DAVID WALLACE

Nation/Translation

An Afterword

Abstract

Taking points of departure from each essay, the *Afterword* considers the peculiarities of distinct literary historical traditions across Europe, the enduring influence of nineteenth-century paradigms, and some aspirations for future work.

These essays employ a remarkable range of strategies to out-think strong paradigms for literary history laid down in the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries. The talismanic term *nation* emerges as most powerful signifier of all: for as Pavlína Rychterová (Vienna) observes, its metaphysical charge proved able, in a self-fulfillingly prophetic kind of way, to join, explain, or represent almost anything, from past to present. Mere textual evidence hardly stymied its progress: where texts prove obstructive, forgeries might do, or (sometimes better) no texts at all. It perhaps seems belated of us to engage in such Laocoönic struggles, but such seems the state of play across the languages and literatures represented in these essays. It is fitting, then, that this initiative is truly cross-national: e-published and launched in a Mediterranean country, at the University of Milan, building on the initiatives of a North Sea alliance between a large and a small country – the universities of York in England and Odense in Denmark;[1] and shaped by the international 'Interfaces' network, with its inclusive and porous conception of Europe, past and present. Scandinavians have for some decades now pioneered forms of academic exchange that overflow national limits. This begins with their conversation: for when Danes, Swedes, Swedish-speaking Finns, Norwegians, and Icelanders meet, an inter-language develops in which no speaker can be quite at home, but all can be understood – either in an intermediate Scandinavian, or in English. Such exchanges themselves counteract the separatist tendencies emphasized in that crucial time evoked above: for the Romantic period of emergent nationalism, c. 1800, emphasized the distinctive genius of each literary tradition. Now, however, Scandinavians are taking the liberty to

consider what lies, literarily, between them (or just beside them), a development that has led *inter alia* to much greater interest being taken in widely-circulating, and locally instantiated, Latin texts. Perhaps the most impressive act of cultural repatriation yet achieved, anywhere, has been transacted between Scandinavian countries: for in 1971, Denmark willingly began shipping a good share of its treasured Old Norse texts to Reykjavik, acceding to demands first formally expressed by Icelanders in 1830.[2] The shared small-country, small-literature experience has both drawbacks and strengths, of course, but it serves as a point of departure that can stand in for a number of smaller European languages and countries and thus supplement, for instance, the French, Italian and English views of Europe – where a rhetoric of cultural export rather than import is easily played out.

There is little likelihood that the "Elgin marbles," now at least relabeled as the "Parthenon sculptures," will be moving from London to Athens anytime soon – even though the Romantic poet Byron was one of the first to deplore their removal,[3] and even though modern Athenians have recently provided a building to accommodate them. The imperial style projected by the British Museum's nineteenth-century neo-Greek colonnades replicates itself most every time an Anglophone scholar joins the circle of Scandinavian colleagues: for the inter-linguistic conversation of many needs must switch to accommodate the needs, and the limitations, of one. The fact that the essays in this collection appear in a range of European languages, then, represents a challenge, if not a penance, for any self-respecting English speaker. For in struggling to comprehend issues of common interest differently expressed in different languages we best come to relativize, and hence enlarge, our own conceptual capacities. And we also grasp quite how privileged we are as practitioners of first-language English, spared the frustration (as experienced by Scandinavians) of conveying, say, 90% of what lies in your head.

Writing from Aarhus, Denmark, Svend Erik Larsen points out that cognitive patterns associated with comparative literature, as long practised, first developed in that crucial, early nineteenth-century period associated with emerging nationalisms. This accounts for their frustrating limitations: for texts were to be claimed by and solidly anchored in *one* national tradition before passing or translating to another. They could not be considered as texts bridging borders, as birds in flight. Still today much anxiety arises as to where, to what nation, a text belongs, and anxiety intensifies the further back we go. Oxford, Bodleian Library, 340, a manuscript associated with Roch-

2. See Hoffman 4–5. "Iceland's successful negotiations opened the door," Hoffman argues, "to former colonies worldwide to petition for redress against historical imbalances of power that permitted the removal of valuable goods" (5).

