# AN IDENTITY OF ONE'S OWN. OLYMPIA MORATA, A LEARNED LADY IN THE RENAISSANCE

# UNA IDENTIDAD PROPIA. OLYMPIA MORATA, UNA MUJER DOCTA EN EL RENACIMIENTO

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**Abstract** Olympia Morata (Ferrara 1526-Heidelberg 1555) is a figure that deserves further insights and research. Woman of deep culture, a writer in Latin and in Greek, she lived at the Este Court of Ferrara at the time when the Duchess Renata of France was spreading the Calvinist religious faith in her entourage. Olympia embraced this faith unreservedly and it costs her escape and exile from Ferrara to take refuge in Germany, where she died at just 29 years. Olympia is therefore a wonderful example of a cultured woman of serious religious devotion, traits that appear in prayer, dialogue, letters, in both Latin and Greek. After her death, from 1558 Celio Secondo Curione collected her literary heritage and published it in various editions. Quite famous in the narrow circle of the Reformed, she was then forgotten and her work still need a good translation from Latin and an appropriate critical edition that overcomes and integrates the one carried out by Lanfranco Caretti in 1940 and 1954.

Keywords Olympia Morata, learned women, Renaissance, Reformation, Este Court, Ferrara.

**Resumen** Olympia Morata (Ferrara 1526-Heidelberg 1555) es una figura que merece que se la investigue con detalle. Mujer de profunda cultura, escritora en latín y en griego, vive en la Corte de los Este de Ferrara en el momento en que la duquesa Renata de Francia difundía la fe religiosa calvinista en su séquito. Olympia abraza esta fe sin reservas y, como consecuencia, tiene que escapar de Ferrara para refugiarse en Alemania, donde muere a los 29 años. Olympia es, por lo tanto, un maravilloso ejemplo de una mujer culta de devoción religiosa seria, aspectos que aparecen en sus oraciones, diálogos y cartas, tanto en latín como en griego. Tras su muerte y desde 1558 Celio Secondo Curione recoge su herencia literaria y la publica en varias ediciones. Muy famosa en el estrecho círculo de la Reformada, Olympia se ha mantenido en el olvido durante mucho tiempo y su producción está pendiente de una buena traducción del latín y una edición crítica apropiada que supere e integre la que llevó a cabo Lanfranco Caretti entre 1940 y 1954.

**Palabras clave** Olympia Morata, mujeres cultas, Renacimiento, Reforma, la corte de los Este, Ferrara.

## 1. Introduction

At the dawn of the sixteenth century, many female writers began to embark into the complex world of literature in Italy. We could reasonably list a conspicuous brigade of women who, challenging archaic and poisonous prejudices, and warding off blows from the sharpened knives of misogyny, enthusiastically drank from the fresh waters of culture. From a methodological perspective it would be useful to broaden the definition of "writing" in order to include in the category private letters and diaries, and unpublished commentaries of religious texts and classical works. Furthermore, it should be noted that in Italy, thanks to Petrarch among others, poetry was considered a vital genre in which women loved to dabble.

These courageous and indomitable women were a very different breed from their predecessors, who had timidly stepped into the perilous public forum of Letters in the late 1400s, reaching the peaks of Mount Helicon only after a long and arduous quest. From the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the ranks of notable women writers swelled, and the quality of their output improved; among those who chose the vernacular as a means of expression we can mention: Veronica Gambara (1485–1550), Gaspara Stampa (1523–1554), Tullia d'Aragona (1510–1556), Laura Terracina (1519–1577), Laura Battiferri (1523–1589), Veronica Franco (1546–1591), Chiara Matraini (1515–1604) and Tarquinia Molza (1542-1617).

Nevertheless, a prolonged incubation period was necessary for the fertile seeds of Humanism to grow. Indeed, this was no mere reimagining of the ancient philological and grammatical treatises, but rather a fully-fledged affirmation of the "dignity of man"; the rise of Ficinian ideals, although imbued with classical values, was beginning to shape civilised society. Although the spread of this innovative model of *homo novus* was at first confined to the lay elite, the idea was so appealing that it started to take hold among the busy merchants of northern Italy, who rapidly began to transform themselves into splendid and refined gentry. This transformation process was aided by the traditional aristocracy—dukes, princes and counts—who eagerly surrounded themselves with talented artists—painters, poets and musicians—charged with immortalising their power and resplendence for posterity.

