

"Friendship in Premodern Europe (1300-1700)"

ABSTRACTS

(in alphabetical order by author)

(updated 27 September 2011)

Elizabeth Anderson (U of Chicago) "To Love and Be Loved: Petrarchan Friendship in the *Canzoniere* and the *Triumphs*."

This paper delineates key components of Petrarchan friendship in his vernacular works and contextualizes the role of friendship in the amorous and penitential narrative that spans across the *Canzoniere* and the *Triumphs*. The concept of intersubjectivity provides a psychological and social approach to the dynamic bond of friendship in Petrarch's poetry, complementing our understanding of Petrarch as an isolated individual. The *vero amico* in the "Triumph of Love" (TC) and the *exemplum* of Sophonisba and Massinissa in TC II demonstrate how Petrarchan friendship, which is intersubjective, can co-exist with cupidinous love. Friendship with Laura is perceptible in their dialogue in the "Triumph of Death II" and subtly emphasized in the marginal reordering of the final thirty poems of the *Canzoniere*. Thus Petrarch's ongoing struggle to achieve peace in his dynamic with Laura is partially resolved in friendship with her, and friendship emerges as a dynamic that is intimately tied to his penitential, conversion narrative.

Jackson Webster Armstrong (U of Aberdeen) "Friends and Enmities: The Evidence of Local Conflict in the Anglo-Scottish Borderlands in the Fifteenth Century"

To the extent that 'mortal enmities' were part of the conceptual framework of conflict in Renaissance Europe, what was the role of ideas about 'friendship' in the management of conflict, including processes of violence and peacemaking between disputing parties? This paper will examine ideas about 'friends' in legal processes, arbitrated settlements, 'feud', and related mechanisms of dispute in the Anglo-Scottish borderlands in the fifteenth century. It will look at English and Scottish examples of local conflict among the lesser landowners in the region, and evaluate the significance of friendship through illustrative cases. How were friends defined and counted, what can they be seen to do in conflict, and what sort of expectations and ideals informed the language of friendship as it appeared in context? Moreover, were there differences between Scotland and England in this regard, and how does all this fit in to what is known about ideas and practices of friendship elsewhere in Europe?

Steve Baker (Columbia U) "Petrarch's Community of Friends"

In the epistolary mode of the familiar letter that Cicero had practiced and theorized, Petrarch begins *Familiares* XII.16 abruptly – *in medias res* – and employs a direct, informal address. "I wish to bring you together [*iungam vos*, literally "join you"], O most illustrious men and pride of Florence and Naples, I wish to bring you together if you will permit me to do so and will not shudder at the touch of a friendly hand." The first word of the letter, *iungam*, gives us our first glimpse of the ways in which further along in this political letter the poet seeks to literalize the metaphor of community as a joining, a coming together, resulting in the convergence of two men into a single body, into a unique and ultimate identity, no longer separate, but united: one soul in bodies twain. In the letter that immediately follows (XII.17) Petrarch lays out the strategy employed to get them face to face to discuss the matter in such a way that would force them to engage in direct conversation and thus also to confront their common humanity, if not their common Italian identity: "I used a method whereby *I sealed both men in a single letter* so that they would at least have to meet in order to read it." My focus here is on Petrarch's adaptation and subversion of the conventions of the familiar letter and the discourse of friendship (or *amicitia*) in these more official, political occasions. Regarding the humanist's efforts to get Giovanni Barrili of Naples and Niccolò Acciaiuoli of Florence into the same room, this paper addresses the *topos* of physical presence in the tradition of the familiar letter and the classical philosophical idea of friendship.

Adriana Benzaquén (Mount Saint Vincent U) "'I love you more than any man in the world': The Friendship of John Locke and Edward Clarke, c. 1682-1704"

"If I tell you that I love you more than any man in the world you will not find it hard to believe me, since not only your actions have been such as deserve it but your friendship so long constant and to that degree that I cannot but believe that there are but few men in the world that you love better than you do me" (John Locke to Edward Clarke, 20/30 December 1687). The close friendship between the philosopher John Locke and the landowner and politician Edward Clarke, which lasted more than two decades, is extensively documented in hundreds of letters between them and in the corre-

spondence between Clarke, his wife Mary, and his children, and between Locke and other members of his large circle of friends and acquaintances. Through an in-depth examination of these letters, I will recreate their friendship and show how it developed and changed over time: how it grew during Locke's exile in Holland in the 1680s, despite the distance (these were the years when Locke wrote the "directions" for the education of Clarke's children that would later be published as *Some Thoughts concerning Education*); how, in the 1690s, new political interests and opportunities both brought the friends together and drew them apart (through Clarke, who entered Parliament in 1690, Locke's views were heard in the House of Commons, but Clarke's time-consuming and onerous parliamentary duties took a toll on his health); and how, in the first years of the eighteenth century, and following several disappointments, misunderstandings and tragedies, the friendship grew weaker and colder, even though it continued until the end of Locke's life. For Locke, the Clarkes represented (at least for a while) the family he did not have; Clarke, however, proved wanting in one important respect: he was unable, or unwilling, to engage intellectually with Locke's ideas and works (as other friends, such as William Molyneux, had). For Clarke, in turn, the demands of friendship (and politics) entered into conflict with those arising from his role as (often absent) husband and father. I will explore the various meanings and uses of friendship in Locke's and Clarke's lives and letters. While undoubtedly based on affection and intimacy and on shared interests, the friendship was also grounded on an elaborate exchange of favours and services: Clarke contributed his legal and financial acumen, and his willingness to run countless errands for his friend, in exchange for Locke's medical and pedagogical expertise.

Jean Bernier (U of Geneva) "Pierre Bayle's Quest for Pacified Relationships"

Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) strove in his writings to stop religion from being a divisive factor in society and elaborated one of the most comprehensive theory of tolerance of the early-modern period. I would like to propose that the idea of tolerance conceived by Bayle for the state and the clergy needed for him to have parallels at the personal level as well. He imagined the Republic of Letters as a space for the exchange of ideas that transcended every boundary and in which everybody should be allowed to express himself freely. He reacted firmly on numerous occasions against the tendency to vilify opponents, saying that it was against morality and the "spirit of the Gospels". Bayle proposed a model of friendship in which a community of interest was the main factor for establishing contact and he pleaded that no divergence of opinion whatsoever

should break it apart. This reclusive intellectual was in fact the promoter of a vast brotherhood open to all.

