Medieval Translatio

Modes of Modification: Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture

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Karl G. Johansson

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Medieval Translatio

Interdisciplinary Studies in the Translation and Transfer of Language, Culture, Literature

Edited by
Massimiliano Bampi and Stefanie Gropper

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Massimiliano Bampi and Stefanie Gropper

Introduction

Medieval literature is characterised by the juxtaposition and interaction of Latin and the vernacular languages. Usually, Latin texts predate vernacular writing on parchment, and what are preserved as early vernacular texts are primarily translations from Latin that are related to the religious sphere. Translations and bilingual texts played an important role throughout the Middle Ages since they brought the word of God to every part of what was becoming Europe and connected even remote areas closer to the religious centre. Moreover, translations contributed to spreading the ideas of a common cultural heritage and descendance. Narratives like those of the Siege of Troy and of Aeneas became part of the learned world of medieval scholars and through their vernacular versions probably also of a larger audience. Whilst in the beginning the study of medieval translations was primarily focused on the reliability and equivalence of the vernacular versions, a lot has happened since. Rita Copeland (1987; 1991; 1993) was among the very first to look at medieval translations as products of the educational and cultural system. She discusses how translation was part of hermeneutics and rhetoric and highlights its crucial role in the emergence of vernacular literary culture in the medieval period. Since then, there have been a number of ground-breaking works that help us to understand the processes leading to the different literate culture of medieval Europe, as for example D.H. Green's work on reading in the Middle Ages (1994) that enhances our understanding of how translations were mediated and received. Our volume will begin with this work and offer more insight into the impact of translations on their receiving cultures as well as the effect of the translation process on the style and form of vernacular literary languages in different time periods. At the same time all chapters contribute to a wider discussion about translation in pre-modern times by engaging with recent theoretical-methodological approaches and applying them to special cases.

Recent developments in medieval translation studies: a brief overview

Over the last thirty years, a growing number of studies have made a decisive contribution to clarifying how we look at medieval translation, understood both as a complex semiotic process and its outcome.[1] The ongoing publication of the volumes

1 A useful overview is provided in Campbell (2023, 34–46).

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making up the *Medieval Translator* book series from 1989 has progressively drawn scholarly attention to translation as a major form of intercultural communication, focusing mainly, although not exclusively, on the analysis of various examples of the practice of translation in the European Middle Ages from a variety of angles. Other editorial initiatives have been devoted to examining "the notion of the *fidus interpres* or considering the question of fidelity in the broader context of cultural change" (Campbell and Mills 2012, 9).

Broadly speaking, empirical work has largely been favoured over theoretical contributions. An outstanding example of the kind of philological investment that has been made to plough the ground on the huge field of translation activities in the medieval period is the publication in three volumes entitled *Translations médiévales. Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XIe–XVe siècles). Étude et repertoire*, edited by Claudio Galderisi (2011).

Copeland's ground-breaking work on the rise of translation and its nature as a site of opposition between learned Latin and vernacular cultures has elicited a fruitful discussion on the "possible limitations of the *translatio studii et imperii* model for approaching medieval vernacular translation in its entirety" (Campbell and Mills 2012, 10), as shown by studies devoted mainly to medieval Britain (e.g., Wogan-Browne et al. 1999).

The valorisation of the vernacular(s), not only in their hierarchical relation to Latin but also among themselves, is one of the more recent research trends. In particular, multilingualism in medieval textual production has progressively become a major topic in international scholarship.[2] This has, amongst other things, led to progressively shifting the focus beyond the macrolevel of national cultures (which are, by and large, the result of a modern construction) to pay greater attention to other levels of textual production and dissemination, e.g., focusing on regional contexts and delving more deeply into the dynamics of multilingual vernacular traditions, thus leading to "reframing questions of linguistic and cultural contact" (Campbell and Mills 2012, 12).

Such an endeavour has also resulted in a considerable critical investment in reconceptualizing "linguistic and literary histories in more European or globalizing terms" (Campbell 2023, 36), thus contributing to viewing European literature and its development throughout the medieval period from the perspective of linguistic heterogeneity and cultural multiplicity in terms of centres of production and dissemination of texts, as the project coordinated by David Wallace (2016) shows.