3. See Hoffman 4–5. Lord Elgin offered his marbles for sale to the British Parliament in 1816. For a rationale for the continuing presence of the Elgin marbles in London, see MacGregor, "The Whole World in Our Hands." Neil MacGregor has served as director of the British Museum from 2002–15.

ester abbey, features a Latin pen trial text immediately followed by a translation: "Hebben olla uogola nestas..." (169v). Should this sentence on the nesting habits of birds, and the hopes of human lovers, be acclaimed as the earliest fragment of Dutch literature, or is it Old Kentish?[4] Much has been built upon the answer. Florian Kragl (Erlangen-Nürnberg) considers a pair of vernacular texts that stand in complex relation to the Latin texts that accompany them, namely the "glossaries" known as the *Pariser Gespräche* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7641) and the *Kasseler Glossen* or *Glossae Cassellanae* (Kassel, Universitäts Bibliothek, Codex Theol. 4.24, 15r–17v). The term *glossary* suggests a robust relation between one language (which the reader knows well) and another (less well), although it is worth recalling that the Middle English term *glose* is complex, indicative of intensive hermeneutics: still today we both reach for a *glossary* to uncover the meaning of words foreign to us, while yet *glossing over* unpalatable facts. Kragl, surveying his examples, finds no generalizable rule as to which language is more 'native' to the compiler: is this a Latin speaker needing help with German, or *vice versa*? Similarly, Kragl finds that the Germanic terms stand in no normative relation to any kind of standard or 'national' German. These texts are designed to do a job of work for a particular speaker in specific local circumstances: they are *Gebrauchstexte,* a useful compound term that might be translated as "use-texts." As such, they are not to be associated with any courtly *Bildungsakadamie.* Nor do they satisfy the hunger for nationalizing Ur-texts, as unleashed in the earlier nineteenth century: for before these texts could be claimed or constructed as any kind of German, they were European.

Simon Gaunt (London) stands as it were on the far side of *Die Straßburger Eide,*[5] or *Les serments de Strasbourg,* engaging issues in French rather than German literary history, but he too resists evaluating local texts against any *a priori* notion of a centred and achieved national language. The power of *fons et origo* French in spreading from France to irrigate all literary Europe has long been a working commonplace, but Gaunt invites us to consider the reverse possibility: that in many instances, the literary uses and possibilities of French were developed far from French ground before, as it were, being repatriated by literary historians (or ostracized as regional oddities). The 'French of England' has been much discussed in recent years,[6] but Gaunt pushes things further to suggest, baldly put, that Anglo-Saxon and Latin 'invent' literary French: that is, twelfth-century scripts first developed for Old English and insular Latin help

4. See Kwakkel; de Grauwe; Van Oostrum; Van Houts.

5. On 14 February 842 oaths of mutual alliance were recorded as sworn by half-brothers Louis (Ludwig) and Karl (Charles), with the former, the elder, speaking in "romana lingua" and the latter in "teudisca lingua." See Sonderegger 220.

6. See for example Wogan-Browne et al.

form a *scripta* for French, a textual culture that gains traction on (insular) English ground before any equivalent developments on (continental) French territory. Gaunt then acquaints us with the *Estoire des Engleis* (*c.* 1136–37) by Geoffrey Gaimar, who is both the earliest known French-language historiographer *and* the first translator from English (Anglo-Saxon) to French: a *translatio studii* that has escaped most textbooks in France.[7] Avatars of Gaunt's next text, the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, travel from Flanders to Acre to Naples and then 'France,' evoking 'the French' as "bedraggled refugees of uncertain provenance." In considering, finally, the *mises en prose* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* produced in Italy, *c.* 1270, Gaunt refuses to characterize such Franco-Italian works as 'hybrid' – for that would imply, again, clear distinction between items of lexicon, and of syntax, regarded as properly or originally 'French,' on the one hand, and 'Italian,' on the other. For Gaunt, the most striking feature of French in our period is "that it belongs to no one, or perhaps more accurately to everyone." And readers of French in Italy did not require 'perfect' texts, but *Gebrauchstexte*, designed to meet local needs and pleasures. Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) and his Venetian printers, several centuries later, did not aspire to purvey text-perfect Petrarch. Bembo happily emended readings from his own autograph manuscript of Petrarch where Petrarch fell short, in Bembo's opinion, of authentic Trecento Tuscan: for such Tuscan was by then, in the Cinquecento, the stable product that Venetian printers could sell across the world as authentic and imitable Italian, freed of local variation.[8] Gaunt detects in the *Histoire*, much earlier, "a deliberate supralocal koinization of the language, one intended to be at home wherever it travels."

