

Early Modern Cultures of Hospitality



**An interdisciplinary conference sponsored by the
Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium**

26–27 October 2018

**Old Victoria College Building
93 Charles Street West
Victoria College
University of Toronto**

**Conference Co-Organizers
Konrad Eisenbichler and David Goldstein**

The Fifty-Fourth Season of the
**TORONTO RENAISSANCE AND
 REFORMATION COLLOQUIUM**

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

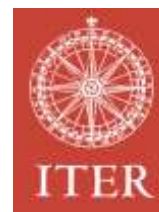


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Cover image: Georg Pencz (*ca.* 1500–1550), *The Three Angels Visiting Abraham*
 (engraving, *ca.* 1540)

Program

Friday, 26 October 2018

8:30	<p>Registration Alumni Hall, Old Victoria College Building, 93 Charles Street West</p>
9:00	<p>Welcome Alumni Hall, Old Victoria College Building David Goldstein (Chair, Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium)</p>
9:15	<p>Session 1.a (Old Vic 101) The Legal Side of Hospitality Chair: Thomas V. Cohen (York U)</p> <p>1) Ryan Whibbs (George Brown College) “‘<i>Cuisiniers, Charcutiers</i>, and Charters: The Legislative Environment Surrounding Private Feasts and Entertaining in Paris, 1599-1664”</p> <p>2) Serena Franzon (U of Padova) “Hospitality and Sumptuary Laws in Sixteenth-Century Venice. Regulating Multiculturalism, Immigration, and Appearance.”</p> <p>3) Aaron Miedema (York University) “The Host of Battle: The <i>Duello</i> and the <i>Campo Franco</i> in Pre-Tridentine Italy”</p>
	<p>Session 1.b (Old Vic, 115) Host and Hospitality Chair: Elisa Brilli (U of Toronto)</p> <p>1) Isabel Harvey (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin) “Visitors of Convents: Meanings and Practices of Hospitality in Female Monasteries of Papal States during the Counter-Reformation”</p> <p>2) David M. Posner (Loyola University Chicago) “Montaigne chez les Lestrygons: Guest and Host in ‘De la phisionomie’.”</p> <p>3) Dustin M. Meyer (U of Toronto) “Advanced in Rome: Subverting Hospitality in <i>Titus Andronicus</i>”</p>
10:45	Health Pause
11:00	<p>Session 2.a (Old Vic 101) Pietas Chair: Franco Pierno (U of Toronto)</p> <p>1) Barbara A. Kaminska (Sam Houston State U) “‘Sheltering the Homeless’ or ‘Welcoming the Pilgrims’? Shifting Concepts of Hospitality in the Iconography of the Seven Works of Mercy.”</p> <p>2) Sabine Hiebsch (Theological University Kampen) “Early Modern Poor Relief and the</p>

	<p>Consequences for Hospitality: The Amsterdam Lutherans as a Case Study” 3) Shawn Smith (Longwood U) “Sinon’s Borrowed Tears: Pity and Hospitality in Renaissance Rhetoric”</p>
	<p>Session 2.b (Old Vic, 115) Women as Hosts and Guests Chair: Elizabeth Hodgson (U of British Columbia)</p> <p>1) Naomi Pullin (U of Warwick) “Women’s Hospitality Networks in the Early Transatlantic Quaker Community” 2) Julie Prior (U of Toronto) “‘She ate no meat today, nor none shall eat’: Shrewishness and (In)hospitality in Shakespeare’s <i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>” 3) Deanne Williams (York U) “The Hospitable Girl: Lady Rachel Fane and her Recipes”</p>
12:30	Lunch break (ad lib.)
2:00	<p>Session 3.a (Old Vic 101) Humanism Chair: Elena Brizio (Georgetown U – Fiesole Campus)</p> <p>1) Damiano Acciarino (University of Toronto / U Ca’ Foscari Venezia) “Hospitality and Banqueting during the Renaissance. Some Antiquarian Perspectives” 2) Pina Palma (Southern Connecticut State U) “Hospitality as a Virtue: Pontano’s <i>Book of Virtues</i> (1493)” 3) Nicholas Fenech (Stanford U) “Encounter and Epistemology: Strategies of Equivocation in Bacon’s <i>New Atlantis</i>”</p>
	<p>Session 3.b (Old Vic, 115) Hosting the Foreigner Chair: Shawn Smith (Longwood U)</p> <p>1) Hana Ferencová (Palacky University, Czech R.) “From England to Central Europe: The Bohemian Lands in the Eyes of Early Modern English Travellers” 2) Marie-Alice Belle (U de Montréal) “‘Domestication’ Revisited: Hospitality and the Foreign in Early Modern English Translation Discourse” 3) Salvatore Ciriaco (U di Padova) “The Changing Faces of Venetian Hospitality”</p>
3:30	Health Pause
4:00	<p>Session 4.a (Old Vic 101) Building Online Communities with Early Modernists Organized and sponsored by Iter: Gateway to the Middle Ages and Renaissance Chair: Marie-Alice Belle (U de Montréal)</p> <p>1) William R. Bowen (U of Toronto Scarborough) “Serving and Hosting Online Communities: Iter and Iter Community”</p>

	<p>2) Laura Estill (St Francis Xavier U) "Valuing Digital Scholarship: The Exigence of Early Modern Digital Review"</p> <p>3) Raymond G. Siemens (U of Victoria) "REKn and ReKN: A Collaborative Research Portal, Considered Over Time"</p>
	<p>Session 4.b (Old Vic, 115) Hosting the Enemy Chair: Pina Palma (Southern Connecticut State U)</p> <p>1) Sara Rolfe Prodan (CRRS) "Hosting the Enemy: Accommodating the French King and his Troops in Florence, 1494"</p> <p>2) Elena Brizio (Georgetown U - Fiesole Campus) "«Well Come, Emperor Charles V!»: Welcoming the Enemy in 1536 Siena"</p> <p>3) Maria Pavlova (Oxford) "Welcoming the Ottoman: Courtesy and Hospitality in Renaissance Ferrara"</p>