2 See, for example, Wogan-Browne et al. (2009), Busby (2017) and the publications of the De Gruyter series, edited by Antonio Montefusco, *Toscana Bilingue. Storia sociale della traduzione medievale / Bilingualism in Medieval Tuscany*. For a broader overview see Campbell and Mills (2012, 10–16). A major study devoted to the movements of vernacular texts by way of translation across parts of medieval Europe is Sif Rikhardsdottir (2012).

As briefly observed above, engagement with theoretical approaches – mostly derived from the contemporary theoretical debate on translation – still tends to be rather scanty, if compared to empirical studies.[3]

In recent years, attempts to make use of postcolonial models to address medieval translation have started to emerge. A notable example is given in the volume *Rethinking medieval translation. Ethics, politics, theory*, edited by Campbell and Mills (2012), the main aim of which is to "begin a conversation about how medieval translation and the ethical and political questions it raises might productively be explored from perspectives that incorporate but are not limited to postcolonial models" (Campbell and Mills 2012, 16). In the aforementioned volume, Derrida's theoretical work and its application in Venuti's approach to translation are profitably used to investigate translation from a different angle.

As far as the deployment of theoretical models is concerned, what is to some extent rather striking is the surprisingly sporadic engagement with polysystem theory, which has been very influential in translation studies around the world but has so far attracted far less attention in medieval translation studies.[4] Polysystem theory has played a key role in understanding translation as an active element in the shaping of literary systems across time, thus highlighting its innovative contribution to the development of cultures as a result of hierarchical relations.

Translation and vernacular traditions

Translations played an important part in opening the way for not only literary production in the vernacular but also for a wider reception of written literature among the population. From the preserved manuscripts in Scandinavia, we can see that as the number of translations increases there is also a rise in the production of indigenous works in the vernacular and thus a higher evaluation of the vernacular as a literary language. When the vernacular can be used in a variety of contexts, it obtains the same or similar status as Latin and acquires new functions, although the relationship between Latin and the vernacular differed widely between cultures and traditions. However, as Lars Boje Mortensen (2006) demonstrates, vernacular literacy is always firmly grounded on the models of Latin literacy. Translations and the variance of these translated texts during transmission picture the interaction between these Latin models and pre-existing conventions of vernacular literature. Thus, in order to understand the importance of translations we also have to look at the role of Latin literature in a certain region, its production and re-production as the foundation for a

3 On theoretical models and their applicability to medieval translation see Warren (2019).

4 An illustration of the relevance of polysystem theory for the study of medieval translation is given in Bampi (2017).

vernacular written language. Latin and the vernacular had different functions and the interaction between works of these languages differed a great deal throughout Europe. The early reception of Latin literature is highly relevant for our understanding of the vernacularisation of Latin script in a certain environment. Translations and discussion of Latin language and literature can tell us about the difficulties in transferring *materia* from different languages and cultures in a new context. Education based on reading, commenting on, and imitating Latin texts laid the foundation for literary production in the vernacular. But before writing in the vernacular could start – be it as simple interlinear translations or the paraphrasing of whole texts – the Latin script must be adapted to the peculiarities of the vernacular. As proven by the so-called First Grammatical Treatise from Iceland, writing and reading in Latin were one thing, but writing in the vernacular was quite different and more difficult than the preserved translations might reveal:

> Enn af því at tungurnar er [ó]líkar hverri annarri, þær þegar er ór einni ok inni sǫmu tungu hafa gengizk eða greinzk, þá þarf ólíka stafi í at hafa, en eigi ina sǫmu alla í ǫllum, sem eigi ríta grikkir látínustǫfum girzkuna ok eigi látinumenn girzkum stǫfum látínu, né enn heldr ebreskir men ebreskuna hvárki girzkum stǫfum né látínu, heldr rítr sínum stǫfum hver þjóð sína tungu.
>
> Hveriga tungu er maðr skal ríta annarar tungu stǫfum, þá verðr sumra stafa vant, [. . .]. En þó ríta enskir men enskuna látínustǫfum, ǫllum þeim er réttræðir verða í enskunni, en þar er þeir vinnask eigi til, þá hafa þeir við aðra stafi, svá marga ok þesskonar sem þarf, en hina taka þeir ór, er eigi eru réttræðir í máli þeira.
>
> Nú eptir þeira dœmum, alls vér erum einnar tungu, þá at gǫrzk hafi mjǫk ǫnnur tveggja eða nǫkkut báðar, til þess at hœgra verði at ríta ok lesa, sem nú tíðkisk ok á þessu landi, [. . .] þá hefi ek ritit oss íslendingum stafróf, bæði látínustǫfum ǫllum þeim er mér þótti gegna til várs máls vel, svá at réttræðir mætti verða, ok þeim ǫðrum, er mér þótti í urfa at vera, en ór váru teknir þeir, er eigi gegna atkvæðum várrar tungu. Ór eru teknir samhljóðendr nǫkkurir ór látínustafrófi, en nǫkkurir í gǫrvir. Raddarstafir e[ru] engir ór teknir, en í gǫrvir mjǫk margir, því ar vár tunga hefir flesta alla hljóðs eða raddar. (*First Grammatical Treatise*, https://etext.old.no/gramm/)

> But because languages differ from each other – even those that parted or branched off from one and the same tongue – different letters are needed in each, and not the same in all: Greeks do not write Latin with Greek letters, and Latinists (do) not (write) Latin with Greek letters, nor (do) the Hebrews (write) Hebrew with Greek or Latin letters; each nation writes its language with letters of its own.
>
> Whatever language one intends to write with the letters of another language, some letters will be lacking [. . .]. Thus, Englishmen write English with all those Latin letters that can be pronounced correctly in English, but where these do not suffice, they apply other letters, as many and of such a kind as are needed, but they drop those that cannot be correctly pronounced in their language.
>
> Now following their example – since we are of one tongue (with them), even though one of the two (tongues) has changed greatly, or both somewhat – in order that it may become easier to write and read, as is now customary in this country as well [. . .] I have composed an alphabet for us Icelanders as well, both of all those Latin letters that seemed to me to fit our language well – (viz.,) in such a way that they could retain their proper pronunciation – and of those others that seemed to me to be needed (in the alphabet), but those were left out that do not suit the sounds of our language. A few consonants are left out of the Latin alphabet, and some put in;

> no vowels are left out, but a good many put in, because our language has almost all sonants or vowels. (*The First Grammatical Treatise*, ed. Benediktsson 1972, 207–209).

This text demonstrates the close interaction between Latin and the vernacular, the importance of the relationship between the languages, and the reflection people invested in this relationship. Although no special Latin source has been identified that was used by the anonymous First Grammarian, it is firmly rooted in common knowledge about grammar as it is transmitted from antiquity through the Middle Ages (*The First Grammatical Treatise*, ed. Benediktsson 1972, 33). Latin learning was the basis for reflection on itself and its own peculiarities. As becomes clear from the quotation above, for Germanic languages with their complicated vowel-system and the umlaut it was not easy to adapt the Latin alphabet to the needs of the vernacular. But it also becomes clear that the First Grammarian and his Icelandic colleagues were aware of other vernaculars and tried to learn from them and their methods of adaptation.

Texts like the First Grammatical are translations in a different sense from those we now consider as translation. They are *translationes* that transfer ideas and knowledge into a new cultural and linguistic environment. And as the First Grammatical Treatise itself makes clear this kind of transfer was more important in the Middle Ages than our modern idea of equivalence. In order to understand this interaction between Latin and vernacular culture and tradition translation studies in medieval literature have developed new methods and approaches.

Instead of approaching a translated text in terms of fidelity to the source text, as was customary in earlier research, translation is now investigated as the result of a process of intercultural mediation from a descriptive perspective.

