



# Conference Programme

Royal Holloway, University of London  
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## **Session timetable**

**Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> April**

**8.45-9.15: Registration and coffee**

**9.30-9.35: Introductions**

**9.35-10.45: Session 1**

**Plenary Lecture**

[Chair: Maria Hayward, University of Southampton]

*Philip Mansel*

**Dressed to Rule: Dress and Monarchy from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II**

**10.45-11.10: Coffee**

**11.10-12.10: Session 2**

**Panel 2A: The physical body of queens: 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century France and Sardinia**

[Chair: John W. McCormack, University of Notre Dame]

*Federica Contu, University of Studies of Cagliari*

**Reasoning about the political and the spiritual function of the body. The case of Marie Clotilde of France Queen of Sardinia**

*Sebastian Edwards, Historic Royal Palaces*

**'Sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller': Queen Anne and the Art of Dying**

**Panel 2B: The Effigial Body**

[Chair: Jutta Schwarzkopf, University of Bielefeld]

*Lynsey McCulloch, Anglia Ruskin University*

The effigial body: reading a relic of early modern monarchy

*Kosana Jovanovic, University of Rijeka*

The Role of Portable Effigies in Queens' Funeral Ceremonies and Their Connection with the King's Two Bodies Theory

## **Panel 2C: Representing the Body: The case of Queen Victoria and King George V and VI**

[Chair: Kate Strasdin, University of Southampton]

*Tracy Anderson, University of Sussex*

Regina Imperatrix: The royal and imperial bodies of Queen Victoria

*Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, University of Illinois (Chicago)*

Royal Death and Living Memorials: The Commemoration of George V and George VI

## **Panel 2D: Memory and Commemoration: The Case of Henry VII**

[Chair: Nicola Clark, Royal Holloway, University of London]

*Christine Merie Fox, Royal Holloway, University of London*

Henry VII's preparation for the well-being of his 'spiritual body'

*Mark R. Horowitz, University of Illinois*

The Heir of King Arthur: Henry VII's 'historical' claims of kingship and their influence on Henry VIII

## **12.15-1.15pm Session 3**

## **Panel 3A: Royal Sodomy and Sexuality**

[Chair: Christiane Hille, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität]

*Christine Ekholst, University of Guelph and Henric Bagerius, Gothenburg University*

The King's Special Friend. Sodomy and Intimacy as a Threat to Established Power Structures

*Maria Antónia Lopes, Universidade de Coimbra*

The question of the Portuguese King Pedro V's sexuality

**Panel 3B: Madness and Monarchy**

[Chair: Jo Edge, Royal Holloway, University of London]

*Douglas James, King's College London*

The decline and late apotheosis of an ill king: portraits of George III during the Regency and beyond.

*Timothy John Peters, University of Birmingham and Allan Beveridge, Queen Margaret Hospital, Dunfermline*

The Madness of King George III: Causes and Consequences of the Porphyria Misdiagnosis

**Panel 3C: Rethinking Eighteenth Century French Monarchy**

[Chair: Eric Johnson, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania]

*Anne Byrne, Birkbeck College, University of London*

The king's tears: who cried, when and why at the coronation of Louis XVI, 11 June 1775

*Lianne McTavish, University of Alberta*

The Other Side of Louis XIV: Illness as Opportunity in Early Modern France

**1.15-2.15: Lunch**

**2.15-3.15: Session 4**

**Panel 4A: Morocco and the Ottomans**

[Chair: Francis Robinson, Royal Holloway University of London]

*Nabil Mouline, Sciences-Po Paris*

Does the Muslim King have two bodies? The emergence of the Moroccan in the sixteenth century

*Ilker Evrim Binbaş, Royal Holloway, University of London*

The King's Two Lineages: Kantorowicz and the Early Modern Ottoman Political Discourse

#### **Panel 4B: Models of Rule**

[Chair: Jo Edge, Royal Holloway University of London]

*Irene O'Daly, Leiden University*

The Anatomy of Rulership: John of Salisbury's (c. 1120-80) Model of the Body Politic

*Thomas Barlow, Monash University*

A question of self: The King's multiple legal and social identities during the reign of Edward III

#### **Panel 4C: Death in Portugal**

[Chair: Tommi Lindfors, University of Helsinki]

*Isabel Drumond Braga, University of Lisbon*

Illnesses and Death of Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy (1646-1683), Queen of Portugal

*Paulo Drumond Braga, University of Lisbon*

Death and memory of a Queen of Portugal: Maria Sofia Isabel of Neuburg (1699)

#### **Panel 4D: Bedchamber politics in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century English court**

[Chair: Lynsey McCulloch, Anglia Ruskin University]

*Olivia Fryman, Historic Royal Palaces*

Necessary women, domestic work and the politics of intimacy, 1685 -1714

*Anna Whitelock, Royal Holloway University of London*

The Queen's Bed: Elizabeth I Laid Bare

### **3.15-4.15: Tea**

### **3.45-5.15 Session 5**

#### **Panel 5A: Images and Imaginings: Royal Exposure**

[Chair: Maiko Kobayashi, St Margaret's Junior College, Tokyo]

*Ryan Linkof, University of Southern California*

Exposing the Royal Body: Tabloid Photojournalism and the Image of King Edward VIII

*Kate Strasdin, University of Southampton*

'Think of me as I was now I am breaking up': Queen Alexandra and the Art of Royal Camouflage 1863-1925

*Frank Mort, University of Manchester*

Love in a cold climate: the Abdication Crisis and modern British monarchy

#### **Panel 5B: Papal Bodies**

[Chair: Nigel Llewellyn, Tate]

*Catherine Fletcher, University of Durham*

Royal bodies plural: the case of Renaissance papal ceremony

*Jennifer Mara DeSilva, Ball State University*

The Pope's Third Body

*Claudio Negrato, Ca' Foscari University of Venice and Paris VIII University*

The Health of the Pope, the Health of the Christian Republic

#### **Panel 5C: The Body in French and Italian politics**

[Chair: Lianne McTavish, University of Alberta]

*Penny Roberts, University of Warwick*

Sterility and Sovereignty: the succession crisis of the late Valois monarchy

*John W. McCormack, University of Notre Dame*

Facing Death in the French Wars of Religion: Arnaud Sorbin and the Royal Body

*Cinzia Recca, University of Catania*

Maria Carolina and Marie Antoinette: Sisters and Queens in the Mirror of Jacobin Public Opinion

**Panel 5D: Representing Authority**

[Chair: Stephanie Koscak, Indiana University]

*Eric F. Johnson, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

The Royal Body in Papal Lands: Representing the French Monarchy in Eighteenth Century Avignon

*Michelle A. Langbran, Saint Joseph's College of Maine*

Venice's Doge and His Paradoxical Two Bodies

*Katarína Štulrajterová, University of Oxford*

The Non-alienation Clause in the Hungarian and English Coronation Oaths: An Unjustified Papal Assumption?

**Panel 5E: Early Modern Queenly Bodies**

[Chair: Olivia Fryman, Historic Royal Palaces]

*Marian Rothstein, Carthage College*

The Queen's Two Bodies: Gendering the Body Politic

*Anne Louise Mearns, University of Liverpool*

A Third Body: Early Modern Regnant Queenship and the Body of the Male Consort

*Elena Crislyn Woodacre, Bath Spa University*

The Queen's other Body: Ruling Queens and consort kings in Late Medieval Navarre

**5.15 Drinks reception**



**Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> April**

**9.30-10.45: Session 6**

**Plenary Lecture**

[Chair: Glenn Richardson, Saint Mary's University College, Strawberry Hill]

*Maria Hayward, University of Southampton*

Perfuming royal bodies: the role of scent to perfume, preserve and poison English monarchs, 1485-1685

**10.45-11.15: Coffee**

**11.15-12.15: Session 7**

**Panel 7A: Courting favour, defending claims**

[Chair: Barbara Wooding, Birkbeck College, University of London]

*Toby Harper, Columbia University*

An Audience with the Queen: Royal Investitures and the 'Democratisation' of British Honours Since 1948

*Noel Cox, Aberystwyth University*

Heredity and parliamentary title, and claims to the throne

**Panel 7B: The Non-Royal Body: The Case of Oliver Cromwell**

[Chair: Rachel Willie, Bangor University]

*Alice Hunt, University of Southampton*

Oliver Cromwell's Non-Royal Body

*Jonathan Fitzgibbons, St Anne's College, University of Oxford*

The Lord Protector's Two Bodies? Appropriating Theories of Kingship During the Interregnum

**Panel 7C: English Queenly Bodies**

[Chair: Helen Davies, Lancaster University]

*Carole Levin, University of Nebraska*

English Queens' Bodies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Political Imagination

*Yu-Chun (Anne) Chiang, University College London*

Iconographical Succession of Queenship: Body Cultural in the Queen's Two Bodies

**12.15-1.15: Session 8**

**Panel 8A: Catherine of Braganza**

[Chair: Lianne McTavish, University of Alberta]

*Marisa Benoit, University of Oxford*

'Fraught with England's Store': The Fertility Struggles of Catherine of Braganza and Mary of Modena, 1662-1688

*David Taylor, Scottish National Portrait Gallery*

Imaging the queen's third body: displaying desire and expectation in portraits of Catherine of Braganza

**Panel 8B: Representing the Body of Elizabeth I**

[Chair: Stella Achilleos, University of Cyprus]

*Vinodini Murugesan, Brandeis University*

The Rainbow Portrait: Body, Sovereignty and the Public Representation of Elizabeth I

*Rachel Stenner, University of Bristol*

Glossing the Royal Body: Elizabeth I's Sexuality in 'Aprill'

**Panel 8C: The King's Body: Henry VIII**

[Chair: Justin Champion, Royal Holloway University of London]

*Chris Highley, The Ohio State University*

Great Codpeic'd Harry': Imagining the Sexualised Body of Henry VIII

*Glenn Richardson, Saint Mary's University College, Strawberry Hill*

The 'Two Kings' Bodies: Henry VIII and Francis I

**1.15-2.15: Lunch**

**2.20-3.20: Session 9**

**Panel 9A: The Martyred Body**

[Chair: Justin Champion, Royal Holloway University of London]

*Sarah Covington, Queens College/City University of New York*

The King's Martyred Body: The Transformations of Charles I

*Rachel Willie, Bangor University*

Two Kings and No Bodies: Debating the Body Politic

**Panel 9B: The Body of the King: Elizabeth I**

[Chair: Jennifer Mara de Silva, Ball State University]

*Amy Hurst, University of Leicester*

Covering up Queen Elizabeth I's gender: An analysis of the use of the King's Two Bodies imagery by Elizabeth, her contemporaries and historians.

*Jutta Schwarzkopf, University of Bielefeld*

Early Modern Queenship and the King's Two Bodies: Interlinking gender and the king's two bodies in the case of Elizabeth I

### **Panel 9C: Feeding the Body**

[Chair: Yu-Chun (Anne) Chiang, University College London]

*Sasha Garwood, UCL*

Elizabeth Eating (or not): food and the body as means of communication

*Ana Isabel Buescu, FCSH-UNL Lisbon*

The King's Food: Eating and Power in Early Modern Portugal

### **Panel 9D: Multiple Medieval Bodies**

[Chair: Jo Edge, Royal Holloway University of London]

*Laura Tompkins, University of St Andrews*

'Yet that whore, Alice Perrers, did not refrain from acts of licentiousness and lascivious touching of his flesh': the king's mistress, the body natural and the body politic of Edward III.

*Kristin Marek, University of Arts and Design Karlsruhe*

Bodies that matter: The king's three bodies in medieval England

### **3.20-3.45: Coffee**

### **3.45-5.00: Session 10**

### **Panel 10A: Burying Bodies**

[Chair: Maureen Meikle, Leeds Trinity University College]

*Terri Sabatos, United States Military Academy*

'Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none': The body of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, King of Scots

*Lucinda Dean, University of Stirling*

A Scottish Enigma? Scottish Royal Funeral Ceremonies from c. 1214–1542

*Jonathan Dumont, Alain Marchandisse and Christophe Masson – FNRS, University of Liège*

Princely funerals in time of troubles: the cases of Charles the Bold (1477) and Mary of Burgundy (1482)

### **Panel 10B: Early Modern Thoughts of Regicide**

[Chair: Yu-Chun (Anne) Chiang, University College London]

*Stella Achilleos, University of Cyprus*

‘Out of all bonds of human protection’: the King’s Body in Early Modern Theories of Regicide

*Nicholas M. Utzig, U.S. Military Academy*

‘Don’t Even Think About It!’: ‘Imagining’ Regicide in Tudor England

*Tommi Lindfors, University of Helsinki*

Killing tyrants and kings: The case of Jean Bodin

### **Panel 10C: The Body on Stage**

[Chair: Rachel Willie, Bangor University]

*Karin Gresham, United States Military Academy*

Performing Elective Amputation and Self-Mutilation of the Territorial Body in *King Lear*

*Steven Syrek, Rutgers University*

Unexceptional Authority in Shakespeare’s *King Lear*

*Barbara Wooding, Birkbeck College, University of London*

Forlorn Majesty: Wanting the outward gloss and ceremony To give it lustre

### **6.30: Gala Dinner**

**Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> April**

**9.35-10.35: Session 11**

**Plenary lecture**

[Chair: Karen Hearn, Tate]

*Nigel Llewellyn, Tate*

Kantorowicz and the Historiography of Funeral Monuments

**10.35-11.00 Coffee**

**11.00-12.20 Session 12**

**Panel 12A: The Royal Touch**

[Chair: Alice Hunt, University of Southampton]

*Stephen Brogan, Institute of Historical Research*

Royal Bodies and Scrofulous Bodies: Debating the Royal Touch During the Stuart Restoration, 1660-85

*Anne McLaren, University of Liverpool*

‘Out Damned Spot’: Shedding royal blood in early modern England

*Sarah Betts, University of York*

Spokesman of the body’: the hand as a site of political interaction in Caroline Britain

**Panel 12B: King James and Anna of Denmark**

[Chair: Olivia Fryman, Historic Royal Palaces]

*Maiko Kobayashi, St Margaret’s Junior College, Tokyo*

Political Theory of James VI of Scotland: the King’s Body Politic and Art of Governance

*Maureen Meikle, Leeds Trinity University College*

Queen Anna of Denmark's royal body (1574-1619): pregnancy, childbirth and death before the Union of the Crowns

*Mariana Brockmann, Royal Holloway University of London*

The Catholic body in the English succession question

### **Panel 12C: Picturing the Body**

[Chair: tbc]

*Stephanie Koscak, Indiana University*

'Pictures with two faces': Anamorphic Representation and the Stuart Royal Body in Later Seventeenth-Century Britain

*Clinton M. Lawrence, University of Lethbridge*

'For how can your lawes bee kept in the Country, if they be broken at your ear?': A Gender Analysis of Anthony van Dyck's Court Portraits During Charles I's Personal Rule

*Christiane Hille, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität*

The King's Two Bodies: An Episteme of Visual Culture

### **Panel 12D: Afterlives**

[Chair: Jennifer Mara DeSilva, Ball State University]

*Jes Fabricius Møller, University of Copenhagen*

The Royal Body as a diplomatic tool 1866 and 2006

*Valentina Villa, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart*

Life, Death and Legacy of a murdered King: Humbert I of Italy

*Richard Norton, Centre for the Study of Monastic Culture and Spirituality*

Aelred and the attempt to Divinise King Henry II

### **12.15-1.15: Session 13**

**Roundtable** (*participants to be confirmed*)

### **1.15: Lunch**

Conference close



## Abstracts

### Session 1

#### Plenary lecture

#### **Dressed to Rule: Dress and Monarchy from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II**

Philip Mansel

Dress is a political weapon. Dress can connect its wearers to a class, a nation or a regime. Louis XIV used dress to enhance the splendour of his *kurt* and to foster the French textile industries. Many regimes have used it as an instrument of modernisation, believing that clothes make the man. Louis XVI failed to use dress as political weapon during the French revolution. Bonaparte used it, from the moment he seized power in 1799, to increase the prestige of his regime, and support the French dress trade. From 1801, many men attending his court were wearing the habit habillé of the old regime. The splendour of Empire uniforms was subsequently imitated by its Bourbon rivals during the Restoration. The German Empire after 1871 also used dress as a weapon. From Bismarck down civilian servants of the King of Prussia adopted military uniform, thereby advertising royal control of the army and the primacy of the army in the new empire. From George III to George VI Hanoverians monarchs also wore military uniform on state occasions.

### Session 2

#### **Panel 2A: The physical body of queens: seventeenth and eighteenth century France and Sardinia**

#### **Reasoning about the political and the spiritual function of the body. The case of Marie Clotilde of France Queen of Sardinia**

Federica Contu, University of Studies of Cagliari

This article, borne from subsequent research on a doctoral thesis which focused on the figure of Marie Clotilde of France, Queen of Sardinia (1759-1802), will focus on the role that the dead body of this sovereign had, both politically and spiritually, during her life and after her death. Starting from the meaning of 'body', salient points of her life will be retraced, showing how the physicality and the public and private image of this sovereign have contributed to bringing her back into the limelight as an active historical figure of her period. What does reasoning about the political and spiritual function of the body of Marie Clotilde mean? The aim of this paper is to show how the physical body of the princess, who became queen despite herself, can be considered not only as a political instrument (finalised, *in primis*, to the procreation of new offspring), but also the starting point, the base

(in this case) of a spirituality which was intensely lived and so recognised by the Church in 1808 with a *Decreto di Venerabilità* (Decree of Venerability).

## **‘Sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller’: Queen Anne and the Art of Dying**

Sebastian Edwards, Historic Royal Palaces

Queen Anne came to the throne in what was then considered mid-life and reigned very effectively, while on both a political and personal level, she watched and waited for her dynasty to snuff out. Recent studies have shown how she had become seriously disabled and her physical state, combined with her diffident personality, increasingly prevented her from making effective use of the ceremonial and the display of State commonly employed by monarchs to uphold the ‘body politic’. Using contemporary commentary, images and detailed accounts of her activities, this paper explores the idea that following the death of all her babies, children and ultimately her husband, Prince George, Queen Anne expressed her feelings of her own mortality through much of the ritual surrounding mourning, in a way not repeated until Queen Victoria. Then facing her own long-awaited death, she spent lavishly on her personal setting at the palace, and took control of the ritual surrounding her royal body at the point of her own death. This was one of the most magnificent royal events seen for some years and contrasts with the demise of her Hanoverian successors, which ruthlessly exposed the body natural. This attitude and personal actions in later life may be viewed as a displacement of the more usual emphasis on the physicality of the royal body. a course more open to a king than a queen. As one observer described her, Anne was a ‘*poor mean Mortal, ...who talks in the style of a Sovereign*’ - very far from the orchestrated image of her uncle Charles II, with which she grew up or indeed her vanquished opponent, Louis XIV.

## **Panel 2B: The Effigial Body**

### **The effigial body: reading a relic of early modern monarchy**

Lynsey McCulloch, Department of English, Communication, Film & Media, Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge

In 1612 – after the death of James I’s eldest son and heir, Prince Henry – the Lord Chamberlain’s Office commissioned the joiner Richard Norrice to produce a waxen funeral effigy of the young royal. The specification for the figure makes reference to ‘several joints both in the arms and legges and bodie to be moved to sundrie accions first for the carriage in the chariot and then for the standinge and for settinge uppe the same in the abbeye.’ The animacy of this nominally static model – designed to perform the duties of a royal progress and lying-in-state – challenges concepts of the effigial body as a straightforward monument to the dead, the sovereign – even sacred – *persona ficta* of Ernst Kantorowicz’s imagination. A figure that can be physically manipulated can also be exploited. It can even be ridiculed. This paper examines early modern examples of the funeral effigy – using both historical

and literary sources – and considers the object's materiality, malleability and potential for disorder. It asks whether the aura surrounding these monarchical proxies was genuine; claims by some commentators that the demise of effigies as icons of political power and the 'democratisation of the old courtly art' of effigy-making occurred first in the eighteenth century – with the development of museums that displayed royal models alongside celebrity waxworks – may have underestimated the early modern effigy's anarchic bent and egalitarian undertone. In exposing the figure's gift for mayhem, this paper argues that – far from conforming to Kantorowicz's definition of the body politic – the early modern monarchical effigy has much more in common with the body natural.