Saturday, 27 October 2018

9:30	<p>Session 5.a (Old Vic 101) Setting the Table Chair: Ryan Whibbs (George Brown College)</p> <p>1) Hannah Smith-Drelich (Stanford U) "Deadly Appetite: The Case of the Stoic Banquet in <i>Coriolanus</i>"</p> <p>2) Rob Wakeman (Mount Saint Mary College) "Serving Up Endangered Species: Hospitality Amid the Sixth Extinction"</p> <p>3) Victoria Yeoman (Appalachian State U) "Material Illusions of Hospitality"</p>
	<p>Session 5.b (Old Vic, 115) Courtly Welcome Chair: Elizabeth Cohen (York U)</p> <p>1) Loek Marten Luiten (Oxford) "Hospitality, Honour, and the Housing of Guests in Quattrocento Rome: Palaces as Social Hubs in the Farnese's Political Network"</p> <p>2) Marco Piana (U of Toronto) "In the Grove of Venus: Hospitality and Spirituality in the Vatican's Cortile del Belvedere"</p> <p>3) Marc W. S. Jaffré (U of St Andrews, Scotland) "Hospitality at the Courts of Henri IV and Louis XIII, 1589-1643"</p>
11:00	Health Pause
11:30	<p>Session 6.a (Old Vic 101) The Writing Table and the Dining Table Chair: Trevor Cook (CRRS)</p>

	<p>1) Katherine Blankenau (Northwestern U) “Inviting an Author to Supper: Guest-writing and Early Modern Literary Production”</p> <p>2) Elizabeth Hodgson (U British Columbia) “Aemelia Lanyer, Mary Sidney, and the Politics of Sacred Tables”</p>
	<p>Session 6.b (Old Vic, 115) Hosting the Nation Chair: David Posner (Loyola University Chicago)</p> <p>1) Matteo Leta (U della Calabria / Sorbonne) “Marginalization and (In)hospitality: The Gypsy in Italian Renaissance Comedy”</p> <p>2) Rebecca Kingston (U of Toronto) “Étienne Pasquier and Michel de Montaigne on Questions of National Identity and Hospitality”</p>
12:30	Lunch break (ad lib.)
2:00	<p>Session 7.a (Old Vic 101) Writing the Gift Chair: Sarah Rolfe Prodan (CRRS)</p> <p>1) Madeline Bassnett (Western U) “Bee Hospitable: Virgil, Beekeeping, and <i>Jack of Newbury</i>”</p> <p>2) Elizabeth A. Pentland (York U) “‘I will not believe all’: Fynes Moryson and William Lithgow in Jerusalem”</p> <p>3) Trevor Cook (CRRS) “‘Uncivil guest’: Literary Propriety and the Abuse of Hospitality in Sir John Harington’s ‘Of Table Talk’”</p>
	<p>Session 7.b (Old Vic, 115) Sinful Hospitality Chair: Jacqueline Murray (U of Guelph)</p> <p>1) Konrad Eisenbichler (U of Toronto) “The Tavern in Italian Renaissance Plays”</p> <p>2) Ivana Elbl (Trent U) “Rapacious and Sinful Guests: The Troubles of the Royal Billet in Fifteenth-Century Portugal”</p> <p>3) Thomas V. Cohen (York U) “Come Share My Bed”</p>
3:30	Health Pause
4:00	<p>Session 8 (Old Vic 101) Cultures of Hospitality: Round Table Moderator: Konrad Eisenbichler (U of Toronto) Panelists: David Goldstein (York U), David M. Posner (Loyola University Chicago), Madeline Bassnett (Western U), Elizabeth Hodgson (U of British Columbia), Elizabeth Cohen (York U)</p>

5:30	Health Pause
7:00	Farewell Dinner (by reservation only; \$55 per person). Please register by 12 October 2018 at the very latest.

Abstracts

Damiano Acciarino
“Hospitality and Banqueting during the Renaissance. Some Antiquarian Perspectives”

Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, hospitality and conviviality were considered strictly related and often investigated as a pair in many antiquarian publications. Starting from the re-interpretation of classical hospitality related to banqueting, I will be discussing this crucial knot of humanistic thought putting together multidisciplinary data and cross-referencing sources from various fields – i.e. archaeology, philology, history, geography, juridical studies, zoology, iconography and mythology. Among the authors to analyzed, particular attention will be devoted to Bartolomeo Platina (*De honesta voluptate ac valetudine*), Justus Lipsius (*Sermo convivialis*) and Johann Wilhelm Stucki (*Antiquitates conviviales*).

Madeline Bassnett
“Bee Hospitable: Virgil, Beekeeping, and Jack of Newbury”

The beehive as a symbol of political order is well-recognized, but less commonly observed is its function as a model of hospitality. As Virgil’s *Georgics* (tr. 1589) describes, the hospitality of the beehive occurs both within the community (“they lay vp in store / Their gettings for the common vse and profit of them all” [Ir]), and between beekeeper and bees. In the latter instance, Virgil instructs aspiring beekeepers on the

importance of hospitable giving as a precursor to receiving: they must provide a pleasing environment for the hives and assist the colony in times of famine and illness. This paper will explore the georgic relationship between bees, beekeeping, and hospitality in the context of Thomas Deloney’s *Jack of Newbury* (1597), wherein Jack presents Henry VIII with a golden beehive and styles himself as beekeeper to his busy employees. The hospitality of the beehive, I will suggest, provides a compelling ecological model for understanding human relations with God, the sovereign, and a community that includes the natural world.