Petrarch, notes Karla Mallette (Michigan), made his home at Venice from 1362–68, living in a house looking out across the lagoon, "one of the busiest liquid highways in the Veneto." Petrarch is often deployed as a period marker, signifying a turn to humanism and proto-Renaissance sensibilities, but Mallette here anatomizes the man himself, poised at that time between mature achievement and incipient decline. One intuition of her essay resonates with that of Kenelm Foster, OP, who, in writing his own last book, suggests (never quite overtly) that in championing Latin over Italian, Petrarch belatedly realized that he had backed the wrong horse.[9] Petrarch's literary posterity is unevenly distributed, Mallette notes, between Latin (more than 91%) and Italian (less than 9%); yet during the 2004 septicentennial birthday celebrations scant attention was paid, beyond

7. See now the opening chapter of Turner.

8. See Dionisotti; Beltramini.

9. *Petrarch: Poet and Humanist.*

10. See *Seniles* 10.2, as discussed and contextualized in trans-European slaving contexts in Wallace, *Premodern Places* 190–94.

11. "S'amor non è," as digested into Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, 400–20. See *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson 478–79.

12. Chaucer, *Clerk's Tale*, in *CT*, ed. Benson, line 31.

the Academy, to the *Latinitas* once thought epoch-defining. In a bold variation on conventional literary history, Mallette anatomizes a motif from Petrarch's own corpus suggestive of his turbulence of mind: *shipwreck*. She couples this with deft analysis of the particular relation of Latin to Italian, and with reflections on late style (generally *catastrophic*, according to Adorno). Venice, as apex and entrepôt of trade down the Adriatic, and as point of departure for Palestinian pilgrimages, knew much about disasters at sea: Leontius Pilatus, the Calabrian who had brought Homer to Petrarch in Latin, died within sight of Venice harbour in 1366; and slaves from beyond the Crimea were sold on the quayside.[10] Petrarch himself, Mallette tells us, was averse to travelling by water in later life and preferred, in poetry and prose, to describe and prescribe the travels of others. All this feeds into his Italian poetry, including the first sonnet to be shipped to England.[11] And such vernacular poetry, as penned by the "lauriat poete,"[12] is locally related to Latin, the imperial language for which Italian supplies, as Mallette suggestively has it, "the pillowtalk."

Latin's kinship to peninsular languages was recognized many centuries before Petrarch, *in bono et in malo*. Monks at Wearmouth-Jarrow at the time of Bede were prized across Europe as Latin copyists, since their un-Latinate native vernaculars made them less likely to contaminate texts (*contaminatio*) while copying. Anxieties over maintaining clear boundaries between languages recur throughout the literary history of our period and, indeed, erupt into present-day regions such as Bosnia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia. As a professional Byzantinist, Panagiotis Agapitos (Nicosia) has been bumped and buffeted by attempts down the centuries, extending into the present, to separate one kind of Greek from another – classical Greek, Greek of Late Antiquity (a fairly recent disciplinary category), Byzantine Greek, and modern Greek – *while yet* effecting internal transfers between them. 'Early Byzantine literature,' for example, is now effectively covered by the disciplinary umbrellas of Late Antique and Early Christian Studies, while livelier vernacular Byzantine material is transferred forward to modern Greek. What's left, one wonders? Hymnography, according to Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), the Bavarian 'founding father' of Byzantine Studies, should be recognized as the true poetry of Byzantines. The work of Byzantinists is further over-shadowed by the authority of a watershed date: 1453. The relationship of this date to actual literary production, Agapitos argues, is generally assumed but rarely questioned, and here one thinks of English literary histories that terminate or originate with

too little explanation in 1066. Battles and military catastrophes, Agapitos suggests, have too often formed a convenient date-structure device for literary history, with little actual investigation of cause and effect. And here one might conversely think of battles 'beyond the frame' effecting social life, hence literary production, in places far from the battlefield. Constantinople was effectively gifted a further fifty years as an Orthodox city following the defeat of the Ottomans by Timurid forces at Çubuk (near Ankara) on 20 July 1402.