### **The Role of Portable Effigies in Queens' Funeral Ceremonies and Their Connection with the King's Two Bodies Theory**

Kosana Jovanovic, University of Rijeka

The portable effigy represents an almost inevitable part of royal funeral ceremonials in medieval times. Its presence in the ceremony was not that of a casual accessory since it held a prominent place because of its unique symbolism. The portable effigy was attributed the role of that which helps transmit the idea of the transference of power from the demised ruler to his successor. From its first appearance in the fourteenth century, the effigy was used for the sole purpose of faithfully representing the demised ruler. Attesting to that is the fact that effigies were manufactured and ordained in a certain manner which would make them the true representations of the defunct kings. Furthermore, the funeral puppet was given the role of the carrier of the immortality of royal Dignity present in the king's second body, the body politic.

However, there might be a minor glitch in the armour of this bullet proof theory presented by Ralph E. Gisey. The portable effigy was not used exclusively in the funeral ceremony of Kings but also in the burial ceremonials of their spouses, queen consorts. Accordingly, the queens' effigies were also assigned the same level of respect and honour during the ceremonial. In the light of this fact one must wonder how is it possible to attribute to the portable effigy the sole symbolic role of the carrier of the immortality of royal dignity if the queens were not eligible to transfer such power to the successor of the throne.

This paper will present two interrelated problems regarding portable effigies. The first is the discovery of the true significance of the role of portable effigies in the funerals of queens from which leads to the second point of the paper, the connection between the portable effigy and the transference of power. This paper will try to establish if the effigies that were used in the funerals of kings had the same symbolic meaning as those used in those of queens.

### **Panel 2C: Representing the Body: The case of Queen Victoria and King George V and VI**

## **Regina Imperatrix: The royal and imperial bodies of Queen Victoria**

Tracy Anderson, University of Sussex

On February 17 1876 the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli introduced a bill to Parliament designed to enable Queen Victoria to adopt the title of Empress of India. The bill caused heated debate and much anxiety mainly relating to the notion of Empress. The title of Empress was said to be fundamentally un-English, smacked of military domination and unconstitutional in undermining the unity of the title of Queen. This unity, according to the Times, was 'an important element in the continuity of national life and loyalty to the Crown'. Nevertheless, by the end of April Queen Victoria was Empress of India and the anxieties so vehemently expressed came to nothing.

This paper considers the tensions and contradictions between these two bodies, queenly and imperial in the aftermath of 1876. The scrutiny of a variety of images of Victoria including painted portraits, coins and photographs will shed light on the ways in which representations of the Queen Empress both drew on and departed from traditional representations of ruling figures. In this Queen Victoria was an active agent. Her personal collections relating to imperial India are examined for their part in shaping her understanding of, and relationships with, her imperial subjects. In turn, how such portraits reproduced in print form informed public understanding of the Queen's attitude to India and to Indians will be assessed. The widespread representation of her personal affection for Indians, it is argued, helped secure an image of an imperial matriarch in which 'feminised' qualities of domesticity and motherhood were pivotal. As such, the 'natural' order of the domestic family could be projected onto the hierarchy of empire as its 'natural' shape.

## **Royal Death and Living Memorials: The Commemoration of George V and George VI**

Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, University of Illinois, Chicago

In 1936 the Lord Mayor of London issued a National Memorial Appeal for the recently deceased George V in which he declared that 'no happier or beneficent means could be devised of perpetuating his memory' than establishing recreation grounds for young people throughout the country. This living memorial was thought to represent the late king's wishes by providing the young with greater opportunity for open-air exercise for the 'benefit of individual well-being and the general welfare of the nation'. An almost identical appeal to provide for the 'physical, mental and spiritual needs' of youth was issued following the death of George VI in 1952. The substantial sums raised in these appeals were used to erect statues in London, but most of it was spent on playgrounds, playing fields, sports centres and hostels.

This paper explores the death, funerals and commemoration of George V and George VI, whose reigns spanned the world wars, revolutions and the advent of mass democracy in

Britain. In an era when many European monarchies collapsed, George V's reign enhanced the popularity of the British monarchy. George VI came to the throne in inauspicious circumstances following his older brother's abdication, but by the time of his death the monarchy was, if anything, even more popular. I approach the concept of the king's body on several levels. George V and George VI were active sportsmen who promoted fitness among youth in their lifetimes. Royal rituals, including those surrounding the death of the king's natural body became more immediate and intimate in an age of radio, film and television. Both kings were immortalized not only through the more traditional practice of erecting statues, but by means of living memorials in the form of recreation facilities where young people could forge fit and healthy bodies. The underlying purpose was to enhance social cohesion and, thereby, cement the stability of the body politic.

## **Panel 2D: Memory and Commemoration: The Case of Henry VII**

### **Henry VII's preparation for the well-being of his 'spiritual body'**

Christine Merie Fox, Royal Holloway, University of London

The Middle Ages were contextually defined by who was in power. The period was structured by the dominion of kings, queens, and courtiers, and their ambitions for monarchical supremacy. The ideal ruler was a warlord, a saint, an ambassador of laws and taxes, a judge, an architect and a builder. Not only was a medieval monarch an ideal political leader, but also a representative of the Church; a figurehead and a direct link to God on earth.

Henry VII came to the throne in 1485 and according to the qualifications stated above, he was the ideal ruler. Henry VII won the throne through battle, maintained peace during serious threats of war, introduced good and just laws, and restructured the financial body of the government creating a less corruptible treasury department, provided legitimate male heirs to the throne, regained the wealth of the kingdom, and brought the English court culturally up to par with the rest of Europe. He also supported several religious orders by funding new and old foundations, and upon his death he built one of the most splendid architectural wonders of the medieval world, his memorial chapel and almshouse at Westminster Abbey.

This paper will focus on Henry VII's memorial preparations. By looking at his will and testament it is clear that he was deeply concerned about the physical and spiritual preservation of his body and soul in the afterlife. On the eve of the Reformation and at a time of changing religious mindsets and ceremonies regarding the King's 'twin body', Henry VII would appear to embrace his kingly duty of political and spiritual leader and thus went to great expense to preserve not only his 'body natural' but also his 'body politic' in the afterlife.

## **The Heir of King Arthur: Henry VII's 'historical' claims of kingship and their influence on Henry VIII**

Mark R. Horowitz, University of Illinois, Chicago

When Henry Tudor defeated Richard III at Bosworth Field in 1485 and seized the crown, he fully realised that of his last nine predecessors, five of them were murdered so that they could be replaced, including the last Plantagenet king now lying dead on the battleground. Since 1399, both the nobility and parliament now played important roles in defining kingship in England, and the idea of being a king 'in deed and not of right' (*de facto et non de jure*) became a justification for seeking an occupied throne that was previously an acknowledged hereditary outcome.

This paper will discuss how the early Tudor dynasty not only continually justified its existence but also used 'history' and the actions of kings past as a buttress for both its monarchical legitimacy and its subsequent actions long after Bosworth. It involved the employment of ministers and scholars to utilize a purposeful 'historical method' to demonstrate both to the realm of England and the heads of Europe and the papacy that Tudor rule was uniquely steeped in English royal precedents and self-reliance separate from the Continental experience in both religion and politics. Statutes made and unmade monarchs and heirs; historical precedents related to kings – or God's judgment upon them – established how the church in England was but an ancient form wrapped around the church of England, and kingly heroes of the past legitimatised the events and claims of present rulers.

### **Session 3**

#### **Panel 3A: Royal Sodomy and Sexuality**

##### **The King's Special Friend. Sodomy and Intimacy as a Threat to Established Power Structures**

Christine Ekholst, Stockholm University and Henric Bagerius, Gothenberg University

King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden (1316–1374) has lived with the reputation of being a sodomite ever since his reign. Launched by St. Bridget of Sweden, the accusations against king Magnus were at first subtle and mere allusions and insinuations. However, in a manifesto calling for rebellion, St. Bridget claimed that Magnus was unfit to rule because he had the worst reputation a Christian man could have: that he had sexual intercourse with men. Sodomy was used in propaganda against monarchs all over late medieval Europe. It was a convenient accusation since it was hard to prove and even harder to prove wrong. Sodomy could also be used to allude to a number of other characteristics that were unfitting for a ruler: weakness, effeminacy and dependency.

However, this only partly explains why the threat of sodomy was so alarming. In a period when power still had not been fully institutionalised but remained centred around the king's person, access to the king's body also meant access to power and influence. Many of the late medieval accusations of sodomy are not general but centre around the fact that the king had chosen one favourite. It is often this close friendship that is criticised and described negatively, sometimes in strong emotional terms. Sodomy was a threat to power structures because it was seen as giving the presumed lover, often depicted as a younger man of lower social status, access to the very centre of power. The exclusivity in their relationship was a main concern. If the king established a close relationship with one particular man then general access to the king's person became jeopardised. Departing from the example of Magnus Eriksson of Sweden this paper will discuss how the king's favourite could be seen as denying other men – and the queen – access to the king's body and how this was formulated as a political problem in late medieval Europe.

### **The question of the Portuguese King Pedro V's sexuality**

Maria Antónia Lopes, Universidade de Coimbra

In their short marriage, King Pedro V (1837-1861) of Portugal and his wife, Queen Stephanie Hohenzollern (1837-1859), had no children. Pedro had always shown a total indifference to sex. In his letters to the Prince Consort Albert of England, who was his cousin and his best friend, the king writes about his marital relationship: 'I love the way a person should love another person that understands so well how to subordinate the material part of the relationship between man and woman to the sublime and Christian principle of company in marriage'. On the other hand, in her letters to her mother, Queen Stephanie wants obsessively and desperately to meet her and talk to her. When Stephanie died her hymen was intact and the news spread among the aristocrats. Was the king of Portugal impotent? How could he marry again without disclosing this secret? Prince Albert insisted on remarriage, never suspecting that his cousin could be sexually impotent. Yet, rumours were spread.

A hundred years after the fall of the Portuguese monarchy, the subject continues to interest Portuguese public opinion. In this paper I will address what can be known and said about this issue.

### **Panel 3B: Madness and Monarchy**

#### **The decline and late apotheosis of an ill king: George III during the Regency and beyond**

Douglas James, King's College London

It is well known that George III was periodically mad. So ill was he that a regency was put in place during the 1810s. It is also well known that his illness was widely known about and

debated, from the provincial press to parliament. These two aspects of George's life and reign have received a great deal of attention, whether from historians of medicine, cultural historians or royal biographers.

Yet the portraits produced of George during his longest bout of mental instability have received very little attention indeed. This paper will examine original and derivative portraits of the ill king made after 1810. Many of them depict a blind and frail old man in a weak body, not a majestic monarch. This assortment of portraits can tell us a great deal about how his illness was conceived, how images of the king were deemed to contribute to the national debate about his health, and ultimately about what his health meant for his diluted kingship.

The paper will be sensitive to art-historical methods. It will recognise that the portraits were works of art designed and manufactured to convey a certain impression of the king; that artistic conventions had to be considered; that specific media affected the reception of the portraits; and so on.

The portraits will nonetheless be integrated into the political history of the Regency, the social history of bodily and mental illness, the cultural history of the press (of print circulation in particular) and Hanoverian kingship. That is to say, the paper will recognise that the making and disseminating of George's portraits were not smooth, but multifaceted, historical processes that touch on many wider themes, and as such repay closer study.

### **The Madness of King George III: Causes and Consequences of the Porphyria Misdiagnosis**

Timothy John Peters, Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham & Allan Beveridge, Queen Margaret Hospital, Dunfermline, UK.

In 1956 Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter, mother and son psychiatrists and medical historians, categorically stated that George III did not have manic depression but suffered from the rare heritable metabolic disorder - acute porphyria. As well as claiming to explain the King's symptoms, 'this diagnosis clears the House of Hanover of an hereditary taint of madness'. In spite of well-reasoned criticism at the time by porphyria experts, this diagnosis has become generally accepted and has limited any assessment of the King's behaviour and actions as a consequence of his mental disorder.

Recent re-evaluation by Peters and colleagues has totally undermined the histographical basis for the porphyric diagnosis for which there is no sustainable evidence. Objective assessment of the King's mental disorder with the computer based OPCRIT programme has confirmed the diagnosis of recurrent acute mania.

This paper explores the basis for and consequences of the misdiagnosis of porphyria: Macalpine and Hunter had specific agendas in selectively reporting the King's clinical features as not due to a psychiatric disorder. This has led to a costly and fruitless pursuit of



clinical and biochemical features of porphyria in his antecedents and descendants and delayed analysis of the consequences of his bipolar disorder.

A diagnosis of bipolar disorder attributes childhood trauma (especially emotional neglect and abuse) as contributory causal factors. In addition, reduced self-esteem and impaired relationships are features of bipolar patients in remission. Recent studies indicate an increased likelihood of cognitive impairment in bipolar patients suffering recurrent manic or depressive episodes. This may have contributed to the dementia of the King during his final decade

### **Panel 3C: Rethinking Eighteenth Century French Monarchy**

#### **The king's tears: who cried, when and why at the coronation of Louis XVI, 11 June 1775**

Anne Byrne, Birkbeck College, University of London

The coronation ceremonies of the kings of France were closely choreographed displays of dynastic grandeur. Claims of unchanged procedure since time immemorial meant there was little room for distinctive presentation of the self. In theory, bodies conformed to the strictures of ritual to ensure an orderly anointment of the king.

The coronation of Louis XVI was the last such ceremony of the Ancien Régime and has generally been regarded as historians as an irrelevant throwback, only interesting as proof of the obsolescence of the monarchy. This paper examines a series of small actions which betray the vitality and importance of the ceremony for the spectators. Several narrators describe key actors crying at crucial points in the ceremony. Who saw the king cry? When? Why?

Whereas ritual prescribed the placement and action of bodies in the space of Rheims cathedral, the physical manifestation of tears allowed the sensitive individual to reveal their emotion even as they participated in the ceremony. Tears are seen as manifestations of patriotism. Seeing tears allowed spectators to project sentiments onto the royal family and to invoke a feeling of human solidarity perhaps surprising at such an august occasion.

This paper is not about proving the historical fact of tears at the coronation, rather it describes who says they saw tears and on which face. Examining different narratives illuminates the narrators' hopes for the future of the monarchy since the tears in question are clear markers of political allegiance. Tears break out of the planned sequence of gestures but they do not undermine or diminish the dignity of the spectacle. As a classic trope of eighteenth century sentimentalism, these tears paid tribute to the importance of the coronation of 1775.

#### **The Other Side of Louis XIV: Illness as Opportunity in Early Modern France**

Lianne McTavish, University of Alberta

In a portrait of Louis XIV in 1701, painter Hyacinthe Rigaud showed the King extravagantly dressed in ermine-lined coronation robes, his virile legs encased in white tights. With a haughty demeanour and flowing wig, King Louis XIV projected an official image of authority and power, despite his 63 years of age. Yet according to the detailed medical records kept by royal physicians, by 1701 King Louis XIV was decrepit, having suffered from gout, intestinal worms, and the loss of both his hair and teeth, among many other afflictions. The radiant image of Louis XIV in Rigaud's portrait might suggest that the King's physical failings were kept secret, disguised beneath artificial ornament.

This was not the case. The illnesses of the aging King were well known, and sometimes even celebrated publicly in visual and written texts. In 1686, art installations, masses, and official medals commemorated the King's successful recovery from surgery on his anal fistula - the details of which were widely publicised. Though the King's anal surgery was potentially humiliating, he and the court transformed it into a political opportunity. Louis XIV's recovery was offered as evidence of his divine favour, enabling his subjects to thank God for his survival at various public events. This cure could not simply be announced by the royal physicians: it had to be made visible, in medals cast for the occasion, but also in deliberate displays of the King's body. After his operation, Louis XIV was obliged to ride on horseback and eat copious amounts of food while seated near an open window for all to see.

This paper considers how the King's anal surgery was celebrated as an important historical event in his life, but extends beyond this case to consider how health was visually constructed during the early modern period. Drawing on early modern French medical records, treatises, and visual documents, I contend that illnesses were cured only when they were 'seen' to be cured. During the early modern period, health could not be achieved without the visual confirmation of an audience that extended well beyond the medical domain. My research engages with longstanding scholarship on the political status of the King's body, by Norbert Elias, Peter Burke, and Louis Marin, among others, but particularly takes issue with the official policy that legal historian Ernst Kantorowicz has called 'the King's two bodies'. The surprisingly open discussions of the King's anal fistula provides more evidence that the French King had a single body, namely the natural one.

## **Session 4**

### **Panel 4A: Morocco and the Ottomans**

#### **Does the Muslim King have two bodies? The emergence of the Moroccan in the sixteenth century**

Nabil Mouline, Sciences-Po Paris

## **The King's Two Lineages: Kantorowicz and the Early Modern Ottoman Political Discourse**

Ilker Evrim Binbaş, Royal Holloway, University of London

Early modern Ottoman historians devised a dual genealogy for the Ottoman dynasty. The first one connected the dynasty to a mythical figure called Oghuz Khan, whom they depicted as a descendant of Japheth, son of Noah. The second genealogical fiction replaced the ancestral figure of Oghuz Khan with Esau, son of Isaac, hence affording a 'prophetic lineage' to the Ottoman dynasty. This paper contextualises these two genealogical fictions, and asks the question whether Kantorowicz's theory of the king's two bodies can be applied to the Ottoman context by focusing on lineage instead of body.

### **Panel 4B: Models of Rule**

#### **The Anatomy of Rulership: John of Salisbury's (c. 1120-80) Model of the Body-Politic**

Irene O'Daly, Universiteit Leiden

This paper shall examine the use of 'body as metaphor' in the political thought of John of Salisbury. It shall investigate how the physicality of the body served to represent different roles within the polity, as well as the character of the ideal prince. In so doing it shall investigate the complexity of the relationship between the royal body and the body-politic in the twelfth century.

#### **A question of self: The King's multiple legal and social identities during the reign of Edward III**

Thomas Barlow, Monash University

The Tudor jurists raised the question; in what capacity does the King possess his lands and titles? This question was a legal one that reflected upon the multiple people that the King could be at any given time, for example Henry VIII was King of England, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Lancaster amongst other things but the question did not originate in the Tudor period I believe it was present in the medieval period.

The question of in what faculty land and titles are held, and in which capacity they are best held, is important to our understanding of Edward's political theology because the question of royal identity did exist in Edward's time. In fact he raised it with Philip VI of France when Edward asked in what respect the King of England should declare himself a man of the King of France. Edward was both a subject of the King of France in his capacity as Duke of Aquitaine and his equal as King of England. Edward possessed both a royal identity that was traced back the King Arthur and could not be usurped, which is what Roger Mortimer had earlier attempted to accomplish when he deposed Edward II, and a

natural identity because of his capacity as Duke of Aquitaine and while Edward was the Duke he was only a man that could be overthrown and usurped.

My paper is a brief examination of the identities that Edward III held during his lifetime and how his actions during the war with France can be understood as an attempt to not only unify his holding but his own person.