Marie-Alice Belle
“‘Domestication’ Revisited: Hospitality and the Foreign in Early Modern English Translation Discourse”

In the wake of Venuti’s influential work, *The Translator’s Invisibility* (1995), early modern English translation practices have often been described in terms of cultural and linguistic “domestication”. While the early modern discourse on translation as “Englishing” does to a large extent warrant the application of this critical category, its theoretical and historical origins (as well as those of its correlative, “foreignization”) in German Romanticism usually remain unproblematic. At a time when early modern translation scholarship highlights the complex, sometimes paradoxical relationship to the foreign constructed through translation (see in particular Coldiron 2015), it seems

important to interrogate the application of the Romantic binaries, “foreignization” vs. “domestication”, to the early modern English context. This paper proposes to do so by exploring the language of hospitality articulated in translation discourse, in an attempt to refine our understanding of attitudes to, and constructions of, the linguistic and cultural foreign in early modern Britain.

Katherine Blankenau
“Inviting an Author to Supper: Guest-Writing and Early Modern Literary Production”

The traces of early modern middle-class hospitality are usually brief – a musician’s payment recorded, or a journal’s mention of a dinner shared. Nevertheless, along the border of representation and record exists an archive of expressions of gratitude that I term “guest-writing.” For example, in *A Discovery by Sea From London to Salisbury* (1623), John Taylor thanks his hosts “in words / [because] No other payment, poore mens state affords” (26). “Words,” “payment,” and socioeconomic “state” – literary production, commerce, and class – intersect within the seemingly simple gesture of a guest thanking his host. This paper maps such intersections across domestic travel narratives and suggests that guest-writing was a crucial component of self-authorization for early modern English writers, allowing them to situate themselves and their works within a network of obligation and exchange. Ultimately, I will show that the guest-writing emerging from these scenes of hospitality negotiated the status of the writer-guest and of words themselves.

William R. Bowen
“Serving and Hosting Online Communities: Iter and Iter Community”

This paper will consider the role and place of Iter Gateway and Iter Community in helping to build community among researchers in medieval and early modern studies by hosting various projects and databases.

Elena Brizio
“Well Come, Emperor Charles V!”: Welcoming the Enemy in 1536 Siena

Following his victory over the Turks in North Africa, Emperor Charles V of Habsburg visited several Italian cities during his return to Germany in 1536. After visiting Sicily, Naples and Rome, the Emperor arrived in Siena in April, where lavish celebrations were organized in his honour. Despite the formal celebrations for the event, which was thoroughly described in the records of the most important council of the city, many political problems lingered unsolved. Different social groups of citizens, in fact, sided or opposed the imperial politics, nurturing the surviving Ghibelline ideology which should have left Siena a free Republic in a moment in which the control of central Italy was fundamental to the imperial strategy, and the emperor considered Siena and its territory central to his plans. This paper will analyze the political consequences of Charles’ visit, and how the city, in lavishly welcoming him, hoped to maintain its freedom.

Richard Calis
“Testimonies of Truth and Tragedy: Hospitality, Credibility, and Scholarship in the Household of Martin Crusius (1526-1607)”

Martin Crusius (1526-1607) was professor of classics at the University of Tübingen. Between 1579 and 1606 about fifty Greek Orthodox pilgrims from the Eastern Mediterranean visited him in his Tübingen home.

These men and women were collecting alms to ransom family members that Ottoman corsairs held hostage. Crusius and his wife shared their meals with these pilgrims, offered them lodgings, and gave them some money. Crusius also interviewed them about Ottoman Greece — a place he never visited — and based his ethnographic publications on their elaborate first-hand testimonies. Over time, however, Crusius grew increasingly sceptical of his guests' intentions. Had their family members actually been enslaved? Were they really who they claimed to be? If not, how could he still trust their testimonies? This paper explores how Crusius navigated such issues of credibility. It shows how hospitality became an integral component of his scholarship and how it could facilitate cross-cultural encounters in sixteenth-century Europe.

Salvatore Ciriaco
“The Changing Faces of Venetian Hospitality”

Like Venetian humanism, strongly characterized by the civic and institutional dimension of the city more than by literary and strictly cultural elements, hospitality in Venice were also characterized by the city's commercial, economic, and tourist dimensions. Already in the thirteenth century, Venice had begun to welcome and house pilgrims going to the Holy Land, but above all travellers engaged in trade, navigation, or various crafts, and to the representatives of national and foreign communities that were both numerous and well accepted by the government. In the sixteenth century, the city's hospitality industry started to highlight the vision of Venice as a "very noble" city, splendid from an architectural and artistic point of view, so as to induce people to visit it as tourists. As a result, a series of economic interests began to develop that touched a range of Venetian entrepreneurs, from hoteliers to hosts, from cooks to

waiters, from sex-trade workers to tour operators. With the declining fortune of the city in the seventeenth century, the cultural and social openness of the city transformed in a more suspicious and controlled behavior against the foreigners. This presentation will thus examine the changing nature of Venetian commercial hospitality from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries to assess the changing scopes and structures that affected the city's hospitality industry.

Thomas V. Cohen
“Come Share My Bed”

In Rome, back then, there was commensality, of course: “come eat with me, come drink with me!” But there was also another sharing, for which we and the Renaissance have no “col-lectile” word: “come sleep with me, come join me, in bed!” The practice was common enough that tribunals asked after it, as per the formula: “with whom did the witness drink or sleep.” So who slept with whom, where, when, what for, and what was the meaning of inviting a companion in? And what did one do, talk about, and transact once there? This paper uses Roman court records for Roman stories, anecdote by anecdote, to tuck in the contours of this rumpled social sheet. Pitt-Rivers famously argued that guests were dangerous and that hospitality, with its fictions and conventions, was a neutralizer. So, between the sheets, what were the risks, and what gambits served to reduce them?

