



Desert Harvest

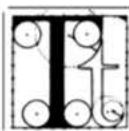
THE DIVISION FOR LATE MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION STUDIES

"... the premier place for Reformation studies" —Lyndal Roper, Regius Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford



Playing Cards Spread the News

by *Ute Lotz-Heumann, Director and Heiko A. Oberman Professor*



This year, the Division's annual theme is "News and Propaganda in the Early Modern Period." As you will read in this issue

of the *Desert Harvest*, this spring we welcomed two speakers to campus who explored the topic in different ways. Our Town and Gown speaker, Professor Alexander J. Fisher, University of British Columbia, asked whether and how music could convey propagandistic messages (article by Hannah McClain), and Professor Michael North, University of Greifswald, talked about the way the Dutch colonial enterprise also led to the spread of information within Europe about the "New World" through different media (article by Dean Messinger).

Our 2019 Summer Lecture Series will also explore this theme. Kristen Coan Howard, Hannah McClain, Dean Messinger, and Benjamin Miller will present a variety of early modern media events – in Geneva, Spain, Germany, and England – and delve further into how news and propaganda were spread during this era (please see the announcement of their lectures on p. 4). The invention of the printing press with movable type fundamentally changed the way information circulated in the early modern world and opened up the possibility of news reaching more people faster than before. However, just as with social media today, the printing

press proved to be a mixed blessing. Especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious strife resulted in the dissemination of vitriol and propaganda. During the eighteenth century, the rise of literacy in many societies meant that the ideas of the Enlightenment spread rapidly through the printed word.

Throughout the early modern period, however, the majority of the population remained illiterate, and as a result, media like images and the oral dissemination of information continued to be essential factors.

In spite of the wide variety of early modern media, most people would probably not think of playing cards as a way of spreading the news and expect even less to see cartoons printed on them. But this is exactly what happened after a major financial crisis in early modern Britain. The South Sea Bubble of 1720, which resulted from a combination of corruption and irrational investor enthusiasm, was not only an economic but also a media event. In its aftermath, the famous English engraver William Hogarth produced a print entitled "Emblematical Print on the South Sea Scheme" in which he represented the foolishness of stock investors as

A SEMI-ANNUAL NEWSLETTER OF THE DIVISION FOR LATE MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION STUDIES

Founded in 1989 by Heiko A. Oberman (1930-2001), Regents' Professor of History

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A word from the Karant-Nunn Chair

A German Spring and Crossing Borders

by Beth Plummer, Susan C. Karant-Nunn Professor



As I write this, spring has begun to arrive in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, where I have been spending my research leave this semester at the Duke August Library. All the signs are there: longer days, tulips and primroses, strawberries and the first white asparagus at the weekly market, the reopening of the local ice cream shop, and torrents of rain. For those of us in the library, we know that the summer crowds of scholars are imminent, but right now the daily coffee hour is small enough to get to know everyone and share our research progress over a cup of coffee or tea. The most recent conversations have been about whether Brexit will or will not happen and what that means for research collaborations.

I have spent the last three months revising the first chapters of my book and thinking about why convents did not close as expected after the fervent early Reformation calls for the closing of all monastic houses by Luther and his followers. Change happens both quickly and slowly as everyone waiting for something to happen knows. In the case of the convents I am writing about, the women would have experienced both. In some cases,

bands of peasants arrived to plunder and burn convents in 1525, forcing many women to flee, some temporarily, some permanently. In others, the closing of the convents did not happen at all because cities and princes proceeded with caution as the women's right to decide whether to stay or leave remained protected by the emperor.

Many women chose to stay, regardless of their belief or devotional practice. This decision led to circumstances in which many congregations of nuns found themselves in the convent church choir, singing the hours several times every day, sitting with nuns who may or may not have shared their basic understanding of faith. The sharing of a ritual and a space was not always peaceful, but it did force the women to seek accommodations and find compromises to live together.

It is this tension within religious diversity and its resolutions and conflicts that are at the heart of the research project that we have begun this year in the Division. Back in Tucson, Division graduate students Hannah McClain, Dean Messinger,

Benjamin Miller, Annie Morpew, and Rachel Small have been reading through various sources and searching maps of Germany, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands to find the coordinates for now well over 500 shared churches for our digital maps. In the process, they have discovered many interesting stories and found even more churches. They have also learned the basics of mapping technology and photography to create virtual reality, which they can use in their own research.