#### **Panel 4C: Death in Portugal**

##### **Illnesses and Death of Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy (1646-1683), Queen of Portugal**

Isabel Drumond Braga, University of Lisbon

Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy was a Queen for two Kings by marrying in 1666 D. Afonso VI and, in 1668, the regent D. Pedro, future D. Pedro II, after obtaining the annulment of the first marriage, supposedly never consummated. Over the 17 years she lived in Portugal, the Queen kept close relations with the France of Louis XIV and she was mainly concerned with education and marriage of her daughter, the coronation of her second husband, the issues with the New Christians and all typical acts of royal consorts such as getting favours for her *protégés*. D. Maria Francisca Isabel died at the age of 37 and had been the Queen consort for less than two years, since she became princess after her second marriage, though almost everybody addressed her with the former dignity. This situation was reversed only upon the death of D. Afonso VI, three months prior to her own death.

Drawing from Portuguese, French and Italian sources, namely letters of foreign ambassadors, private letters, newspaper news and memoirs, I intend to reconstruct the health problems and death of D. Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy. When she arrived in Portugal there were festivities on her behalf that were halted shortly afterwards because of her health issues. Later, during her second marriage, and after the birth of her first child, she had a miscarriage. In her last year, the news that circulated about her health were chronicles of an announced death. The diseases, the explanations given to them, the physicians' attitudes, diagnosis and treatment followed, as well as how they were viewed by the Court and the Queen herself are part of what will be analysed and explained in this text, in conjunction with medical practices followed in the seventeenth century.

##### **Death and memory of a Queen of Portugal: Maria Sofia Isabel of Neuburg (1699)**

Paulo Drumond Braga, Escola Superior De Educação Almeida Garrett, Lisbon

D. Maria Sofia Isabel of Neuburg (1666-1699), daughter of Philipp Wilhelm, duke of Neuburg and Palatine Elector, became queen of Portugal with her wedding to D. Pedro II (1648-1706). He married her in 1687, after becoming a widower of his first wife, D. Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy (1646-1683). D. Maria Sofia Isabel assured dynastic continuity,

giving her husband seven children, five of whom reached adulthood. One of them, D. João V (1689-1750), was indeed one of the most striking Kings of Portugal.

She died after less than twelve years in Portugal, on the 4 August 1699, probably due to erysipelas. Dressed in the vest of São Francisco, the remains of D. Maria Sofia Isabel were taken from the *Corte Real* Palace to *Paço da Ribeira* (Ribeira Palace), where the memorial service began. The body was later deposited in the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora. As was then customary, several memorial services on behalf of the Queen took place, from the north to the south of Portugal, as well as in the overseas empires, usually with evocative sermons, pointing out the virtues of the deceased. However, besides a hint of sadness, which of course was general, the authors of the sermons tried to show their conformity to God's will. These texts have ultimately contributed to assemble the image of D. Maria Isabel Sofia. As it also usual on these occasions, many works of poetry were written. D. Pedro II, who suffered a lot from his wife's death, ordered mourning in the kingdom for a year, half strict and half relieved. This was a common practice in Portugal. He also ordered 20,000 memorial masses on behalf of the soul of D. Maria Isabel Sofia, and established three daily masses in São Vicente de Fora.

#### **Panel 4D: Bedchamber politics in the sixteenth and seventeenth century English court**

##### **Necessary women, domestic work and the politics of intimacy, 1685 -1714**

Olivia Fryman, Historic Royal Palaces

In 1686 the court artist John Riley (1646-91) painted a remarkable portrait of Bridget Holmes (d.1691), James II's Necessary Woman, who was responsible for cleaning and preparing his privy lodgings. In playful imitation of fashionable baroque portraiture, Bridget is depicted in full length against a cascading curtain, a column and vase with a classical frieze. At the same time, however, her role and status as a domestic servant is clearly expressed through her simple, old-fashioned gown, her neckerchief, coif and apron, and the broom she brandishes as if ready for work. While from within the field of art history, this painting has been celebrated as an unusual exercise in the mock-heroic. This paper aims to highlight the importance of Bridget Holmes herself and the office of Necessary Woman to the monarch. Focussing on the period 1685-1714, this paper will discuss the work and status of Necessary Women through evidence found in the Lord Chamberlain's papers, petitions, contemporary correspondence and probate records. It will be shown that while a seemingly menial role, the office of Necessary Woman, in fact, carried a degree of status derived from the care of exceptionally valuable furnishings, the management of servants and a generous income. Most significantly, however, this office allowed for entry into the privy lodgings, a realm otherwise accessible only to the powerful few who enjoyed a personal, intimate relationship with the monarch. It also bestowed knowledge of the royal body through the care of the private and bodily objects found within the privy lodgings.

While Necessary Women may rarely have had direct contact with the monarch, their work was intimate and thus politicised. By the late seventeenth century monarchs were more human than divine, yet the royal body remained a political entity subject public and parliamentary scrutiny. Within this context, this paper proposes that Necessary Women occupied a unique and somewhat ambiguous place amongst those trusted members of the royal household who were privileged with, and empowered by, intimacy.

### **The Queen's Bed: Elizabeth I Laid Bare**

Anna Whitelock, Royal Holloway University of London

At the heart of the court lay the queen's bed. In her bedchamber the queen was derobed, free from makeup and withdrawn from the public glare of the court. She was waited upon by her ladies who had the most intimate access to the queen attending on her as she dressed, ate, bathed and slept. The queen's bedchamber was at once a private and very public space. The queen's body was more than its fleshly parts; it represented the very state itself and the health, sanctity and prolificacy of her body determined the stability of the realm. Illness, sexual immorality and infertility were political concerns and it was the women in her bedchamber who were the guardians of these truths.

As the reign went on the queen's natural aging body needed to be reconciled with the enduring, unchanging body politic and it was the task of her women daily to preserve the fiction of Elizabeth's youth applying her make-up, her wigs and her bejewelled robes.

By sleeping with her and dressing her, the women were positioned to observe any bodily changes in the queen and verify or dispel rumours of secret sexual liaisons. The goings on or rumoured goings on in the queen's bedchamber were of the greatest significance both at home and abroad. Foreign ambassadors bribed the women for information about Elizabeth's health, fertility and rumoured sexual dalliances. In the war of faith which divided Europe, Elizabeth's body – and her bed as its stage - was an important site of conflict. By questioning the sanctity of the queen's natural body opponents in England and across the Channel sought to challenge the Elizabethan protestant body politic.

The queen's body and bedchamber was also the focus of assassination attempts as disaffected Catholics zealots plotted to kill the queen and replace her with Mary Queen of Scots. The bedchamber was the last line of defence which would-be assassins looked to subvert. One plan aimed to plant gunpowder and blow up the queen in her bed, others sought to use poison in the queen's food or bedding. Not only did Elizabeth's bedfellows help protect the queen's reputation for chastity; they also acted to protect the body of the queen from assassination.

This paper will argue that the Queen's bed is an innovative lens through which to consider the politics of the reign and will stress the public and political significance - both at home

and abroad - of what went on or was rumoured to go on in and around the queen's bedchamber.

## **Session 5**

### **Panel 5A: Images and Imaginings: Royal Exposure**

#### **Exposing the Royal Body: Tabloid Photojournalism and the Image of King Edward VIII**

Ryan Linkof, University of Southern California

All good British kings and queens should keep their clothes on, at least in front of the camera. For all the fastidiousness of the royal PR machine, however, images of the exposed royal body – if not entirely naked, then at least barely dressed – occasionally make their way into public view. The stiff proprieties of the House of Windsor have long militated against any uncouth behaviour in front of the camera, and proscriptions on images of scantily clad royal figures are as closely monitored now as ever before. The documentary photograph of uncovered royal bodies is perhaps the most potent evidence of the desire to see royalty at its most informal; a desire to use photography as a way of eroding the protective barriers surrounding the royal image.

My paper will examine the importance of photographing the uncovered royal body by returning to the first instance in which royalty was exhibited in a state of undress in a mass medium. The photographs taken of King Edward VIII and Wallis Simpson during their several pleasure cruises in the Mediterranean, and subsequently circulated in Britain's fledgling tabloids, provide powerful testimony to the role of the camera seizing control over how, where, and in what context the public could view the royal body. The hidden nature of that relationship – the fact that it was kept so steadfastly from the British public – meant that photographers acted as crucial players in representing the affair, in all of its fleshy exhibitionism, to the British public. The photographer gave the lie to the buttoned-up royal image. Through an analysis of the photographic coverage of the couple in various states of undress, I will suggest that photographs of royalty with clothes off, then as now, represent an assault on the iconography of Windsor rule.

#### **'Think of me as I was now I am breaking up': Queen Alexandra and the Art of Royal Camouflage 1863-1925**

Kate Strasdin, University of Southampton

Alexandra, Princess of Denmark, married Edward Prince of Wales on March 10 1863. From a role of European royal obscurity she was launched into a public life that was to dominate her world for almost fifty years. As Princess of Wales she became one of the most photographed women of her generation and her appearance was reported almost daily in the press and disseminated through popular photographic images. Alexandra has been the

subject of a number of biographies since her death in 1925, but whilst all attest to the importance of her appearance in her public and private life, none of them have attempted to move further towards an analysis of her clothed body.

Upwards of 130 objects relating to Alexandra are now held in ten different museums worldwide. They range from glittering evening dresses to elements of daywear, shoes, coats, stockings and fans. These remains of her corporeality can be 'read' and allow an interpretation that adds to the supposedly 'known' biographical subject.

This paper will explore how Alexandra used dress to mask or disguise aspects of her physicality from the public domain. From a supposed childhood scar on her neck to a serious bout of post-natal rheumatic fever, the scars and frailties of Alexandra's royal body were carefully camouflaged through astute sartorial decisions. Taking an object based methodology, surviving garments can reveal how these decisions were constructed in her working royal wardrobe.

As her aging body was crowned Queen Consort at the age of 58 in 1902 she adopted ever more glittering apparel in a bid to demonstrate her newfound majesty, but also I would suggest to distract observers from her fading beauty and thus protect herself from bodily reality.

### **Love in a Cold Climate: The Abdication Crisis and Modern British Monarchy**

Frank Mort, Department of History, University of Manchester

This paper on the abdication crisis 1936 is a study of the role of modern monarchy in the British social and political imagination. It shows how the Windsor monarchy is a major focus for national anxieties about transgressive personal and emotional behaviour not aligned with family-centred norms of conduct. I argue that the debacle caused by Edward VIII's decision to marry the twice-divorced American, Wallis Simpson, in the autumn of 1936, was the culmination of much wider shifts in the relationship of the crown to gendered conceptions of public and private morality, the press and publicity and domestic, European and imperial politics - all of which had long-term consequences. Focusing on the popular imaginings and vernacular images of sovereignty, I ask how and why the disputed resonances of modern romantic love came to be accepted as a dominant explanation of the abdication affair.

Studies of the abdication itself have focused overwhelmingly on the story from above, with the political elites, the court and the churches cast in a quintessentially British drama of constitutional principles and morals. I reinterpret events by showing how the pressures of popular sexual politics at home, as well as international emergencies abroad, enlarged the crisis and its impact. Grasping the significance of the abdication in Britain means examining its influence on the rapidly changing experiences and understandings of personal and emotional life, as well as on the management of public opinion. I focus on the rich outpouring of letters and ethnographic studies covering Edward VIII's relationship with



Wallis Simpson, placing these sources in the deep context of gendered and generational conflicts about companionate marriage, divorce and kingship, as well as popular discontent with political democracy and a desire for modern, authoritarian leadership. I read the archives as evidence of two distinct love stories at work in the abdication. First, the romance of Edward and Wallis Simpson, told as a conflict between authentic human emotions and dutiful sacrifice, and second the love between the people and their king, in which subjects engaged in an imaginary personal relationship with the monarch that involved the partial demystification of royalty.

## **Panel 5B: Papal Bodies**

### **Royal bodies plural. The case of Renaissance papal ceremony**

Catherine Fletcher, Durham University

This paper considers the interactions between royal and papal bodies in the ceremonial world of the Renaissance popes. At the court of Rome the body of the pope himself was often joined by those of visiting princes (or their representatives) who, by kissing the pope's foot, washing the pope's hands, or bearing his train, demonstrated their fealty to the Vicar of Christ on earth. Papal and royal bodies also interacted through, for example, the anointment that took place in coronation ceremonies, when the pontiff conferred royal (or imperial) status on the bodies of others. The Renaissance curia further included royal bodies by proxy: in liturgical ceremony an ambassador's body could substitute for that of his prince, and his proximity to the papal body could symbolise his prince's intimacy with and devotion to the pope. Moreover, contention for precedence was a frequent feature of these ceremonies, and it was not uncommon for ambassadors to interpose themselves bodily in the places allocated to rivals. In the context of this physical plurality of papal/imperial/royal bodies, and building on the work of Paravicini-Bagliani on the medieval papal body, this paper will explore to what extent theories of the metaphorical duality of the royal body, the unitary papal body, and the 'one body and two souls' of the papal prince with his temporal and spiritual functions prove useful in accounting for the complexity of bodily interactions in this ceremonial world.

### **The Pope's Third Body**

Jennifer Mara DeSilva, Ball State University

In *The Pope's Body*, Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani explored the pope's bodily natures, both corporeal and spiritual, institutional and Christological. He concluded that in the same way that a king became the personification of his office at his coronation, the pope became the living image of Christ, leaving aside his mortal nature, which he would resume at his death. In the early modern period this concept provided the pope with two metaphysical 'bodies', at the same time that the popes surrounded themselves with evidence of their human

nature, namely their flesh and blood relatives. This paper argues that the lay relatives that populated the papal court through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries should be considered as the pope's third body, mortal, militant, and fertile. Popes who bestowed the office of Captain General of the Church on their lay male relatives or negotiated alliances through the marriages of their lay female relatives, did so ceremonially and politically as the pope, but remained pragmatically the family patriarch. Historians have already shown how popes combined family goals with papal policy and how early moderns generally incorporated their relatives into business affairs for overall family profit. However, by considering papal relatives as the pope's third body we have a greater understanding of why early moderns accepted the pope's use of his lay family in papal politics, an issue that continues to confound and fascinate today.

### **The Health of the Pope and the Health of the Christian Republic**

Claudio Negrato, Ca' Foscari University of Venice and Paris VIII University

Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) was an ambassador of the Republic of Venice in Rome (1528-1530). From his important point of view he could observe the life of the Roman Court and its principal actors. Contarini frequently spoke with the Medici Pope Clemente VII and he wrote every day to Venice to recount what he saw in Rome through his diplomatic activity.

I analyse three different texts: the dispatches that Contarini wrote from Rome, the final relation that he wrote when he came back in Venice and, finally, the political treatise on the Republic of Venice, the *De magistratibus et Republica Venetorum libri quinque*. In these texts Contarini made a portrait of the people living in the Roman Court and analysed the body of Clement VII – that is, the Pope's personality and physical body. For Contarini this type of analysis had a political meaning: the health or the illness of the Pope had great influence on the political choices of his friends and enemies. Next to this analysis of the physical body, Contarini compared the perfect political body of the Republic of Venice and the sick body of the *Repubblica Christiana*, of which the Pope was the 'head' and, with a reference to the family name of the Pope Medici, 'the doctor'.

### **Panel 5C: The Body in French and Italian politics**

#### **Sterility and Sovereignty: the succession crisis of the late Valois monarchy**

Penny Roberts, University of Warwick

Bodily metaphors of disease and mutilation were extensively used in the polemical confessional debates during the French religious wars of the late sixteenth century. Whilst metaphorical discussion of the wounds being inflicted upon, and sickness endured by, the bodies social and politic abounded, the physical reality of successive monarchs' failure to produce a legitimate heir seemed to starkly confirm the sterility of the times. This paper will

explore the growing concern about, and debates concerning, the infertility of the last Valois monarchs, specifically Charles IX and Henri III, and the lengths to which they and their wives were prepared to go to deflect criticism and to resolve the issue, from (allegedly) bathing in the blood of children to regularly seeking public cures at religious sites. It will discuss how their inability to provide a legitimate heir at a time of civil strife not only caused a succession crisis, but also undermined their authority and the stability of the kingdom. This national anxiety culminated in the caricature of Henri III as a hermaphrodite prince of dubious morality and suspect piety who regularly transgressed gender boundaries, and whose activities and policies threatened to ruin the realm. The prince's sterility could all too easily be interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure and punishment for sin, both individual and collective. Thus, it ultimately contributed to the justification for rebellion and regicide.

### **Facing Death in the French Wars of Religion: Arnaud Sorbin and the Royal Body**

John W. McCormack, University of Notre Dame

In 1574, the death of King Charles IX of France became the occasion for more theological reflection than usually accompanied royal funeral services. First, Arnaud Sorbin (1532-1606), court preacher and later bishop of Nevers, offered two funerary orations for the late Charles, first at Notre-Dame de Paris and then at Saint-Denis. Then, as the royal family retreated to the Chateau de Vincennes for a period of official mourning, they were accompanied there by Sorbin, who offered an octet of sermons on the resurrection of the flesh. Later published, these ten sermons offer a glimpse of 'royal religion' at a particularly tense moment of transition for the crown during the fifth War of Religion. Hardly groundbreaking or controversial works of theology, the sermons nevertheless bear strongly the imprint of the political and religious concerns of the beleaguered monarchy. With the passing of each subsequent king in this period, beginning with the sudden, traumatic accident that felled Henri II, the continuity of the succession became more precarious. Protestants and Catholics alike could not help but see the monarchy as *desastrée*, and the manner in which death was commemorated – spun, even – increased in importance. In this paper, I will analyse Sorbin's rhetoric, his use of biblical and historical analogies, and his presentation of the life and character of the late Charles IX in order to illustrate changing emphases in royal funerary during the Wars of Religion.

### **Maria Carolina And Marie Antoinette: Sisters And Queens In The Mirror Of Jacobin Public Opinion**

Cinzia Recca, University of Catania

Marie Antoinette of France and Maria Carolina of Naples, both consorts, contributed to a flourishing of matronage, reproducing conceptions of royal femininity that embraced both the private and public roles they were expected to fulfil. However, while the political role of the first Queen has been largely reconsidered, her sister Maria Carolina has not yet been adjudicated impartially. This is somewhat curious, because Maria Carolina inherited from

her sister the same disregard towards the Revolution and this, as perceived by the Jacobins, was duly proposed in their acrimonious criticism of her political role.

This paper aims to focus on this criticism, analysing how the charges against Maria Carolina in 1799, during the brief duration of the Neapolitan Republic, were a political duplication of the Jacobin attacks on Marie Antoinette from 1791 onwards. From this point of view, this paper will focus on the portrait of Maria Carolina dressed in 1793 revolutionary Paris by Giuseppe Gorani, an Italian Jacobin noble. His *Mémoires Secrets* – where Maria Carolina was represented as a wicked woman in the same terms previously employed to denounce her sister Marie Antoinette by the French republicans – was well known across Italy. This subject dominated the main pamphlets and brochures published in Naples in 1799, because it legitimised the rebellion against the monarchy. After the fall of the Neapolitan Republic, the political attacks on Maria Carolina continued likewise in France, where many Neapolitan patriots were obliged to flee. With her work devoted to 1799 Neapolitan tragedy, Hélène-Marie Williams witnessed how in the portrait of Marie Antoinette's sister, she was dressed according to the main stereotypes of French revolutionary political culture.

#### **Panel 5D: Representing Authority**

##### **The Royal Body in Papal Lands: Representing the French Monarchy in Eighteenth-Century Avignon**

Eric F. Johnson, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

This paper examines the political imagery of the French monarchy in the papal city of Avignon in the decades before the Revolution. It argues that through public rituals and other cultural media a balance of representation was maintained between the king and the city's formal sovereign, the pope. Because of this precedent for royal representation the Avignonais the union of Avignon and France was more conceivable when the Revolution began.