Trevor Cook
“‘Uncivil guest’: Literary Propriety and the Abuse of Hospitality in Sir John Harington’s ‘Of Table Talk’”

Scholars who mean to avoid anachronistic notions of possessive authorship are right to insist that literary property as we know it today did not exist in the English Renaissance. From a modern legal perspective, all Shakespeare and his contemporaries can be

said to have owned was the paper upon which they wrote, if not also the ink. Authors were also without a formal trade guild to settle any property disputes that might have arisen between them. But that does not mean they showed no understanding of proprietary authorship. Through a close reading of Sir John Harrington's epigram "Of table talk," alongside Ben Jonson's better known "Inviting a Friend to Supper," this paper will examine how rather than reifying literary property authors drew upon existing codes of social decorum, such as good table manners and hospitality, to articulate and enforce informal professional civilities governing how writers were credited for who wrote what.

Konrad Eisenbichler
"The Tavern in Italian Renaissance Plays"

Taverns in early modern Europe were sites of hospitality, both positive and negative. One could find safety and conviviality in them, as well as danger and hostility. A necessary stop during a person's travels, they could also be a unnecessary distraction from a person's obligations. The seventeenth-century art historian Filippo Baldinucci, for example, laments at length the fact that the artist Bernardino Poccetti wasted his time in taverns getting drunk, squandering his earnings, and failing to go home to his wife for dinner, much to the detriment of his work and family. Not surprisingly, many confraternity statutes forbid their members from frequenting taverns. On the other hand, taverns could be places of respite from the day's work and sociability, as we see in Machiavelli's famous letter of 10 December 1513. This presentation will examine how taverns and the people one finds in them are depicted in sixteenth-century Italian comedy. While, in many ways, echoing classical antecedents, they also reflect a contemporary reality made up of diverse

character types, an abundance of local foods and wines, and a hospitality that could be both warmly welcomed and dangerously seductive.

Ivana Elbl
"Rapacious and Sinful Guests: The Troubles of the Royal Billet in Fifteenth-Century Portugal"

A staple subject of complaints by the commoners (*povo*) in practically every meeting of the parliament (*cortes*), the royal billet (*apostentadoria*) was one of most hated and protested practices in late medieval Portugal. The capitulations of the *povo* offer a wealth of details about the abuses and crimes perpetrated upon the reluctant hosts by their unwelcome guests, ranging from the failure to pay bills all the way to robbery, personal violence, and sexual licentiousness. In the eyes of the guests, the hosts were obligated to provide what was needful. However, "needs" were often criminal and involved serious sins. They not only took over the hosts' houses and stripped them bare, but they also satisfied their carnal desires, whether through seduction or outright rape. The Crown's only concession, in a century of protests, was to exempt female convents from billeting, to mitigate dangers to the sanctity of nuns. The capitulations point to a wide range of sinful behaviour, ranging from menial to mortal sins and violations of the Ten Commandments. While these problems are hardly unique in the history of court and military billets, they provide meaningful insights into the limitations of royal authority and into the self-serving complicity by Crown and Church.

Laura Estill

“Valuing Digital Scholarship: The Exigence of Early Modern Digital Review”

This paper will examine and offer some insights into electronic publishing and community building among scholars.

Nicholas Fenech

“Encounter and Epistemology: Strategies of Equivocation in Bacon’s *New Atlantis*”

Guest and host appear to us as social roles produced through the circumstances of an encounter. In Bacon’s *New Atlantis*, however, these are positions achieved after diverging from their potential opposites – colonizer and native, guard and prisoner – and elaborate scenes of observation and interpretation. The hostile “signs” of the Atlantians give way to a written invitation, whose multilingual nature wavers between transparency and ambivalence, culminating in imperial Spanish and made credible as hospitality only through Christian symbols. On the island, meanwhile, the voyagers’ status remains contingent on a period of observation by the very Atlantians who serve them. Relationality is itself dependent on the epistemic networks of observation, communication, and judgement examined in *New Atlantis*, turning diplomacy into both an instrument and product of natural philosophy. As the central mode of informational exchange throughout the text, guest-host relations cast light on the systems of epistemology and geopolitics through which the *New Atlantis* has previously been read.

Hana Ferencová

“From England to Central Europe: The Bohemian Lands in the Eyes of Early Modern English Travellers”

During the Early Modern era, the Bohemian lands were the most frequently visited by Englishmen who travelled across Prague, the capital, on their journey from Dresden to

Vienna. Preserved English travelogues (prints, manuscripts) provide an exceptional view of external observers, coming from Western Europe, on culturally and confessionally different Bohemian lands and their inhabitants. Englishmen, members of the Church of England, often mentioned a transformation of the Bohemian environment from the multiconfessional, and in the eyes of Western Europeans very religiously tolerant country, to the monoconfessional, catholically oriented region. The aim of the paper is to discuss how English travellers perceived hospitality or inhospitality of Bohemian locales, especially in the light of confessional development. And furthermore, it will examine whether the personal experience of a traveller – a foreign guest or enemy – differed from general knowledge written in older English travel literature as regards the concept of hospitality in the Bohemian lands.

Serena Franzon

“Hospitality and Sumptuary Laws in Sixteenth-Century Venice. Regulating Multiculturalism, Immigration, and Appearance.”