German philosophers and philologists have exerted great influence over Byzantine literary history, and the same holds true for their sway over Czech. The term 'Czech' seems an especially fragile designator of statehood, being adjectival rather than substantive and hence somewhat orphaned (following amicable separation from Slovakia in 1993). Such fragility and anxiety about compounding has long been felt in the region, with the term 'Bohemia' often invoked as protective cover. Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (1316–78) was keen to suggest that his was an *imperium* of east and west, embracing both Latin and Slavic spheres. But there has been much misgiving down the centuries about compounding Czech with German, or even in analysing them as neighbouring, co-habiting tongues. As Rychterová argues, Czech literature emerged in the fourteenth century in close relationship to German; but philological traditions have tended not to dwell on trafficking between them. Czech philologists, bent on isolating a distinctive national tradition, have struggled to apply conceptual categories minted by Germans to their own uses. Thus they sought "the poetic soul of the Volk," in ways pioneered by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and for a while they upheld Ossian-like, neo-medieval, neo-epical forgeries, penned *c.* 1810–20, as integral to Czech literary tradition. Jan Hus was commended for developing the diacritic orthography of a 'new' Czech, but deplored for importing non-native ideas from John Wyclif's England. Byzantine, Slavic, and Hebrew contributions to the literary culture of the Bohemian basin were inevitably sidelined by this *Kulturkampf*. Czech literature was taught as a 'national' literature after 1945, and even after 1989 German has been slow to make a comeback in Czech educational institutions. Crucial texts such as the *Damilil chronicle*, however, exfoliating across Czech, Latin, and German avatars, demand comparative approaches.

As an alternative to single nation teleology, Rychterová suggests intensive investigation of the "very specific context" from which textual avatars (such as those of the *Damilil chronicle*) are generated. Ste-

phan Müller (Vienna) advocates comparable strategies for escaping over-determinations of grand theory – to which a German language author, and an *early* medievalist, will be especially well-attuned. As an alternative to "literarhistorischen Großerzählungen," Müller proposes that we turn to "gute Geschichte/n," smaller units of textual analysis freed from such *a priori* baggage. Intensive analysis of material texts, as pioneered in the United States, does not part company with historical *hors-texte* or *hors-objet* entirely (unless taken to binding-sniffing, fetishistic extremes). Müller, too, keeps faith with history or histories, "Geschichte/n," tracing them out in a variety of ways. Literary texts should not be straightforwardly adduced to illustrate" social conditions at the moment of their composition: scenes depicted (such as those of the tavern) have prior generic conventions, conserved by generations of textual transmission, although each scene will resonate differently with each new textual instantiation.[13] The meaning and uses of a text at the moment of its dedication to a specific ruler will change, Müller argues, once that ruler dies and the text enters into more complex networks of manuscript transmission, keeping company with textual neighbours that, a generation earlier, it could never have imagined. What Otfrid von Weißenburg's *Gospel Book* first meant *c.* 870 AD, what it meant to multiple dedicatees, to a female reader, and to various users and adaptors down to the nineteenth century makes for complex but good *Geschichte*. Dedicatory remarks and prologues offer fruitful instances of the Middle Ages, Müller notes, writing its own literary history.[14] There is always a risk, however, that in exiting 'grand narrative' by one door we may re-enter it by another. Müller concludes by expressing the hope that many strands of "guten Geschichte/n" may combine *not* to reveal the total truth of literary history, but rather to narrate something to which the discourse of research might attach. This discourse might then turn to the subjects with which older literary histories have been concerned, such as love, death, and struggle, grief and solace, right and wrong, rulership, victory, and defeat, for these are the things that really matter ("die Dinge, auf die es eigentlich ankommt"). But medieval 'love' is not the same as the 'love' of nineteenth-century literary historians, nor of today. *Truth* is not a term that translates easily over time, or between languages.[15] And although certain literary themes might seem always to be with us, categories such as love, death, and violence ("Liebe, Tod, Gewalt") are not transcendent; emotions have their histories, too.[16]

13. See Hanna.

14. See, in addition to the (chiefly German) scholarship cited by Müller; Copeland, *Rhetoric*; and Copeland and Sluiter.

15. See Green, *A Crisis of Truth*.

16. See the Australian and the British Centres for the History of Emotions.

Tension between desire to escape literarhistorische Großerzählung and the need to lean upon it, by way of structuring a long narrative, may be read in the most impressive achievement in literary history of recent years, the *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, published in 3 large volumes by Einaudi in 2010. Medieval Italian literary history has long been shaped by *tre corone*, the three great writers who proleptically *wrote* Italy into existence before Italy proper could realize itself as a political entity, c. 1860. As recently as 1999, *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* thought to represent the Trecento via the triad codified by Bembo in the sixteenth century, while dedicating one further chapter to A.N. Other: we thus have "Dante," "Boccaccio," "Petrarch," and "Minor writers." And in 2014 a prestigious publishing house, backed by a hall of fame editorial board, launched a new periodical entitled *Tre Corone*. The Einaudi *Atlante*, or *Atlas of Italian Literary History*, breaks the mold by opting, as its title implies, for literary history organized by *location*, rather than by Big Names. Its editors also battle deterministic strains of historicism reaching back deep into the nineteenth century, via Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), and Francesco de Sanctis (1817–83). Their volumes deliver locally mapped and contextualized studies in exemplary detail, providing very many fine examples of the "guten Geschichte/n" called for by Müller. Yet they also structure their first volume through the kind of *Großerzählung* that Müller struggles to escape, progressing from "L'età di Padova (1222–1309)," the "Age of Padua," to "the Age of Avignon (1309–78)," "the Age of Florence (1378–1494)," and then finally "the Age of Venice (1494–1530)." The nineteenth century thus lives on as its Zeitgeist progresses from one great city to the next.