##### **Venice's Doge and His Paradoxical Two Bodies**

Michelle A. Laughran, Saint Joseph's College of Maine

Machiavelli lamented the lack of stability and security that would have been provided by a strong prince unifying the disparate political forces in the Italian peninsula; indeed the deaths of leaders in Italian Renaissance states often occasioned an extraordinarily dangerous period of liminality for the multitudinous governments which found themselves in the throes of such a transition. *Commune* could at these times be wracked with violence and even afflicted by ritual rioting and pillaging of the regal palace. The Republic of Venice was however largely able to escape these travails, at least in part because its titular head, the doge, would play an essential role both in the development of that city's own particular (and at-times paradoxical) version of monarchical embodied political theology.

The position of doge had existed nearly as long as Venice had itself and was inextricably tied to that city's rise to Mediterranean dominance. By the 'Closing' of 1297, however, the Venetian state would be permanently transformed into an oligarchic republic controlled by a new hereditary nobility. Yet the office of doge would not be eliminated during this political reform, but was thereafter required to be itself subject to the city's government and serve as no more than as a *primus inter pares*.

This paradoxical political entity, an Italian Renaissance republic that nevertheless retained its own *dux* or *principe* (as the doge was formally addressed), was a formulation that gave the Venetian state its own distinctive version of the 'King's Two Bodies'. In the process, I will argue, the doge, as the very incarnation of that political theology in Venice's richly ceremonial regime, not only contributed to the city's famed stability as the 'Most Serene Republic', but at the same time nevertheless reciprocally implicated the ideological 'Achilles' heels' of such a problematic hybrid embodiment.

### **The Non-alienation Clause in the Hungarian and English Coronation Oaths: An Unjustified Papal Assumption?**

Katarína Štulrajterová, University of Oxford

This paper scrutinises a specific problem of constitutional history: the influence of the concept of inalienability upon the growth of national monarchies during the late Medieval age. I demonstrate how a failure in communication between the Holy See and the Hungarian King led to a period of avoidable misunderstanding. The evidence for this failure is contained in the two letters from Pope Honorius III, normally referred to as the *Intellecto*, and a letter sent eight years later by Pope Gregory IX. A final strand of my argument shows a distinct similarity between the problems faced by both the English and the Hungarian kings.

In addition, I argue that the Pope was incorrect when he assumed that non-alienation oaths existed within the coronation ceremonies at the time of Henry III and Andrew II. I show that, in all probability, the grounds on which the papacy assumed that a non-alienation clause belonged in the Hungarian and English coronation oaths was the extension of a particular clerical practice, and that the attempt to apply it to lay rulers was mistaken.

### **Panel 5E: Early Modern Queenly Bodies**

#### **The Queen's Two Bodies : Gendering the Body Politic**

Marian Rothstein, Carthage College

The paradoxical expression 'female king', readily applied to Elizabeth I of England, grants her body politic male status without denying the biology of her body natural. Although the term is not used directly, Catherine de Médici too was 'female king' in France, where Salic

law meant that only a queen-regent could have access to full political power. But Catherine extended her control of power well beyond her short regency (December 1560- August 1563). As Elizabeth used her virginity, marriage for Catherine, was essential to the creation, propagation, and maintenance of her body politic gendered male.

In the political discourse of the 1560s, during Catherine's regency and after, references to 'le roy et la reine' abound. Applied not to a married couple but to regent and son, the expression invites the question: who is the 'king'? Is it not the sovereign - s/he - who rules? Is the other member of the pair not the subordinate, the child king, who functionally then might be the queen? It is he who now has the primary function normally ascribed to the queen - assuring dynastic continuity. At the end of ceremony declaring his majority, the new king approached his mother humbly, hat in hand, declaring his wish to continue to submit to her will as sovereign, functionally as king.

Catherine and her advisors also capitalised on the continuity of the marriage bond. The biblical declaration that man and wife were one flesh was oft repeated and taken seriously. She wore mourning for the next three decades. Widowed, she had a new motto and image insisting on the living continuity of man and wife as one flesh - now hers. She was likened to Artemisia, Queen of Caria, who, by drinking her husband's ashes, conflated his flesh and hers, incorporating the his body in her own, rendering literal the continuity of both spouses as long as one survived. This image was propagated the 'Histoire de la reine Artémise', illustrated by court painter Antoine Caron, and in poetic references such as the poem by Pierre de Ronsard engraved on the monument containing Henri II's heart. As the higher takes precedence over the lower, male over female, the Artemisia link gave Catherine another kind of claim to a body politic gendered male.

### **A Third Body: Early Modern Regnant Queenship and the Body of the Male Consort**

Anne Louis Mearns, University of Liverpool

The theory of the monarch's two bodies became an essential rationale in early modern England for the navigation, by the political nation, of the complex issues raised by the phenomenon of female rule that was ushered in with the accession of England's first regnant queen, Mary Tudor, in 1553. The period from 1553 to the accession of the first Hanoverian king in 1714 witnessed the reign of four regnant queens in England, Mary I, Elizabeth I, Mary II and Anne. With the exception of Elizabeth, all married; Mary Tudor wed in the year following her accession, whilst Mary and Anne Stuart both ascended the throne as married women. Given the powerful and persistent beliefs that women should be subject to their husbands, the phenomenon of a married regnant queen raised troubling questions regarding the balance between conjugal and political power, and could be the cause of considerable anxiety.

This paper focuses on Anne and her husband, George of Denmark, to consider the political and conjugal relationship between the body of the monarch and her consort. Recent historiography has placed George of Denmark firmly in the role of his wife's subject,

stressing his insignificance and marginalisation during her reign. For a consort of such supposed insignificance, it is therefore surprising, and revealing, to find his death in 1708 described in contemporary literature as a 'shock to the British throne'. By exploring contemporary understanding of the intrinsic links between George and the queen's two bodies, the paper will demonstrate that his position was far from insignificant. Indeed, it will reveal that in a polity wedded to the conception of the monarch's two bodies, the regnant queen's husband functioned in effect as the Queen's third body.

### **The Queen's Other Body: Evaluating the partnership of ruling queens and consort kings in Late Medieval Navarre**

Ellie Woodacre, Bath Spa University

Ernst Kantorowicz's exploration of the king's two bodies sparked an academic discussion which has expanded far beyond his initial suggestion to include evaluations of the queen's two bodies and even the two bodies of the discipline of history itself. Theresa Earenfight's recent monograph on María of Castile suggests that she was her husband Alfonso of Aragon's 'other' body, ruling the kingdom as his queen lieutenant during his prolonged absences. This paper will follow on to these explorations of alternate sovereign bodies by examining the political partnerships between the reigning queens of Navarre and their kings consort during the Late Middle Ages, focusing particularly on the use of the king consort as the queen's other body or representative.

The five queens regnant of Navarre form the largest group of female sovereigns ruling in their own right in one realm during the Middle Ages. They were all married to men who possessed their own territories. This gave the small Pyrenean realm additional territory and revenue but had the disadvantage of creating often-unwieldy territorial amalgamations which were difficult to administer. The desire of the queen's subjects for the physical presence of the sovereign or the royal body was repeatedly expressed but this was impossible to satisfy given the geographical separation between territorial capitals. Different monarchical pairs came up with strategies in order to govern their territories effectively; deploying governors, dividing up duties or temporarily separating in order to be resident in more than one territorial capital. This paper will evaluate these strategies and explore the way in which a king consort could act as the queen's other body.

## **Session 6**

### **Plenary Lecture**

### **Perfuming royal bodies: the role of scent to perfume, preserve and poison English monarchs, 1485-1685**

Maria Hayward, University of Southampton

The period from the accession of Henry VII to the death of Charles II saw many changes in the political climate in England and the nature of royal power, mirrored by changes in the ideas governing the management of the royal household. This paper will explore a single strand of royal life during this two hundred year period - the use of perfume to scent the royal body – in order to assess how attitudes to the body of the sovereign changed. After establishing the range of perfumes in use, the focus will shift to consider who supplied them, their cost and who had access to them within the royal household. It will then assess the range in ways perfume could be used – either on the royal body directly, on clothing and textiles or to perfume spaces that the monarch would occupy. As such perfume could be used to define specific spaces in royal palaces while also linking to contemporary ideas about health, hygiene and cleanliness. Differences in use according to gender and time will be considered. While many of the associations were positive and resonant of wealth and luxury, perfumes could also be used as poisons and as a means of embalming the monarch's corpse after death.

## **Session 7**

### **Panel 7A: Courting favour, defending claims**

#### **An Audience with the Queen: Royal Investitures and the ‘Democratisation’ of British Honours Since 1948**

Toby Harper, Columbia University

In 1948, the civil servants, politicians and royal servants who ran the British honours system decided to open up Royal Investitures at Buckingham Palace to all recipients of the Order of the British Empire in the British Isles. For over a decade before this point, only those people being at ‘Commander’ level and higher were invited to attend investitures. As a result, tens of thousands of middle- and working-class British people receiving MBEs and OBEs have been able to meet and converse, usually only for a few seconds, with a royal personage (usually, but not always, the reigning monarch) at the investiture at which they received the medal of their award. For the remainder of the century, the most frequent contact between the monarch as his or her people was at these royal investitures.

Using a large database of autobiographical and biographical writing by recipients of various types of honours, this paper will argue that these royal investitures often were a defining experience in people’s lives. Even though most knew that they had been chosen for their honour by the impersonal combination of politicians and committees of civil servants, the royal touch at the investiture became the most important element of the experience of receiving an honour. The royal encounter re-enchanted the honours process, which was in many ways a fundamentally disenchanted system for recognising service to the state.

These responses to and narratives of royal encounters not only illuminate important aspects of how the honours system was perceived by its constituency in post-war Britain but also suggest important changes in the relationship between the people, the state and the



monarchy in this era. The personal connection with the monarch elicited reflections about whom and what the monarch was from the subjects who attended these investitures. Such reflections, usually involving flashes of perceived intimacy or empathy, reinforced the status and prestige of both the honours system and the monarch.

### **Heredity and parliamentary title, and claims to the throne**

Noel Cox, Aberystwyth University

In *Britain's Real Monarch*, a historical documentary presented by Tony Robinson and first shown on Channel 4 on 3 January 2004, Dr. Michael Jones advanced a thesis that King Edward IV was illegitimate, and that, as a consequence, all subsequent sovereigns were without title to the throne. According to this thesis, the rightful sovereign is now Michael Abney-Hastings, 14<sup>th</sup> Earl of Loudoun. This paper argues that this contention is without basis in law or fact. Whether or not the King was illegitimate, the title of subsequent kings and queens is undoubted. The recently-agreed changes to the law of succession, though not yet implemented, remind us of the contemporary importance of clarity in this area.

By the fifteenth century the principle had developed that any aberrant settlement of the succession had to be justified by the consent of the estates of the realm. This was done for the Tudors, who succeeded shortly after Edward's death, and has been done on a number of occasions since then – especially by the Act of Settlement of 1701.

Equally importantly, the title of the present Queen derives also from her hereditary right as the heiress of generations of kings and queens since then. A claim by a distant heir of Edward III against a sovereign descended from Henry VII would be legally extremely weak. But this is not the only potential challenge to the succession.

The laws of succession are at the very heart of hereditary monarchy. Yet while (with the exception of the abdication of King Edward VIII in 1936) there have been no changes in Great Britain since 1701, the law of succession was historically often a matter of uncertainty. Not every sovereign who ruled in England was the rightful heir. As a consequence of the statutory exclusion of Roman Catholics from 1689, and due to the irregularity of succession which occurred at the time of the Wars of the Roses, there remains even today a number of potential claimants to the throne.

### **Panel 7B: The Non-Royal Body: The Case of Oliver Cromwell**

#### **Oliver Cromwell's Non-Royal Body**

Alice Hunt, Southampton University

On Friday 26 June 1657, Westminster Hall became the setting for a solemn but strange ceremony: the investiture of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector. This second investiture (the first was in 1653 when the Protectorate was established) was, in many ways, a secular

version of the traditional coronation of English kings. Edward I's coronation chair was carted over from Westminster Abbey, and set high on a velvet-covered dais in the hall - the hall in which Charles I had stood on trial in 1649. Before the chair, in the place of an altar, stood a table covered with some familiar props: a Bible, a Sword of State, and a sceptre. There was, however, no crown and, of course, no holy oil. Oliver would not be an anointed or crowned king. But, prior to this ceremony, Cromwell had been offered the crown and had come under pressure to be proclaimed 'King Oliver'. This paper looks in detail at the 1657 investiture and revisits the debate surrounding Cromwell's near-acceptance of the crown. It considers the role of the non-royal body in this ceremony, and in the republic, and looks at the ways in which Cromwell used his body - how he dressed, presented himself, how he and others spoke about his physical person - and how this changed as his role and power became more king-like. The paper also looks at how royalists ridiculed Cromwell's non-sacred body and depicted him as deformed and grotesque in order to undermine his legitimacy. It is often argued that Cromwell's rejection of the crown was his finest hour, and that it was the protectorate's adoption of quasi-monarchical ways that precipitated its downfall. This paper suggests the opposite: the appropriation of the style and symbols of royalty by a non-royal, non-sacred family was radical and this period of Cromwell's power is crucial to understanding how British monarchy, and its display of power, changed.

### **The Lord Protector's Two Bodies?: Appropriating Theories of Kingship During the Interregnum**

Jonathan Fitzgibbons, St. Anne's College, University of Oxford

The Interregnum of 1649 to 1660 is, perhaps, not an obvious period in which to examine the theory of the king's two bodies. Yet, during the Cromwellian Protectorate (1653-1659) it became a central component of both political debate and visual culture as the regime looked to secure its survival. During the infamous offer of the Crown to Oliver Cromwell, for instance, Parliament emphasised the many benefits of kingship, often with direct reference to the immortality of the kingly office and the legal security it would provide. Even after Cromwell refused the Crown in May 1657, the theory of the two bodies was grafted uneasily onto the office of Lord Protector. The most striking example of this was in the wake of Oliver Cromwell's death as the Privy Council tried desperately to legitimise the dubious nomination of Richard Cromwell as his father's successor. In proclamations, addresses and ceremonies there was a conspicuous effort to make the new Lord Protector into a king in all but name. Time and again, monarchical language and imagery was invoked which drew heavily on the notion of the king's immortal body. Focusing primarily upon the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, this paper will demonstrate the deep-rooted nature of theories of kingship in early modern British political culture; it was still the most appropriate way in which the succession of the chief magistrate could be explained and promoted to a wider audience. But the fact this theory could be applied outside of its immediate constitutional context also highlights its malleability. Even though Britain had no king, there was a conspicuous effort to manipulate traditional, and widely understood, ideas of the

immortality of the kingly office in order to legitimise and secure the fledgling Protectorate regime in the eyes of the nation as a whole.

### **Panel 7C: English Queenly Bodies**

#### **English Queens' Bodies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Political Imagination**

Carole Levin, University of Nebraska

Across the Protestant/Catholic divide, the bodies of Tudor queens such as Mary I and Elizabeth had such powerful images that they resonated strongly in the political imagination of the early modern English throughout the following century. Royal female bodies had many more vulnerabilities than male ones and were examined with far more intensity. Royal women's bodies had to deal with pregnancies – intended or not – or inability to become pregnant; there was more likeliness for people to gossip about royal female bodies than male.

In both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did many wonder if Queen Elizabeth's body was exposed to Catholic jibes and potential assassination? Did Mary's false pregnancies lead to an attempt to fool the people of England into believing she had a son, a boy born of a poor woman? Yet in Elizabeth's own reign the body of a much earlier warrior queen Bodica was a powerful example for another ruling queen.

This paper examines a range of sources including chronicles, drama, descriptions of dreams, and political tracts that used Tudor queens to comment on such current early modern political issues as England's foreign wars, the 1680 exclusion crisis, and the rumours of Mary of Modena's 'warming pot' baby in 1688.

#### **Iconographical Succession of Queenship: Body Cultural in the Queen's Two Bodies**

Yu-Chun (Anne) Chiang, University College London

This paper proposes an idea called 'body cultural' in queenship in contrast to the idea of 'body politic' in kingship in literary and iconographical representations in early modern England. Ernst H. Kantorowicz analyses the juristic and religious origins of the idea of the king's two bodies, distinguishing a natural from a political one and uses Shakespeare's *Richard II* as a representative play of this theory. Marie Axton argues that the theory was never a fact, but an invented discourse that helped to describe, explain, and was ultimately used as a tool to balance the power between the king and the state. The division of the body natural and body politic was based on mortality and spirituality and was similarly applied to the queen's two bodies with an emphasis on gender to legitimise Elizabeth I's female rule.

This paper expands on this concept, proposing a notion of the body cultural for queens consort. The body cultural indicates the succession of queenship among queens consort,

queens regnant, and even other prominent female figures in histories – it carries their shared cultural attributes, such as the qualities, abilities, and wisdom of a queen. Different from kings and queens regnant, queens consort and their legitimacy and rights were created through marriage, rather than from genealogy. As the formation of such queenship was not founded on biological or political lineage, but on the social relation of marriage, its succession among queens was thus based on cultural terms. I would argue that despite the decay of the queens' body natural, their body politic – the virtues, manners, and derivative of their 'cultural capital', or 'queenship' – could be, to borrow Axton's terms, 'held to be unerring and immortal'. Therefore, the body politic of queens consort should be reconfigured as the body cultural. The idea of the body cultural formulates an iconography of queenship that is shared by all queens in spite of their marital status or political authority and beyond the grid of politics and history.

## **Session 8**

### **Panel 8A: Catherine of Braganza**

#### **'Fraught with England's Store': The Fertility Struggles of Catherine of Braganza and Mary of Modena, 1662-1688**

Marisa Benoit, University of Oxford

In early modern England, no female body was held more responsible for successful reproduction than that of the queen. Charged with producing healthy male heirs to the throne, a female ruler's suspected infertility could escalate to national crisis and lead to civil unrest. The Stuart succession controversies of the late seventeenth century provide valuable case-studies of the importance of the female reproductive body in early modern English society. Both Charles II's queen, Catherine of Braganza, and James II's queen, Mary of Modena, faced considerable reproductive challenges, resulting in popular controversies, rumoured conspiracies and even justification for revolution. My paper will analyse the connections between attitudes toward the sustained fertility challenges of these two consecutive queens. Catherine's miscarriages and stillbirths were publicly scrutinised and contrasted with Charles II's many illegitimate offspring. The reproductive stakes only heightened during the reign of James II, culminating in the so-called Warming Pan Scandal of 1688, in which the queen and her attendants were accused of smuggling an infant into the birthing chamber in a desperate attempt to procure a Catholic male heir for England. What were the repercussions of royal infertility, and how did the reaction to the queens' personal health problems reflect public fears and anxieties in this particularly tumultuous period of English history? I will also look further afield to analyse the scandals' coverage in the burgeoning New England colonies as these two queens' reproductive bodies generated debates over national health and imperial concern.

## **Imaging the queen's third body: displaying desire and expectation in portraits of Catherine of Braganza**

David Taylor, Senior Curator, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Painted portraits of Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705), from her childhood in Portugal to the period of her queenship in England as consort to Charles II, display distinct and important periods in her life. This paper will examine key images of the queen, exploring to what extent they were designed and utilised in order to present messages relating to such periods. Further to the concept of the monarch's two bodies, explored by Ernst Kantorowicz, is the reproduced third body that represented and disseminated the ideas of the bodies natural and politic. This paper considers Catherine of Braganza's iconography in terms of this 'third body', exploring how, in her painted portraits, her body was dressed, posed, located and given a variety of role identities to display her in response to the desires and expectations associated with her monarchical position.