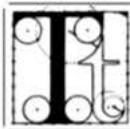
At the beginning of March, Ute Lotz-Heumann and I met with our co-principal investigators on the Shared Churches Project, David Luebke and Andrew Spicer, in Strasbourg to do some research on Alsatian shared churches and to discuss the future of the project. We visited St. Peter the Younger to understand how the rood screen once separated the Catholic and Lutheran congregations and what that must have meant. The picture below is from a typical Alsatian restaurant we visited to continue our conversation over some local food.



From left to right: Professor Andrew Spicer, Professor Ute Lotz-Heumann, and Professor David Luebke.

33rd Annual Town and Gown Lecture Sound Propaganda: On Sound and Music in Early Modern Religious Persuasion

By Hannah McClain, master's student



The Division was pleased to host Professor Alexander J. Fisher of the University of

British Columbia as the 2019 Town and Gown Lecturer. After meeting with the graduate students to discuss their research interests and chatting with them over lunch, Professor Fisher delivered a public lecture on "Sound Propaganda: On Sound and Music in Early Modern Religious Persuasion" on Tuesday, March 12. Far from a product of modern technological systems of mass communication, Professor Fisher argued that propaganda was a familiar element of early modern European society which grew in prominence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a form of persuasion that simplified complex arguments into basic moral categories and caricatured "the enemy," propaganda has usually been identified by historians in the cheap and widely distributed printed images of the Reformation era. Yet sound and music also served to disseminate propaganda, albeit in different forms and contexts.

Sound propaganda was experienced by early modern people through ephemeral sonic events that occurred over time, and historians are fortunate that some of these events were coded in notated music. Yet historians of music must constantly contend with the semantic ambiguity of their subject, and Professor Fisher cautioned against the hasty labeling of any piece of music as propaganda. Paratexts such as dedications and prefaces can shed light on the meaning and propagandistic value of notated music, while printed images that accompany these



From left to right: Benjamin Miller, Rachel Small, Professor Alexander Fisher, Annie Morpew, Dean Messinger, Hannah McClain, Assistant Director Luise Betterton, and Professor Ute Lotz-Heumann.

texts and draw upon contemporary iconographical conventions often aid in the interpretive process. However, since music was first and foremost an aural event that was heard or sung rather than read, the ritual context in which music occurred is of the utmost importance.

Consider the simple, memorable melodies and vernacular lyrics sung by Lutheran communities in German-speaking lands beginning in the sixteenth century. These chorales not only fostered social and religious cohesion within the individual community, but also united distant flocks into a larger and stronger community of faith. Some Lutherans were emboldened to interrupt Catholic services with their singing, evidently utilizing music to persuade the indisposed audience members of their supposed error. Catholics, on the other hand, might employ music as propaganda in the context of religious processions in celebration of holy days. Processional music was played by drummers, trumpeters, and other musicians who participated in the broader

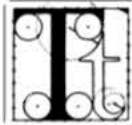
processional soundscape shaped by the firing of canon and muskets. By the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, these religious celebrations were hardly distinguishable from military exercises in their assertion of the impending triumph of the Roman Catholic Church.

According to Professor Fisher, some early modern music is more difficult to classify as propaganda, such as instrumental music or polyphonic music. The latter was a form of highly complex music composed for professional singers whose overlapping voices prevented the communication of clear, polemical points. Nevertheless, through an analysis of paratexts, images, and historical context, some early modern music can be understood as serving the purposes of propaganda. Indeed, as a sonic event that was not only heard but experienced somatically by the penetration of sound, music could exceed the boundaries of printed images in the quintessential early modern enterprise of religious persuasion.



On the Trail of the Merchant Adventurers

by Annie Morphew, doctoral student



his past summer I stepped into the archive for the first time. This was not only an important milestone for me as a

historian, but it turned out to be a journey that took me across time and space. When I began developing my dissertation research project on the social history of the English Merchant Adventurers, English cloth merchants who lived and worked in Hamburg and northern Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I did not fully appreciate the lengths I would have to go to in order to investigate them. In my initial research on these people, I traveled to a number of archives in northern Germany where the English merchants had a presence, most importantly Hamburg but also Emden and Stade, and finally

to London where many of the merchants originated from and many of the archival traces of their organization remain. To my surprise everything I learned in the archives was supplemented by walking in these merchants' shoes, as much as one can hundreds of years later: I would read about their ships and shipping practices in the archive and on my way home walk by the harbor in the Emden Old Town mentioned over and over again in the documents or get a sense of how close the merchants' own Anglican church was to the Elbe River and the city center of Hamburg.