Two of the essays in this collection explore an imperial theme, although the acronym IMpEriaL is perhaps more fitting.[17] Benoît Grévin (Paris) maps out the "pan-European textual universe" of Latin *dictamen*, a form that evolved from Monte Cassino and from papal and imperial chancelleries, and their rivalries, to influence literary composition from Sicily (where it first prospered) to England. It was to distinguish between official and merely personal letters that a system of rhythmic ornamentation was developed in chancelleries, with *cursus rhythmicus* lending plain prose composition a distinctive and hence authoritative valence. Notaries who became expert in such complex Latin forms might swop sides in an argument, leaving the chancellery of Republican Florence for that of despotic Milan,[18] or they might (behind high walls of privileged discourse) become play-

17. This acronym IMpEriaL was devised for a new research consortium project, on 'Imperial Languages of Medieval Europe,' by CML Southern Denmark and York, in conjunction with Ghent; its typography both asserts and challenges the hegemonic claims advanced by such a topic.

18. See Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity* 60.

ful in ways that foreshadow exchanges between Erasmus and Thomas More. Archbishop James of Capua (Jacques de Capoue) and Peter de Vinea (Pier de la Vigna) undertook serious work for Emperor Frederick II of Sicily, codifying laws, yet found time to mock-duel one another in epistolary form. This is that same Pier della Vigna (c. 1190–1240) found among the suicide-trees of *Inferno* 13, and it is instructive to consider how each of our *tre corone* (whom I have just deposed as arbiters of Trecento literary history) engages the *dictamen* of which Pier was an acknowledged master. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of *dictamen* is its mixing of prose and verse-like elements, a *mélange* characteristic of certain Arabic forms. From the evidence of the *Vita nuova* and *Convivio*, Dante appeared to favour clean separation between verse and straightforward (*prorsus*) prose; perhaps their admixture was as problematical to him as (again perhaps) Brunetto Latini's dalliance with both Italian and French. Petrarch, given his pursuit of classical Latin and his contempt for curial culture, bountifully expressed re Avignon, could harbour little love for *dictamen*; yet he corresponded with John of Neumarkt (Johannes von Neumarkt, Jan of Středa) who worked in the imperial chancery at Prague.[19] Boccaccio was trained in *dictamen* while a student of canon law at Naples, notionally one half of the "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies." The rhythms of *cursus tardus*, *planus*, and *velox* wind through his *Decameron*, a foundational text for European novelistic prose, and the verses of his *Filostrato* and *Teseida* unspool prose-like across line endings. Remarkably, at the very same time, and just as dictamen was reaching its apogee in Italy, Richard of Bury was allowing dictaminal rhythms learned at Oxford, "à la sicilienne," to help shape his *Philobiblon*. And the same Oxonian teachers of dictamen were commending the Latinizing of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Histoire de Troie* by the thirteenth-century Sicilian judge Guido delle Colonne as exemplary of their art.[20] Aspects of literary art practised in Naples and Florence, then, were isomorphic with Oxford writing at about the time Chaucer first saw the light. "L'univers du *dictamen* latin" is not a global empire, but it does encourage literary history to connect and compare unlikely places.

Enrico Fenzi (Genoa) traces the long, complex, and sometimes contradictory history of *translatio imperii*, finding points of origin in the Biblical *Book of Daniel* and ending as things get even more complex (with translations from Troy, of the Holy Grail, and of other *materia*). The relation of power to wisdom, *potere* to *sapienza*, remains perennially problematic. There are times when worldly power, as