During the 16th century, Venice was renowned for its acceptance of foreigners. Hospitality to different religious communities who lived in the city was nevertheless strictly regulated by laws. Immigration policy did not always include a full integration of immigrants: non-Catholics were tolerated, but in fact excluded from full membership in the city. In order to clearly identify people with different religious beliefs who lived in Venice, foreigners were encouraged to maintain their own habit of dress and adornments. The management of immigration was, in this sense, strongly linked to sumptuary laws that prescribed the use of distinguishing clothing and jewellery to identify non-Catholics. This paper analyzes how the Venetian system that governed

hospitality and appearance evolved during the sixteenth century and determined not only a revision in immigration policies, but also a rethinking of the use of visible symbols of religious identity.

Isabel Harvey

“Visitors of Convents: Meanings and Practices of Hospitality in Female Monasteries of Papal States during the Counter-Reformation”

In 1600-1601, while a famine severely hit Ferrara, Bishop Giovanni Fontana proposed to Rome some unorthodox arrangements. For example, in exchange of an immediate donation, Emilia Schiatti and Giulia de Bianchi will be buried inside the enclosure of the convents of Santa Caterina Martire and San Vito respectively; some wealthy women will be welcomed as they please inside the enclosure (this is the case of Lucretia Calcagni Lamberti for the monastery of San Silvestro). These practices of hospitality, at the limits of the convents' Rules, demonstrate the adaptability of norms and of those in charge of enforcing them to contingencies. What kind of visitors did female monasteries receive? How did these encounters take place? What was the significance of these practices both for nuns and their guests? This presentation will explore the duties and the actual practices of hospitality inside the monastic enclosure or at its borders in the female convents of the Papal States at the turn of the seventeenth century (1598-1605). Using a dialogue between normative texts – Rules and Constitutions of convents – and the epistolary exchange between dioceses and the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in Rome, I will address the issues of the discourses about hospitality in convents and their applications in everyday life.

Sabine Hiebsch

“Early Modern Poor Relief and the Consequences for Hospitality: The Amsterdam Lutherans as a Case Study”

In the course of the seventeenth century Amsterdam had developed into a metropolis with an international trading network, the commercial capital of Europe and the epitome of the Dutch Golden Age. Amsterdam's success was made possible in large part by the migration streams of the period. But a lot of the migrants ended up in low-paid jobs and had to rely on poor relief. In the second half of the seventeenth century the city welfare system could no longer support the fast growing group of poor and the magistrates obligated the religious communities to organize and pay for the poor relief of their members. As a lot of the migrants came from the German Lands and from the kingdoms of Denmark/Norway and Sweden where Lutheranism had become a dominant confession, the Amsterdam Lutheran congregation, one of the tolerated religious minorities, ended up with the largest group of poor to care for. My paper wants to explore the question how the responsibility of the Amsterdam Lutherans for their poor relief interacted with the hospitality for their German and Scandinavian co-religionists.

Elizabeth Hodgson

“Aemelia Lanyer, Mary Sidney, & the Politics of Sacred Tables”

Aemelia Lanyer and Mary Sidney Herbert both invite their early modern readers to a sacred meal. Sidney in her 1590s translation of Psalm 58 invites the outcasts to an egalitarian table with the godhead. As Bassnett has shown, the food-shortages of the 1580s inform the Sidney psalter's invention of tables of bounty in the world of the sacred texts. Psalm 58 genders and dramatizes this politicization, extending it to their domestic economies. Lanyer in her dedications to the 1611 *Salve Deus* acts as steward to a courtly

feast featuring the sacrificial saviour, employing both Jacobean country-house politics and popular court masques. With images of courtly splendour and natural bounty, Lanyer redeploys the masque's political concentration and diffusion of patronage hospitality. Both Sidney and Lanyer thus create a particularly reformist role for guest and host in these specific political contexts.

Marc W. S. Jaffré

“Hospitality at the Courts of Henri IV and Louis XIII, 1589-1643”

Despite a recent upsurge of interest in early modern cultures of hospitality, studies of early modern French court culture have tended to focus on travelers and travel rather than hosts and hospitality. This is unfortunate because, at a time when the French court remained extremely peripatetic, hospitality was a concept that the court relied on to function. Even when the court was fixed in and around Paris, household officers frequently did not live there and often stayed at inns, with their friends, or were lodged by their patrons. Displays of hospitality continued to be important whether performed for equals, superiors or clients, and this was increasingly institutionalized in the case of diplomacy. In studying hospitality at the courts of Henri IV and Louis XIII, this paper hopes to shed light on the role that hospitality played in elite culture and how it changed as France emerged from decades of civil strife.

Barbara A. Kaminska

‘Sheltering the Homeless’ or ‘Welcoming the Pilgrims’? Shifting Concepts of Hospitality in the Iconography of the Seven Works of Mercy.

In this presentation, I will compare selected sixteenth- and seventeenth-century images of the seven works of mercy created in the Southern and Northern Netherlands,

focusing specifically on the representation of Christ's words “I was a stranger, and you took me in.” This exhortation to hospitality in Matthew 25 was understood either as sheltering the homeless or welcoming the pilgrims. Consequently, paintings varied in their depiction of wanderers either as homeless beggars or pilgrims wearing the emblems of Santiago de Compostela. These alternative pictorial conventions did not necessarily align with the teachings of local Churches; rather, they were largely shaped by regional patterns of the poor relief. Following the premise of active role of images in the early modern period, I will argue that charity institutions – the usual patrons of paintings of deeds of mercy – manipulated these paintings' iconography to popularize the specific model of hospitality which they supported financially.