Amy Blakeway (Westminster College in Missouri) "Friendship, Impartiality and Justice in Late Sixteenth-Century Scotland"

The importance of 'kin and freindis' to early modern Scottish political life has long been recognised by scholars. However, in the case of monarchs and high political officers, such bonds of friendship potentially interfered with their ability to perform their duties, perhaps the most important of which, was a commitment to deliver impartial justice. This paper will explore these tensions between the 'private' individual and their obligation to their friends, and the 'public' individual, with their duty of impartiality. During a royal minority, when royal power was wielded by a regent rather than a monarch, such tensions were exacerbated. Accordingly, I shall examine a case study from 1571, when Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox and then Regent for James VI of Scotland, attempted to halt proceedings before the highest church court in the land, the Edinburgh consistory court, in order to aid one of his friends.

Joshua M. Blaylock (Brown U) "Sharing Secrets: Complicity and Friendship in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* (1559)"

In this paper, I will explore the important role that secrecy plays in courtly friendships in sixteenth-century France. I will begin by analyzing a marked shift in the theorization of secrecy in Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* away from the medieval paradigm expressed in André le Chapelain's *Treatise on Courtly Love*. Next, I will explore the expression of this shift in the literary imaginary through the prism of Marguerite de Navarre's retelling of a medieval tale, *La Châtelaine de Vergi*, in the 70th Novella of her *Heptaméron*. This paper will shed new light on the ways in which secrecy is both a fundamental component of friendship in the Early Modern French court as well as the ways in which the dynamics of friendship, which pivot around the sharing of secrets, express themselves as a major narrative strategy in the novellas of the *Heptaméron*.

William R. Bowen (U of Toronto Scarborough) "Amicitia in Music and Astrology"

The language of friendship spills over into certain early modern discussions of musical phenomena and their astrological manifestations. This talk will focus on the relevant writings of the 15th-century humanist, Marsilio Ficino, and will illustrate how "amicitia" is employed to define different musical and astrological relationships.

Paolo Broggio (Università di Roma Tre) "Peace and friendship in Early Modern Catholic Europe: Towards a Political History of Human Relations in Counterreformation Culture (1580-1650)"

Did a Counterreformation pattern of friendship exist? One of the major concerns of the political powers in late Middle Age and Early Modern Europe was the limitation of social conflict; thus, peace and friendship became a very popular conceptual pair, especially when political thinkers tried to elaborate government's patterns in which the topic of the necessity of inner peace-keeping policies was highly related to the strengthening and remodeling of the concept of friendship. In late medieval rural and urban communities friendship was one of the most important social ties implying faithfulness and mutual duties in the wider context of the competition for local power; but one can appreciate this same importance in the aggregation's phenomena which characterized the Early Modern European courts. The traditional notion of friendship, an heir to a long-lasting tradition going back to classical Greek culture but challenged by Christian new conceptions about "loving thy neighbour", had to be harmonized, in the Early Modern period, along with the State building's process and also with Christian Churches' claim to penetrate individuals' social and even intimate spheres (see, for example, the strategies aimed at the limitation of spiritual kinship and the reshaping of ritual kinship). The social and political history of European Catholic countries (mainly the Italian peninsula and the Spanish Monarchy) represent an extraordinary lens through which it is possible to analyse both the development of the political thought and the evolution of the social, religious and legal practises. Purpose of this paper is to delineate such an evolution through the analysis of some relevant works – in the fields of philosophy (Ludovico Zuccolo, Tommaso Campanella), moral theology (Bartolomé de Medina, Martín de Azpilcueta), political science (Fabio Albergati, Giovanni Botero, Diego de Saavedra Fajardo) – written in Italy and Spain the period between 1580 and 1650, possibly highlighting the differences between these two cultural areas of the Catholic world.

Laura J. Burch (Dominican U) "Platonic Possibilities: Madeleine de Scudéry's *Histoire et conversation d'amitié*"

Between 1680-1692, Madeleine de Scudéry published five two-volume sets of works whose titles all carried some form of the word "conversation." This paper places Scudéry's chapter on friendship in conversation with Plato's famous dialogue, *The Lysis*, to show that the concept of mixed-gender friendship that emerges in Scudéry's work is platonic in two important ways. First,

Histoire et conversation d'amitié explores the nature of, and conditions of possibility for non-erotic relationships between men and women. Second, Scudéry articulates her ideas about friendship within a platonic philosophical framework which privileges discussion over definition and open-endedness over closure. Attention to Scudéry's mixed-gender friendship reveals the pivotal importance of the *Conversations* both in Scudéry's own corpus and in the life of seventeenth-century letters. She not only revises and renews the content of her novels for which she became famous, but also reinvents the sociable world of men and women according to an evolving notion of literary purpose and practice.

Javier Castro-Ibaseta (Wesleyan U) "Friendship, Courtesy, and Lyric Poetry: The Political Context of Spanish Petrarchism (1526-1543)"

My paper will focus on the practice of friendship by Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega. Boscán and Garcilaso have traditionally been considered the heroes of a successful and unproblematic cultural Italianization at the time when Spain was rising as an imperial power: they popularized Petrarchan poetry in Castilian and also translated Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*. Their story has traditionally been told as a sort of idyll in which all elements (superb poetry, exquisite courtesy, exemplary friendship, imperial triumph) coalesce seamlessly and harmoniously. Their alleged role in national history was thus to provide a language fitting for the Spanish empire. But, as I will show in my paper, their true story was far from idyllic. By carefully situating it into its historical and political context, I will show that the imperial ideal to which they committed themselves was defeated, their poetic project—as a result—rejected and ridiculed (at least initially), and their careers as courtiers truncated. Through the analysis of their truly unflinching mutual support and comradeship in times of imperial uncertainty and social alienation, my aim is to cast light over the practice of friendship in the period.

Hélène Cazes (U of Victoria) "*Amicorum Communia Omnia*: Circles of Friends, Commonplace Books, and Erasmian Ideals in Some *alba amicorum* from Sixteenth-Century Leiden"

As the edition of Erasmus' *Adagia*, in 1508, ostensibly puts friendship in the first rank of the first chiliades of adages (I, 1, 1 and 2), the Ciceronian tradition of officious and loyal friends finds a renewed fortune: although the *Laelius* had inspired and guided many a reader and a writer during the Middle Ages, the Erasmian ideal of learned circles of friends gave it personal, social and religious meanings, which were to be constitutive and essential parts of the so-called "late humanism". Focusing on Bonaventura Vulcanius (1540-1614),

and contrasting the formulas of friendship spelled out or commented by Erasmus (*Adagia* and *De Copia*) with the inscriptions offered by the humanist's friends, my paper will examine with precision the *album amicorum* maintained by Bonaventura from 1575 up until his death: the collection of learned inscriptions (mainly in Latin and Greek) is a continuing dialogue not only with other such collections and with correspondences, but also with the legacy of the *Adagia*, the tradition of commonplace and emblem books.