19. See further the chapter of Pavlína Rychterová above.

20. See Spampinato. Grévin here cites two important articles by Martin Camargo.

with ancient Rome at its apogee, figures as a carrier of wisdom, or revealed truth; and there are other historical phases, with barbarians at the gate, when alternative cities must be imagined (with truth domiciled in the clouds, beyond reach). When peace reigns, as during the *pax romana*, or later under Charlemagne, values of an outward-expanding, universalizing *humanitas* can be expounded by a Cicero, or an Alcuin. When Rome teeters, as at the time of Gregory the Great, ancient Roman values may fall away, including belief in *grammatica* (now tagged as idolatrous). Alcuin conceded Gregory's right to reject ancient grammar, but insisted that another must be supplied, since, as Fenzi has it, "una grammatica è indispensabile." Passionate and ambivalent love of Vergil permeates our period, from Augustine to Alcuin to Dante. Successive polities polish claims to be true heirs of Rome, imperial or otherwise, including German- and Sicilian-based emperors and the university and city of Paris. But when *translatio studii* cannot smoothly align with *translatio imperii*, the fruits of study, wisdom, and culture might be rudely grabbed, or abducted. The language of *raptus*, familiarly associated with imperial conquest, is also invoked for the carrying off of desirable goods, gifts of *sapientia*, that have somehow fallen into pagan hands. Origen, famously associated in the Middle Ages with self-castration, employs violently gendered language here: the law laid down in *Deuteronomy* 21.10–14, he argues, proposes that the beautiful and desirable woman should be taken from the enemy, with her hair to be cut and her nails clipped. There is a violence, too, in Augustine's more familiar injunction about taking gold out of Egypt: as the people of Israel took vessels and ornaments of silver and gold with them, when fleeing from the Egyptians, so should Christian believers take what they need from all branches of heathen learning.[21]

Mention of Egypt prompts us to ask what might be missing from these medieval accounts of *translatio imperii et studii*, the transfer of power and wisdom across the face of Europe, from east to west. One immediate answer is Arabic, and the Islamic world. Much of Aristotle, referred to by Dante as simply "the philosopher," had been brought to the west due to impetus created by Muslim scholars of Aristotle; some translations were made from from Greek to Arabic, and from Arabic to Latin (or, later, Castilian Spanish), and others directly from Greek to Latin (most famously by William of Moerbeke in the thirteenth century). Many of the translators at Toledo, in the first generation (earlier twelfth century), were Jews or Arabs. Arabic science had dazzled the west even earlier than this: tenth-century

21. Thereby adapting or converting it to Christian use ("in usum convertenda christianum:" *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. Martin, Book II, ch. XL (60), 25–26).

22. Burnett 2.

Córdoba, Charles Burnett argues, far exceeded any city in the Latin West in size and opulence, "and the contrast between the scientific cultures of al-Andalus and Latin Christendom was just as extreme."[22] Many bright young scholars of the time engaged in reverse *translatio* to amend defective western education: Gerbert d'Aurillac (d. 1002) went from Rheims to Vich in Catalonia to study the quadrivium, and Adelard of Bath traveled even further east for *studia Arabum*, having found *Gallica studia* inadequate.[23] Henry II Plantagenet, usually dubbed 'of England,' but with titles attaching him to Acquitaine, Anjou, Maine, Nantes, Normandy, Ireland, and other locales, ruled over Arabic-speaking Jews and once threatened, so his followers said, to convert to Islam and follow the sultan of Aleppo (were the pope not to depose archbishop Thomas Becket).[24]

23. Burnett 10, 22.

24. Burnett 60.

Thomas Ricklin (Munich) shows how anxieties generated in England by Arabic learning from Spain, or rumors of such learning, themselves generated legends of necromantic philosophers. Such figures, Ricklin insists, were taken as fact in medieval centuries, although they have never been written into *Philosophiegeschichte*, the history of philosophy, another "history of the victors." The first half of his essay focusses upon an episode from the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1090– *c.* 1142): a strange excursus that wanders far from William's ostensible brief as historian of the kings of England. Recognizing that he is wandering by the way, William nonetheless insists that "it will not be out of place" ("non absurdum erit") to tell a tale that is on everyone's lips.[25] It concerns one John, also known as Gerbert, a native of Gaul and monk of Fleury who, having grown bored with monastic life or prompted by dreams of glory ("seu tedio monachatus seu gloriae cupiditate captus," 167.1), runs off to Spain to learn astrology and other arts from the Saracens. William then sketches a quick *translatio* history of the region: the Romans are succeeded by the Arian Goths, then the Catholic Goths, and then the Saracens; the territory is currently divided between Christians, based in Toledo, and Saracens, based in Seville. Gerbert lives among Saracens, imbibes all their learning, and hence reestablishes in Gaul subjects long since lost ("obsoletam," 167.3). In lodging with a Saracen philosopher, however, he comes to covet one supreme book which strives towards forbidden knowledge. Having stolen it, Gerbert makes a devil's pact to protect himself from his angry Saracen pursuer. His subsequent career takes him first to Ravenna as archbishop, and then to Rome as pope (Silvester II, 999–1003); his necromantic skills allow him to "discover treasures buried by pa-