Rebecca Kingston

“Étienne Pasquier and Michel de Montaigne on Questions of National Identity and Hospitality”

This paper addresses two issues. In the first instance, I will compare the arguments of Etienne Pasquier, as developed in his work *Recherches sur la France* (1596), and Michel de Montaigne, in his *Essais* (in the most revised form of 1592) on the question of what constitutes the grounds for national community. The particular historical and cultural grounds for an understanding of France as developed by Pasquier will be contrasted with Montaigne's depiction of France and Frenchness as an aesthetic and rather subjective feeling as discussed most famously in his entry “De la vanité” (III.9). In the second instance, I will reflect on the implications of these contrasting notions for a theory and practice of hospitality with considerations of both the strengths and weaknesses of the competing positions.

Matteo Leta**“Marginalization and (In)hospitality: The Gypsy in Italian Renaissance Comedy”**

This presentation examines the depiction of Gypsies in Italian Renaissance comedies as a reflection of the polemic against, and fear of Gypsies present in Italian culture since their arrival in Italy. In these plays, Gypsies are portrayed as incapable of sincere interaction with native Italians while the latter are shown as incapable of assimilating their diversity. The character of the Gypsy thus highlights the inability of hosting Italians to accept any alleged violation of anthropological barriers, such as sedentarianism, work ethics, and ethnic homogeneity. The Gypsy thus becomes the symbol for all vagabonds, perceived as dangerous elements and carriers of political and religious instability. The proposal thus seeks to outline the connection between the hospitality (or, rather, the inhospitality) reserved for Gypsies and their theatrical representation that sanctions their marginality.

Loek Marten Luiten**“Hospitality, Honour, and the Housing of Guests in Quattrocento Rome: Palaces as Social Hubs in the Farnese’s Political Network”**

Practices of hospitality illuminate much of the fragmented politics of Quattrocento Rome. In a city where cardinals, lay relatives, and baronial families vied for power and prestige with the pope, its actors could not but include their palace in their political life. The use of palatial space established or strengthened bonds between family, friends, and allies, while simultaneously communicating their existence to the outside world. If we are to understand the continuous influence of Roman baronial families at the papal court or the role of cardinals as pivots between Church, court, and state, their offering of hospitality can provide us with important insights, not least in how families

like the Farnese established a foothold in Rome. The other way around, the papal court remained to some extent peripatetic and the Farnese hosted various popes as well as famous humanists in their palaces, the importance of which has been largely overlooked.

Dustin M. Meyer**“Advanced in Rome: Subverting Hospitality in *Titus Andronicus*”**

The recent interest which cultural practices of hospitality have generated in Shakespeare studies have had a profound impact on understandings of early modern social obligations. The question of Shakespeare’s portrayal of hospitality has proved fruitful enough to warrant the 2016 publication of an edited collection of essays titled *Shakespeare and Hospitality*, though the essays skew towards the later dramatic endeavours. This paper addresses the issue of Shakespeare’s representation of hospitality with special attention one of Shakespeare’s earliest works, *Titus Andronicus*. Specifically, this project argues that the gratuitous violence throughout *Titus Andronicus* is framed through a systematic inversion of early modern practices of hospitality as the result of Tamora’s liminal social position as both insider and outsider. This paper draws on both historical practices of hospitality, as well as philology in order to reveal how Shakespeare’s earliest tragedy is marked by issues resulting from the limits of hospitable reception.

Aaron Miedema**“The Host of Battle: The *Duello* and the *Campo Franco* in Pre-Tridentine Italy”**

One of the critical elements of the duel was the agreement on the place where the duel was to be fought. After the prohibition of the official duel at the final session of the Council of Trent, this was a secluded location agreed upon by only a handful of

participants. However, before 1563 duellists had more options, and they were considerably more public. Duellists had to secure several free fields in order for a duel to proceed, either securing a piazza from a duke or prince or one of the duelling fields found in outlying villages. This paper proposes to examine the spaces where the duel took place and those who offered and maintained the spaces for gentlemen to settle their differences with weapons; an invitation to violence, but, a form of hospitality none the less.

Pina Palma

“Hospitality as a Virtue: Pontano’s *Book of Virtues* (1493)”

In his book *De conviventia* (On Conviviality) the philosopher and humanist Giovanni Pontano asserts that a splendid man’s table must eschew utilitarian ends in order to ensure the love and respect of a great number of fellow citizens. For this reason, Pontano argues, the first tenet of hospitality is a table that is neither squalid nor ostentatious and around which intelligent, famous and virtuous friends, acquaintances, and men can gather. Pontano’s work, composed before 1493 at the court of King Alfonso of Aragon, sets clear rules that govern hospitality. In this paper I will explore the ways—and the limits of—Pontano’s treatise within the context of the Aragonese court in Naples.

Maria Pavlova

“Welcoming the Ottoman: Courtesy and Hospitality in Renaissance Ferrara”

In his *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara* (originally written in Latin and published in Italian translation in 1556), Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinthio praises Duke Ercole II for his princely liberality towards foreigners, mentioning in particular the warm hospitality with which he overwhelmed the exiled king of Tunisia (despite the latter being a ‘barbarian and very distant from our reli-

gion’) and ‘Cassan Chaus’, the envoy of the future Ottoman Sultan Selim II. My paper will examine the symbolic function of hospitality in Ferrara’s relations with the Islamic world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among other things, it will shed light on Cassan’s stay in Ferrara, unravelling the story of Ercole’s friendship with his *parente* [relative] Selim by looking at previously unpublished documents from the Archivio di Stato di Modena. I will highlight some curious similarities between the practice of hospitality in Renaissance Ferrara and representations of hospitality in Renaissance literature, with a special focus on the chivalric genre.