Francesco Ciabattoni (Georgetown U) "Dante's Rhetoric of Friendship from the *Convivio* to the *Commedia*"

In his most specifically philosophical treatise, the *Convivio*, Dante breaks up with Beatrice (*Convivio* II.viii.7), abandoning the plan to write of her "that which has never been written of any other woman" (*Vita Nuova*, XLII.3) and taking up instead the praise of Lady Philosophy. At the beginning of the *Commedia*, however, he restates solemnly his friendship with Beatrice and her key-role in the pilgrim's salvation. This paper analyzes Dante's switch from a philosophy-centered cognitive approach to a theology-centered rhetoric of friendship with Divine Wisdom. A preliminary survey of Dante's sources, especially Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* will shed light on his idea of friendship.

Emily R. Cranford (U of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) "Perfect Friendship and Textual Kinship in Montaigne's *Essais*"

This paper considers the ways in which Michel de Montaigne employs early modern notions of friendship, reproduction and monstrosity by weaving La Boétie's text, memory and "seed" into the *Essais* (1580). I argue that Montaigne creates a textual kinship community between himself, his book and Etienne de La Boétie; in this way, the essayist allows his friendship with and love for La Boétie to live infinitely in the minds of his readers through their textual love child. Indeed, Montaigne calls his *Essais* a monstrous child and links himself to the maternal by associating his writing process with idleness, materiality and the monstrous disorder of the maternal imagination – the result of which is a monstrous monument to La Boétie.

David J. Dagenais (U of Toronto) "The Death of La Boétie and the Birth of the *Essais*"

Taking into consideration the renowned friendship between Michel de Montaigne and Étienne de La Boétie and the place that "De l'amitié" (I. 28) occupies in the friendship tradition, I propose to explore the resonances between the genesis of the *Essais* (or "grotesques" (I.

28)), La Boétie's idealized works, and the thematic opposition between inconstancy and constancy in Books I and II. In this paper, I will demonstrate that this opposition between inconstancy and constancy is anticipated in the early essays (e.g. "De la tristesse" (I. 2)) and Montaigne's letter to his father on La Boétie's death. In light of his esteem for La Boétie and Montaigne's own self-discovery, the rhetoric of friendship in "De l'amitié" (I. 28) looks back both to the loss of half of himself (I. 28. 174) and to the genesis of the *Essais*.

Maria João Dodman (York U) "Male Dynamics in the Theatre of Ângela de Azevedo: Ideals of masculinity, Manhood and Friendship in Early Modern Iberia"

This paper seeks to explore the dynamics of male friendship in the theatre of Ângela de Azevedo and how these reflect and/or dialogue with the ideals of masculinity and manhood in seventeenth-century Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese born Ângela de Azevedo serves at the Spanish court during a time of intense scrutiny surrounding the decline of the empires and the by then widely perceived lack of virility of the nations. This troubling state of affairs is often addressed in the theatre, where old models of nobility, Christianity and heroic deeds serve to inspire and call for renovation. Azevedo's theatre however, offers a rebellious probing into the notions of man, manhood, and male friendship, as men, in particular Azevedo's noblemen, suffer severe and, at times, unrestrained attacks that show the fragility of their status and the crumbling of their ideals of manhood.

Matthieu Dupas (U of Michigan) "Love and Friendship in Scudéry's *Carte de Tendre* (1654)"

While 17th century French gallantry has never been apprehended in terms of history of sexuality, I will argue, through a close reading of Scudéry's *Carte de Tendre*, that it entailed a shift from homosociality to heterosexuality at the time. Scholars generally argue that the *Carte de Tendre*, by implementing a reconfiguration of emotions, paves the way for modern affective subjectivity. I will suggest that by virtue of a deferral of sex typical of gallantry, it pictures a tension between two economies of feelings in relation to sex. While drawing on a homoerotic conception of friendship - redefined as "tender friendship" once women are given access to it -, it points to a modern de-eroticized, or heterosocial, definition of friendship, as opposed to (hetero)sexual love. The access of women to friendship in the seventeenth century France proves to have played an important role in the deployment of a heterosexual culture.

Ivana Elbl (Trent U) "'If You Die I Will': The 1449 Death Pact of Two Noble Friends"

The paper explores the celebrated friendship of Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal and Count Alvaro Vaz de Alameda, which ended tragically in May 1449 at Battle of Alfarrobeira. The two friends, trapped in a politically unsolvable situation that shattered their personal values and concept of honour, had formed a death pact before the battle, promising to die should the other fall. Upon learning of Dom Pedro's death, Dom Alvaro, one of the foremost knights of his time, battled until his strength failed him, reportedly killing almost twenty enemies. He then sat down and allowed himself to be hacked to pieces by his enraged adversaries. The paper explores the relationship of the two friends and the psychological and moral considerations that motivated their death pact.

Amy Greenstadt (Portland State U) "Friendship and Usury"

Recently, scholars have argued that early modern writers analogized usury and sodomy because both vices were associated with unnatural procreation. As David Hawkes explains, "The sins of sodomy and usury are ... mirror-images: sodomy is sinful because it makes what is properly generative sterile, while usury is sinful because it makes what is properly sterile generative." Yet early modern writers never seem to have noticed this mirror relationship between the sins. Instead, I will argue, these writers developed the analogy between sodomy and usury not to describe violations of heterosexual procreation, but instead to highlight perversions of the ideal of friendship. Just as Alan Bray and others have shown that the line dividing friendship from sodomy was the contrast between equality and exploitation, so usury in the early modern period was considered sinful because it defied the equitable distribution of heavenly gifts mandated by Christian charity. Examining usury pamphlets as well as Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and Sonnets, I discuss how representations of friendship and usury point toward a utopian, even communistic, view of human material relations.

Martin Greig (Ryerson U) "The Earls of Lauderdale and Tweeddale: A Tale of Political Friendship in Restoration Scotland"

The earls of Lauderdale and Tweeddale, were cousins who became political friends in 1660: Lauderdale, as Charles II's Secretary of State for Scotland, was desperate for loyal allies in Scotland; while Tweeddale needed the patronage of a powerful minister to advance his political career. In addition, owing to the profligacy of his grandfather, Tweeddale's finances were crippled by debt, which he sought to alleviate by arranging a marriage in 1666 between his eldest son and Lauderdale's daughter and sole heir. The height of their friendship

came between 1667 and 1671 when Lauderdale, Tweeddale and Sir Robert Moray formed a triumvirate that virtually ran Scotland. By that time their children had produced offspring and the correspondence between the two earls shows how intensely proud both grandfathers were of their grandchildren. After 1671, however, their friendship came to a surprisingly abrupt and bitter end. To find out why, you will need to hear my paper.

