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.

Andrew Wallace is Associate Professor in the Department of English Language and Literature at Carleton University. He studies the Classical tradition and is author of Virgil’s Schoolboys: The Poetics of Pedagogy in Renaissance England (2010), along with essays on authors and topics ranging from Shakespeare and Spenser to Lily’s Grammar.
THE PRESENCE OF ROME IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

Texts, Artefacts, and Beliefs

ANDREW WALLACE
This book is dedicated to Dana, Harry, and Sasha.
# Contents

**List of Figures**  
page ix

**Preface**  
xi

**Acknowledgements**  
xiv

**Note on Texts and Translations**  
xvi

**List of Abbreviations**  
xvii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fact of Rome</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Soil</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 The Ordinary</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entanglements: Gildas, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon Rome</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Order of the Ordinary</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ordinary in History: Two Anglo-Saxon Case Studies</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stones and Eggshells</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The Self</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking at Rome</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘At Rome in their hearts’</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Escape from Rome</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Escape from the Self</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The Word</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar, the Self, and the Vocative of Ego</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Words of Others</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Word and the Road to Rome</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fact of Romans</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 The Dead</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Non in caelo, sed in terra’</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dead Boy’s Latin</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
viii

Contents

Prayers for the Dead 191
Under the Eyes of The Dead 209
Conclusion 219

Bibliography 224
Index 247
Figures


2.1 From Jan van der Noot, *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greate ioyes and pleasures which the faithfull do enioy. An argument both profitable and delectable, to all that sincerely loue the word of God. Deuised by S. Iohn vander Noodt. Seene and allowed according to the order appointed* (London, 1569), Ci† [STC 18602]. Image courtesy of the British Library.

2.2 From Jan van der Noot, *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greate ioyes and pleasures which the faithfull do enioy. An argument both profitable and delectable, to all that sincerely loue the word of God. Deuised by S. Iohn vander Noodt. Seene and allowed according to the order appointed* (London, 1569), Cii† [STC 18602]. Image courtesy of the British Library.

4.1 From *Here after foloweth the prymer in Englysshe sette out alounge, after the use of Sarum* (Rouen, 1538), Ni† [STC 16004]. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

4.2 From *Here after foloweth the prymer in Englysshe and in Latin sette out alounge: after the use of Sarum* (Rouen, 1553), unpaginated front matter [STC 16070]. Image courtesy of the British Library.
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.
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.

I continue to owe longstanding debts of gratitude to Nancy Lindheim and Elizabeth D. Harvey. They were model mentors. I offer special thanks to Paul Stevens. At different stages of my work he provided fruitful suggestions, clarified the implications of those suggestions, and gave me an opportunity to think aloud at the 2012 iteration of his Canada Milton Seminar in Toronto. Finally, he pointed me in the right direction.

I am fortunate to have been able to draw on the expertise and generosity of a number of colleagues at Carleton University. Siobhain Bly Calkin, Robin Norris, and Micheline White read individual chapters and helped me see things that I had not seen. Zeba Crook, Travis DeCook, and Johannes Wolfart answered random questions with detailed and thoughtful answers. In each case, those answers helped me out of jams. John Osborne shared his knowledge on the subject of late antique and medieval Rome. Brian Cummings and Jeanne Shami made decisive contributions at key moments of the project’s development. I am certain that they will have little sense of the importance of their interventions. I am delighted to be able to acknowledge them.

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
Acknowledgements

J. Murray invited me to participate in his ‘Research Talks’ series in our home department. Shane Hawkins and Carleton University’s Department of Greek and Roman Studies offered the same opportunity. I owe special thanks to Mario Erasmo and to the faculty, graduate students, and staff of the Department of Classics at the University of Georgia for having invited me to speak to them about this project.

I thank the staff of Carleton’s MacOdrum Library for their expertise and support.


I am grateful to Emily Hockley, to my two anonymous readers, and to the entire production team at Cambridge University Press. I have benefited from their guidance and suggestions. The book is stronger for their efforts. Any lingering errors are, of course, my responsibility.

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

Abbreviations

ASD Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1969–).
CWE Collect ed Works of Erasmus (University of Toronto Press, 1974–).
LCL Loeb Classical Library.
OED OED Online (Oxford University Press, 2019).
List of Abbreviations

**SZ**  Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006).