This research trip was made possible through funding from the Andressen Graduate Student Scholarship, the UA Graduate and Professional Student Council (GPSC), the

Department of History, the Duke August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, and the Ora DeConcini Martin and Morris Martin General Endowment.



The current Englische Kirche in the Zeughausmarkt in Hamburg. The original Anglican church founded and attended by the English Merchant Adventurers was destroyed during Operation Gomorrah in World War II. This church was built near the original site as a gesture of reconciliation.



2019 Summer Lecture Series *News and Propaganda in the Early Modern Period*

Sunday, August 4

True Heirs of the Reformation? Polemical Conflict between Pastors and Parishioners in Enlightenment England

Benjamin Miller, doctoral student

Sunday, August 11

News in the Time of Pestilence: Communication, Conspiracy, and Plague in Early Modern Geneva

Kristen Coan Howard, doctoral student

Sunday, August 18

"Rash, scandalous, and heretical propositions": Debating Spanish Colonial Policy in Valladolid, 1550-1551

Hannah McClain, master's student

Sunday, August 25

Preachers, Pamphlets, and Propaganda: The Early Reformation in the German Lands

Dean Messinger, master's student

St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church

4440 N. Campbell

Murphiey Gallery, 11:30 AM

“An Empire of Communication”: Professor Michael North Presents Lecture on Media and the Dutch Republic

by Dean Messinger, master's student



On Friday, February 22, the Division welcomed the distinguished scholar Professor Michael North to campus. Professor North is a well-known historian of culture, commerce, and communication in early modern Europe, and serves as the Chair of Modern History at the University of Greifswald, as well as a visiting professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His published works include *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (Yale University Press, 1997), *Material Delight and the Joy of Living* (Ashgate, 2008), and *The Expansion of Europe, 1250-1500* (Manchester University Press, 2012). Following this year's theme of "News and Propaganda in the Early Modern Period," Professor North gave a presentation entitled "Global Communication and the Rise of the Dutch Republic in the Early Modern Period" which sparked a lively Q&A about the history of communication, trade, and travel.

In his lecture, Professor North explored the interdependent relationship between the rise of global communication and the overseas expansion of the Dutch Republic. Describing the Dutch Republic as an "empire of communication," he argued that Dutch media in various forms helped facilitate the rise of the Dutch Republic as a global empire, while also reorienting Dutch interests and identity toward the wider world. Furthermore, as Europe's commercial and publishing center, Professor North argued the Dutch Republic was able to mediate the relationship between Europe and the world,

as Dutch books, maps, travelogues, and newspapers became desired commodities among travelers, merchants, town-dwellers, and the nobility.

The most interesting aspect of the lecture was his argument that both people and objects could be means of communication and agents of exchange. Drawing from a range of sources like paintings, tableware, and even birdcages, Professor North explained how art and objects could be conveyors of information about the world, expanding the definition of media beyond printed sources like newspapers. As the growing information capital of the world, the Dutch were often the first to share breaking news, and their thriving trade in imported goods from across the globe provided material forms of knowledge about Asia and the Americas to eager consumers in Europe.

To illustrate his point, Professor North used the case

of Maria Sibylla Merian, a Dutch-German artist and naturalist who traveled to Suriname to research and illustrate the plants and insects of the "New World." Her groundbreaking studies on these insects were then published by printing houses in Amsterdam and circulated around Europe, expanding the world's knowledge base of "New World" flora and fauna. Merian's works served not only as sources of scientific knowledge, but as forms of communication through which Europeans could learn about the wider world. By emphasizing the many different forms of communication, Professor North has helped widen our view of what can be considered "News and Propaganda" in the early modern world, and we thank him for his visit.

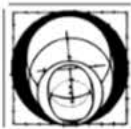
Professor North's appearance on campus was made possible in part by a Visiting Scholar Grant from UA Global.



From left to right: Rachel Small, Hannah McClain, Professor Michael North, and Annie Morpew.
Standing from left to right: Dean Messinger and Benjamin Miller.