Bertrand Haan (Université Paris IV, Sorbonne) "As Many Friends as Princes. *Political Amity* in the Sixteenth Century"

Reflecting about relationship between sovereigns, William Thomas, counselor of Henry VIII, considers the ciceronian Friendship is definitely dead. Nevertheless, he advises his master to cultivate "politic amity" with his fellow princes. In practice, many elements prove that a close alliance between Friendship and diplomacy took place during the Renaissance. Taking the example of the leaders of the three main Christian monarchies (Spain, England and France), I propose to show the powerful influence and the many meanings of Friendship in all their discourses and acts. Its constant affirmation is not only a mask: it goes with the defense of the interests of the princes, but must be also interpreted as a way to live and see political links and the adhesion to a strong ideal.

Sally Hickson (U of Guelph) "Syphilis, Suffering and Sodality: Friendship and Contagion in Renaissance Mantua"

In the late fifteenth century social, sexual and cultural relations in Europe were deeply affected by the advent of syphilis. The disease drew barriers between the new world and the old, French and Italian, men and women, diseased and healthy, significantly affecting concepts of national, social, familial, marital and personal identity. But it also created a culture of friendship and contagion among the sufferers of the disease. This paper posits that constructions of identity and friendship through disease is particularly detectable in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at the court of Mantua, and explores the friendship links forged between the patron Francesco II Gonzaga and artists, humanists and courtiers around him who suffered, as he did, from syphilis; the goldsmith Gian Cristoforo Romano, the painter Lorenzo Costa, the poet Antonio Cammelli called 'Pistoia', the physician Battista Fiera, and others.

Alexandra Hoare (Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington) "The Friend as a Second Self: *Homonía* and the Social Foundations of Autonomy in Seventeenth-Century Italy"

Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca made the idea of the “friend as a second self” a pivotal *topos* in the rhetoric and practice of friendship. The notion found renewed potency among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century intellectuals as part of a broader re-estimation of their identities and relationships. Among those who employed it most eagerly – in paintings, letters and poetry – was the Neapolitan artist and satirist Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), who is usually excluded from the standard pantheon of early modern purveyors of friendship theory (Castiglione, Ficino, Montaigne, Poussin et al.). A consideration of Rosa’s and his friends’ frequent use of this concept reveals how the enthusiastic cultivation of *homonia* (here conceived as the egalitarian parity of friends) could grant an ideal or real autonomy to its practitioners, anxious to establish unique and free identities within the court-dominated culture of Florence and Rome. Both commonplace and idiosyncratic, their expressions and exchanges also offer valuable insights into the complex, ambiguous, fragile and mutable nature of early-modern amity.

Hyun-Ah Kim (U of Toronto) “Matteo Ricci and his Confucian Friends: Interfaith Friendship in the Clash of Asian and European Humanisms”

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), the first Jesuit missionary in China, struggled to create open space for a dialogue with the Chinese literati, Neo-Confucians, by appealing to ethics universal in both the Asian and European scholarly traditions. The first step was translating the Decalogue into Chinese; he then wrote a treatise on friendship, *Jiaoyou lun* (1595), imbued with the Ciceroian and Confucian notions of friendship. Ricci’s strategy for promoting this interfaith friendship, based on his studies of the Eastern and Western classics, paved the way for bridging the two humanist academia. This paper re-evaluates Ricci as an icon of Renaissance cosmopolitanism, a humanist scholar of multi-lingual / culturalism, who is able to live – ethically, culturally – in both the global and the local simultaneously.

Milton Kooistra (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto) “From *bonae literae* to Common Doctrine: Friendship Among the Humanist Reformers in Alsace”

This paper will examine the role of friendship among the humanist reformers in Alsace, using the life of Wolfgang Capito, an Alsatian humanist and later one of the foremost reformers of the city of Strasbourg as a case study. Over the course of his career, Capito, like other reformers, had many friends, both professional and personal. Before his conversion to the evangelical cause in 1523, Capito’s friendships were limited to fellow members of the *respublica literaria*. The Protestant

Reformation, however, had a profound effect on his circle of friends. No longer were his friends bound together by a joint commitment to the *bonae literae*, but to common doctrines. As a latitudinarian, however, Capito attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to maintain his friendships with Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists. He had an open-door policy at his home, welcoming friends of whichever doctrinal stripe, much to the chagrin of his fellow colleagues. Capito’s friendships determined whom he recommended for positions and also affected the strength of his recommendations. In the end, it was his fellow friends and colleagues in Strasbourg who convinced him of the need to tow the same doctrinal party line as the rest of the city’s reformers in order to present a united front against their opponents.

Andrew Kranzman (Michigan State U) “The Ethics of Friendship in Richard Edwards’s *Damon and Pythias*”

This paper considers the ethical and political dimensions of friendship through a reading of Richard Edwards’s 1564 tragicomedy, *Damon and Pythias*. I consider how the play frames friendship as grounded in a general state of self-abnegation and care for the other as well as the well-being of the community. A secondary aim considers how Edwards’s engagement with classical sources embodies what Barbara J. Bono has termed “literary transvaluation”, that is, the simultaneous acknowledgement and transformation of textual antecedents in order to accommodate present cultural needs (1). While the portrayal of the “rare example of friendship true” between the title characters draws liberally from classical sources on the subject, particularly Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* and Cicero’s *De amicitia*, it also relies heavily on contemporary texts such as the *Adagia* of Erasmus. Conversely, the play’s implicit suggestion that friendship at times transcends allegiance to the state is seemingly at odds with these classical sources and in many respects echoes Calvin and Luther’s treatment of secular authority in their reformation texts. I argue that though Edward’s text acknowledges the partial submission of friendship to the state, it ultimately makes the case for an alternative model of early modern friendship in which community affiliation often surpasses or conflicts with the demands of governing bodies.

Christian Kühner (European University Institute in Florence) “Friends, Intrigues, and Factions: Friendship and Court Politics in the French Grand Siècle”

In the French court of the seventeenth century, personal relationships played an important role. As courtiers

competed for the monarchs favour and the material and political benefits it entailed, it was important for them to have allies to strengthen their own position. Friendship also bound together the members of courtly factions, as well as the conspirators in a plot or intrigue. However, these relationships were unstable, and friends could easily become enemies – enemies, though, could also easily become friends if it suited their respective interests. The ever-changing patterns of power at court thus translated into short-lived alliances that the contemporaries nevertheless called friendships. This paper will argue that under the conditions of the seventeenth-century court, politics was friendship and friendship was politics.

Bart Lambert (Ghent U) "Settling the Accounts of the Afterlife: The Friendship Between Bartolomeo Bettini and Filippo Raponi in Fifteenth-Century Bruges"

Bartolomeo Bettini and Filippo Raponi were two merchants who left their native city of Lucca, in Italy, behind to try their luck in Bruges, the commercial gateway city of 15th-century Europe. Confronted with an unfamiliar and often hostile business environment, the two Lucchese joined forces. They concluded a partnership, which proved very successful and provided them with a passport to the top of the international business world for over ten years. Surprisingly, the mainly professional bond between both merchants took on a much more personal dimension upon Bettini's death, in 1420. Although he did not have any economic interests to do so anymore, Raponi took upon himself the burden of settling his friend's 'accounts of the afterlife': he provided him with a final resting place and a remembrance service, paid off his outstanding debts, assured his illegal children of a livelihood and defended their interests in court, incurring heavy losses and even being arrested in the process himself. Drawing on a wide range of original sources, including accounts, wills, letters and juridical sentences, this paper examines why he did so, highlighting the value of friendship in a highly competitive commercial metropolis, both ante and post mortem.