The portraits show her as representative of her royal house and nation, as future bride, as wife, as queen consort, as potential mother, and as pious Christian. Portraits of Catherine as a young child utilised Hapsburg posture prototypes, underlining the legitimacy of the Braganza monarchy after years of Spanish rule in Portugal. Portraits relating to proposed foreign marriages reveal divergent approaches to diplomatically sensitive negotiations – images sent to Louis XIV showed her as a paradigm of French 'beauty' portraits, whereas those sent to Charles II depicted her in Iberian court dress. In England, following her marriage, Catherine was portrayed in relation to her role as the king's wife, while at the same time providing herself with a distinct visual identity, separate from her royal predecessors and other prominent women at her husband's court.

### **Panel 8B: Representing the Body of Elizabeth I**

#### **The Rainbow Portrait: Body, Sovereignty and the Public Representation of Elizabeth I**

Vinodini Murugesan, Brandeis University

In early modern England, public awareness of Elizabeth Tudor's problematic gender needed to be addressed and circumvented in a complex political strategy that eventually solidified into a form of apotheosis. This strategy capitalised on the queen's female body by assiduously marketing it to a society that idealised a male Protestant monarch. Since the body of Elizabeth I was simultaneously body natural and body politic, the femininity of her corporeal body needed to coexist with the inheritance of the patriarchal throne of England. In this paper, I argue that popular representations of Elizabeth I transliterate the idea of a princely body politic into distinctly patriarchal, and by extension, manly, terms. These representations of Elizabeth carefully establish a key political device: to illustrate the

transcendence of the potentially malevolent female into a heavenly ideal. The personification of the body politic in Elizabeth I is translated into distinct markers of manliness which ablate the feminine weaknesses perceived to be inherent in the queen's body as a natural condition of being female.

I will locate this discussion in one example of such a public representation of Elizabeth's body: the Rainbow Portrait. Painted in 1600 by an unknown artist, the Rainbow Portrait is one of the most strongly allegorical portraits of Elizabeth's rule. Because metaphor and allegory are multiple signifiers, and efficiently symbolise different things at the same time, and because Elizabethans were accustomed to visual allegory as a method of representation, the spectator's interpretation of the painted image turns an apparently static two-dimensional object into a fluid multi-faceted performance. The Rainbow Portrait is what I call a performative image, and this performance is an extraordinarily revealing visual representation of a political persona. My analysis will show how the Rainbow Portrait overwrites femaleness with divinity as the result of a complicated rhetoric of intervening manliness, grounded upon Elizabeth's body.

### **Glossing the Royal Body: Elizabeth I's Sexuality in 'Aprill'**

Rachel J. Stenner, University of Bristol

The fourth eclogue of Edmund Spenser's poem *The Shepheardes Calendar* is described in its argument as 'purposely intended to the honor and prayse of our most gracious souereigne, Queene Elizabeth'. The particular state singled out for praise is Elizabeth's virginity. Critics tend to read the eclogue in line with the argument, seeing Spenser praising the queen as Astraea, the virgin goddess of the golden age, or as an ideal ruler. Alternatively they read it against the threat to English national and religious identity perceived in the proposed marriage between the queen and the Catholic Duc D'Alençon.

This paper suggests that while the April eclogue is primarily interested in Elizabeth's sexualised body, it is not supremely confident about her perfect state of virginity - and it invites its reader to entertain the possibility that things could be otherwise. This suspicion is voiced in several combining ways: through the interactions between the eclogue itself and the gloss supplied by 'E.K.', Spenser's ostensible editor; by echoes between this eclogue and the others that surround it within the overall architecture of the poem; and finally through the positioning of E.K.'s remarks. Several of his notes appear to be misplaced and out of sequence. This paper suggests that the reading pattern induced by having to attend to these notes out of sequence raises questions for the reader that are not answered by the purported perfection of Elizabeth's virginity and her contained desires. Therefore it suggests that by a complex series of editorial and authorial moves, the integrity of Elizabeth's virginity is troubled by the very eclogue that claims it intends to honour and praise her.

## **Panel 8C: The King's Body: Henry VIII**

### **'Great Codpeic'd Harry': Imagining the Sexualised Body of Henry VIII**

Chris Highley, The Ohio State University

I begin my paper by noting that Jonathan Rhys Meyers's portrayal of Henry as the embodiment of hyper-masculinity in the Showtime series *The Tudors* is only the latest construction of this king's body in terms of a penetrative, penile, notion of male sexuality. I argue that this idea of Henry's body which has long dominated the popular imagination in literature, film, advertisements, and other media, emerged only after Henry's death and would have been unrecognisable during Henry's lifetime.

Beginning in the seventeenth-century, the notion of a sex-obsessed Henry was pithily expressed in the proverbial association of the old king with his signature fashion accessory, the codpiece. 'Old Jolly Gruff great Codpeic'd Harry' is rarely mentioned apart from this defining symbol of aggressive heterosexuality and key instrument, for good or ill, of royal agency in religious matters: 'King henry 8 did piss the Protestant religion out of his codpiece,' remarked a Catholic priest unimpressed with Henry's reformation of the church.

My paper argues that the mythical figure of '*Harry* with the Codpiece' can be traced back to Holbein's iconic painting of the king in 1536/7, an image which, reproduced in multiple cheap versions, established the standard representation of Henry for later generations. While Henry certainly wore various kinds of codpiece before this date, the accessory was not part of his official image until Holbein's intervention. In fact, no earlier images of Henry show him wearing a codpiece. I argue that Holbein's addition of the codpiece to the royal image at this time is connected to the birth of Henry's only legitimate son, and that the accessory signified not the aggressive, penetrative sexuality that later commentators saw in it, but a form of masculinity defined by reproduction - and especially the ability to sire male children. I further argue that under Henry, discourses about the sexualised royal body focused far more on the king's legs, especially his thighs, than on his 'yard' and 'cods'. Our post-Freudian fixation on the genitals, I suggest, has caused us to overlook the importance of other somatic regions in helping constitute the sexualised male body of the past.

### **The Two Kings' Bodies: Henry VIII and Francis I**

Glenn John Richardson, Saint Mary's University College, Strawberry Hill

Rarely in the history of the monarchy can there have been two contemporary sovereigns, such as Henry VIII of England Francis I of France, who so used their own natural bodies, adorned and unadorned, in an effort to impress, intimidate and secure the respect, even worship, of all those around them – including each other. In the course of conducting a thirty-year-long and often turbulent diplomatic relationship, Henry and Francis frequently exchanged portraits of each other, clothing, armour, hunting equipment, animals and food as well as personally meeting twice. Drawing on the evidence of these exchanges, this paper

examines how each king's awareness of the other informed and shaped the expression of his own monarchy. The paper focuses largely on the young rulers of the decade from 1510 when each was developing his sense of kingship but also looks at the mature men of the 1540s. It argues that each accepted the other as, if not exactly a role-model, then at least a genuine point of comparison in a world where neither man very often felt that he had quite encountered his equal.

## **Session 9**

### **Panel 9A: The Martyred Body**

#### **The King's Martyred Body: The Transformations of Charles I**

Sarah Covington, Queens College/City University of New York

Few monarchs experienced more dramatic transformations in their public personas than Charles I, who began his kingship by cultivating an image of highly opaque and impenetrable distance, and ended it by shedding blood on stage and before thousands of his subjects. While he continued to protest the injustice of his trial and pending execution, however, Charles would come to embrace the new role thrust upon him, in fashioning himself as a king fully prepared to meet his destiny as England's royal martyr, sacrificing his natural body so that the divine body could live. The collection of prayers and meditations attributed to him, entitled the *Eikon Basilike*, enabled this personal metamorphosis to take place; the work, however, also allowed him to declare his Christ-like sufferings to be the nation's, at the same time that those sufferings belonged in a highly subjective manner to him alone. Charles's embrace of a 'wounded' identity in the *Eikon Basilike* thus represented a major shift not only in his public image, but in the political and emotional language that described that image, allowing him to personalise the body politic and insist that his own being was intimately bound up with it. The nation's wounds, which he insisted were not of his making, were *his* wounds, or wounds on his mortal and mystical body; the blood shed in the realm was blood that spilled forth from him, since his person constituted the very heart of the body politic. This paper will examine how historical circumstance caused Charles to make such bold claims and in the process effect such a radical alteration in kingly identity, not only by means of language but through a body that had once been clothed behind armour and masques, only to emerge in the full and exposed light of martyrdom.

#### **Two Kings and No Bodies: Debating the Body Politic**

Rachel Willie, Bangor University

Following the death of Oliver Cromwell in September 1658, several ghostly narratives were printed and circulated amongst the reading public. Many of these pamphlets invent imaginative and grotesque punishments for the erstwhile lord protector. Other tracts present him as the ultimate Machiavellian who endeavours to usurp Beelzebub and reign in Hell. While these texts are often penned by royalists and seem primarily concerned with



celebrating Old Noll's end, one text reunites Cromwell with Charles I as a way to allow the two ghosts to reminisce and offer commentary over the late times. These tracts often juxtapose the damnation of Cromwell with the salvation of Charles as a way to debate the nature of kingship, tyranny and sovereignty. In so doing, they echo *A Messenger From the Dead* (1658). In this pamphlet, the ghost of Henry VIII converses with the ghost of Charles I. Mourning the death of Charles, the notion of arbitrary government and its connection to religion is debated. Charles's execution is represented, not as punishment for his own failings as a monarch, but as a way for God to atone for the iniquities of the Tudor king. While Charles is not directly descended from Henry, as Henry's heir in the third generation, Charles inherits and needs to atone for Tudor sins. Such debates complicate our understanding of kingship, tyranny, and rightful governance but also raise questions about the place and function of Cromwellian rule. Cromwell may be lord protector, but some believed Charles's exiled elder son was king by virtue of hereditary right. This paper will address how the body politic becomes a contested site and how the inheritance of the perpetual and corporate crown symbolises unity and disunity between kings at a time when England lacked a monarch.

## **Panel 9B: The Body of the King: Elizabeth I**

### **Covering up Queen Elizabeth I's gender: An analysis of the use of the King's Two Bodies imagery by Elizabeth, her contemporaries and historians**

Amy Hurst, University of Leicester

There is a general belief that Queen Elizabeth I created an image of herself as sovereign in order to legitimise her reign as an unmarried queen regnant ruling a patriarchal society. One of the philosophies historians frequently cite as being part of her image was the King's Two Bodies. The idea is that the philosophy would allow Elizabeth to create the image that at her accession she had inherited a second political body which was superior to her natural female one. The political body, which was thought to be flawless and perfect, would overcome and compensate for the inadequacies inherent in her femininity. However, this paper will demonstrate that Elizabeth herself rarely used the image of the King's Two Bodies and never used it as a means to overcome her gender. This conclusion is reached through a thorough examination of Elizabeth's *Collected Works* which will question the true authorship of works that have generally been assumed to be Elizabeth's. Through the creation of a clear division of works, those that were personally authored by Elizabeth and those recorded by her courtiers or subjects, it is possible to see that the quotations generally offered by historians as proof of her use of the philosophy do not actually belong to her. Furthermore, through this examination it is possible to demonstrate that Elizabeth never felt the need to use philosophies or images such as the King's Two Bodies to compensate for her gender, because she ultimately believed that she was appointed by God and therefore did not need to justify her position to anyone but her maker.

## **Early Modern Queenship and the King's Two Bodies: Interlinking gender and the king's two bodies in the case of Elizabeth I**

Jutta Schwarzkopf, University of Bielefeld

This paper explores some of the ways in which Elizabeth I tackled the fundamental problem of her reign, *viz.* the contradictions between her dynastic position, undermined anyway by her father's vacillation over the succession issue, and her gender. The contradictions arose from a cultural context which privileged the male body in relation to the female. It will be argued that Elizabeth tried to reconcile these contradictory positions by interlinking the notion of the king's two bodies with contemporary, non-dichotomous understandings of gender to buttress her exceptional position of queen regnant. The idea of the king's two bodies achieved a great deal more than compensating what in contemporary understanding were the defects of femininity by the body politic which transcended the body natural. On the basis of selected instances it will be shown that, and in what ways, the idea of the king's two bodies, deployed in combination with variously gendered subject positions, enabled Elizabeth to present herself in a number of gendered bodily guises, which varied according to circumstance, giving her maximum scope for shoring up her power. The queen's ambiguously gendered self-presentation, lent credibility by the idea of the king's two bodies, underlined her exceptionality as a woman, which, in turn, legitimised her rule. Finally, it will be argued that, though working in the case of Elizabeth, this strategy failed fundamentally to undermine the contemporary privileging of the male body over its female counterpart.

### **Panel 9C: Feeding the Body**

#### **Elizabeth Eating (or not): food and the body as means of communication**

Sasha Garwood, University College London

Throughout her life, Elizabeth I used food and the iconographic potential of her body to signal, express and negotiate traumatic experience and political difficulty. Even in her infancy, the tension between regimes symbolised by rivalry between the king's daughters in their new combined household was played out in terms of alternative timing and substance of food intake, considerably increasing household expenditure. Moreover, changes in her weight and eating patterns were noted and commented on by those around her, perceived as an indicator of her state of mind and political attitudes. In more ways than one, the queen's body represented the national body, the security and safety of the realm contingent on her specific physical health and continuance. That women's bodies – particularly aging women's bodies – were customarily represented as beyond their control, capable of undermining or disintegrating forms of social or even magical power possessed in other contexts, adds an additional dimension to the intense scrutiny and continual reinterpretation to which the queen's body was subject. By obliquely signalling towards or

manipulating cultural truisms about the female body, Elizabeth could divert attention away from her other contextual identities, cunning politician and gender-neutral monarchical body politic, and underline her apolitical feminine body and emotional vulnerability. By carefully manipulating food behaviour and her externalised physical iconography, signalling distress with food refusal and favour or alliance with shared consumption, Elizabeth negotiated, deflected or manipulated suitors, situations and circumstances.

### **The King's Food: Eating and Power in Early Modern Portugal**

Ana Isabel Buescu, FCSH-UNL, Lisbon

Eating is a natural and physiological need for all men in all times. But it is also a complex cultural action, which merits the attention of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, literature and the arts. In the society of our ancestors, where the balance between famine and abundance was fragile, food was a fundamental indicator of social differentiation, symbolic distinction and political meaning. That is why the king's table was an instrument of power to the monarchy, from the relatively simple forms of the high Middle Ages to the more complex ones of modern times.

The political meaning of the king's food was even theoretical and normative. The most significant medieval and early modern political discourse represented the body politic as the image of the natural body of the king, the king being the *head* and the rest of the members the *body* of the *res publica*, all working for the common good. The corporate representation of society had, of course, its consequences concerning the body and soul of the king: as well as the evident political meaning of his intellectual and religious education and his acquisition of virtues, also all actions concerning his natural body were political – as the maintenance of his health, and food (these two, *alias*, closely linked, within the paradigm of Galenic medicine), as stressed by George Vigarello, 'L'histoire du corps du roi est bien aussi celle de l'État' (*Histoire du corps*, 2005).

Within this framework, and based on Portuguese historical and documentary sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, this paper will analyse the king's table under two main points of view: the goods and products that went to his table, and the magnificence and ostentation of grand eating, in moments of ceremonial importance, such as royal weddings and alliances.

### **Panel 9D: Multiple Medieval Bodies**

**'Yet that whore, Alice Perrers, did not refrain from acts of licentiousness and lascivious touching of his flesh': the king's mistress, the body natural and the body politic of Edward III**

Laura Tompkins, University of St Andrews

Alice Perrers was the mistress of Edward III from the early 1360s to the late 1370s. The daughter of a goldsmith, she emerged from obscurity to become one of the most

infamous women of late medieval England, playing a key role in the political and financial crisis which led to the constitutionally ground-breaking Good Parliament of 1376, before being put on trial and placed under forfeiture in the opening parliament of Richard II's reign. Such was her influence that the Bishop of Rochester Thomas Brinton grieved that 'it is not fitting or safe that all the keys should hang from the belt of one woman'.

Having amassed a small fortune through royal favour, Alice - as can be well imagined - came under criticism on many fronts. However, prompted by the St. Albans chronicler Thomas Walsingham's disgust at Alice's 'licentiousness and lascivious' touching of the king's flesh, in this paper I wish to take the time to explore in greater detail how Alice's corruption of Edward III's physical body through their 'immoral' relationship was perceived to have affected the king's body politic during the final years of his life. Initially focusing on material consequences, this analysis will take into account contemporary ideas which connected the ability to physically resist womanly temptations to the ability to rule effectively and without distractions - particular in the field of war; proposing specifically that after the death of Edward III's queen Philippa of Hainault in 1369 his relationship with Alice represented a regression into a second youth and the inconsistency of thought and rule associated with adolescents. Drawing these approaches together, the paper will conclude by turning the idea that Alice's relationship with Edward's physical body fundamentally undermined the perception of Edward's body politic by his people and destroyed his image as the 'sovereign ideal', threatening the divine power and authority of the medieval monarchy in the years leading up to the Peasants Revolt of 1381.

### **Bodies that matter: The king's three bodies in medieval England**

Kristin Marek, University of Arts and Design, Karlsruhe

In 1327 King Edward II of England was buried during an ostentatious funeral service in the cathedral of Gloucester. The king, who died in unexplained and disgraceful circumstances and was probably murdered, is granted with a so far unprecedented burial. That is all the more wondrous as Edward II died anything but in exalted position, but rather deprived of power, discharged, being a captive of his own sons and successors. However, of all things, the funeral effigy - an astonishing picture for many reasons - was being introduced at this point, which would last until the seventeenth century. The staging of the body in the year 1327 was part of body politics, which had been utilised strategically by the English crown. Moreover this is proved by an awareness in favour of the king's body as a carrier of figurative representation and instrument of power of political mastery. Still, which body of the king is being displayed by the funeral effigy? It is the thesis of this paper that it is neither the political nor the natural body (the latter is assumed after Ernst Kantorowicz's interpretation) but rather a third representative body: the holy body of the king, a well-calculated moment of grand representation and symbol policy, which was well-maintained for a long time by the English crown.

This enactment in 1327 can only be explained as a reflection of the crowning ceremony of Edward II. His funeral effigy was dressed in his crowning and embalmment garment which had been stored carefully by the royal wardrobe. Therewith, in a twofold iconoclastic act the unlasting carnal body of the king was opposed to the permanent tangible body of a figurative representation. With it the mental picture of the tyrant was contrasted to the worship of a saint. In this case the ceremonial body policy of the burial did not serve to consolidate power by the enactment of its homogenous transition from precursor to successor but as a mean of transformation. The success of this reassessment and appreciation of the regency of Edward II soon afterwards becomes reflective in worshipping the saint and pilgrimages at his grave.

## **Session 10**

### **Panel 10A: Burying Bodies**

#### **‘Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none’: The body of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, King of Scots**

Terri Sabatos, United States Military Academy

In July 1565, the day after her marriage to Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, Mary Queen of Scots proclaimed her husband ‘King of Scotland’. Despite its impressive sound, the title had no legal basis. He could not officially rule, nor would he unless he was granted the crown matrimonial. Unfortunately, Mary’s new husband quickly proved to be vicious and conniving and despite Darnley’s demands for the crown matrimonial, Mary refused to grant it. Darnley did, nonetheless, father a king as his son James VI was born in June 1566. Eventually, Darnley’s many court intrigues made him a political liability and he was murdered on the night of 10 February 1567 when the provost’s lodge in Kirk o’ field, where he had been staying, exploded. Darnley’s body and that of his groom were found in a nearby orchard where they had been dragged after being strangled to death as they attempted to escape the lodge. The body of the erstwhile ‘King of Scots’ was accorded little pomp or ceremony. Darnley lay in state for only three days and he was buried at night in the tomb of James V in the royal chapel at Holyrood. While his physical remains may have been out of public view, depictions of his murdered corpse, however, appeared in drawings, paintings and on banners in the months and years to follow. This paper will explore the various ways in which Darnley’s body was represented and will discuss who was appropriating the image of Darnley’s corpse and to what end. As will be demonstrated, although Darnley was often reviled during his lifetime, his corpse became an important emblem. The body of the ‘king’ served as a dynastic link to his son, the child King of Scots James VI; as a rallying symbol for the Confederate Lords at Mary’s surrender at Carberry Hill; and as the visual evidence of an unjust murder within the Scottish practice of blood feud.