25. Citation is here made from the edition employed by Ricklin, namely *Gesta*, ed. and trans. Mynors; here 11, 167.1.

gans long ago" (169.3). Finally, however, he is damned (174.2). Ricklin then moves us forward several generations, to writers such as Alexander Neckham, Gervase of Tilbury, Johannes von Alta Silva, and Konrad von Querfurt, noting that when they begin presenting Vergil as *magus* and necromancer, he somehow escapes the taint that had attached, damnably, to Gerbert. Perhaps by then the west was confident of having *naturalized*, or at least institutionalized, whatever threat pagan learning had earlier posed. For once excitement over Hispano-Arabic invasion had passed, later generations of scholars and scholiasts were generally content to consult Arabic texts in Latin translations, and to surround such translations with Latin commentary.[26] They no longer felt compelled to sail east.

26. Burnett 80.

The Arabic learning to be found in Spain was not something *brought* to Spain, but was rather constitutive of it. The pivotal importance of Arabic in Spain, both in mediating Greek culture and in originating science, has faded from memory, another victim of Renaissance ("back to Greek and Latin originals!") forgetting. Spanish has traditionally played a marginal role in the Renaissance Society of America, which has plotted its historical way chiefly along an Anglo-Italian axis. But it has fared little better with the Medieval Academy of America, which is Anglo-French. We have no essay in Spanish in this first *Interfaces*, but thankfully we do have an essay on Spain, or rather on the complex cultural manoeuvres of King Alfonso X of Castile (*reg.* 1252–84). Like many of our authors, Ryan Szpiech (Michigan) begins by taking on strong paradigms laid down in the eighteenth/ nineteenth centuries, in this case the notion that Alfonso was essentially a scholarly footnote to his martially-inclined father, Fernando III, content to gaze at the stars while his father conquered Seville. But Szpiech must then also take on the later, counter-reactive scholarship that would make Alfonso the father of everything – from astronomy and Spanish law to Spanish historiography, Spanish prose, and the Castilian tongue. His strategy is to explore Alfonso's own representations of sonship to a respected father and, more broadly, issues of *translatio* – and these set his essay in lively dialogue with the work of Enrico Fenzi. Alfonso's very first literary project translates a particular avatar of a routine genre, *Fürstenspiegel*, "which was transmitted from India to Iberia via the eighth-century Arabic version of Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ" (a far from routine European trajectory). Alfonso's later work, in both text making and tomb building, elaborates powerful narratives of *translatio imperii et studii*, burnishing his father's memory while augmenting his own case to be approved as Holy Ro-

man Emperor. Newly-conquered Seville now becomes the centre of literary and symbolic operations, although his own practises of translation, Szpiech and Márquez Villanueva argue, are based on those of Toledo from the previous century. Within the cathedral of Seville that had been the Almohad mosque before the conquest of 1248, Alfonso ornamented his father's tomb with Hebrew and Arabic inscriptions (on the back) and Castilian and Latin (on the front). A gold ring worn by Fernando, according to the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (292) commissioned by Alfonso, is transferred from the conquering hand of Fernando (which had slain Muhammadans), to grace the finger of the Virgin's statue at Seville: a case of bringing gold *into* Egypt.

German, like Spanish, at least when viewed from American perspectives, has similarly failed to capture pride of place in the halls of the Medieval Academy, or of the Renaissance Society. The problem for Hispanists is not primarily territorial, but rather linguistic: who can master or keep track of the many tongues, beginning with Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, and including so many vernaculars (including Provençal, especially, but even English) at work in the peninsula, in the eastward expanding territories of Aragon, and in the Maghreb? The problem for German, *au contraire*, is not primarily linguistic, but territorial. We have seen many of the contributors to this collection wrestling with intellectual paradigms laid down and refined in German, beginning with Hegel and Herder, but our period offers no such thing as 'Germany' to be assessed, *toute entière*. There are, rather, pockets of literary activity in Germanic tongues in locales that might later, or might not, form part of a state called Germany after 1870 (with subsequent revisions). This point was largely missed, or overstepped, by *Germany. Memories of a Nation. A 600-year History in Objects*, an exhibition staged at the British Museum (16 October 2014– 25 January 2015).[27] "Six hundred years" gets us back to 1415 and the ongoing Council of Constance, where a newly-crowned King of the Romans called Sigismund, born in Nuremberg, rode herd on four clerical *nationes*, or nations. The German *natio* included Scandinavians, from many regions, and should also (so the French insisted) have included the English. The Council effectively ended on 16 May 1418, when the newly-elected Martin V left town, but the merchant Diet down the Rhine at the Lübeck *Hansesaal* opened for business just over one month later. Members of the Hanse traded all the way to Bergen, Turku, Danzig, Riga, and beyond, and up the Rhine past Cologne; they were met by travellers coming downstream from Ba-