In many case studies as well as in general discussions about translations in the Middle Ages the focus is now indeed rather on the process of translation as a semiotic process that introduces new genres as well as content to new audiences – as can also be seen from the chapters in this volume. One of the most influential concepts on Translation studies came from Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, briefly mentioned above. In his translation studies he has shown that "the center of the whole polysystem is identical with the most prestigious canonized repertoire. Thus, it is the group which governs the polysystem that ultimately determines the canonicity of a certain repertoire." (Even-Zohar 1990, 17) Translations as well as other innovative literature enter this polysystem at the periphery, but whether they will gain a place in the prestigious centre is dependent on multiple factors. The "struggle" between centre and periphery can be interpreted as an actual social activity among human agents, but also relating to the products and effects of these actions. Even-Zohar's approach was taken up and further developed by Descriptive Translation Studies (Rosa 2016, 94–104; Even-Zohar 1997; Even-Zohar 2005), a target-oriented approach that focuses on the role of translation in cultural history and studies what translation involves, its circumstances and its reasons (Toury 1995, 15).

The adoption of such an approach brings to the fore the nature of translation as an act of rewriting of the source text. Accordingly, divergences in the target text as compared to the source text are now approached as the outcome of a manipulative process of the source text driven by constraints obtaining in the target culture.

Each translation with all its peculiarities and specifics is thus the result of a process of mediation variously influenced by the receiving cultural system of which it becomes a part. Depending on the position of translations in the target culture – its proximity to the centre of the literary system – translations have to adapt to the narrative rules already present or they can become an innovative factor. In cultures with an already established strong vernacular tradition translations of foreign texts were restricted by existing literary conventions. In other cultures – or at other times in the same cultures –, however, translations could be the starting point for vernacular writing and literature and therefore more innovative. From this perspective translations are representations of the transformation that occurs within the interaction of two different languages and their cultures. As hybrid products they combine elements from both cultures. In the Middle Ages, not only individual translations, but whole systems and modes of translation introduced new genres as well as content to new audiences. These translation movements that inaugurated developments in emergent language traditions are important aspects of medieval translation studies.

Translation in this wide sense as an innovative cultural and literary force is also an important part of our umbrella project Modes of Modification (MoMod), where we look at the literary culture of Scandinavia as it has been constituted by variance on all levels, from palaeography and orthography to the transmission of motifs and larger textual units. An important contention at the outset of the program is that this variance is an innovative force that plays a significant role in our understanding of norms and change in the establishing of a literate culture. The choice to reproduce a text or part of it or to introduce the text – be it in Latin or in the vernacular – into a new context always involves interaction with conventions and expectations.

Our contributions in this volume

As part of this programme, we organised a conference hosted at Ca' Foscari University of Venice in 2022 on "Translatio – translation and transfer of language, culture, literature". The contributions collected here come from a broad range of disciplines and focus on the translation of texts in its broadest meaning and from very different perspectives. Rita Copeland looks in her chapter at how the late medieval author Thomas Usk tackles the problem of transferring a certain level of style from Latin into English. In her case study she demonstrates how a cross-cultural system of translation gives rise to a new system of style, a vernacular philosophical style. In a similar vein, Wim Verbaal is interested in elements that might be considered as "untranslatable". He

suggests that medieval translation is based upon the transfer between distinct universes that are more linked to codes, forces, and social and cultural practices than to a language properly spoken. How this transfer can be achieved is demonstrated in Alex Mueller's chapter on Alexander and the *Ars Dictaminis*, where he looks at the ways in which Alexander's letter writing appealed to a geographically widely dispersed readership. Mueller shows that in the case of the Alexander romance, translating language through letters produces an epistolary style that seeks to satisfy the Latinate, rhythmical, and anti-imperialistic tastes of its clerical writers and audiences. In his chapter Bruce O'Brien proves that the role of translation can only be understood in the broader context of the historical experiences of speech and textual communities. Concentrating on English law texts he lays out their proportions, roles, and relationships with one another and follows the transformation of English law from its earliest examples to the private creation of guides to contemporary law.