Thanks to this process, the Italian courts became places in which a more pragmatic *humanitas* was welcomed and nurtured; take, for example, the refined court of Urbino, which provided the scene in which *Il Cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*)<sup>1</sup> was set—this elegant dialogue was destined to change the face of European culture, not only as a shining example of *savoir vivre*, but also a behavioural model to strive towards, albeit only among a few, favoured individuals at the zenith of Renaissance society (Kelly-Gadol, 1977, 175-201).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Considered one of the most influential works of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the hugely popular *Il Cortegiano* was published in 1528 and immediately translated into French and English.

ANTONELLA CAGNOLATI

This was the fertile environment that spawned the cultural vivacity and richness of Humanism: we generally distinguish between a period of rediscovery of the Classics following the first intuitions of Francesco Petrarca in his final years, at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century—when, with remarkable enthusiasm and love for culture, he sought out ancient manuscripts in monastery libraries—and the more mature findings from the Renaissance proper—a period that can be dated adopting the contro-reformist involution halfway through the 16<sup>th</sup> century as *terminus ad quem*. Going beyond the boundaries of mere erudition, the teachings inferred from the works of the Greek and Latin authors were brought back to life—they suggested practices, modelled identity, and indicated to the upper classes how to behave. These individuals could not have failed to notice that a different interpretation of virtus emerged from Cicero's careful editions—a concrete link between life and thought, a profound desire for synergistic osmosis between citizen and community. This stimulating evidence soon began to reshape their view of the world, overturning the apathetic and resigned transcendental ideal that had previously prevailed, in favour of a dynamic immanence— the first stirrings of a conceptual revolution that would shake the very foundations of the new era that was dawning in the early 1500s, that is to say the Modern Age.

In this time of historical acceleration and intellectual and artistic expansion, even several enthusiastic female thinkers managed to carve themselves out a niche. Their ability to comprehend the world around them, thanks to intelligent use of the things they had learned, is all the more remarkable when one considers that their reading matter was not easily approachable, and, according to the canons of the time, not fit for a female *curriculum studiorum*. Indeed, such canons centred around the humility, submission and silence of women—these were the traits of a well-brought-up young woman, and such lessons would condition her growth and shape her identity. This was the paradigm that the erudite women writers of the Renaissance would have to rebel against if they wanted to make their mark; they would have to break free of the binary role of wives and mothers, and, *in primis*, disregard how they had been pigeon-holed in the obsolete and unflattering archetypes that had prevailed since the Fall of Eve (Cagnolati, 2013, 51-62).

The mere act of appropriating such a "dangerous" tool as literature—thereby exposing their vulnerable brains to potentially perilous new ideas (von Tipperlskirch 2011)—was in itself a rebellion. It meant no longer uncritically accepting the explanations of the world provided to them ready-made by others. It meant no longer accepting their predetermined role as treacherous *ianua diaboli*—a role that had been laid down for them since the time of Tertullian. However, thanks to a serendipitous alignment of the planets (as the cosmology of the time would have it), in the early decades of the 1500s the conditions were ripe for such a revolution. The profound cultural changes underway provided women with a legitimate opportunity to overturn the *status quo*, to propose a new, self-imposed code of behaviour based on the Sacred Scriptures—what could be more fitting, more chaste?

192

The door that opened to let the women in-the new, bright view of a world in which they would have a more meaningful place—was, of course, the rise of Protestantism. As cleverly emphasised in the Protestant reform—that extraordinary rent in the fabric of the things that were, born of the spiritual ideas and experience of Martin Luther and John Calvin—women found not only the justification for their words, but also a new role. They became active participants of the religious revolution that was beginning to transform human social and political relations in the Europe of the time (Peyronel Rambaldi, 1992, 12-14), and, in their hands, the Good Book was found to contain shining paragons of virtue that were entirely antithetical to those that they had previously and unwittingly been forced to adopt. The strength, courage and determination of Esther and Judith provided valid alternative models to the submissive behaviour that had been propagandised for centuries through the letters of Saint Paul<sup>2</sup> and the works of the Church Fathers<sup>3</sup>. The Bible, therefore, provided an enviable repertoire of feminist icons, which women wilfully and knowingly strived to emulate. Despite their blameless origin, these new role models and their actions often ran counter to the norms in force. A revolution had begun.