### **A Scottish Enigma? Scottish Royal Funeral Ceremonies from c. 1214–1542**

Lucinda Dean, University of Stirling

‘A good funeral projected a sense of crisis, finally overcome by the restoration of order with the successor’s accession.’ Though the accession of an adult monarch was a rarity in Scotland, making Buc’s statement (2001) at first sight seem unlikely to be quantifiable, the very instability caused by the minorities that plagued the Scottish monarchy required that the funeral acted as a legitimising tool in the continual claim of royal control and projection of authority. From 1214 to 1542 there were twelve funerals of monarchs in Scotland, not to mention numerous consorts and regents, such as Robert, Duke of Albany (d.1420) and Marie de Guise (d.1560), yet few have left an obvious mark in records or been discussed at any length in the current historiography. There are perhaps two funerals which are best served with key sources: that of James V (d.1542), which has been discussed by Andrea Thomas and others, has financial records covering it and proof of the use of an effigy in the proceedings; whilst the other is that of Robert the Bruce (d.1329), for which there is material in the Exchequer Rolls. The funeral ceremonies between these two and prior to that of Robert I appear to have passed by the attention of historians but the tide is being turned. This paper, coming from an AHRC funded PhD on the continuities and changes of the representations of royal authority of the Scottish monarchy through state ceremonial from c. 1200 to c. 1603, intends to discuss the tentative initial findings into an ongoing investigation into the treatment of the royal body in death in Scotland, and what this can reveal about the concept of ‘the king’s two bodies/divine right of kings’ as it was understood by the Scottish monarchy.

### **Princely funerals in time of troubles: the cases of Charles the Bold (1477) and Mary of Burgundy (1482)**

Jonathan Dumont, Alain Marchandisse and Christophe Masson (FNRS – University Of Liège)

During the late Middle Ages, the Valois Dukes of Burgundy developed a whole combination of rituals codifying the curial and public space in order to assert the sovereignty of their power as well as the independence of their territories, particularly in relation to France. Among all these ceremonies, funerals were certainly those in which these ideals were the most magnificent. However, these funerals were deeply transformed, sometimes restricted, while the Burgundian states were shaken by tensions within or on their borders during the years 1470-1480. Our paper will therefore be based on a simple question: which form did Charles the Bold’s (1477) and Mary of Burgundy’s (1482) funerals take in a time of war with France and Flemish uprisings as compared to the last Burgundian’s ones, especially those of Philip the Good (1467 and 1474)? Asking such a question leads to take an interest in the princely body’s fate in times of war, when the living must focus on political and military goals ensuring the survival of their states. This question will also highlight the paradox of political actors’ oblivion or carelessness to princely funerals, which glorified the prince, his house, his states and his authority, in other words, what these actors tried to protect during those troubled times.

## **Panel 10B: Early Modern Thoughts on Regicide**

### **‘Out of all bonds of human protection’: the King’s Body in Early Modern Theories of Regicide**

Stella Achilleos, University of Cyprus

This paper aims to examine the king’s body within the context of early modern theories of regicide, concentrating in particular on John Milton’s *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and Edward Sexby’s *Killing Noe Murder*. The two tracts were written and published within the context of two distinct historical moments during the turbulent years of the English Revolution in mid-seventeenth century England: published in 1649, shortly after the execution of King Charles I, the former provides an attempt to justify the regicide and castigate the stance of backsliding Presbyterians, while the latter, published in 1657, advocates the need to assassinate the by-then Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and supports the right of any private man to undertake the killing of a tyrant. Quite importantly, while providing occasional pieces, both texts offer sustained theoretical considerations of the question of regicide that radically challenge the divine right of kingship and the idea that the king’s body should be seen as sacrosanct. For Sexby, as well as for Milton, by disregarding law and by placing himself above it, a ruler instantly marks himself as a tyrant and an enemy to the people – or, in Milton’s words, a ‘destroyer of mankind’. As Sexby also puts it, the tyrant is ‘an enemy to all human society’ whom ‘every private man has a right to kill’. The tyrant in effect finds himself excluded from law and ‘out of all bonds of human protection’. He is thereby reduced to ‘bare life’ and anyone has the right to kill him without punishment. This paper attempts to analyse the political and theoretical implications of these ideas in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Killing Noe Murder* and, by bringing the two texts into dialogue with each other, to provide an exploration of the two authors’ treatment of sovereign power.

### **‘Don’t Even Think About It!’: Imagining Regicide in Tudor England**

Nicholas M. Utzig, U.S. Military Academy

In 1352, Edward III established what became, largely unaltered, the foundational English treason statute of the next half-millennium. The statute made it a treasonable offence ‘When a Man doth compass or imagine the Death of our Lord the King’ (25.Ed.3.2). Early modern law maintained the ambiguous ‘compass or imagine’ criteria, at once widening the scope of prosecutable offences and problematising evidentiary standards. These complications arise from early modern conceptions of criminal action; a perspective that viewed criminal acts as sequences of thought and action rather than singular events. While this logic influenced a variety of criminal offences, the ‘compass or imagine’ criteria applied only to the royal body – one could not be tried for criminally imagining a homicide. Though we readily accept the bifurcation of the royal body into physical and corporate units, I argue that we also ought to consider a legally protected, imaginary body, one capable of falling victim to a crime of imagination.

By drawing on court reports and legal texts from the early modern period, this paper will investigate the complications arising from the ‘compass or imagine’ component of treason law and discuss the implications of trying someone who has not yet acted on their designs.

### **Killing tyrants and kings – the case of Jean Bodin**

Tommi Lindfors, University of Helsinki

Under the general topics of ‘Political Theory’ and ‘Regicide,’ this paper will concentrate on the political philosophy of Jean Bodin (1529-1596), and shall also briefly discuss the political writings of some of Bodin’s predecessors and contemporaries (e.g. Michel de l’Hospital; the Monarchomachs, etc.) - thus situating Bodin’s theory in the necessary context.

Bodin is often considered as one of the major proponents of what is today labelled as ‘absolutism’ in sixteenth-century France. His formulation of sovereignty as ‘puissance absolue et perpétuelle d’une République’ from which he derives the sovereign prince’s position as being above positive law, as well as his description of the king as the image of God on earth do, of course, seem to justify this interpretation.

In my paper I shall discuss the distinction that Bodin makes between a monarch and a tyrant, and more importantly, the somewhat surprising implications of this distinction. I hold that these implications are largely due to the fact that, despite serious attempt, Bodin is unable to clearly distinguish between a monarch and a tyrant. Complying with the theory of the divine right of kings, it is illegal for subjects, Bodin writes, even to consider the possibility of attacking one’s sovereign prince – be it in a court of law or by actual force. The same applies in the case of ‘legitimate tyrants’, i.e. cases where the tyrant, however odiously he acts, must nevertheless be qualified as an actual sovereign.

The one interesting exception to the rule is the case of foreign princes, for whom it is actually considered to be honourable to come to the rescue of oppressed peoples - it is lawful for foreign princes to commit regicide, Bodin argues. I shall argue in my paper that this exception has surprising effects on Bodin’s theory of sovereignty.

### **Panel 10C: The Body on Stage**

#### **Performing Elective Amputation and Self-Mutilation of the Territorial Body in *King Lear***

Karin Gresham, United States Military Academy

‘Monarchy is the true pattern of divinity’, James VI of Scotland boldly asserts in *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, published in 1598 - five years prior to his ascension to the English throne in 1603. In this ‘theoretical defense of hereditary and absolute rights of kingship,’ James uses allusions to ‘the rule of the head over the body’ as justification of these rights. The bodily connections the king draws between the monarch, his subjects, and the actual kingdom are part of a grand tradition that dates back to the Middle Ages as noted by Ernst



Kantorowicz in *The King's Two Bodies*. James makes effective use of this tradition, especially as he discusses the monarch's rightful claim to the land itself. James would have his subjects believe that the land becomes a natural, outward extension of the king's body. Just as the king is comprised of the physical body and the body politic, he is also comprised of the territorial body - the landscape of the kingdom he rules. In this vein, similar responsibilities apply to maintaining this outward body: as the king must nourish his own physical body, he must likewise nourish his domain through sound, stable, and authoritative rule.

Shortly after James publishes this text, William Shakespeare débuts *King Lear* on the English stage, and in the character Lear we perceive the consequences of a ruler who does not maintain what James would understand as proper care of the territorial body. Instead, Lear performs a grotesque self-amputation of his domain by attempting to divide it amongst his daughters, and he suffers severe consequences as a result. The devastating cause and effect of his self-mutilation is most evident in the devolution that occurs between Lear's actual dividing of the kingdom Act 1.1 and his exposure to the storm Act 3. Lear's demise between the two scenes reveals the undeniable bond early moderns like James and Shakespeare perceive between the king and his land.

### **Unexceptional Authority in Shakespeare's *King Lear***

Steven Syrek, Rutgers University

Was authority in early modern England concomitant with its bodily form or a mercurial concept that eluded capture by royal bodies and the Parliamentary body politic alike? Shakespeare's darkest play could be read as a penetrating analysis, even an autopsy, of embodied authority. More than any of his other plays, authority is a key word in *King Lear*. Goneril worries that her father will 'carry authority with such dispositions as he bears, that his arbitrary behaviour will bear the force of law though he has abdicated his governorship'. Kent claims it is authority that Lear's disposition naturally does bear, as if it is a genetic patrimony. Near the end of the play, Lear himself will avouch the meaninglessness of authority altogether, that it is nothing but the prerogative of superior force.

Disagreement about the limitations of authority busied many minds in the seventeenth century. While Edward Coke argued that the king is subject to the law, James I asserted that only the monarch could grant to laws their force. This 'force' of law - which Giorgio Agamben describes as the almost mystical outgrowth of a state of exception that executes the law while simultaneously being opposed to its very essence - is the crux of the problem Shakespeare explores in *Lear*. Is authority indeed a mystical force beyond social constraint? Does it require a mystified person to embody it? Is it a personal inheritance or a practiced behaviour that anyone can assume? Shakespeare's great tragedy ultimately divests authority from bodily form altogether but leaves us wondering how to fill the vacancy with an alternative to the fiction of embodied authority itself.

## **Forlorn Majesty: Wanting the outward gloss and ceremony To give it lustre**

Barbara Wooding, Birkbeck College, University of London

In *Edward II* Marlowe graphically represented the atrocities perpetrated on the king's private body as a result of the unacceptable conduct of his public persona. Indulgence of favourites and personal extravagance had left the kingdom prey to warring overlords intent upon vengeance. Marlowe portrayed Edward's injury to the common weal through the prism of destructive personal relationships. Shakespeare employed similar means to dramatize the usurpation and murder of Richard II.

Forty years later Philip Massinger wrote a critique of the extravagance and rule through favourites of King Charles, whose insistence upon peace with Spain was unacceptable to much of the populace. Massinger's original narrative focused on a relatively recent claimant to the Portuguese throne, accepted as genuine by the Venetian Republic, but hounded throughout Europe by the hated Philip of Spain, who had appropriated the vacant throne. Massinger's play was deemed too politically sensitive, so he re-wrote it, setting the second version, *Believe as You List*, in the Roman Imperial period. The Portuguese claimant, King Sebastian became the Eastern ruler, Antiochus, persecuted by Titus Flaminus representing Rome in all its power and ruthlessness. This distancing mechanism was accepted by the Censor.

With an analysis, largely centred on *Edward II* and *Believe as You List*, of the representation of kingship in early modern plays, I aim to demonstrate how drama, despite censorship put in place to defend the monarch from overt criticism, was instrumental in creating a political situation in which the sacred person of an anointed king, an ideal so carefully cherished by the Tudor and Stuart dynasties, could be destroyed following due political process.

### **Session 11**

#### **Plenary Lecture**

#### **Kantorowicz and the Historiography of Funeral Monuments**

Nigel Llewellyn, Tate

How has the history of the funeral monument been written and what has been the impact on monument studies of Kantorowicz's famous book (1957) about mediaeval political theology? This plenary lecture will reflect on the history of writing about funeral monuments - a fundamentally hybrid genre - and the breadth and cultural specificity of the theoretical possibilities that Kantorowicz seems to allow.

### **Session 12**

## **Panel 12A: The Royal Touch**

### **Royal Bodies and Scrofulous Bodies: Debating the Royal Touch During the Stuart Restoration, 1660-85**

Stephen Brogan, Institute of Historical Research

In 1684 John Browne, serjeant surgeon to Charles II, published *Adenochoiradelogia*, the most detailed early modern English book on the royal touch. In it, Browne described the religious healing ceremonies at which the king touched between 4,000 and 6,000 scrofulous people each year. Such huge numbers were unprecedented: by way of comparison, in 1530 Henry VIII had touched 30 people.

The extraordinary enthusiasm for the royal touch during the Restoration period was due in part to the widespread belief that royal thaumaturgy was an ideal antidote to the recent trauma of the Civil Wars, regicide and Interregnum. The rationale of the royal touch maintained that English monarchs healed the scrofulous in imitation of Christ, and so it was widely thought that the royal body acted as conduit for God's healing powers. It was usual at this time to think that those who had scrofula bore the weight of the collective sins of the nation, and so by healing scrofula the king was thought to heal the body politic and bring about national redemption.

Yet not everybody believed that contact with the royal body could miraculously heal diseased bodies, and Browne's book defended the royal touch from its critics, who discussed it orally. Religious dissenters sometimes argued that the ceremony was superstitious, and so quintessentially Roman Catholic. This related to the controversy concerning the cessation of miracles: Protestant polemic maintained that the age of miracles had ceased and that Roman Catholic miracles were shams. Other critics objected that although the royal touch might cure some of their scrofula, this happened by natural rather than supernatural means – it was the result of the power of suggestion. This conference paper will tease out the debate concerning the efficacy of the royal touch during its Restoration hey-day and examine the heated differences of opinion between apologists of the royal touch and its detractors, while drawing attention to different opinions concerning the royal body.

### **'Out Damned Spot': Shedding royal blood in early modern England**

Anne McLaren, University of Liverpool

Here lay Duncan,  
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;  
And his gash'd stabs look'd like a breach in nature  
For ruin's wasteful entrance: - *Macbeth* Act II, Scene iii

The English parliament of 1572 was summoned specifically to address the threat that Mary Queen of Scots was deemed to pose. Called in the wake of the abortive Ridolfi plot, for the

first time radical MPs publicly stated the case that the Scottish queen would have to be killed. For them the moderate alternative - an act disallowing her accession to the English throne - would be futile, no matter how strongly phrased. An anonymous diarist summarized MP Robert Snagge's speech justifying this conclusion: 'The recital of the facts, treasons, and devilish practices will not touch her if she hap the crown. The whole facts purged by dignity. The politic body confounds the property of a natural body.'

For Snagge and his contemporaries, the body politic fundamentally transformed the ruler's natural body because their union transmuted his already royal blood – the 'blood royal of the realm of England', in the 1558 and 1604 Succession Acts – into a sacred substance. This mystery lay at the heart of the Royal Touch: the ability of legitimate kings to heal scrofula, known as the King's Evil, which was claimed by kings of England from Edward the Confessor through to Queen Anne.

Snagge's utterance points to a struggle to divorce the sacred essence from the blood of particular kings that informed political debate in the late sixteenth and again in the mid seventeenth century. The paper draws on early modern medical beliefs to establish the significance of the Royal Touch. I then explore how regicides manoeuvred within this cultural paradigm in attempts to degrade the blood of Mary Queen of Scots and her grandson Charles I as a necessary prelude to their executions.

### **'Spokesman of the body': the hand as a site of political interaction in Caroline Britain**

Sarah Betts, University of York

Charles I's reign nurtured a culture which increasingly expressed political relationships through sexualised bodily imagery. Eminent physician John Bulwer observed a 'universal language of gesture', accessible to different levels of society through a shared religious and historical context. The central 'tool' of this 'Manuall Rhetoricke' was the hand, an image which was prominent in literary, visual, and tactile articulations of political authority and obligation throughout the period.

The arrival of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625 brought with it an increasing fashion for short sleeves and un-gloved hands at court, and the display of these newly bare body parts both eroticised images of court and combined with new artistic techniques to lend them an air of 'natural' realism. Royal hands could be seen and experienced as *real* hands as their images around the kingdom in print and on coinage became more physically accurate. Many printed copies of court portraits enlarged and/or animated the sitters' hands, some of which even reached out of the frame towards the viewer. Embossed and embroidered images of the royal body were *felt* by royal followers on commemorative medals, badges and swords, and also upon everyday items most obviously in the streets upon the coinage.

The coincidence of Charles's accession with his marriage leant a further dimension to the political connotations of the hand in this period. Famed throughout history for his

uxoriousness, Charles created with his wife, and was the subject of, a sexualised image of the royal couple as one body, often visualised through the traditional hand-fasting image of marriage.

This paper will examine the political significance of interaction between hands, both sovereign and subject, and explore the royal hands as they were visualised, experienced and interpreted in Caroline Britain.

### **Panel 12B: King James and Anna of Denmark**

#### **Political Theory of James VI of Scotland: the King's Body Politic and Arts of Governance**

Maiko Kobayashi, St. Margaret's Junior College, Tokyo

James VI of Scotland is well known as an apologist of the theory of the divine right of kings, a fundamental part of the representation of the body politic that is often associated with the royal touch. James repeatedly claimed that the king's authority was derived from God since its establishment, when the king became God's all-powerful vicegerent on earth. According to this line of thought, the king is accountable to no one but God, and is above the law. Furthermore, the powers of kingship can be passed down to a successor upon the death of the king's natural body. Divine justification of rule was significant in governing the nation, as it consolidated the people beneath a strong kingship. However, in the sixteenth century a rather different representation of the body politic emerged: arts of governance. After undergoing an intensive education in *studia humanitatis* and through governing Scotland for almost fifteen years in the late sixteenth century, James had learned certain rules of kingcraft, as he revealed in his tract the *Basilicon Doron*. In this tract, James emphasised the desired qualities of a king, based largely on traditional morality dating back to ancient antiquity, including the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. However, the *Basilicon Doron* also outlines pragmatic strategies similar to the precepts laid out in Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Along with the rise of political realism, James seems to have been inspired by the Machiavellian notion that the king should subvert contemporary religion and classical morality during political emergencies. James's *Basilicon Doron* certainly provided solid guidance to rulers in an era of religious turmoil and political upheaval. In this paper, I examine James's arts of governance not only in the Scottish context but also from a wider European perspective, and argue that the theory of the divine right of kings is linked with the arts of governance.