Translation as a transformation and rewriting of knowledge is also at the core of Natalia Petrovskaia's chapter about the *Imago mundi* tradition. She focusses on the processes of negotiation that bring content via translation and rewriting to new formats and new cultural environments. These environments are mirrored in the manuscript tradition of texts as Marijana Vuković illustrates with the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, an extensive collection of Byzantine hagiography. Only individual texts were translated into and copied into south Slavic manuscripts. Various translated stories about saints found their places in manuscripts of different purposes and outlooks which sometimes even led to the loss of single texts' autonomy in order to fit them into the manuscripts' overall themes. Yet a different example of *translatio* is to be found in the manuscript AM 618 4°, as seen in Karl G. Johansson's chapter studying the move of both a manuscript and the texts and languages contained in it over a timespan of about four hundred years, divided by three observation-points. In an Anglo-Norman context the manuscript seems to have been part of an innovative stage that placed it centrally in the polysystem. In the next phase two originally probably separate manuscripts were bound together and transferred into a Scandinavian context, again introducing innovative material into a new environment. Finally, in post-Reformation Iceland the manuscript seems to retain some status as it has actually survived while so many manuscripts containing Psalters have been lost. The transferral of Anglo-Norman material into a Scandinavian environment is also at the core of Massimiliano Bampi's and Stefanie Gropper's chapter on the translation of courtly romances in Norway / Iceland and Sweden. Whilst there are some major differences in how the translation of courtly literature had an impact on the Old Norse and the Old Swedish literary systems, in both cases translation played an active part in the shaping and development of its eventual literary polysystem.

We are aware that these chapters can only cover small area(s) of the vast field of medieval translation, but since they are all dealing with different aspects of this field we are confident that they can give new insight and enhance our knowledge and ideas about textual production in the European Middle Ages. Each chapter shows the different dynamics at play in the complicated translation process. In this respect we

hope that our volume is indicative of the importance of studying medieval *translatio* and its various textual manifestations as an integral and active part of cultural production in the medieval period.

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Rita Copeland

Translating a Philosophical Style: Thomas Usk's Boethian Prose

In the Middle Ages, not only individual translations, but large cultural systems of translation introduced new genres as well as content to new audiences. The translation movements that inaugurated literary and scientific developments in emergent language traditions are the most visible aspects of medieval translation history. Histories of medieval translation often bear with them questions about translatability, or, more precisely, about what happens in translating: for example, can the genres of French chivalric romance or of classical epic be transferred, without substantial formal and even ideological change, into Old Norse (Würth 1998; Eriksen 2014); or can the content as well as rhetorical purpose of classical historiography remain untouched by the passage into vernacular prose or verse (Fisher 2019)? The question of translatability, or of resistance to translation, looms large in modern theorizing (Venuti 2019). It also haunts the pragmatic and the theoretical interests of medieval translators. Medieval theorists worry about the technical insufficiency or inelegance of the target language (especially in translation from Latin to a vernacular), or about a sacred content that inheres in the very source language (Copeland 1991, 42–55, 97–107; Watson 2008; Lawton 2008). But unlike moderns, they would not concern themselves with the erasure of cultural specifics except as these were necessary to respect a sacred or metaphysical truth that is contained in the literal sense of a sacred text. For even as translators might claim to efface themselves, demurring at the monumental task of converting texts of science or philosophy into new languages, translation, especially of academic writings, was an act of intellectual conquest, a taking possession of prized bodies of knowledge. (Gutas 2022, 1–2; Burnett 2022, 454–455; Copeland 1991, 87–150, 221–229). The aim to appropriate was as much the case for vernacular translators expanding the lexical and expressive scope of their native written languages as for those translating from one established language of learning into another prestige language, for example, translating Greek or Arabic into Latin.