Lynne Magnusson (U of Toronto) "Englising *amicitia* in Tudor Letters"

Despite a focus in Tudor grammar-school education in Latin on imitating the Ciceronian familiar letter, studying Cicero's *De amicitia*, and analyzing rhetorical scripts for the construction of friendship, this educational capital did not produce the transformation or rebirth in the English letter that might have been expected. Too many things got in the way, tangling English letter-writers in contradictions, including the state of the English language, the formality of inherited epistolary models, and, above all, a social and political structure at odds with the structures of relationship promoted by

classical paradigms. This paper looks at rhetorical experimentation where English letter-writers seek out ways to "english *amicitia*" in conflicted situations, including Thomas More's letters to fellow-prisoner Nicholas Wilson and Katherine Duchess of Suffolk's letters to William Cecil.

Emiro F. Martínez-Osorio (York U) "Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga and Juan de Castellanos: A Very Unlikely Literary Friendship"

In this paper I examine the intertextual relation between the epic poems written by Alonso de Ercilla (1533-1594) and Juan de Castellanos (1522-1607) from the intersection between friendship and literary authority. Although most critics tend to cast Castellanos as an enthusiastic follower of Ercilla, this paper demonstrates how Castellanos challenges directly the strategies used by Ercilla to highlight the connection between the epic genre and the king as the ultimate source of literary authority. Like Ercilla, Castellanos' writings uphold the ideology of domination and share in the celebration of the Spanish enterprise of conquest; but they do so from the perspective of a warrior class that was outmanoeuvred by the Spanish Crown in the administrative and legal battle for the political and economic control of the colonies in the New World. In this regard, the strategic references to his friends and or friendship that resurface often in Castellanos' writing aim to offer an alternative model of literary authority for the epic that is rooted in experimental knowledge and the vantage point of a first hand witness.

Miguel Martinez (U of Chicago) "'Como se escribe a los amigos': Friendship and Literary Sociability in Andrés Rey de Artieda's Epistles (1605)"

In 1605, the soldier, scholar, poet, and courtier Andrés Rey de Artieda published in Zaragoza his *Discursos, epístolas y epigramas de Artemidoro*, an anthology of his poetry that has received almost no critical attention by Spanish literary historiography. The second section of this work contains most of his "epistles or family letters written in plain and common style, as Quintilian says we have to write to our friends." Although Rey de Artieda inscribes himself in the long-standing traditions of classical and Renaissance letter-writing, what is striking in his volume is the variety of his literary interlocutors, including fellow soldiers, female musicians, Aragonese aristocrats, scholars, or citizens from his native Valencia. This paper will address how the literary sociability enabled by the epistle allowed for new conceptualizations and practices of friendship in late-sixteenth-century Spain.

Amyrose McCue Gill (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto) "Building the Future: Spousal Friendship and Marriage Alliance in the Este and Gonzaga Courts, c. 1500"

Among the innumerable topics addressed in the thousands of letters written by Marchesa Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), marriage is notably prominent. During her many decades as co-ruler of Mantua, Isabella was responsible for arranging the marriages of nobles at her court, for negotiating the all-important marriage contracts of her children, and for ensuring that her own marriage to Francesco Gonzaga (1466-1519) was, if not entirely without strain, then at least moderately functional. Isabella's letters suggest that friend-like interpersonal bonds between spouses could support and secure marriage alliances designed with political and economic ends in mind. Her writings reveal that she and her parents sought to pursue friendly matches and to foster friendly spousal relations for their children as a means of ensuring stability and success for future generations of Este and Gonzaga.

Colin A. Murray (U of Toronto) "No individual can take the glory, nor can they all together take it': Towards a Theory of Collaboration in Early Modern Italy."

From Antiquity to early modern Italy, art critics struggled to assess the combined efforts of independent masters: "no individual can take the glory, nor can they all together take it," as Pliny says of the three Rhodian sculptors and the Laocöon. At issue was the artist's identity and the viewer's perception of it in a single project. When it comes to work in many hands, how can compositional unity be resolved with style, that signature of individual identity? How can competing egos coordinate, or be coordinated, on a single *Idea*? This paper will explore the struggles of authors from Alberti to Malvasia to describe shared artistic production and will try to reconstruct a theory of collaboration (an anachronistic term) in early modern Italy. While some writers were critical of collaboration, others suggest conditions (especially the shared self of ideal friendship) under which the potential benefits could be harnessed.

Cynthia N. Nazarian (Northwestern U) "The Violence of Sympathy in *The Faerie Queene*"

This paper explores the relationship between violence and the experience of sympathy between allegorical characters in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Although physical violence is hardly unexpected in *The Faerie Queene*'s heroic genre, this paper will argue that there is much more at stake in Spenser's use of violence than simple adherence to form. In *The Faerie Queene*, wounding functions as a primary means of communica-

tion and social bonding between allegorical figures. This paper explores the wound as a language produced through the enactment of moral and political conflict on the body of the individual character, investigating its work as moral delineation and identity-formation between knights and their evil adversaries, and between virtuous figures as affective bonds of mutual violence and vulnerability constituted through sympathy.

James W. Nelson Novoa (Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia of Portugal) "Dialoguing Friendship in Antonio Vignali's *Dulpisto Dialogo*"

The little known work by the Sienese author Antonio Vignali (1500-1559), *Dulpisto Dialogo*, composed around 1540, is a multilayered text, as much a dialogue, a love treatise and a running narrative. It is however, essentially a dialogue between two friends, Dulpisto and Filetimo, centred around Dulpisto's travailed courtship of an aloof noblewoman. The action of the dialogue serves as much to tell the story of Dulpisto's unrequited love as it does to spell out their friendship itself and to work out a metaphysical scheme about love itself, defined by Filetimo using Renaissance tropes in their exchanges. The paper will spell out the ideal of friendship which is played out in Vignali's text as it coincides with Renaissance theories of love.