Elizabeth A. Pentland

“‘I will not believe all’: Fynes Moryson and William Lithgow in Jerusalem”

This paper will focus on the treatment of tourism, hospitality, souvenirs, and gift-giving in two seventeenth-century travel narratives – Fynes Moryson’s *Itinerary* (1617) and William Lithgow’s *Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations* (1632). Their respective descriptions of Jerusalem, and the tourist economy produced by centuries of pilgrimage, suggest some of the ways that English-speaking Protestants negotiated their identities abroad and in the narratives they later published. Whereas Moryson is careful not to reveal his Protestantism where it might cause problems, Lithgow seems to enjoy confrontation – first accepting the Friars’ generous hospitality, and then reveling in his hosts’ discomfort when they learn he is “no Popish Catholicke.” Both writers insist they will not “believe all” that they are told about the city’s monuments, and both are fascinated by the array of souvenirs and gifts available for purchase, though they tend to treat those objects with considerable skepticism. But despite his insistent skepticism, it seems even Lithgow

believes in the occasional miracle, and it is in describing the gifts he brought home for his “Gracious Queene *Anne* of blessed memory,” that he must find a way to accommodate some inconvenient truths.

Marco Piana

“In the Grove of Venus: Hospitality and Spirituality in the Vatican’s Cortile del Belvedere”

Celebrated by Leo X’s 1514 bull *Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* – which stipulated that a cardinal’s house should be “an open house, and a harbor and refuge especially for upright and learned men” – the Catholic clergy’s tradition of hosting scholars and artists in their private gardens and villas has been a constant feature of the Italian Renaissance. Among such awe-inspiring places, Bramante’s *Cortile del Belvedere* deserves special attention. Pope Julius II’s act of building the *Cortile*, a garden that aimed to incorporate ancient art and architecture in the holy place of the Vatican, is not to be underestimated, as it allows the pagan idols of antiquity to share the sacred space of the Vatican with the holy symbols of Christianity. My paper, therefore, will explore the *Cortile* as a space of hospitality and spiritual dialogue through the experience of lay and religious guests, discovering how its symbolical hybridism challenged their spiritual and religious views.

David M. Posner

“Montaigne chez les Lestrygons: Guest and Host in ‘De la phisionomie’”

In a lawless world, the only law is what the Greeks called *xenia*, the Romans *hospitium*: the guest-host relationship that brings together strangers, and even enemies, in a bond of mutual recognition and support. In “De la phisionomie”, Montaigne finds himself repeatedly wondering, like Odysseus, if the people he encounters in the midst of France’s Wars of Religion are “violent,

savage, and unjust, / or friendly to strangers ...?” That is, are they Lestrygonians, or Phaeacians? Will they eat him for dinner, or invite him to dinner? Montaigne explores this dynamic in a mirror-image pair of anecdotes, in the first of which he is an involuntary host to a group of armed and hostile men, while in the second he is the equally involuntary guest of a similar gathering. His survival in both instances depends on being recognized as a *xenos*, a stranger-guest, by his enemies; what this recognition means, in the confessional and political contexts of the Wars of Religion, will be the subject of this talk.

Julie Bernadette Prior

“She ate no meat today, nor none shall eat”: Shrewishness and (In)hospitality in Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew*

When Petruchio woos Kate at her father’s house in Shakespeare’s *Shrew*, he arrives bearing a gift: a music tutor for Baptista’s daughters. In contrast to his initially considerate gesture, Petruchio at other times disregards his responsibilities as host: Petruchio arrives late to his wedding and abruptly departs the banquet; Kate responds by brawling in her new home, Petruchio by refusing his wife food, sleep, and proper clothing. Rather than focusing on Kate’s temperamental nature, which is often considered in isolation, this paper contends that Kate, in response to Petruchio’s post-nuptial (in)hospitality, is an ungraceful guest in her marital home and as such is simultaneously at her most shrewish and agential. In its distinctive interpretation of Kate’s rebelliousness and submission, this paper makes strides in new feminist approaches to the typically “misogynist” *Shrew*, arguing that Kate’s calculated emphasis on reciprocating her inhospitable husband’s measures paints her as a strong, unobsequious woman.

Sara Rolfe Prodan

Hosting the Enemy: Accommodating the French King and his Troops in Florence, 1494

On 17 November 1494, the French king and his troops entered Florence. Welcomed as a potentially liberating foreign dignitary, he entered in the sign of triumph. Either a formal recognition of friendship or violent proof of enmity stood to follow. The possibility of armed conflict remained a vivid threat to both sides for the eleven days the French were hosted in the city that, a week prior, had expelled its *de facto* ruler Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici (1472-1503) for having unilaterally extended an offer of city-state support to the invading king in exchange for a promise of retaining his political position and power in Florence. While Charles VIII's ceremonial entry has been well documented and described, little has been said about his physical stay in the Medici palace on via Larga or the lodging of his troops in the homes of upper class Florentine citizens. Examining details of the 'invasion' as described in contemporary diaries, chronicles and letters in light of the unique political circumstances in Florence at the time, this paper will explore the matter of how the Florentines received the French, thus shedding light on early modern Italian practices of hospitality.

Naomi Pullin

"Women's Hospitality Networks in the Early Transatlantic Quaker Community"

Women occupied a central place in seventeenth-century transatlantic Quakerism. They acted as prophets, missionaries, authors and spiritual leaders of their communities. Recent scholarship has offered important insights into the unparalleled public roles available to women within the early Quaker community. But little is known about the networks of hospitality that developed across the Atlantic that made

itinerant missionary service possible. The generosity of countless female Quakers to unknown "Friends" remains an underexplored aspect of early Quaker history. Using printed spiritual testimonies and correspondence exchanged between Quaker missionaries and their female hosts, my paper will explore how Quaker ministers were "sustained" by these unknown women during their travels. I intend to show that active religious service did not have to equate to ministerial work, and will stress how a study of hospitality can reveal the important role that otherwise "ordinary" women were able to provide towards the national and transatlantic Quaker mission.