One element of translation that we would now count among the "untranslatables" is style. I take "style" to mean not only literary form (versification, figurative language), but syntax itself, the structuring of thought at the propositional level. Understood on these terms, style would seem to lie beneath the surface of all that is accessible to rendering in a different language. It is this assumption that I want to contest here in relation to a particular mode of medieval translation: translating philosophy into vernacular prose. In this, as I will suggest, a cross-cultural system of translation gives rise to a system of style, a vernacular philosophical style. A large-scale comparative study of vernacular

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philosophical prose across medieval European languages has yet to be undertaken. The parameters I set here are precise and intentional: not vernacular prose in all genres, nor restricted to translations from Latin sources, but a comparative study dedicated to the development of medieval vernacular prose as the vehicle of philosophy. Something like this has been attempted in a descriptive register with Hebrew translations of Latin philosophy and medical and scientific learning in medieval Europe (Fontaine and Freudenthal 2013; Schwartz 2013). Studies of individual translators of philosophy and learning, notably Nicole Oresme and Evrart de Conty for French translations, and John Trevisa for English scientific translation, have laid out welcome paradigms for future comparative work (Souffrin and Segonds 1988; Quillet 1990; Guichard-Tesson 2006; Steiner 2021).

A broad, multi-lingual investigation would entail comparative histories of the conditions under which vernacular prose could become an instrument of precise philosophical argumentation. Here I investigate the conditions under which one writer produced a remarkably supple philosophical prose style, translating not the words of his source but the structuring effect of the Latin syntax that he found there. While this analysis focuses on a single author-translator, as a case study it offers a framework for assessing the professional conditions under which many other vernacular philosophical writings were produced.

The name Thomas Usk will hardly be known to scholars outside of late Middle English literature, and even to specialists in the English fourteenth century Usk's name may be only just recognizable.

Usk's *Testament of Love* forms part of the chain of medieval vernacular receptions of Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*. So minor a figure in literary history has Usk proven to be that the only published modern edition of his *Testament* for a hundred years was W.W. Skeat's 1897 *Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. During that century, Usk was largely dismissed as a weak imitator of Chaucer. Usk's critical fortunes among literary historians rose during the late 1980s and the 1990s during the wave of New Historicism, because he found his literary voice in the context of the brutal factionalism of London politics in the 1380s. That factionalism was to be his undoing; but because (or in spite) of that, historicist criticism found in Usk's writing the very embodiment of a "cultural poetics" in which the literary is inextricable from the non-literary, in which imaginative fiction feeds historical consciousness (Strohm 1992, 145–60). But if the historicist criticism of the late twentieth century sparked a critical rediscovery of Usk, his work can take us in other directions, away from the specifics of London politics in the 1380s and towards a broad and multi-level analysis in which literary style can illuminate both intellectual and social history. Here I will consider how Usk's Boethian *Testament of Love* achieves a decisively *philosophical* coherence.

First, some words about Usk's biography and his works. Usk was a London scrivener, low-level bureaucrat, and autodidact. He seems to have been born around 1354, possibly a few years earlier, into a modest artisanal or trade family. He was passionately attached to London, "place of his kyndly [natural] engendrure", where he lived

throughout his short life (*Testament of Love,* ed. Shoaf 1998, 1.6.578). He emerges into view in the 1380's, when he was a copyist, working as a clerk for John Northampton, mayor of London, who was a member of the drapers' guild. Northampton carried on a toxic campaign against the equally toxic victuallers' guildsmen, from whose ranks Nicholas Brembre ultimately won the mayoral election, unseating Northampton. Usk continued in the service and support of Northampton's faction, which agitated to overturn the election of Brembre. Along with other members of Northampton's circle, Usk was arrested in 1384, at which point he changed allegiance and supported Brembre's side, writing an *Appeal* against Northampton in which he revealed the machinations of the former mayor and his supporters to stay in power. It is during periods of detainment between 1384 and 1385, partly under Brembre's custody, that he is thought to have written his *Testament of Love.* The new allegiance with Brembre seems to have kept Usk out of trouble for a few years, and in fact (along with the Brembre faction) he found favor and advancement under royal patronage, becoming among other things under-sheriff of Middlesex. But in late 1387, the fortunes of Brembre and his faction deteriorated drastically, and Usk found himself caught up in the actions of the Lords Appellant, who persuaded Parliament in 1388 to convict and execute members of the circle of Richard II's advisors on the charge of treasonously misleading the king. Among the victims of this purge were Brembre and his recent ally Usk, both executed as traitors in early 1388. Usk's sentence, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, with his head humiliatingly displayed over Newgate close to his family home, was unusually brutal even for the time. *The Testament of Love* belongs to one period of low fortune for Usk during 1384–85; at that point he could not have predicted that his lucky escape from trouble under the new protection of Brembre would have led to an even more drastic fall a few years later (*Testament of Love,* ed. Shawver 2002, 7–23; Waldron 2004; Strohm 1992; Lindenbaum 1999, 287–292).