Mima C. Petrovic (Ryerson U) "Marital Friendship, the Consensual Theory of Marriage, and *Affectio Maritalis* in Seventeenth-Century France"

In the year 1660 in Paris, a young woman called Marguerite Verdavoine was forced by her mother to marry Jacques Garmont, a painter. While the mother was threatening and beating Marguerite in order to coerce her into the marriage, the future husband was assured that "...l'amitié s'y mettroit." However, friendship or affection did not develop in their marital union, nor in the other similar cases examined by the Paris *officialité* for possible annulment on the grounds of coercion in the seventeenth century. According to the trial documents, coerced marriages remained unconsummated, ending quickly in separation. The stories told by the plaintiffs and the defendants provide a significant insight into the popular expectations for marital relations, in contrast to the prescriptive theories defined by canon law as well as by secular jurisprudence. The litigants' views did reflect the legal stance that marriage should be contracted voluntarily, by free consent. However, the litigants expected the legality of marriage to be confirmed by consummation, something that was not stipulated by the French legal framework in the post-Tridentine period. Furthermore, the litigants expected that consummation should be voluntary; this underscored the view that the marital relationship depended on individual choice and

agreement rather than on the mutual debts and obligations prescribed by the canonical concept of *affectio maritalis*. By analyzing the site of the forced marriage, we may conclude that it did not live up to the litigants’ expectations of the marital union, understood as a freely chosen accord between spouses, to be confirmed by voluntary sexual relations.

Laura Prelipcean (U of Toronto) “Female Friendship and the Practice of Poetry Exchange”

Lodovico Domenichi’s anthology of women’s poetry *Rime diverse d’alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* [Assorted Rhymes by Some Very Noble and Famous Women] (1559) represents a remarkable venue for exploring concepts such as female creative endeavour, self-representation, and self-promotion in the sixteenth century. Of the fifty-three female authors present in this collection, thirteen dedicate their poetic compositions to other women. This paper will explore the phenomenon of poetry exchange among female authors with a view to the ways in which they create a virtual community of readers and writers. It will also examine how women used the topos of female friendship to promote their poetic creation and to engage in literary conversations with other authors.

Sarah Rolfe Prodan (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto) “Friendship as Accessory to Grace: Vittoria Colonna, Michelangelo and the *amicus sponsi*”

In his later spiritual poetry, Michelangelo portrays Vittoria Colonna as an instrument of grace effecting his spiritual fashioning, rebirth and renewal. Composed during the period of Catholic Reform in Italy, these poems reflect a theology of the Holy Spirit important to the Italian Evangelical community and central to their self-perception. More specifically, these verses echo letters exchanged between Vittoria Colonna and other Catholic Reform-minded intellectuals, such her letter to Cardinal Reginald Pole whom she described as “un intimo amico del sposo, che mi prepara” (15 July 1543). This paper will begin with a discussion of the concept of the *amicus sponsi* (John 3:29) followed by an overview of grace and the Holy Spirit as understood by the Italian Evangelical community of the *Spirituali* of the *Ecclesia viterbiensis* of which Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna were a part. Through a close analysis of Michelangelo’s poetry for Vittoria Colonna in light of contemporary letters, this paper will argue that, for Michelangelo, his friendship with Colonna served as an accessory to divine grace.

Renée Raphael (U of Alabama) “Reading in Friendship: Viviani and Mersenne on Galileo’s 1638 *Discorsi*”

The publication of Galileo’s *Discorsi* following his 1633 condemnation was achieved only through the efforts of an international circle of devoted friends and students. Both during and after publication, these same individuals read and responded to Galileo’s text. This paper will examine the reading practices and interpretations of the text provided by two of Galileo’s admirers: his last surviving student, Vincenzo Viviani, and Marin Mersenne, a long-time Galileo enthusiast. Though both Viviani and Mersenne professed to be in sympathy with Galileo’s aims, I will show that they read Galileo’s text in contradictory ways, partly because they relied on different scholarly methods. This observation indicates that even self-professed Galileans had contradictory visions of what doing “Galilean science” meant, a conclusion that has implications both for how we study the history of early modern science and the narrative we tell about it.

Joel Rodgers (U of Toronto) “Befriending Justice: Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* and the Scales of Equity”

According to John Florio’s famous 1603 English translation of Montaigne’s essay on the subject, friendship is “the principall defence of equitie and libertie.” In this paper, I will argue this legal and political discourse underwrites Shakespeare’s representation of male friendship in *Romeo and Juliet*, a play seldom considered in terms of its political implications. From Benvolio’s friendly advice that Romeo weigh his loves in “crystal scales” to Montague’s vain plea to Prince Escalus that because his son is “Mercutio’s friend” Tybalt’s death “concludes but what the law should end,” Shakespeare’s early tragedy tests the limits of friendship and legal judgment. Situating the play in terms of the early modern discussions that draw on Aristotle’s association of friendship with justice and equity, my paper will contend that, rather than serve as a “principall defence,” friendship may actually erode the individual liberty and political concord in Shakespeare’s Verona.

David Harris Sacks (Reed College) “To Heal the World: Commercial Exchange as a Form of Friendship in Renaissance Thought”

From the time he was orphaned at around age five, Richard Hakluyt, the Younger (1552?-1616)—scholar, cosmographer, and clergyman—depended for his advancement on the generosity of many friends, institutional and individual. In his works—produced in gratitude for the benefactions and offices he had received from patrons—he modeled the world about whose new discovery he wrote on the ethos of the gift economy. For him, reciprocal commercial exchange would heal the

world to its original wholeness, and prepare the way for the Second Coming of Christ and the Endtime. The underlying idea, to paraphrase Erasmus, is that God had endowed the post-lapsarian world, with an uneven distribution of abundances and scarcities, so that the inequalities "could be evened out by mutual friendships," making "friendship...not only enjoyable but essential." These ideas, originating in Greek social thought (especially in Aristotle, about whose *Politics* Hakluyt lectured as an Oxford don) had a long, almost unbroken history traceable into the sixteenth century and beyond. Similar thoughts can be found in the writings of Jean Bodin, Giovanni Botero, Sir Thomas Smith, and Hugo Grotius, among others. This paper uses the link between Hakluyt's dependence on and understanding of the gift economy and the views he shared with other Renaissance figures about mutually beneficial and just exchange to explore features of the theory of friendship that underpinned Renaissance social thought and their historical context.

