldenburg acted as a traveling companion and tutor to a scion of the powerful Boyle family. As they embarked on a European tour, leveraging connections Oldenburg had made during his time living in Germany, Oldenburg diligently updated his English contacts on the political, religious, and scientific developments that were of interest to them. My paper explores Oldenburg's exchange with Samuel Hartlib, his most frequent correspondent. Working in an intellectual history tradition that has often focused on the technology of print at the expense of letters, I use the Hartlib-Oldenburg correspondence to reveal the inter-disciplinary and international aspirations of seventeenth-century Protestant intellectuals. I argue for letter networks' centrality to studying seventeenth-century intellectual community and that Hartlib and Oldenburg understood this kind of community to be divinely ordained, tasked with expanding the Reformation project across the physical world and across the intellectual worlds of science, education, and politics.

**Nicholas Terpstra**  
(University of Toronto)

**"Mounts of Piety?: Modelling Behaviour around Space, Sense, and Race  
in Early Modern Italy"**

One of the physical recreations found at the sacro monte of San Vivaldo shows Jesus dining at the house of Simon the tax collector; Simon is shown wearing the round yellow 'O' that was one of the customary public signs marking Jews in fifteenth century Italy. Sacri monti expanded as critical sites for modelling piety at a time when tensions – and boundaries -- between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Italy were mounting. How were space, sense, and emotion mobilized to model forms of piety that emphasized both the dangers posed by non-Christian groups, and the necessity of maintaining boundaries between communities? Drawing on Geoffrey Symcox' concept of 'spatio-mimetic piety', this paper explores how the Franciscan Observants, who were major promoters of the sacri monti, integrated the emphasis on religious and cultural differences that became part of their Quattrocento spiritual mission into the visual programs for these popular pilgrimage sites.



**Barry Torch**  
(York University)

**“The Push to Publish Neoplatonism: Jockeying for Reputation in Quattrocento Rome”**

Although the 1469 printing of Cardinal Bessarion’s *In Calumniatorem Platonis* largely ended the Plato-Aristotle feuds of the Roman scholarly world, nevertheless, philosophical publications in Rome were still subject to networks of competitive behaviour and personal rivalries. With its publication coordinated by the cardinal and his secretary, Niccolo Perotti, Bessarion’s work was prefaced by letters of approval from famous scholars to bolster its success. However, the editor of the printing press who printed it, the Platonist Giovanni Bussi, was excluded from this group of rave reviewers. Studying Giovanni Bussi’s publication from just months earlier, his preface to Apuleius’ *Opera*, I show that the publication process for Neoplatonism in Rome was as driven by competitive humanists and their reputations as it was by scholarly texts. While nominally allies, these Platonist publications were dictated by rivalries surrounding famous scholars, and not only by the importance of philosophical texts.

**Robert Twiss**  
(University of Toronto)

**“Bibliographic Data and Reading Practices: Reflections on Fifty Years of Scholarship”**

In 1970, philologist Rolf Engelsing studying data from eighteenth-century Prussia, described an economically- and technologically-driven transformation of the practice of reading in Europe over the course of the eighteenth century from an “intensive” mode, according to which most readers read a small number of (mainly religious) texts repeatedly, to an “extensive” one, according to which they read a much larger range of texts, but rarely if ever more than once. This idea has been critiqued and also corroborated by data from different communities of print. This paper will recontextualize Engelsing’s hypothesis in order to invite reflection on the potential value of the idea for understanding both the reading practices of early-modern Europeans and the transformations of our contemporary media environment.

**Tim Wade**  
(Pembroke College, Oxford)

**“Print, community and conflict in the Erasmian Republic of Letters, 1517-1521”**

In the early sixteenth century, European scholars increasingly imagined themselves to be part of a ‘Republic of Letters’. The Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus was crucial to popularising this notion, establishing an extensive correspondence network across Europe and publicising his epistolary exchanges through print. For many scholars, print provided a new sense of community. This paper, however, examines the deep tensions that emerged in the Republic of Letters from printed exchanges. It concentrates on three disputes among Erasmus and his English correspondents: the publication of Richard Pace’s *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur* (1517); Polydore Vergil’s updated collection of adages (1521); and the Grammarians’ War (1519-21). This paper challenges the notion that Erasmus was a natural figurehead for English humanism.

Print, it proposes, raised fundamental questions of discretion, scholarly originality, national identity, and truthfulness, all of which threatened to undermine Erasmus' centrality to and control of this scholarly community.