Whatever else he may have written, two works by Usk survive: his *Appeal* against Northampton, whose English and Latin versions come down to us in the London records; and his *Testament of Love*. The *Testament* is framed as a prison narrative in which he receives instruction from Love, who appears to him in his cell, a lady who is the "semelyest and most goodly" to his eyes, who "yave gladnesse and conforte sodaynely to al my wyttes", who has arrived in "so foule a dongeon" because it is in her nature always to remember and comfort her friends and servants (book 1, ch. 2). Whether the "foule dongeon" should be read as reference to actual circumstances or more as an evocation of Boethius' *Consolatio,* marking his debt to that text, need not worry us here: the question remains unresolved in studies of Usk, since the various conditions of his imprisonments in 1384–85 are not clear (*Testament of Love*, ed. Shawver 2002, 24–26; Summers 2004, 24–59). Certain things are clear, however: the work combines the motifs of love complaints and consolations, on the order of Machaut's *Remède de Fortune,* with philosophical consolation. On the pretext of finding favor with his lady Margarete, whose name is revealed in an acrostic, Usk outlines the slanders against him by his political enemies, explaining – in thinly veiled terms –

how he turned against Northampton because of his conscience and to restore the peace in his beloved London: "the peace, that most in comunaltie shulde be desyred, was in poynte to be broken and adnulled, also the cytie of London, that is to me so dere and swete, in which I was forthe growen . . . Thylke peace shulde thus there have been broken, and of al wyse it is commended and desyred" (1.6). Here of course we might hear echoes of Boethius' self-exculpation on account of his love for the Senate in *Consolatio* 1pr4. Over the course of the three books, Love instructs the protagonist how to be worthy of love by understanding the fickleness of worldly Fortune, and ultimately grace, the good freely chosen (as Usk claims of his own choices), truth, and righteousness. Yet it was easy for an early editor like Skeat to dismiss Usk's motives in writing this and to censure him for what seemed a self-serving attack of conscience and a designing *apologia*. Indeed, there is still little agreement on the genre that best describes the *Testament*, whether it should be read as erotic allegory, self-serving political *apologia,* consolation, or philosophical treatise (Strohm 1990, 99–100; Galloway 1997; Turner, 2002; Arch, 2008). The reading that I offer here relocates the question from the exterior contours of genre to the interior movements of style embodying and structuring an argument. Whether or not we call the work a philosophical "treatise", it delivers a philosophical prose that can hold its own against its ultimate source in Boethius.

The *Testament of Love* has a strange textual history because we don't have a manuscript source for it. We have only the print by William Thynne from 1532, a century and a half after Usk's death. Thynne thought the work to be by Chaucer and printed it as such in his collection of Chaucer's works. And so it was through various reprintings of Thynne until the 1890s, when Skeat noticed an acrostic spanning chapters 1 to 11 of Book 1; Skeat showed how the first letters of each of these chapters (after corrections of some of Thynne's ordering mistakes) can be resolved to read "MARGARETE OF VIRTW HAVE MERCI ON THIN USK" and established that this was no Chaucerian writing but rather the work of an obscure London actor in the political upheavals of Richard II's minority (*Testament of Love*, ed. Shawver 2002, Introduction, 4–5; ed. Skeat 1897, xix–xx). Skeat's edition of 1897 was the only modern scholarly edition published until R. A. Shoaf's edition of 1998. Virginia Jellech's Ph.D. thesis of 1971 and John Leyerle's 1977 thesis had also produced editions, but only Leyerle's was ultimately published by Shawver in 2002.[1] All of these editions have to be based on Thynne's (somewhat corrupt) sixteenth-century text, our unique witness. For textual materialists, there was an inherent challenge in working backwards from print to missing script, and in conjuring the original scryvenish document that time, infamy, and political intrigue have swallowed up (Middleton 1998).