Brian Sandberg (Northern Illinois U) "'Accompanied by a Great Number of Their Friends': Warrior Nobles and Amitié During the French Wars of Religion"

French nobles embraced friendship as defining their personal, political, and social relationships in the early modern period. Competing discourses on *amitié*, or friendship, shaped the ways in which French nobles lived friendship in their everyday lives. Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century treatises on nobility, courtiers, and the royalty celebrated idealized conceptions of noble friendship. Literary works promoted emotional intimacy, brotherhood, and affective relationships among French noblemen. Calvinist and Catholic reform texts formulated diverging notions of Christian brotherhood, especially for nobles. Warrior nobles relied heavily on their *amis*, or friends, to provide them with political support, military aid, physical protection, and economic assistance during the chaos of the French Wars of Religion (1562-1629). According to one contemporary account, nobles were "found in arms accompanied by a good number of their friends" [BNF, Mss. fr. 23198, f° 183-186]. French warrior nobles utilized affective language to describe and express their friendships with fellow nobles, but the disruptions and betrayals of the religious wars also threatened their conceptions of friendship. Recent works by Natalie Zemon Davis, Dale Kent, and other historians have revised and extended our understanding of the vital roles that friendships played in early modern societies. The complex and contradictory notions of friendship employed by French warrior nobles during the religious wars represent an interesting case for comparison with the growing historical literature on early modern friendship. My book, *Warrior Pursuits: Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in*

Early Modern France (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U Press, 2010), argues that "bonds of friendship, or *amitié*, clearly influenced nobles' participation in civil warfare through their clienteles, however, competing representations of noble friendships—as fatherhood and as brotherhood—created tensions within French warrior noble culture" (79). In this paper, I aim to extend my analysis of French warrior nobles' conceptions and practices of friendship by examining how they were "accompanied" by their friends.

Philippa Sheppard (School of Continuing Studies, U of Toronto) "Hamlet and Horatio's Friendship"

Hamlet and Horatio's friendship is one of the most profound and notable in Early Modern Drama. A case of opposites attracting – Horatio is a stoic, and Hamlet a neurotic – it is arguably the most successful relationship in Shakespeare's tragedies. While they seem to disagree philosophically at every turn, their friendship is marked by mutual respect and real affection. Hamlet often expresses admiration for Horatio's balanced, well-adjusted character. Elsinore is a court dominated by distrust, as Jan Kott so persuasively argued in *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary*, but Hamlet trusts Horatio, if no one else. Horatio represents a paradigm of loyalty in friendship, and like "an antique Roman" is willing to keep Hamlet company even in death (so unlike the character Friendship/Companionship in the medieval morality play *Everyman*). Horatio plays a critical role as a foil for Hamlet, and for the hypocritical flatterers with which the court abounds. He is crucial too to the play's scenic form, which often alternates between scenes in which Hamlet is betrayed by friends and family, with those in which Horatio proves his fealty. The scenes in which Horatio and Hamlet converse display an ideal of male friendship. Why, given their importance on both a structural and thematic level, are these scenes so often radically cut in performance, both on stage and on screen?

Peter Shoemaker (The Catholic University of America) "Friendly Words: Gender and the Ethics of Confidentiality in Early Modern France"

This paper seeks to build on Michel Rey's suggestive comments on *la parole amicale* in *L'Amitié à la Renaissance*. The first part of this presentation will survey the early modern moral literature on confidentiality (Montaigne, Bellegarde, Bouhours, Sacy, Saint-Évremond, La Rochefoucauld, Esprit, etc.). The ethics of confidentiality, I show, was closely modeled on the customary jurisprudence regarding *dépôts* (property temporarily entrusted to the care of a guardian): the ideal confidant was comparable to a strongbox (*coffre*) that could only be opened by the person who had locked his/her secrets inside. (For a later, visual representation of this idea, see

Goya's cryptic "La Confianza," below.) In the second part of the paper, I will examine Madeleine de Scudéry's *Artamène* and *Clélie*, texts that strategically redeploy the notion of confidentiality as *regulated intimacy* in order to reimagine the relationships between men and women in the areas of friendship, marriage, and publication.

Núria Silleras-Fernández (U of Colorado at Boulder) " 'Vicious Girlfriends with Evil Habits:' *The Chariot of Ladies* as a Model of Virtuous Friendship in the Iberian Royal Courts"

This paper analyzes the model of virtuous friendship proposed for women in the late medieval and the early modern period in the royal courts of Iberia. To this end, I will analyze how such ideals are presented in a seminal treatise, *The Chariot of Ladies*, published in Valladolid (Castile) in 1542 and dedicated to Catalina of Habsburg, Queen of Portugal, Isabel the Catholic's granddaughter and the sister of the Emperor Charles V. This book and the model it presents is particularly important because it circulated widely among the various Iberian kingdoms (Aragon, Castile and Portugal), thanks to networks of friends, family and readers who imposed it as the model to follow for women at the royal court and beyond, to advise them in such important manners such as how to recognize and avoid "vicious girlfriends with evil habits." In a world where reputation could make or break lives and fortunes, the company one kept was a matter of vital importance.

James Sommerville (Queen's U) " 'That Permanent Union of Lives': Friendship in the Spiritual Exercises of Marsilio Ficino"

The revival of Neoplatonic philosophy in the Renaissance included a revival of the forms of spiritual exercise employed by late-antique Platonists. Ficino's philosophical and medical treatises elaborated a way of life involving meditation, diet, and conduct that—if practiced—would lead Christians towards an understanding of God's universal design as well as their role within it. My presentation will, through an analysis of Ficino's letters, demonstrate the role that friendship, or the permanent union of two men in search of wisdom, played within his spiritual regimen. In doing so, it will also draw parallels between Ficino's methods and those of the monks of Camaldoli, with whom Ficino often conversed, showing the manner in which he blended Christian and Platonic ways of living.

Anne-Marie Sorrenti (U of Toronto) "Friends of the Family? The Faces of Friendship in Alberti's *Della Famiglia*"

The often overlooked Book IV of Leon Battista Alberti's (1404-1472) *Della Famiglia* (subtitled "De Amicitia") discusses the role of friendships in the external relations of the family in Quattrocento Florence and differs greatly from the treatment of friendship in the first three books. Having completed the first three books in 1423, Alberti added Book IV in 1437, one year after Cosimo the Elder's return from exile. This suggests that changes in Florentine political and cultural life at least in part explain Alberti's marked shift in approach to the family friendship over time. It may be argued that friendship devolves into as a form of courtiership in the fourth book from its earlier depiction as a meaningful mode of connecting with each other and of mediating between the world of private citizens and republican political life.

Brys Stafford (U of Toronto) "Friendship as Cultural Dialogue in Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor*"

My paper will examine the relationship between *el auctor* and Leriano in the late 15th century sentimental novel *Cárcel de amor*. The placement of an authorial character in the sentimental novel tradition is rare. *El auctor* becomes an intrinsic part of the text as Leriano goes about trying to court Laureola. He participates not as an omniscient presence that describes what is happening, but rather as a subjective participant who sides with Leriano and goes on to advocate for him. Their relationship resembles a nascent friendship. In this space, *el auctor* learns about the modalities of courtly love and becomes confused and frustrated as he travels long and far to face Laureola and the cultural sphere that she embodies. I will show that this space of friendship offers an environment in which the examination of cultural codes and values is possible. This space becomes significant given the tumultuous period of cultural exchange in which the text was produced.