As we will see, Olympia Morata and her biographical exploits (Bainton 1992; Bonnet 1851; Daenens 1999; Parker 2002; Plastina 2011) provide a full account of this change, documenting the osmosis from the Classics, which she read in her youth, into the burning passion she developed for Reformation theology in adulthood. This transition was common to many Italian intellectuals of the age; despite the considerable opposition they faced, they embraced the Protestant creed. There would, however, be harsh penalties to pay for this change of faith—either exile or martyrdom.

# 1. A gifted young girl

On one radiant afternoon in June of 1541, at the Belriguardo summer residence of the Este nobles, a young adolescent called Olympia Morata prepared herself for a performance. She would read the commentary that she herself had written on Cicero's *Stoic Paradoxes*<sup>4</sup>. Despite her precocious age (and sex), she expounded upon her interpretation of this less than approachable text confidently, and with due references, and traces of her remarkable achievement remain in a letter written by her friend, Celio Secondo Curione (Biondi, 1985). Writing many years after the event, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Specifically, I refer to the *Letter to the Ephysians* (5, 22-24) and the *Letter to the Corinthians* (7,4; 11, 7; 14, 34).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Attempts to dictate women's behaviour—with varying degrees of misogyny—were a common feature of works by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The *Paradoxa stoicorum*, a philosophical dialogue dedicated to Marcus Junius Brutus, comprised a preface and six chapters. Rich in philosophical references to the Stoic age, this work had great resonance due to its apparent aim—to reform the ethics pertaining to the Roman ruling classes, which had by then become widely corrupt. Remember that Olympia's father made ample use of the *Paradoxa* as the basic text of his school at Vicenza. Cfr. Parker 2003: 4, note 16.

Italian Humanist remembered with admiration Olympia's mastery of Greek and Latin, which made her a *mirabile exemplum* of erudition and talent. Curione remarked not only upon her command of the Classical idiom, but also her understanding of the content of the text; indeed, she was able to respond promptly to questions, and was undoubtedly equal to other ladies of greater age. In fact, she surpassed them in intellect: "ibi audivimus eam nos ita latine declamantem, grece loquentem, Ciceronis Paradoxa explicantem, ad questiones respondentem, ut cum veterum puellarum quavis, quae quidem ingenii laude excelluerit, conferri posse videretur" (Paladino, 1927, Il, 235).

As we often find in cases of *feminae doctae*, a decisive role in the education of the young Olympia was played by her father. The open-mindedness demonstrated by some "enlightened" and educated fathers, who occupied intellectual roles (university professor, physician, secretary to people of note), seems to have had a marked influence on the destiny of their daughters; for example, the cases of Olympia Morata and Lucrezia Marinelli reveal how access to culture was determined and conceded by their fathers, rather than gained as a result of open rebellion against the misogynistic canons of the time.

Fulvio Pellegrino Morato was a man of certain fame in the res publica litterarum an intellectual renowned in Ferrara for his teaching role in the local Studium, and for having acted as court preceptor to the young sons of Alfonso I d'Este. These were Ippolito, who was destined to become cardinal and avail himself of the services of Ludovico Ariosto as his personal secretary, and Francesco. After having left Ferrara in 1532, spending some time as a teacher in Vicenza (a city in which he founded a school), Morato returned with his family to Ferrara in 1539. His biography reveals the consequences of so-called "Evangelism", a reconsideration of Lutheran ideas that appears even more solidly anchored to Humanist ethics than to a real understanding of the radical novelty of the Reform, with all its explosive revolutionary drive. Anticlericalism and condemnation of the abuses perpetrated by the Roman Curia generated two distinct types of adherent: crypto-reformers and Nicodemites (against whom Calvin railed against with particular vehemence) (Puttin, 1974). As his writings attest – specifically to the Lutheran suggestions that are evident in the Esposizione della Oratione domenicale detta Pater Noster – he had already begun to internalise the Protestant ideals, and the foundations of his beliefs are strikingly similar to those expressed by Martin Luther.