#### **Queen Anna of Denmark's royal body (1574-1619): pregnancy, childbirth and death before the Union of the Crowns**

Maureen Meikle, Leeds Trinity University College

Anna of Denmark, consort of King James VI and I, had a troubled gynaecological history after her marriage in 1589 and suffered from general ill health during her final years. The pressure on royal wives to quickly produce an heir to the throne has been constant through the ages, but it was nearly five years into this royal marriage before a child was born alive (Prince Henry). Queen Anna's marriage was deeply affected by her childbearing capability as she had an unfortunate predisposition to miscarry her unborn children and several of her children died in infancy. Although this was not exceptional as Queens Catherine de Medici and Henrietta Maria also took years to produce an heir, the medical reasons for this delay in Anna's ability to carry a child to full term will be explored in this paper. The reaction of Anna and James to the loss of their children (born and unborn) will be discussed in detail. Such was their grief and mourning that they did not attend any of their children's funerals in Scotland or England. The reaction of this queen to one miscarriage in 1603 is well documented and sadly proves that Anna and her ladies had knowledge and access to abortifacients to hasten the delivery of the dead foetus. Anna's gynaecological problems persisted as repeated pregnancy and childbirth took their toll on this royal body, but two of her children did outlive their mother to endure their own troubled lives (King Charles I and Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia).

### **The Catholic body in the English succession question**

Mariana Brockmann, Royal Holloway University of London

The purpose of this paper is to analyse how Mary Tudor and Mary, Queen of Scots presented their claims in the English succession and to evaluate the themes on which they based these claims.

In 1553 England faced a succession crisis when Edward VI in letters patent nominated Lady Jane Grey and her heirs as his successors to the English throne. The complicated proceedings, which followed Henry VIII's decision to annul his first marriage and break with Rome, called the succession of his daughters into question and created a place for doubt and debate in regard to the succession. Although Edward's decision counteracted the will of his father which expressly appointed his half-sisters Mary and Elizabeth as his successors should Edward die without issue, his counsellors were not without arguments. The crisis was initiated when legal and religious objections were raised against various possible candidates, for the Reformation had split the country and the royal family into two or more factions. Each candidate therefore, had to make a successful claim in order to prevail. In 1553 Mary Tudor had to win support against Lady Jane Grey. Throughout the late 1550s and 1560s Mary, Queen of Scots built upon her claim as the true heir, initially as an alternative to Elizabeth I, subsequently as her rightful successor. Both Mary Tudor and Mary, Queen of Scots retained their beliefs in the old Catholic Church. The question is whether they used their religious faith as an asset or what alternative themes and images dominated in their bid to secure public favour. By widening the perspective in regard to the

succession crisis to include Mary, Queen of Scots, the singular opportunity to evaluate the significance of religious arguments and their place in ceremonial as exercised by the two queens presents itself.

## **Panel 12C: Picturing the Body**

### **'Pictures with two faces': Anamorphic Representation and the Stuart Royal Body in Later-Seventeenth-Century Britain**

Stephanie Koscak, Indiana University

This paper questions the intersection of visual culture and royal politics in Britain in the second half of the seventeenth century by focusing on the production and reception of anamorphic images of Stuart monarchy, which distorted and fragmented the royal body according to rules of perspective. My presentation asks why such images were created and disseminated in painting and print in Britain in the second half of the seventeenth century beyond simply claiming them as Stuart loyalist devotional icons reminding viewers that, just as it had for their martyred king, death could soon come for them. More explicitly stated, how do they relate to the political culture of the period? Placing these productions within wider anxieties over illegibility associated with a mid-seventeenth-century crisis of representation engendered by the expansion of print culture, the marketplace, and political instabilities, I explore the relationship between the rules of anamorphic visual representation and discernment and ideologies of absolute monarchy, asking why such images were particularly suited for depicting royalty in the period. Reading seventeenth-century anamorphic renderings of Charles I and II against political theory and perspective manuals that imagined using the technique to embed manipulated depictions of the monarchs on court walls and ceilings, I argue that these images were an attempt to appropriate the power of aesthetic representation for absolutism by constructing an authoritative public representation of monarchy and cultivating viewer discernment.

### **'For how can your lawes bee kept in the Country, if they be broken at your ear?': a Gender Analysis of Anthony van Dyck's Court Portraits During Charles I's Personal Rule**

Clinton M. Lawrence, University of Lethbridge

Following Kevin Sharpe's in-depth work on Charles I and the image of the English monarchy, this paper seeks to foreground the significance of gender and masculinity located within Caroline court portraits during the Personal Rule. Gender and masculinity are important to studies of Charles because, as Diane Purkiss has shown, it was a major factor in events leading to civil war. Purkiss calls for scholarship to now focus on how Charles saw himself and how his choices of self-representation were influenced by his experiences and insecurities. Charles and Anthony van Dyck's relationship was remarkable and his vivid portraits embodied the values of the Caroline court. The king's ability to rule his household successfully indicated an aptitude to rule an orderly kingdom and this was a key theme portrayed in Charles' portraiture. Charles's relationships with the Duke of Buckingham and Queen Henrietta Maria were highly criticised because they were perceived to upset the order of Charles' court. This begged the question: how could a king whose home was disordered properly govern his country? Van Dyck sought to address this issue within portraits of



Charles. This paper applies a gender analysis of van Dyck's court portraits while juxtaposing them with other portraits. This paper's close examination of van Dyck's portraits emphasises the correlation between gender and masculinity to domesticity and kingship in early modern England.

### **The King's Two Bodies: An Episteme of Visual Culture**

Christiane Hille, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität

Despite its manifold and thorough discussions, the concept of the *King's Two Bodies* first described by Ernst Kantorowicz as the dualist doctrine of Tudor political theory has been dominantly assessed as a metaphor and juridical trope. Emphasising the fact that this most basic axiom of Renaissance kingship instructed not only intellectual but visual perceptions of the English sovereign body, this paper enquires into the aesthetic and medial implications inherent in the doctrine and its challenging of artistic strategies for the representation of kingship as twofold in nature. Discussing the varying approaches artists at the Tudor courts from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I took to this end in regard to the monarch's painted image, I argue that it was not in portraiture but in the staged depictions of Inigo Jones's court masque for James I that a simultaneous visual experience of the English monarch's politic and natural bodies was eventually realised.

### **Panel 12D: Afterlives**

#### **The Royal Body as a diplomatic tool: 1866 and 2006**

Jes Fabricius Møller, University of Copenhagen

In 2006 the mother of the last Czar was reburied in St. Petersburg. The body of Czarina Maria Feodorovna (1847-1928) was transferred from her native country of Denmark to the burial site of her husband, Czar Alexander III, in the former Russian capital. Their wedding in 1866 was arranged for dynastic and diplomatic reasons. Following the Russian Revolution, the dowager empress was forced into exile in 1919. She fled with the help of the Royal Navy and her sister Queen Alexandra.

The re-burial - or rather the translation - of her body, was accompanied by elaborate ceremonies in both Denmark and Russia. Officially it took place according to her personal wish. This is based on oral tradition among her living relatives. The Romanov family sees the reburial as a result of fifteen years of lobbying from their side. However, there is another explanation why their wish suddenly was fulfilled.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that the reburial was realised to improve diplomatic relations between Russia and Denmark that had been deteriorating since Copenhagen hosted the World Chechen Congress in 2002. The body of Maria Feodorovna thus served the same purpose as her marriage had done 140 years earlier. The initiative was readily

accepted by the Russian government as a token of good will. During a Danish state visit to Russia in September 2011, Prime Minister Putin officially thanked Queen Margrethe II for facilitating the re-burial. The paper will argue that the event was a diplomatic success as it tapped into an ongoing process of Russian nation-building that includes reconstructing historic ties with the Czarist past. By identifying and in 1998 transferring the bodies of the last Czar and his family to St. Petersburg from the place of their execution, the new Russian state was bridging the Soviet gap and stressing historic continuity. Maria Feodorovna was a missing piece in that puzzle.

### **Life, Death and Legacy of a murdered king: Humbert I of Italy**

Valentina Villa, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart

The paper analyses the political and symbolic significance of the fatally-injured body of the king of Italy, Humbert I, especially in the framework of the difficult construction of Italian national identity after the unification of 1861, and explores the events after his murder in 1900. Moreover, this paper considers the importance of the concepts of physical appearance and fashion during the reign of the second Italian monarch.

In addition to the bibliographical framework, the study is based on research carried out during the last three years at the Central Archive of State in Rome.

### **Aelred and the attempt to Divinise King Henry II**

Richard Norton, Centre for the Study of Monastic Culture and Spirituality

By 1154, when Henry of Anjou became King of England, English monks were writing 'historical' works to guide the new King towards a revival of Anglo-Saxon values and traditions, hoping thereby to integrate an 'English' past with a distinctly 'English' future and reverse some of the cultural effects of the Conquest. Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx 1147-67, on the other hand, was at the forefront of a para-colonial effort to anglicise the new king, writing four works praising Henry's royal ancestors and explicitly including himself as an interested party. Aelred found a missing point of unity between the two cultures in a version of the Arthurian legend while at the same time tracing English kingship to Adam, (and so to Christ). For Aelred, Henry was to become the new Arthur - and the most Christian of all possible kings. Aelred thus not only places himself firmly between his own monastic vocation and Henry's aristocratic origins by pointing to the past they share, but also lays a firm foundation for the doctrine of the 'Divine Right of Kings'.

## **Biographies**

**Stella Achilleos** is a Lecturer in the Department of English Studies at the University of Cyprus. Her research interests lie in the field of early modern literature and culture. Her publications have mainly concentrated on seventeenth-century literature, sociability and cultural exchange, focusing especially on Ben Jonson and his 'sons' and on the royalist culture of mid-seventeenth-century England. Her current research concentrates primarily on the literature of the English Revolution and on the discourses and practices of friendship in early modern literature and culture.

**Tracy Anderson** is an art historian with a particular interest in the art and architecture of nineteenth-century British India. Her doctoral thesis was awarded in 2006 and considered to what extent royal images and ceremonies helped forge a sense of the British 'Raj'. Since then she has held a Paul Mellon postdoctoral fellowship and an internship in the Painting Department of the Royal Collection. Recent research has focused on viceregal portraiture and imperial memorials.

**Henric Bagerius** is a researcher at the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Gothenburg. In his 2009 thesis, he showed how political and sexual strategies interacted when the Icelandic elite was reorganised in the late Middle Ages. He has published numerous articles on sexuality, masculinity and the use of literature as a historical source. Bagerius and Christine Ekholst are currently carrying out a research project on heteronormative rulership and together they have published two articles in Swedish discussing male sodomy, homosocial desire and heteronormative practices in medieval Sweden.

**Thomas Barlow** is a first year Masters of History by research student at Monash University. He completed his Honours degree in History and has a double major History and Literature from his BA.

**Marisa Benoit** is currently in the second year of her DPhil at the University of Oxford and is a member of Christ Church. She earned her BA with Honours in History from Yale University in 2005. After two years working in Boston, Massachusetts at a healthcare consultancy, she completed an MSc in the History of Science, Medicine and Technology at Oxford in 2007-8, graduating with distinction. Her DPhil project examines attitudes toward infertility in early modern England and colonial New England.

**Sarah Betts** completed an undergraduate degree in History at the University of York before moving on to her Masters at the Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern studies at the University. Her MA thesis concerned the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria and its image, symbolic meaning in, and impact upon political cultures of seventeenth-century England. Most specifically this thesis explored the impact of the image of the

‘single flesh’ of the married body of the King and Queen within understandings of the body politic in Caroline England. She began her doctoral research in the Department of History at York in 2009, investigating cultural memories of Charles I and II, and the Royalists and their cause from 1649 to the present day. The royal bodies of the Stuart monarchy have remained a central theme in her research which builds upon the actual, symbolic, intellectual and emotional interactions with, and responses to, the physical person of Charles I and his family.

**Allan Beveridge** is a Consultant Psychiatrist at the Queen Margaret Hospital in Dunfermline. He lectures at the Department of Psychiatry at Edinburgh University and also at Queen Margaret College on the history of psychiatry, and on art and mental illness. He is an assistant editor of the British Journal of Psychiatry, where he edits the *Psychiatry in Pictures* series and is one of the Book Review Editors. He is an assistant editor of History of Psychiatry, where he is also one of the Book Review Editors. He has over 60 publications, including 8 book chapters, on such subjects as the history of psychiatry, ethics, and the relation of the arts to mental illness. He has written about Robert Burns, Robert Fergusson, James Boswell, Dostoyevsky, Kafka, Edvard Munch, Iain Crichton Smith and Charles Altamont Doyle. In 2006 he was awarded a Wellcome clinical leave research grant to study the early writings and private papers of R.D. Laing, which are held at the Special Collections Department of Glasgow University. A book based on this research, entitled *Portrait of the Psychiatrist as a Young Man. The early writings and work of R.D. Laing* has just been published by Oxford University Press. He is on the Board of ‘Art Extraordinary’, which collects and exhibits work by ‘outsider’ artists, including the mentally ill. He has regularly organised literature and psychiatry conferences, which have involved writers such as Alasdair Gray, Bernard MacLaverty, James Robertson and Denise Mina.

**Ilker Evrim Binbaş** studied the early modern Islamic history at the University of Chicago, and defended his dissertation on Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi (d. 1454) in 2009. His research interests broadly embrace the historiography, political thought, and intellectual networks of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Islamic world. He is particularly interested in Timurid and Ottoman historiography, the political use of mythical narratives, epistolography and other modalities of intellectual communication. In the course of his studies, he also developed an interest in various ‘secret sciences’, such as alchemy, the science of letters, and logographic poetry in order to understand the rhetorical devices that early modern intellectuals deployed.

**Stephen Brogan** is a Jacobite Studies Trust Research Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research, working on the royal touch as practiced by the Stuarts in exile. He gained his PhD in 2011 from Birkbeck, University of London. The thesis is entitled *The royal touch in early modern England: its changing rationale and practice*.

**Anna Isabela Buescu** is Associate Professor in Early Modern Portuguese History at FCSH-UNL, Lisbon.

**Anne Byrne** is a PhD candidate at Birkbeck, University of London, with Professor Julian Swann, currently working on a thesis on public ceremonies in the early years of Louis XVI's reign (1774-5). Having completed her primary degree in French and History at Trinity College Dublin, Anne spent a number of years as a diplomat before returning to study in 2008. Co-organiser of the *From coronation to chari-vari* colloquium at Birkbeck in 2010, with Stephen Brogan, Anne's main area of interest is ritual and ceremony. Her recent paper entitled *Three death beds and a funeral: the death rites of Louis XV* was well received at the Institute of Historical Research.

**Yu-Chun (Anne) Chiang** has recently completed her PhD on Renaissance queenship in Shakespeare's English history plays in the UCL English Department. She obtained her BA and MA at National Taiwan University and researched different representations of Katherine of Aragon. Her PhD thesis studies the pursuit, practice, and residue of queenship in relation to virtue, space, and memorialisation dramatised by Shakespeare. She is looking for the publication of her PhD thesis, writing early modern women's biographies, reviewing books on Reformation and early modern English drama, and conducting more research on queenship and the adaptations of Shakespearean and early modern English plays in Asia.

**Federica Contu** has just completed her PhD in Modern and Contemporary History. Currently, she is Assistant to the Chair of Modern History at University of Cagliari (Sardinia, Italy). The research areas are dynastic history and social history from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century in Italy and France.

**Sarah Covington** is associate professor of history at Queens College/The City University of New York. She is the author of two books, *The Trail of Martyrdom: Persecution and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century England* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), and *Wounds, Flesh, and Metaphor in Seventeenth-Century England* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2009). She is currently completing a book on the literary, historical, and folkloric afterlife of Oliver Cromwell over three centuries of Irish history.

**Noel Cox** is Professor of Law and Head of Department of Law and Criminology, Aberystwyth University. His major field of research interest is aspects of the Crown, State, and sovereignty. His work has been published in the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Japan, New Zealand, and elsewhere. He has presented conference papers in many countries, and been a visiting fellow at the University of Cambridge (Wolfson and St Edmund's Colleges) and The Australian National University. He is a barrister.

**Lucinda Dean** is a third year PhD researcher at the University of Stirling looking at continuity and change in representations of authority through state ceremonial of the Scottish monarchy c. 1214 – c.1603. This is an interdisciplinary study analysing royal ceremonies including coronations and inaugurations, funerals, royal entries of kings and consorts, weddings both in Scotland and abroad, baptisms, ridings of parliament, traversing the realm, annual festivals, and one off occasions. Prior to this, she undertook a BA in History and Creative Writing (dissertation: *Medici in Renaissance Florence*) and MA by Research in History (*Representations of Authority of Louis XIV and the inversion of those representations by his critics*) at Kingston University. She has given conference papers at the UCL Centre for Early Modern Exchanges Conference (Sept 2011) and HistFest (June 2011); and, in addition to this conference, she is speaking at the Kings and Queens Conference in Bath (April 2012); the Society for Renaissance Festivals Research's 'Iconography of Power' at Bergamo University (May 2012) and Leeds IMC 2012. She is co-chairperson of Stirling's History and Politics Postgraduate Society, and co-organiser of a conference to follow up two workshops (held June 2011 and Feb 2012) looking at Representations of Authority of Scotland and her nearest neighbours.

**Jennifer Mara DeSilva** completed a PhD in history at the University of Toronto (2007), where she examined the effect of papal ritual and the role of the Office of Ceremonies in early modern Italy. Her published research (2008-2011) includes articles that focus on the intersection of public display, diplomacy, social mobility, and ecclesiastical authority, which have appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, *Renaissance Studies*, and the *Journal of Early Modern History*. In late 2012 a volume of essays that she has edited, entitled 'A Living Example: Episcopal Reform, Relations, and Politics in Early Modern Europe', will be published by Truman State University Press. This volume provides examples of bishops grappling with the challenges, tensions, and expectations faced by the episcopacy in the periods before and after the Council of Trent (1545-63). Currently she is an Assistant Professor of History at Ball State University.

**Isabel Drumond Braga** (PhD in Modern History Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996) and *Agregada*, Universidade de Lisboa, 2006) has been Professor in the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa since 1990. She was a Visiting Professor at Universidade Federal Fluminense in Brazil August-December 2009. She has presented papers at several conferences in Portugal, Germany, Brazil, Spain, France, Israel, Italy, Morocco, Mexico, Switzerland and Tunisia. She has organised *Ementas Portuguesas (1874-1945)* (Exposição Temporária, October 2005 – April 2006, Museu do Pão, Seia - Portugal) and *À Volta da Mesa. Alimentação e Sociabilidade em Perspectiva*, November 2005 (Museu do Pão (Seia) and Escola Superior de Turismo e Telecomunicações de Seia, Instituto Politécnico da Guarda). She is the author of 193 articles published in historical reviews of several countries - Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom and Brazil. She is the author of the following books, *O Mosteiro de Guadalupe e Portugal (séculos XIV-XVIII). Contribuição para o Estudo da Religiosidade*

*Peninsular* (1994); *Ceuta Portuguesa 1415-1656* (with Paulo Drumond Braga) (1998); *Entre a Cristandade e o Islão (Séculos XV-XVII). Cativos e Renegados nas Franjas de duas Sociedades em Confronto*, Ceuta, (1998); *Mouriscos e Cristãos no Portugal Quincentista. Duas Culturas e duas Concepções Religiosas em Choque* (1999); *Portugal à Mesa. Alimentação, Etiqueta e Sociabilidade (1800-1850)* (2000); *Assistência, Saúde Pública e Prática Médica em Portugal séculos XV-XIX* (2001); *Um Espaço, duas Monarquias (Interrelações na Península Ibérica no Tempo de Carlos V)* (2001); *Os Estrangeiros e a Inquisição Portuguesa (séculos XVI-XVII)* (2002); *Cooperação e Conflito. Portugal, Castela e Aragão (séculos XV-XVII)* (2002); *A Bigamia em Portugal na Época Moderna. Sentir mal do Sacramento do Matrimónio?* (2003); *Gelados. História de uma Doce e Fresca Tentação* (2003); *Do Primeiro Almoço à Ceia. Estudos de História da Alimentação*, (2004); *Cultura, Religião e Quotidiano. Portugal (século XVIII)* (2005); *Os Menus em Portugal. Para uma História das Artes de servir à Mesa* (2006); *Vivências no Feminino. Poder, Violência e Marginalidade nos Séculos XV a XIX* (2007); *A Herança das Américas em Portugal. Trópico das Cores e dos Sabores* (2007); *Missões Diplomáticas entre Portugal e o Magrebe no século XVIII. Os Relatos de Frei João de Sousa* (2008); *Sabores do Brasil em Portugal. Descobrir e Transformar novos Alimentos (séculos XVI-XXI)* (2010); *Sob os Auspícios de Clio. Jacques Le Quien de la Neufville e a Histoire Générale de Portugal (1700)* (2010); *Entre duas Maneiras de Adorar a Deus. Os Reduzidos em Portugal no século XVII* (2010); and *D. Maria Francisca Isabel de Sabóia e D. Maria Sofia Isabel de Neuburg: Duas Rainhas em Tempo de Novos Equilíbrios Europeus* (with Paulo Drumond Braga) (2011).

