THE PRESENCE OF ROME IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

This book explores the cultural and intellectual stakes of medieval and Renaissance Britain's sense of itself as living in the shadow of Rome, a city whose name could designate the ancient, fallen, quintessentially human power that had conquered and colonized Britain, and also the alternately sanctified and demonized Roman Church. Wallace presses medieval texts in a range of languages (including Latin, medieval Welsh, Old English and Old French) into conversation with early modern English and humanistic Latin texts (including works by Gildas, Bede, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Bacon, St Augustine, Dante, Erasmus, Luther, and Montaigne). 'The Ordinary', 'The Self', 'The Word', and 'The Dead' are taken as compass points by which individuals lived out their orientations to, and against, Rome, isolating important dimensions of Rome's enduring ability to shape and complicate the effort to come to terms with the nature of self and the structure of human community.

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Texts, Artefacts, and Beliefs

ANDREW WALLACE

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This book is dedicated to Dana, Harry, and Sasha.

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Preface

This book takes a long view of Rome's entanglement in the lives of the inhabitants of the island that once constituted the Roman provinces of Britannia. Its emphasis is on texts and phenomena ranging from the early Middle Ages to the late seventeenth century, though in a few cases it reaches beyond those temporal limits in order to establish prehistories and afterlives for the problems under examination.

Medieval and early modern conceptions of *auctoritas* were genuinely transhistorical, transnational, and multilingual. The book, therefore, ranges quite widely. Writers such as Gildas, Bede, Geoffrey Chaucer, Roger Ascham, Sir Thomas Wilson, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, John Donne, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, and John Milton are pressed into dialogue with Continental writers who exercised vast influence on the literary and religious cultures of medieval and Renaissance Britain. The latter include, for example, St Augustine, Dante, Petrarch, Erasmus, Martin Luther, Joachim Du Bellay, and Montaigne, each of whom shaped English experiences and understandings of Rome's unnerving persistence.

The book opens by examining some lines from Virgil's 'First Eclogue', a poem in which a goatherd stares down the prospect of a life of exile while his interlocutor rhapsodizes on the subject of a life-altering visit to Rome. It closes by exploring passages from some poems in which Ovid, exiled from Rome, fears that he is losing his Latin. Ovid's poems of exile were popular curriculum texts in the grammar schools of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. They therefore provide a final vantage point from which to reframe the book's arguments against the backdrop of humanist pedagogy. This sort of historical and cultural range presents obvious challenges, but the book's examinations of individual texts and writers attend to the historical particularities of their origins, production, and consumption.

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A large body of scholarship has, to excellent effect, established that Rome is at once a place and an idea. This double formula, however, risks depicting Rome primarily as a *distant* place (distant, that is, from the perspective of Britain) and as a *mere* idea (that is, as a wholly immaterial concept or notion of that distant place). It needs, therefore, to be supplemented by an acknowledgement that the Roman Empire had left in its wake material remains and cultural practices that ensured that Rome could always be close-to-hand, familiar, and domestic – even a thousand or more miles from the Eternal City. Ruins, roads, the Latin language and the thickets of its grammar, cultural and spiritual institutions, liturgical texts and devotional regimens: these phenomena ensured that Rome could be, even as far away as medieval or Renaissance Britain, experienced as near rather than far, and as a highly complex network of material remains and cultural practices rather than as an abstract idea. I gather these disparate phenomena under the rubric of the 'fact' of Rome (with an eye to the word's derivation from the Latin *factum*) in an effort to show that lives lived in medieval and Renaissance Britain were continually immersed in versions of Rome that oscillated between conspicuousness and invisibility.

Seeking to capture a wide-angle image of the plural legacies of the city's persistence, the book studies how Rome figures in the murky processes by which individuals settled their relation to the world (Chapter 1), in shifting conceptions of the problem of the self (Chapter 2), in the experience of studying, mastering, and being altered by Latin words and the Word of God (Chapter 3), and in the ties that bind the living to the dead (Chapter 4). These chapters are linked by my effort to take seriously a number of metonymic and synecdochic formulas in which the word 'Rome' is made to serve as shorthand for a broad range of material and literary artefacts, linguistic and cultural phenomena, and religious and liturgical debates that bear on understandings of human community and the nature of 'the human' itself.