Little Olympia, probably born at the end of 1526, was amply exposed to the vast erudition of her father, and breathed in—at home and at court—the vigorous new air of criticism of the Roman Curia. She was also likely influenced by another prestigious woman who had fallen under the spell of Calvinism: Renée of France, wife of Duke Ercole II. Having created a small *accademia femminile* at the Este court, Renée had gathered together a group of young ladies who would board at the castle and study alongside her daughter, Anna d'Este; they would provide her not only with companions in her studies and at play, but also unimpeachable examples to emulate. Among these girls, Olympia was recruited in 1540, the year in which in all likelihood she made her debut at court. The duchess Renée invested great sums of money acquiring books for the little school at court. Among the works she purchased were several different editions of the bible and Classical texts. In total, her library could boast about 600 volumes—a number that would have been difficult to rival at the time. Unfortunately, these assets were partially lost at the end of the 16th century, and some were burnt because they appeared in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and their possession was therefore totally forbidden (Franceschini, 2005, 211-214).

From this point onwards, Olympia found herself in an environment that was cultured and refined, but by no means benign, as her later writings would attest; she remembered with bitterness Renée's hostility towards her, but acknowledged that, thanks to the court library and the books that Renée bought specifically for her and Anna's other fellow pupils, she was able to study the Classics in great depth. In her writings it is possible to hear the echo of a profound understanding—not just formal and rhetorical—of the Greek and Latin literature; with her frequent citations and references to her own personal life and philosophical reflections she reveals the depth of her comprehension.

Nonetheless, her felicitous circumstances were destined not to last; the wheel of fortune was turning against her, and her father fell seriously ill. She therefore had to give up her dreams and life at court, and return home to care for her family in that time of need. This sad situation ended with Fulvio Morato dying, and from then on things only began to get worse. The death of the head of the family had a massive impact on all their lives, and the family found itself in a gravely precarious position, both financially and relationally speaking. Indeed, Olympia found herself the object of a kind of malevolent indifference in Renée's eyes, and she was definitively and irrevocably cut off from court when Anna d'Este was betrothed to the French prince, François de Lorraine. Their marriage on 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1548, marked her acceptance into the powerful Guise dynasty-future sworn enemies of the Huguenots-and the former fellow pupils never saw each other again. Olympia too had married, and the two new brides seldom wrote to one another either: among the entire literary output, only one letter addressed to Anna D'Este survives (1st July 1555). All in all, 1548 was a real annus horribilis for young Olympia; as her letters show, fate would grant her but a few more years of life, full of suffering and punctuated only occasionally by episodes of serenity—she died in Heidelberg in 1555 at the age of only 29 (Parker, 2002).

## 2. Preservation of her ouevre

After her death, Celio Secondo Curione, a dear friend of Fulvio Morato and admirer of Olympia since her brief sojourn in Ferrara from April to October 1541, decided to gather together everything she had written in order to erect a sort of "mulieris pietate

ANTONELLA CAGNOLATI

et literis clarissimae monumenta" ("testimonies of a woman very illustrious for devotion and culture") (Morata 1562:  $5^{\nu}$ ). He therefore sent letters to their mutual friends, and anybody else that Olympia had had contact with, requesting any material they may have, with a view to publishing it in a book—thereby preserving her memory as a virtuous and learned woman. By directing his not inconsiderable efforts, it took Curione only two years to see his plans come to fruition; he gave the world a slim volume of Olympia's works, thereby sparing her from oblivion. In the first edition of the book published in 1558, the editor thought to include various opinions, testimonials, epitaphs and celebratory poems that her admirers had written especially in her memory. These contributions extended the book to 115 octavo pages, and it became an immediate best-seller (Pirovano, 1997, 98). It contained Olympia's three essays on Cicero's Stoic Paradoxes, fourteen of her letters, three epigrams in Latin, three epigrams in Greek, and eight Greek translations of psalms, as well as several letters to or about her, Latin translations of psalms, Greek translations of epigrams, epitaphs in her honour, and an elegy to Olympia written by Hippolyta Taurella, wife of Baldassar Castiglione (who died prematurely at only 19 years of age).