**Paulo Drumond Braga** (PhD in Modern History, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1997) has been Professor in Escola Superior de Educação Almeida Garrett (Lisbon) since 1997. He has presented papers at several conferences in Portugal, Brazil, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. He is the author of circa 150 articles published in historical reviews of several countries (Portugal, Spain and Brazil), and he is the author of the following books: *A Inquisição nos Açores* (1997); *Ceuta Portuguesa (1415-1656)* (1998) (with Isabel Drumond Braga); *Setúbal Medieval. Séculos XIII a XV* (1998); *História dos Cães em Portugal. Das Origens a 1800* (2000); *D. João III* (2002); *Coimbra e a Delinquência Estudantil (1580-1640)* (2003); *Do Crime ao Perdão Régio (Açores, Séculos XVI-XVIII)* (2003); *Leite. Biografia de um Género Alimentar* (2004); *Portugueses no Estrangeiro, Estrangeiros em Portugal* (2005); *D. Pedro II. Uma Biografia* (2006); *A Princesa na Sombra. D. Maria Francisca Benedita (1746-1829)* (2007); *O Príncipe D. Afonso, filho de D. João II. Uma Vida entre a Guerra e a Paz* (2008); *Torres Vedras no Reinado de Filipe II. Crime, Castigo e Perdão* (2009); *Filhas de Safo. Uma História da Homossexualidade Feminina em Portugal (Séculos XIII-XX)* (2011); and *Duas Rainhas em Tempo de Novos Equilíbrios Europeus. Maria Francisca Isabel de Saboia. Maria Sofia Isabel de Neuburg* (2011) (with Isabel Drumond Braga).

**Jonathan Dumont** is Doctor of Art, History and Archeology (2010), and laureate of several prizes and scholarships (*Fondation Halkin-Williot, Institut historique belge de Rome, Academia Belgica*, etc.). He is *Chargé de recherches du FRS-FNRS* (post-doctoral fellow) at the University of Liège (Belgium) and is attached to the team *Transitions. Study Centre of the late*

*Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (<http://www.transitions.ulg.ac.be/Dumont.html>). He's a specialist of political and social thought between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His doctoral dissertation (*Lilia florent: Political and Social Imagination in the Court of France during the Early Italian Wars (1494–1525)*), forthcoming : Paris, Honoré Champion, 2012) is focused on the transformation of Italy in a new France by the authors of the French court. He is currently working on a new project concerning the history of political thought in the Burgundian States (*Social and Political Thought in the Burgundian States (1384–1555) or the Construction of an Imaginary to Serve Ducal Power*). Author of more than seventy papers and reports in international reviews and conference proceedings, he's also *Secrétaire de rédaction* of *Le Moyen Âge*, an international review dedicated to the historical and literary study of the Middle Ages.

**Sebastian Edwards** is Deputy Chief Curator at Historic Royal Palaces and is responsible for the collections across the five palaces in its care, from the Tower of London to Hampton Court. He is currently researching and curating an exhibition on the royal State Bed and Bedchamber, to be held at Hampton Court in 2013. He has been worked at the palaces since 1996, where he has curated several exhibitions and the acclaimed presentation of George III's Kew Palace. Previously he worked in English Heritage's London properties. His specialist research area is the royal and aristocratic domestic interior and furnishing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Recent research includes the social and political motivations behind developments in domestic design.

**Christine Ekholst** is a visiting assistant professor at the Department of History at the University of Guelph and an affiliated researcher at the University of Gothenburg. Her doctoral thesis from 2009 analysed the development of criminal liability for women in Swedish medieval law. Her main research interests concern legal history, violence and sexuality. Ekholst and Henric Bagerius are currently carrying out a research project on heteronormative rulership and together they have published two articles in Swedish discussing male sodomy, homosocial desire and heteronormative practices in medieval Sweden.

**Jonathan Fitzgibbons** is currently a lecturer in early modern history at St. Anne's College, University of Oxford. He was an undergraduate and graduate student at Balliol College, University of Oxford. His doctoral thesis, completed in 2010, was a study of the Cromwellian 'Other House' – an assembly of life-peers nominated by the Lord Protector to check the power of the Commons. Beyond the constitutional and institutional history of the Protectorate, his research interests also include the visual culture and intellectual history of late seventeenth-century England. His first book, *Cromwell's Head*, a biography of Oliver Cromwell and his reputation through the ages, was published in 2008.



**Catherine Fletcher** is Lecturer in Early Modern History at Durham University. Her first book, *Our Man in Rome: Henry VIII and his Italian Ambassador*, has recently been published by Bodley Head. Her research explores how the system of resident diplomacy we know today developed at the papal court in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, setting diplomacy in social context with investigations of such diverse areas as the domestic environment, liturgical space and family networks. She completed her PhD at Royal Holloway in 2008 and held postdoctoral fellowships at the British School at Rome and the European University Institute. Further details are at [www.catherinefletcher.info](http://www.catherinefletcher.info).

**Christine Merie Fox** grew up in Seattle, Washington and attended Seattle University as an undergraduate where she majored in History. She is currently studying at Royal Holloway where she completed her MA in Medieval London Studies and is currently writing up her PhD on *The Royal Almshouse at Westminster Abbey 1500-1600*, which she plans to submit this year. Publications: 'Milbourne Almshouses' and 'St. Mary without Bishopsgate [Spital]', Caroline Barron and Matthew Davies eds. *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: University of London Press, 2007).

**Olivia Fryman** recently completed her doctorate at Kingston University and Historic Royal Palaces. Based at Hampton Court Palace, her research explored housekeeping practices, and in particular the role of servants in caring for royal bedchambers between 1689 and 1737. During a two year MA in the History of Design at the Royal College of Art and the Victoria & Albert Museum, Olivia specialised in eighteenth-century interior design and furniture, and spent time working as an assistant curator. She is currently employed as an undergraduate dissertation supervisor at the University of Creative Arts and as a research consultant and conference organiser at Historic Royal Palaces.

**Sasha Garwood** has studied at Keble College Oxford and UCL, where she is currently completing a PhD entitled *The Skull Beneath the Skin: women and self-starvation in early modern English culture*. In practice, this equates to enthusing about the cultural connections between sex and food at every available opportunity. She reviews books for the Marylebone Journal and TLS, plays for the Shakespeare Journal, and is the author of 'Self-starvation on the Renaissance Stage' in the 2009 Shakespeare Jahrbuch, as well as various papers about sexuality, starvation and food culture in early modern England.

**Karin Gresham** is an instructor of English literature and introductory composition at the U.S Military Academy at West Point. Her research interests include intersections of gender and folklore and representations of divine monarchy in early modern drama. She has presented on the relationship between post-feminist representation in modern film and Shakespeare's *As You Like It* at the Southwest/Texas Popular & American Culture Association's 31st Annual Conference in San Antonio, Texas.

**Toby Harper** is a PhD candidate in modern British history at Columbia University. His dissertation research examines the social, political and cultural history of the British honours system from 1917 to 1994. He is from New Zealand, and has an MA in New Zealand history from the University of Auckland.

**Maria Hayward** is a professor Early Modern History at the University of Southampton. She works on material culture at the Tudor and Stuart courts. Her books include *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (2007), *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (2009) and *The Inventory of King Henry VIII vol. 2: Textiles and Dress*, edited with Philip Ward (forthcoming 2012).

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**Mark R. Horowitz** is a Visiting Professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, teaching an upper-level history course entitled 'The Tudor Kings'. His scholarly research and publications relate to early Tudor administration, finance, governance and law, and he has presented academic papers throughout the United States and in the UK, Portugal and Ireland. He was Guest Editor of a special volume of the journal *Historical Research* on the 500th anniversary of the death of the first Tudor king, Henry VII, in 2009. He has also reached broad audiences in various media showing the relevance of history to the present:

as a Guest Columnist for USA TODAY; a weekly worldwide syndicated columnist for United Press International; a weekly radio commentator for an NBC-affiliate in Chicago; and as an OP-ED columnist in numerous newspapers. Mark was sponsored for two Pulitzer Prizes, in news commentary and in explanatory journalism. He pulled together this 'historical perspective' format and style in a book with the lofty title *Stonehenge to Star Wars: Discovering the Present by Exploring the Past*. His medieval brass rubbing collection, created from the monumental tomb effigies of English knights, ladies and churchmen from roughly 1250 to 1650, toured the United States and now resides in the permanent collections of the Spurlock Museum. For his other life - education, business and marketing consulting - he works with state governments and agencies on educational programs and with corporations on strategic planning, positioning and execution. Mark earned his BA degree from Tulane University, his MA from the University of Illinois (Chicago), and his PhD from the University of Chicago. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society (FRHistS).

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**Nigel Llewellyn** was trained at the Universities of East Anglia and Cambridge, and at the Warburg Institute, where he was taught by E. H. Gombrich and Michael Baxandall. He was a member of the Art History Department at the University of Sussex for almost thirty years before working for the AHRC as Director of its Research Centres scheme and then moving to Tate where he founded and runs the Research Department. His research and teaching encompass early modern European art, especially eighteenth-century Italy, and the methodology and historiography of art. He has written extensively on funeral monuments and curated 'The Art of Death' exhibition at the V&A in 1990-1 and an exhibition about the Baroque at the same museum in 2009. His monograph, *Funeral Monuments in post-Reformation England* (CUP) won the Historians of British Art prize in 2000. He has recently published a study of church monuments in East Sussex and is a

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**Lynsey McCulloch** teaches English Literature at Anglia Ruskin University in Cambridge and has recently completed a PhD on *Animated Statuary in Early Modern Drama*. Her research interests include the intersection between art, dance and literature and she is currently completing her first book - *Reinventing the Renaissance; Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in Adaptation and Performance* - for publication by Palgrave Macmillan.

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**Lianne McTavish** (PhD, University of Rochester, 1996) is Professor in the Department of Art and Design at the University of Alberta, where she offers courses in early modern visual culture and critical museum theory. Her funded interdisciplinary research has centred on early modern French medical imagery, and has included many refereed articles as well as a monograph, *Childbirth and the Display of Authority in Early Modern France* (2005). Her recent work in this area analyses representations of cure and convalescence in France, 1600-

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**Anne Louise Mearns** gained her BA in History at the University of Liverpool in 2003, and after a short time away from academia developing her career, she returned to study part time for an MA in Historical Research, graduating in October 2008. Her desire to continue her research has led to her undertaking a part time doctoral research project at Liverpool, under the supervision of Dr. Anne McLaren and Dr Harald Braun. The project considers the relationship between gender and power within the context of early modern English queenship, with a particular focus on Mary Tudor, Mary II and Anne. Her research aims to show how regnant queenship evolved across the early modern period, from the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 to the death of Queen Anne in 1714. It will explore the problems faced by regnant queens in an era when monarchy was essentially gendered male. Through a careful analysis of the key aspects of these queens' reigns she aims to demonstrate that despite an evolution in the office of the monarch, many of the gendered issues that were presented by Mary Tudor's queenship were still extant in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

**Maureen Meikle** is Head of the Department of Humanities and Director of Academic Enhancement (Research) at Leeds Trinity University College. She is also an historian specialising in the history of early modern Britain. Her original research was on sixteenth-century Anglo-Scottish borders, but she has broadened her research interests to include the history of Sunderland and has a particular interest in the history of women from 1500-1700, including the life and times of Queen Anna of Denmark (1574-1619), consort of King James VI & I. Her publications include *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Anglo-Scottish Frontier, 1540-1603* (Tuckwell Press, 2004) and *Sunderland and its Origins: Monks to Mariners*, with Christine M. Newman (Phillimore, 2007). She has also edited with Elizabeth Ewan *Women in Scotland, c. 1100- c.1750* (Tuckwell Press, 1999) and with Jean Spence and Sarah Aiston *Women, Education, and Agency, 1600-2000* (Routledge, 2009). She has written many journal articles and book chapters and contributed entries to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as well as *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*. Professor Meikle is a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Historical Society and a vice-president of the Surtees Society.

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**Claudio Negrato** was born in Venice. He studied at Ca' Foscari University of Venice at the Department of Humanities. He graduated in 2008 with first-class honors with a thesis on Ludovico Ariosto's language in *Satire*. On 4 April 2012 he will discuss his PhD thesis in Humanities at Ca' Foscari University and Paris VIII. The thesis focuses on Gasparo Contarini's political language used in the dispatches. He has published two articles on the allegory in Ariosto's *Satire* and on the diplomatic dialogues reported by Contarini in his dispatches. He taught 'Italiano scritto' at the Ca' Foscari University in 2008-09.

**Richard Norton** has taught Theology and Church History in universities, colleges and seminaries in the UK, Sudan and Zimbabwe. He is a member of the British Association for the Study of Spirituality and currently Chairman of MONOS – the centre for the Study of Monastic Spirituality and Culture based in Leicestershire in which capacity he was UK delegate to the Third International Monastic Symposium in Rome last year and more recently to the US Conference on the Study of the Liturgy. He is currently conducting research on Early Cistercian Lay Brotherhood might provide a model for 'New (Lay) Monastic Communities'.

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**Glenn Richardson** is Reader in Early Modern History at St. Mary's University College, London. He holds a BA in History with First Class Honours from the University of Sydney. He completed his PhD thesis on Anglo-French Relations in Henry VIII's reign at the London School of Economics. He is the author of *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (2002) and co-editor with Susan Doran of *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (2005). He also edited *The Contending Kingdoms: England and France, 1420-1700* (2008). He is currently writing a monograph on the Field of Cloth of Gold for Yale University Press and his next project is a biography of Cardinal Wolsey in Routledge's Historical Biographies series.

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**Marian Rothstein** is Professor Emerita of French and now resides in New York City. In addition to numerous articles, she has published *Reading in the Renaissance: 'Amadis de Gaule' and the Lessons of Memory* (Newark DE: University of Delaware Press, 1999) and edited and contributed to *Charting a Change in Renaissance French Thought and Culture* (Selinsgrove PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2006). At present she is working on a book-length monograph examining the notion of the androgyne in Renaissance France of which her paper at this conference is a part. Parts of this work have been published as 'L'Androgyne politique au seizième siècle', *Actes du Colloque: l'Hermaphrodite* (Paris: Garnier, forthcoming); 'The Mutations of the Androgyne: Its Functions in Early Modern France', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34.2(2003): 409-437; 'Gargantua: Agape, Androgyny, and the Abbaye de Thélème', *French Forum* 26.1(2001): 1-19.

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**Jutta Schwarzkopf** teaches British Studies at the University of Bielefeld, Germany. Her research revolves around constellations in which the fluidity of gender becomes apparent. She is the author of *Women in the Chartist Movement* (1991), *Unpicking Gender: The Social Construction of Gender in the Lancashire Cotton Weaving Industry, 1880-1914* (2004) as well as a number of German-language articles about Elizabeth I, dealing with the queen's political use of learnedness and her performance of political power.

**Kate Strasdin** is a PhD candidate at the University of Southampton. She is studying the surviving garments of Queen Alexandra which are held in a number of institutions worldwide. She is an associate lecturer at University College, Falmouth and Assistant Curator of the Fashion and Textile Museum in Totnes, Devon. Kate was the 2011 Gervers Fellow awarded by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

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**Steven Syrek** is a PhD candidate in the Literatures in English program at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. He specialises in the writing and culture of early modern England with a focus on poetry, poetics, and drama. He is presently completing a dissertation on Shakespeare and the historical imagination of the early seventeenth century.

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**Laura Tompkins** graduated with a BA in History and an MA in Historical Research from Lancaster University, where she was awarded the Chancellor's Medal for outstanding academic achievement, before joining the University of St. Andrews in 2008 to undertake doctoral research under the supervision of Chris Given-Wilson funded by the AHRC. Now in her fourth year Laura is in the process of completing her thesis on Alice Perrers, the notorious mistress of Edward III in the 1360s and 1370s, entitled *Inverted Queenship and Failing Kingship: Alice Perrers, Edward III and Political Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*. St. Andrews Institute of Mediaeval Studies (SAIMS) postgraduate representative in 2010-11, Laura was co-organiser of the Fifteenth-Century Conference in 2009 and had the pleasure of being one of initial organisers of the postgraduate conference on 'Gender and Transgression in the Middle Ages', in 2009 and 2010, which is now an established annual event. Her paper on 'Alice Perrers and the Goldsmiths' Mistery' recently presented at the IHR is currently in preparation for publication.

**Nicholas Utzig** is an instructor of English literature and introductory composition at the US Military Academy at West Point. His research interests include early modern law and literature, theories of sovereignty, and the history of the book. He has presented papers on the impact of Anglo-Saxon typesets on early modern historiography and on the evidentiary threshold for treason conviction.

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**Elena Crislyn Woodacre** is a specialist in medieval queenship who has recently completed her PhD at Bath Spa University. Her doctoral research was based on the queens regnant of Navarre in the late medieval period, focusing particularly on issues of female succession, matrimonial diplomacy and the power sharing dynamic between queens and their kings consort. In addition to presenting her research at several international conferences in recent years, Elena is the co-organizer of the upcoming 'Kings & Queens: Power, Politics, Personalities and Patronage' conference to be held April 19-20 at Corsham Court. She is the French and Spanish editor for the Female Biography Project, which has drawn together an international group of over a hundred scholars to annotate the works of Mary Hays with modern research. Elena also teaches a range of undergraduate modules at Bath Spa University, from core History to Medieval and Early Modern elective courses.

**Barbara Wooding** is married with three adult children and five grandchildren. She is officially retired, and started studying for a degree with the Open University in 1999 graduating with a first class honours BA degree in 2002. After this she studied part-time for an MA in Shakespeare Studies at the Shakespeare Institute in Stratford-upon-Avon, being awarded the second degree in 2005. Watching performance techniques evolve at Shakespeare's Globe, and becoming an enthusiastic follower of Globe Ed's Rarely Played and Read not Dead series of seminars and staged readings, led her to pursue her interest in early modern plays and performance, and in 2006 Professor Michael Dobson accepted her as a research student in Jacobean and Caroline theatre at Birkbeck College in London, her chosen subject being the life and career of John Lowin, one of the great successors of

Burbage and Alleyn. At the end of 2010 she was awarded a PhD for a thesis entitled *John Lowin and the Cultural Politics of the Jacobean/Caroline Stage*. During her period of part time research study she has given a number of papers at university conferences, and has had two journal articles published: 'John Lowen of Paris Garden: Notes on the Actor as Citizen' in *Notes and Queries*, and 'Interrogating the *Soddered Citizen*' for *Renaissance Studies*. The thesis has now been accepted for publication, so she is engaged upon converting it into a book.

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