Although English humanism and the Reformation are rightly credited with having significantly reoriented attitudes to Rome, the enduring scholarly assumption that the sixteenth century marks the moment when English writers initiate critical and self-conscious engagements with a distant city on the banks of the Tiber loses sight of the thoroughness with which Rome had long inhabited the lives of those who lived in its wake. It is still common, for example, to regard the advent of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation as marking moments when a properly historical view of Rome's presence in the island of Britain comes into focus. This book, however, shows that the critical intelligence and casts of mind

that scholars of the early modern period associate with sixteenth-century inquiry are already significant components in some influential and widely circulated early medieval English perspectives on Rome. Those early perspectives, in turn, continue to shape experiences and understandings of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to acknowledge guidance and support received in the course of my work. Much of the book's prehistory can be traced to conversations with the late F. T. Flahiff. Those conversations were casual, even directionless, at the time, and they occurred many years before I wrote anything that appears here. I wish that I had benefitted from his wisdom and generosity during the course of the book's composition. I am sorry that he is gone.

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Audiences at multiple annual meetings of the Renaissance Society of America and the Modern Language Association helped me to sharpen the arguments on view here. I had the great pleasure of presenting material from Chapter 2 at Julia L. Hairston and Paolo Alei's 'Early Modern Rome 3' conference in 2017, which was held at the University of California's Piazza dell'Orologio Study Center in Rome. Stuart

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This book was 'first' completed during a sabbatical in Aix-en-Provence with Dana, Harry, and Sasha. My debts to them cannot be repaid.

Go, litel boke, go.
A. W.

Note on Texts and Translations

I have, for ease of reference, cited Classical texts and translations as they appear in the relevant editions of the Loeb Classical Library. Other texts and translations have been chosen on a case-by-case basis and credited in footnotes. Where possible, my goal has been to pair authoritative modern editions in the original language with the most readily available solid English translations. Unattributed translations from Latin, French, Old French, and Old English are mine. Biblical citations are drawn from the following editions: for the Vulgate, *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 4th edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994); for the King James Version, *The Holy Bible: 1611 Edition* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989). Passages from Shakespeare are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans and J. J. M. Tobin, 2nd edn. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

Abbreviations

ASD	*Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1969–).
BT	Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).
Conf.	Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. and trans. Carolyn J.-B. Hammond, 2 vols., LCL 26–7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
CT	Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales,* in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).
CWE	*Collected Works of Erasmus* (University of Toronto Press, 1974–).
CPW	John Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953–82).
HE	Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (1969; Oxford University Press, 2007).
KGW	Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, 9 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967–2015).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
LW	*Luther's Works,* ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, 56 vols. (Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–1986).
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*, 20 vols. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001).
OED	*OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2019).
SKS	*Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*, ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Joakim Garff, Jette Knudsen, Johnny Kondrup, Alastair McKinnon, and Finn Hauberg Mortensen (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1997–).

SZ	Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006).
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edn., rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–1993). The print edition has been consulted in conjunction with *English Short Title Catalogue* (Online Database), British Library and North American Center for *ESTC*, 2019. Capitalization in titles follows the latter.
WA	*D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 68 vols. (Weimar: Herman Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883–1999).
WA DB	*D. Martin Luthers Werke: die Deutsche Bibel*, 12 vols. (Weimar: Herman Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1906–61).
Wing	D. G. Wing, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, 2nd edn., rev., 4 vols. (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972–98). The print edition has been consulted in conjunction with *English Short Title Catalogue* (Online Database), British Library and North American Center for *ESTC*, 2019. Capitalization in titles follows the latter.
WJM	*The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson, 18 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931–38).