A Summer Abroad: Searching for Disasters in the Archive

By Rachel Small, doctoral student



Over the summer, I traveled to Osnabrück, Germany, for my first adventure in the archives. My

dissertation research aims to uncover the ways in which natural disasters, such as floods and wildfires affected early modern community interactions in places where both Protestants and Catholics lived together. After a few weeks of sifting through sources on all sorts of disasters, I ventured out into the city's oldest neighborhoods in order to get some fresh air and to get a feel for how these events would have affected the living situations of my research subjects. On my last day, I saw a small plaque on the wall of the Lutheran cathedral memorializing the fire of March 2, 1613, that destroyed the church tower and much of the city's homes. I bolted to the archive to hunt down sources chronicling this disaster. I smiled as I realized that Professor

Karant-Nunn's advice to all her students had rung true for me: traveling will change you and it will help shape your research. Indeed, it did. Over four hundred years have passed since the great Osnabrück fire, and the church still marks its importance to the city's residents who suffered greatly and divided over the relief effort—neither Lutherans nor Catholics wanted to provide help to the other denomination. Had I not been able to visit the archives, the cathedrals, and the people in Osnabrück, I would not have found out about this event that highlights the continued impact of disasters on cityscapes and on historical memory.

Current events, too, shape my understanding of how disasters continue to affect our modern, multi-cultural communities. On April 15 of this year, Notre-Dame de Paris erupted into flames, destroying much of the wooden roof, ceiling, and the crossing spire. The Cathedral

has a long history of suffering damages and subsequent restorations, so much of what we now see are results from its nineteenth-century renovations, including the fallen spire. This disaster appears to be one of the most devastating the cathedral has suffered since the attacks on it during the French Revolution. As this heart-breaking story continues to develop, I will reflect upon the impact this fire has on the Parisians and the global communities.

With gratitude, I acknowledge the financial assistance I received for my pre-dissertation research from the UA Graduate and Professional Student Council (GPSC) Travel grant, the GPSC Research and Project grant (ReaP), a Department of History research grant, and the Ora DeConcini Martin and Morris Martin General Endowment.



Playing Cards Spread the News

Continued from page 1

the equivalent of riding a merry-go-round. A London printer named Thomas Bowles published a set of playing cards to spread the news about the effects of the bubble and the resulting market crash. Each card tells a vivid story about how people from different social groups fared during and after the South Sea Bubble. The cards produce a "lifelike" effect by showing individuals who interact with each other, with their speech – ironically – written in what today we call "speech bubbles." Beneath each cartoon is a brief explanation in verse of what happened, a "moral of the story." For example, the card shown on the right reads: "Ladies, whose Husbands are undone by Bubbles, Meet at a Tavern to Lament their Troubles;



The South Sea Bubble playing cards are available online at the Baker Library of Harvard Business School, 1243787.xml.

At length, they all agree upon Petitions, To Pray the State to Mend their Bad Conditions." These cards provide a unique window into human behavior – the good, the bad, and the ugly – during this and other financial crises, and they are a powerful reminder that innovative methods of spreading the news are not only the domain of the twenty-first century.

Division News

Congratulations

Luise Betterton, Assistant Director, was recognized with an SBS Outstanding Staff Award at the annual recognition luncheon.

Kristen Coan Howard, Division doctoral student, has received a renewal for a second academic year of the Russell J. and Dorothy S. Bilinski Fellowship from the UA Graduate College. The fellowship will provide an amount of \$25,000 plus full tuition for a further year.

Professors Ute Lotz-Heumann and Beth Plummer have been appointed by the Executive Council of the Society for Reformation Research to a six-year term as North American Managing Co-Editors of the *Archive for Reformation Research*, the leading journal in the field of Reformation history.

Hannah McClain, Division master's student, has won a Tinker Summer Field Research Grant, funded by UA Latin American Studies, to work on her master's thesis about an Irish Jesuit who was a missionary in colonial Mexico.

Division doctoral students, **Benjamin Miller**, **Annie Mophew**, and **Rachel Small** have won Pre-doctoral Research Grants from the University of Arizona Social and Behavioral Sciences Research Institute (SBSRI).

Annie Mophew has won a Fulbright Fellowship for dissertation research on the social and religious integration of the English Merchant Adventurers in northern Germany during the period 1570-1700.