**Yixin Alfred Wang**  
(University of Toronto)

**“The Tatar Yoke’: Ming and Jesuit Ethnographical Propaganda During the Manchu Invasion, 1620-1644”**

In the backdrop of the Ming publishing boom, this study examines “Tatars” in Ming ethnographies and traces how publishing activities disseminated stereotypes of “steppe barbarians.” Known as the “Jurchens” by the Chinese, the Manchus in the 1620s became “Tatars” in Ming texts, including Jesuit publications. This change of designation took place in the heightened phase of the so-called Manchu Invasion, during which the imperial court in Beijing was constantly threatened and eventually overthrown. As the ethnonym “Tatar” in imperial China always referred to China’s worst foe, this article first shows how late Ming policymakers, in collapsing the Manchu into the “Tatars,” articulated foreign threat through racist discourse. The Jesuits, members of the Ming republic of letters, participated in the ongoing discussion through integrating the European experience with the Mongols. This article also investigates the ways in which two bodies of ethnographies were placed in dialogue with one another.

**Weiao Xing**  
(University of Tübingen )

**“New England Printing and the Algonquian Bible in the Seventeenth-Century World”**

The Algonquian Bible, first printed in Massachusetts in the 1660s, was translated by the English Puritan John Eliot in collaboration with Indigenous people including Wowaus (James Printer). This print, emerging from English-Indigenous encounters, unveils intricate relations between individuals – translators, printers, and readers – and institutions that supported or questioned this project. Zooming out of New England, my paper contextualises the Algonquian Bible across the globe. It juxtaposes the Algonquian Bible with two other biblical translations: the Welsh Bible (1630), associated with London Puritans, and the Irish Bible (1690), promoted by Robert Boyle who had supported the Algonquian Bible. Moreover, my research investigates how English settlers acknowledged New England’s print culture in their Malayan gospel and how in New Spain reading the Puritan biblical translation became punishable. These cases illuminate the Protestantism in New England, which placed a high premium on literacy and printing, forming a translingual model essential to Puritan evangelisation.

**Abby E. Zanger  
(Cambridge, MA)**

**“Elisabeth Chéron: Poet, Translator, Artist, and Polemicist  
on the Margins of Print in Seventeenth-Century France”**

This talk discusses the manuscript of a 23-page poem, misattributed to a minor 17th-century jurist from Marseilles, that is tucked into the back of the Houghton Library copy of a [printed] poem by playwright Molière. In it, the actual author, 20-year-old painter Elisabeth Chéron dares to take on not one, but two prominent artistic/cultural figures, Charles Perrault and Jean Baptiste Molière, engaging with them in a polemic about the nature of public art. What would Natalie Davis make of this young woman and her 1668 text and how would she read the peregrinations of this female-authored object among elite Parisian booksellers after being “found” on a quai in Aix to arrive at the Harvard via the sale of Robert Hoe’s library?

The **Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium** (TRRC) was founded in 1964 by Natalie Zemon Davis and James K. McConica, both young historians connected with the University of Toronto. The university then was much smaller; it had 26,350 students, of which only 14,912 were full-time. But it possessed a remarkable group of Early Modern specialists, spread out across many departments and all three campuses, and Early Modern studies were vigorous at York University and other southern Ontario universities. Existing departmental boundaries, however, meant that not many people in the field actually knew each other. The Colloquium was established to bring together faculty and students at Toronto, York, and across southern Ontario and northern New York state to exchange ideas and draw attention to the critical mass of talent in the region working in the period 1350-1700.

In the first issue of the journal *Renaissance and Reformation* (October 1964) the founding of the Colloquium was announced with a dinner meeting to be held on 4 December at which Professor Clifford Leech would speak on “Marlowe’s French History.” From that meeting there stretches a history now sixty years long.

The Colloquium is a membership organization (its inexpensive subscription provides vital funding) but its lectures are open to all members of the university and are often attended by friends and supporters in the local community.

The Colloquium sponsors a lecture series every year, as well as occasional workshops, seminars, colloquia, and conferences. It shares in the sponsorship of the journal *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, now just over sixty years old itself. The Colloquium is also an associate organization of the Renaissance Society of America (RSA) and of the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference (SCSC) where it sponsors panels and special sessions at their annual conferences across North America and, occasionally, overseas.

Today the Colloquium functions as a regional community of scholars who come together independently of any single academic institution, offering programs locally and facilitating the community’s interests through a national journal and its presence at international societies. Sponsorship of its annual programme is made possible through occasional partnerships with other units at the university, and vitally, thanks to the small memberships fee from supporters who want to ensure the Colloquium’s programme and its future.

To join the Colloquium or to consult its forthcoming schedule, please visit [www.trrc.ca](http://www.trrc.ca)