Malina Stefanovska (UCLA) "Friendship in Early Modern French Memoirs: The Case of the Sieur de Pontis"

The theme of friendship is prominent in early modern French memoirs written by authors such as Agrippa d'Aubigné, Bassompierre, the cardinal de Retz or the duke of Saint-Simon. Reviewing the corpus of memoirs at large, and focusing on the Memoirs of the Sieur de Pontis, a military man under Louis XIII who converted and ended his life at the Jansenist abbey of Port-Royal, I study the distinctive traits of early modern friendships as they are represented in writing: their motives, their different kinds, their inaugural scenes, the manner of expressing emotions, the relation of friendship and politics etc. The case of Pontis, for whom friendship was an important element in his life and writing, is distinct also

because this first person life narrative was actually written by a young companion at Port-Royal, following Pontis' oral narrative and taking up the subject position in the narrative - in the name of friendship.

Paul Stevens (U of Toronto) "Milton's Italian Friends and the Story of Rome"

If one wanted to make the case for Milton's internationalism, one could do no better than turn to his correspondence with the friends he made during his tour of Italy in 1638-39. The most important of these letters were included in his 1674 book, *Familiarium Epistolarum Liber Unus*. There the poet, so often popularly stereotyped as a godly Puritan, appears as a European humanist, the admirer of the learned nephew of Pope Urban VIII, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and as a loving friend more than willing to concede to Carlo Dati that his attacks on Catholicism were, of course, merely "a matter of our custom." But the letters and the friendship they articulate point to another story, a nationalist narrative in which England might learn to emulate the intellectual efforts of Italy's best and create "another Rome in the West."

Steven Stowell (U of Toronto) "Baptism and Brotherhood: Homosocial-Male Bonding in Images Relating to Baptism and Spiritual Rebirth in Italian Art"

During the Renaissance, though baptism primarily concerned new-born infants, social historians have demonstrated that the sacrament also occasioned the creation of sometimes extensive adult male communities through the networks of godfathers chosen to protect the child's spiritual development. Likewise, the most common baptismal imagery did not regard infant baptism, but rather the baptism of the adult Christ and the Neophytes: representations such as Domenico Ghirlandaio's Baptism of Christ at Santa Maria Novella in Florence celebrate baptism by showing a community of adult men disrobing to be cleansed of their sins, whom Christ joins in humility. In spiritual literature, the baptism of Christ was emblematic of man's salvation through Christ, and thus these images of adult men disrobing and joining in spiritual fellowship were anti-types to the images of Adam and Eve putting on clothes in shame. This paper discusses images of baptism as celebrations of homosocial brotherhood and considers representations that thematically juxtapose baptism with shame-worthy heterosexual unions.

Morris Tichenor (U of Toronto) "The Wolf and the Donkey Debate: Literary Friends in the Paduan Cenacolo"

My paper looks at a series of three short poems (c. 1300) between Paduan humanists Lovato Lovati and Albertino Mussato (epistles 14-16 of the *Padrin* collection). The poems are a debate on friendship, in Latin hexameters but riffing on vernacular tenzone, which ask the questions: "Quis vere sit amare potens, quis dignus amari?" Bonds of friendship are forged between these first and second generation Italian humanists through the shared literary aesthetic of classicizing poetry. While the moral didactic is clearly based on Cicero's *De amicitia* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, I highlight the expressions of friendship encrypted in classical allusions and expressed through literary in-jokes.

Rodrigo Toromoreno (U of Michigan) "Friends Along the Equator: The Geopolitics of Friendship in the Seventeenth-Century Amazon"

When in 1640 the court of Felipe IV found its Iberian Union divided and its territory in the Americas surrounded by the presence of the Dutch, allegiances became a pivotal concern. Especially after discovering that a year earlier the Portuguese had managed to navigate up the Amazon River from Brazil and unexpectedly reveal a 'backdoor' into the Spanish Royal Audiencia of Quito, the terms of friendship came under serious scrutiny. Using Cristobal de Acuña's *Relación del descubrimiento del rio de las Amazonas* (1640) recounting the details of a journey launched in response to the one made by the Portuguese, my paper will analyze how the writer uses the political tensions of the Spanish court to propose a radical concept of friendship when he suggests that, with allegiances deteriorating, only the native Amazonians can be entrusted with the protection of the Spanish Empire. In doing so, the crown's response will be used along with Acuña's proposition to reveal conflicting understandings of what colonial friendship entails.

Lisa Vitale (Southern Connecticut State U) "Human or Holy? The Friendship of Saint Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua"

Though many are aware of the spiritual fondness between St. Catherine of Siena and her confessor and primary hagiographer, Raymond of Capua, the more earthly aspects of their friendship are frequently left unprobed. From Raymond's initial doubts about Catherine's mystic experiences to his promotion of her canonization through his *Legenda maior*, I propose to trace the very human nature of their relationship that included issues of trust, disappointment, separation and loss as evidenced in their correspondence and primary biographical sources. What will emerge is a portrait of the both the confessor and the holy saint as human in the context of their friendship.

Rachel Warburton (Lakehead U) **"Margaret Cavendish and Aphra Behn's Imaginary Friends"**

This paper will examine the intersections of friendship and Protestantism in Margaret Cavendish's *Sociable Letters* (1664) and Aphra Behn's *Love-Letters Between and Nobleman and His Sister* (1684-7), two late-seventeenth-century epistolary writings addressed to imaginary friends. Despite outward Protestantism, both Cavendish and Behn have recently come under scrutiny for crypto-Catholicism, and both epistolary fictions invoke moments of intense Catholic-Protestant conflict. One commonplace of Renaissance scholarship locates the rise of the modern individual at the Protestant Reformation. A commonplace of feminist early modern studies insists that neither the rise of the subject nor the vaunted early modern discourse of friendship is equally available to both men and women. I will read Cavendish's *Sociable Letters* and Behn's *Love-Letters* for the ways they navigate an increasing sense of gendered inferiority to expand the early modern definition of friend-

ship to include women. In so doing, they also render women rational, political subjects.

Allyna E. Ward (Booth University College) **"William Baldwin and the Moral Ethos of Friendship (1547)"**

In William Baldwin's *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy*, the author includes a chapter on the topic of friendship. He cites various statements by men he considers to be *approved* philosophers: Pythagoras, Plato, Cicero, Aristotle, Socrates, Zenophon, Hermes and Seneca before concluding, in his own words, that Fortune cannot influence a "true" virtue, such as friendship. The rationale here is that Fortune, which does not bestow virtue, cannot affect a true virtue - which in this instance is friendship. Throughout the *Treatise* this is a point that Baldwin is consistent about - that Fortune's powers do not extend to morality. His section on the philosophy of friendship details the value of friendship in a moralistic perspective. This paper will explore both Baldwin's use of the rhetoric of friendship and how he grapples with certain anxieties surrounding friendship in the precarious Tudor period.

The End