Professor Beth Plummer, Susan C. Karant-Nunn Professor, has been awarded membership in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, for the fall 2019 semester.

Rachel Small, Division doctoral student, has won a Fulbright Fellowship and a DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) Fellowship. Additionally, she has been awarded a Central European History Dissertation Travel Grant and the 2019 Miriam U. Chrisman Travel Fellowship from the Society for Reformation Research. She plans to spend the 2019-2020 academic year in Germany engaged in research for her dissertation on the impact of natural disasters on community interactions in areas where both Protestants and Catholics lived together.

Activities of Faculty and Graduate Students

Professor Paul Milliman, Associate Professor in the Department of History and Division associated faculty, spoke at the 94th Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in Philadelphia on "Sauerkraut, Beer, and Crusading: Medieval Western European Views on Eastern Europe's Place in the World." Closer to home, he gave a talk in UA Special Collections on "*Hortus Sanitatis: A Natural History of Health in the Late Middle Ages*" as part of the Early Books Lecture Series XVI.

Professor Ute Lotz-Heumann, Director and Heiko A. Oberman Professor, has published *A Sourcebook of Early Modern European History: Life, Death, and Everything in Between*, in Honor of Susan C. Karant-Nunn (London/New York 2019). In the winter, she gave two invited lectures at Catalina Foothills Church in Tucson on "The Spread of the Protestant Reformation in Europe," and "Vitriol and Propaganda in the Reformation Era." This spring, as part of the SBS Community Classroom, she is teaching a course on "The History of Ireland."

Last November **Professor Beth Plummer**, Susan C. Karant-Nunn Professor, gave a talk on "The Many Prisons of Stephen Castenbauer: Reformation History, Memory, and Historical Method" to the UA German Studies Colloquium. More recently, in February, she gave an invited lecture, "Ringing Bells and Singing Hymns: Religious Fluidity, Hybridity, and Conflict in the Devotional Cultures of North German Convents," in the Forschungskolloquium zur Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit [Research Colloquium on Early Modern History] at the Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.

Rachel Small, Division doctoral student, presented her research at the UA Graduate and Professional Student Council (GPSC) Student Showcase. She titled her poster "In the Wake of Disaster: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Modern Germany (1520-1720)."

Alumni

Dr. Thomas Donlan, Brophy College Preparatory, has published his revised dissertation, *The Reform of Zeal: François de Sales and Militant Catholicism* (St. Andrews, UK, 2018).

Dr. Elizabeth (Lizzy) Ellis-Marino, California State University, East Bay, has published an article entitled "A conversion Too Far: Elisabeth von Loë, Moritz von Büren and the Jesuits" in *Church History and Religious Culture* 98, no. 3-4 (2018).

Dr. Adam Hough (Ph.D. 2017) saw the publication of his dissertation, *The Peace of Augsburg and the Meckhart Confession: Moderate Religion in an Age of Militancy* (London/New York 2019).

Professor Jonathan Reid, East Carolina University, has published two chapters: "Imagination and Influence: The Creative Powers of Marguerite de Navarre at Work at Court and in the World," in *Women and Power at the French Renaissance Court*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Amsterdam 2018); and "Lay Leadership in the Reformed Communities during the Huguenot Revolution, 1559-1563," in *Emancipating Calvin: Culture and Confessional Identity in Francophone Reformed Communities*, eds. Karen E. Spierling, Eric A. de Boer, and R. Ward Holder (Leiden 2018).

In Memoriam

Anne (Strehlow) Vance, longtime generous benefactor together with her late husband Robert (Bob) to the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies, died on September 24, 2018. She was born in Peoria, Illinois, and graduated from DePauw University, Indiana, where she was president of Kappa Alpha Theta sorority. After moving to Tucson, Anne was active at St. Philip's in the Hills in the youth programs and Altar Guild, on the Kappa Alpha Theta Advisory Board, the Junior League of Tucson, as President and Baile Chairman of St. Luke's Board of Visitors, in the Episcopal Campus Ministry, and in the P.E.O. Chapter B. In 1997 the Church Divinity School of the Pacific conferred on her the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, honoris causa. Many will also remember her and Bob as avid baseball fans. The Division is most fortunate to have known them as friends and supporters.



Fulbright winner
Annie Mophew,
doctoral student.



Fulbright and
fellowship winner
Rachel Small,
doctoral student.



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