27. MacGregor, *Germany*.

sel and Strasbourg, carrying religious texts or perhaps bent on worshipping the Magi. Meanwhile, highly idiosyncratic literary collections were being produced at locales such as Salzburg and Würzburg, religious controversialists passed between Vienna and Prague, and Nurembergers headed to Cracow for university education. Such a disaggregated concept as this 'Germany' could not, then, easily be accommodated by the British Museum exhibition, with its robust understanding of 'Nation.' Nor can 'Germany' before 1415 be summarized, as in the BM museum space, with a few wimples and heraldic shields. The extent of German language diffusion through Europe 'before Germany' has been actively deemphasized, for understandable historical reasons, in places such as Bergen and Riga (but many more) since World War II. Paradigms developed to narrate the rise of European nation states after 1800 continue to hinder us. We must keep on trying to write better literary history, then; many more dragons remain to be slain.

Bibliography

Atlante della letteratura italiana. A cura di Sergio Luzzatto e Gabriele Pedullà, 3 vols. Milan: Einaudi, 2010.

Augustine of Hippo. *De doctina Christiana*. Ed. Josef Martin. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 32. Turnhout: Brepols, 1962.

Beltramini, Guido, Davide Gasparotta and Adolfo Tura, eds. *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Renascimento*. Venezia: Marsilio, 2013.

Burnett, Charles. *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*. London: The British Library, 1997.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.

Copeland, Rita. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

--- and Ineke Sluiter, eds. *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric. Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

de Grauwe, Luc. "Zijn olla vogala Vlaams, of zit de Nederlandse filologie met een koekoeksie in (harr) nest(en)?" *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 120 (2004): 44–56.

Dionisotti, Carlo. "Bembo, Pietro." *Dizionario Biografico*. Treccani.

Foster, Kenelm. *Petrarch: Poet and Humanist*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984.

Germany. Memories of a Nation. A 600-year History in Objects. Exhibition staged at the British Museum (16 October 2014–25 January 2015).

Green, Richard Firth. *A Crisis of Truth. Literature and Law in Ricardian England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Hanna, Ralph. "Brewing Trouble: On Literature and History – and Alewives." *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*. Ed. Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. 1–18.

History of Emotions (Europe 1100–1800).

Hoffman, Barbara T. "Exploring and Establishing Links for a Balanced Art and Cultural Heritage Policy." *Art and Cultural Heritage*. Ed. Barbara T. Hoffman. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. 1–18.

Kwakkel, Erik. "Hebban olla vogala in historisch perspectief." *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 121 (2005): 1–24.

MacGregor, Neil. *Germany. Memories of a Nation*. London: Allen Lane, 2014.

MacGregor, Neil. "The Whole World in Our Hands." *The Guardian*. Saturday 24 July 2004. Reprinted *Art and Cultural Heritage*. Ed. Barbara T. Hoffman. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. 382–84.

Queen Mary Centre for the History of the Emotions.

Sonderegger, S. "Straßburger Eide." *Lexicon des Mittelalters*. Ed. Robert Auty et al. 9 vols plus Registerband. München: Artemis et al. 1980–99. 8.219–20.

Spampinato, Margherita Beretta, "Delle Colonne, Guido." *Dizionario Biografico*. Treccani.

Le Tre Corone, Rivista Internazionale di Studi su Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio. Pisa – Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore.

Turner, Marie. *Beyond Romance: Genre and History in England, 1066–1400*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 2014.

Van Houts, Elisabeth. "Contrasts and Interaction: Neighbours of Nascent Dutch Writing: The English, Normans and Flemish (*c.* 1000–*c.* 1200)." *Queste* 13 (2006): 3–11.

Van Oostrum, Frits. *Stemmen op schrift: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2006.

Wallace, David. *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Wallace, David. *Premodern Places*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

William of Malmesbury. *Gesta regum anglorum. The History of the English Kings*. 2 vols. Ed. and trans. Roger A. B. Mynors†, completed by Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998–99.

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, et al. (eds). *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–c. 1500*. York: York Medieval Press, 2009.