Not content, however, Curione decided to hunt down even more written traces of Olympia. Fortune smiled upon him, and after only four years he was able to publish an extended edition (typeset by Pietro Perna), embellished with a conspicuous number of works and a remarkable collection of letters, which shed much light on the tortured existence and vicissitudes she experienced after 1548. The 1562 volume provides far more substantial evidence, not only of Olympia's range of interests, but also the undisputed value of her network (if the recipients of her letters are anything to judge by). Her correspondence includes letters to and from life-long friends like the Sinapius brothers, and newer acquaintances she met after her relocation to Germany. Her lively and articulate style contrasts starkly with the—often unhappy—accounts of her day-to-day life as a married woman. She knowingly describes the young couple's ordeals, and her own anxiety regarding the chances of their survival in the tumultuous and cruel religious war that was spilling blood across her new homeland.

## 3. The letters

As I have already mentioned, in the various editions of Olympia Morata's works, her letters were gathered together with other poems, dialogues and epitaphs. It is her letters, however, that reveal the most about her life and religious identity. The editions I used in this analysis are Curione (1570), Caretti (1954), and Parker (2003)

The first question that required an answer was: how many letters in total do we have to help us understand Morata's thoughts and ideas? In his edition Caretti collected fiftytwo, but suggested that, in all probability, there are more unpublished letters preserved in the family archives of Protestant Reformers in Switzerland. If so, I suspect that Basel and Zurich would be likely targets, as several of Morata's correspondents and friends lived in these towns at that time. Another issue worth addressing is the dates and amounts of letters written at particular moments of her life. The *terminus a quo* is 1540, the year of her arrival at the Este Court in Ferrara, while the *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the last letter she wrote to her friend and mentor Curione, in October 1555. Within this period, however, several phases are detectable; these are distinguished by important events that would have great repercussions, not only on her life, but also her soul.

The first of these phases occurred between 1540 and 1548; these are the years in which Olympia lived at court, as a companion and schoolmate of Anna d'Este (Renée of France's daughter). These letters were mostly written to her teachers, including Kilian and Johannes Sinapius, and are vivid testimonies of her enthusiasm for Classical languages and love of the ancient authors Cicero, Virgil and Homer.

Such happy days did not last, however; when Olympia's father Fulvio Pellegrino Morato suddenly became ill and died in 1548, she was compelled to interrupt her stay at court for several months in order to nurse her infirm parent. After his death, another great disappointment lay in wait for Morata: the Duchess Renée no longer cared for her presence at court, and in any case her friend Anna had been married to François de Guise in the interim, and had left Ferrara to live with her new husband in France. Nevertheless, these sad events were accompanied by a felicitous encounter: Morata met Andreas Grunthler and they married in the spring of 1550. The newlyweds decided to leave Ferrara (where the Inquisition of Rome was working hard against the so-called "heretics") in order to live in Germany. This move heralded the second great phase of her life, which started in 1550 and ended in 1555.

This new phase of her life is well documented in her letters; the couple travelled from town to town in Germany, before settling at Schweinfurt in 1551. They could not entirely escape the iron fist of Rome, however, and the religious war between the Protestant princes and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V would have a painful and very real impact on the lives of Olympia and Andreas. Indeed, Schweinfurt was placed under siege, a dramatic turn of events that would last for fourteen months. Everything was in short supply, and the terrible conditions only ceased in 1554, when the invading army rampaged through the city, setting fires and killing with impunity.

Although Olympia managed to make an adventurous escape, her experiences during her flight would have grave consequences on her health. The couple eventually reached Heidelberg, where they appeared to achieve a newfound serenity; Andreas was offered the Chair in Medicine at the university, and Olympia began to set up home. Once again, however, the cruel hand of fate was not to leave her in peace; her suffering during the war had undermined her fragile constitution, and slowly but inexorably life began to leave her. Her letters from the summer of 1555 reveal her precarious state of health, and she died on 26<sup>th</sup> October after unspeakable suffering.

## 4. Conclusions

Who was Olympia really? A cultured young woman, a lover of books, and an enthusiastic admirer of ancient literature. Life saw fit to expose her to dramatic events that would lead to her death at only 29 years. Nonetheless, in her brief time on this Earth, her religiosity matured from a primitive evangelical humanism to a sure belief in the principles of the Reformation creed. Like a faithful reflection of an image in a mirror, her letters recount this evolution of her soul.

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