Raymond G. Siemens

"REKn and ReKN: A Collaborative Research Portal, Considered Over Time"

This paper considers the contributions made by the Renaissance Knowledge Network (ReKN), a public facing resource that provides access to an ongoing, partially crowdsourced environmental scan of the early modern studies as it intersects with the digital humanities.

Shawn Smith

"Sinon's Borrowed Tears: Pity and Hospitality in Renaissance Rhetoric"

This paper explores the rhetorical function of pity (in Elizabethan English the word was more closely synonymous with "compassion" and "mercy," as well as "piety"—including the ancient Roman sense of *pietas*—than it is now) as a key emotional means of persuasion in early modern literary representations of hospitality. Found frequently at the intersection of hospitality and pity, both in rhetorical handbooks (such as Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* [1577; rev. 1593]) and in literary works (such as Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* [1594]), is the story of Sinon, the Greek warrior whose appeal to the Trojans for pity

persuaded them to bring the wooden horse into the city. These allusions to Sinon suggest a point-of-departure for understanding the ambivalence of pity and compassion in early modern rhetorical situations of hospitality as an emotion that has the power to cultivate and to enrich social bonds, but also to corrupt and to destroy them.

Hannah Smith-Drelich
“Deadly Appetite: The Case of the Stoic Banquet in *Coriolanus*”

In Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus*, the charged rivalry between Coriolanus and Aufidius hinges upon a scene of tense hospitality. In Act 4, the Volscian Aufidius and the former Roman Coriolanus, recently exiled from his city, meet at a feast and decide to attack Rome together. Having denied his own and other characters’ appetites in a way many consider stoic, Coriolanus’s break from Rome results in an odd lapse of self-denial. The feast is the consummation of their enmity-turned-amity, but it occurs offstage, narrated in images of violence and cannibalism. Aufidius’s serving men remember his defeat at the hands of Coriolanus, reminiscing of a battle while serving a feast: “To say the truth on’t, before Corioles he scotched him and notched him like a carbonado” (4.5.190-1). [Carbonado is meat or fish barbecued over hot coals.] In the austere Roman landscape of the play, the metaphorical line between hostility and hospitality is blurred. This paper explores how hospitality exists in a world that prioritizes self-abnegation over generosity, and how discourses of gluttony, stoicism, and violence intersect.

Rob Wakeman
“Serving Up Endangered Species: Hospitality Amid the Sixth Extinction”

Once common throughout European river systems, overfishing in the early modern period led to the gradual disappearance of the Atlantic sturgeon, Great Britain’s largest

anadromous fish. Now critically endangered, their vanishing presence was already felt at the seventeenth-century table, a point made clear in the pages of the 1674 Cookbook of Susanna Packe (Folger MS V.a.215). Packe has a recipe for boiling sturgeon written, like most instructions, in the imperative mood. Packe explains how the dish should be made, how to lay the fish, how to make the pickle; but then she adds a note indicating that this will be increasingly unlikely in the future: “The Last storgon Taken in Cleffton Water 1672 was thus pickled.” Although, as Mark V. Barrow Jr. argues in *Nature’s Ghosts*, the concept of species extinction was not clearly developed in the seventeenth century, the idea is incipient in Restoration-era cookbooks. As Packe records the local collapse of the sturgeon population, her recipes move from the imperative to a desiderative or optative mood: “You may doe as ocasion sarues.” In this paper, I will trace how recipe writers record melancholic memories of bygone commensality as a response diminishing biodiversity. I will then explore how the increasing rarity of prized fish such as sturgeon and burbot impacted the customs of the table and early modern cultures of hospitality, and, as a result, influenced fishermen’s obligations to North Atlantic river systems.

Ryan Whibbs
“Cuisiniers, Charcutiers, and Charters: The Legislative Environment Surrounding Private Feasts and Entertaining in Paris, 1599-1664”

On the surface, hosting a catered party may seem like a straightforward endeavour; one finds and hires a space, a caterer, and tends to other matters of hospitality. In late sixteenth-century Paris, things were not so straightforward. When hiring a caterer or even a private household cook, either within the city or the various suburbs surrounding Paris, one had to be aware of the ancient and

complex guild regulations that surrounded payment for professional culinary services. Although these regulations normally extended only to the professional marketplace, this paper focuses on a remarkable innovation that occurred in Paris during the late sixteenth century: the establishment of a guild – the *Maître Queux, Cuisiniers, et Porte-Chappes* – to license and regulate caterers as well as cooks working in private noble and bourgeois households. Whereas earlier guilds' powers extended only to shops and other semi-public areas, this little-known guild was unique in that it had royal authority to licence and regulate activities occurring within the private and semi-private spheres. This paper presents an English translation and analysis of the 1599 foundation charter, as well as a set of revisions issued in 1664. Together, these bylaws present a new and relatively unknown phase in the history of Parisian culinary professionalization.

Victoria Yeoman

“Material Illusions of Hospitality”

This paper examines connections between foodways, material culture, and hospitality in early modernity. It considers a range of dining objects and the role they played in shaping hospitality as an embodied, material, and spatial experience. A central case study is a sixteenth-century silver and painted glass salt-cellar in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum. By linking the manipulation of silver to the transformative properties of salt, probably the most important comestible within sixteenth-century conceptions of hospitality, I argue that this artistic object was one element of an elaborate visual and gastronomic game that fashioned diners' experience of hospitality. By reimagining the salt-cellar's visual effects in the context of a shared meal, the paper shows these objects were, on the one hand, instruments of hospitality which

solicited diners' attention and engagement, and on the other hand, unwelcoming because they were difficult to use, untouchable, and visually indecipherable. Thus dining objects created a sense of hospitality while simultaneously exposing it as a material illusion.