1 Shawver (based on Leyerle) is an excellent edition to which I sometimes make reference; but Shoaf's equally fine edition is more readily available online through open access, and thus I cite from that here.

Despite the complexities of the textual history and especially the corruption of Thynne's text, and the layers of hypothesis that modern editors have sometimes had to supply in their readings of passages, the overall shape of Usk's syntax is coherent, his prose rhythms are illuminating, and his terminology ultimately self-explanatory.[2] What is striking is not that he was able to translate Boethius' *Consolatio* into vernacular prose: Chaucer's massive *Boece* does that, and Jean de Meun had done the same in French in the thirteenth century. It is, rather, that he is *not* translating the *Consolatio*. In books 1 and 2 of the *Testament*, over some 2500 lines of Middle English prose, he is usually on his own, elaborating or riffing on a conceptual crux sometimes derived from Boethius or one of his other sources (notably Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*), whether proximately or distantly. It is only in book 3, another 1100 or so lines of prose, that he enters into a project of more direct translation, here not of Boethius, but of Anselm of Canterbury's *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio* (The Compatability of God's Foreknowledge, Predestination, and Grace with Free Will). In this portion of his work he seems to have wanted to focus more on the nature of free will itself than on the larger issue of free will and God's providential knowledge that Boethius treats in *Consolatio* 4 and 5, and for this Usk turned away from Boethius to a close reading of Anselm's text, in which he found more immediately useful material. But even here, Usk's close translations of Anselm occupy only about half of book 3 of the *Testament*.

What makes Usk interesting is his "quasi-Boethianism", the impression that the *Consolatio* makes on a medieval text that does not stand in any direct translative relationship to Boethius' own work (Galloway, 1997, 294–295). Such a text demands that we read it through Boethius in more than the merely thematic way that we might read Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* as a variety of consolation literature. This is not just a question of targeting a Boethian passage, as Chaucer does in *Troilus* 4, where he takes the argument of Troilus' monologue on free will and necessity from sentences in *Consolatio* 5, proses 2 and 3. Indeed, in his own discourse on free will, Usk acknowledges that passage from *Troilus* to save himself the trouble of reproducing those dense arguments. Rather, in Usk's *Testament*, it is a question of grasping a philosophical outlook that *precipitates* philosophical writing in a prose that is at once supple and durable enough to sustain the pressure of a serious, hypotactic argumentation. Indeed, as Eleanor Johnson has pointed out, Usk actually refuses the opportunity to follow Boethius into writing poetry, announcing that his competence lies with prose when he says that he will give simply the "sentence" of the poem that Lady Love sings to comfort him (book 2, ch. 2, lines 1–4 of Shawver). Usk is committed to prose as the best instrument for expressing complex thought with directness (Johnson 2013, 169–71). In choosing English as his

2 Johnson (2013, 171–2) notes the various views on Usk's style: Skeat, among others, condemned it as overwrought; yet more recent critics have recognized in its ornamented artistry the signature of authorial self-fashioning: see Turner (2002). Shoaf (ed. 1998; Introduction, 4) suggests simple incoherence (at least in the corrupt form that the text was transmitted in Thynne's 1532 print).

prose instrument, he enlarges the scope of that vernacular. Although the *Consolatio* is usually buried beneath the surface of Usk's *Testament*, its method and especially its syntax resonate through Usk's style, that is, syntax that has a philosophical import, the structuring of an argument through the movement of prose.

Usk's sensitivities to a complex style were likely sharpened by his professional familiarity with the *ars dictaminis,* Latin prose rhythms, and the rise and fall of Latin syntax. Yet whatever acuities of prose-thought Usk had developed through his scrivening were surely also heightened by his close reading of Boethius' philosophical exposition. Here I want to distinguish those interlingual encounters from the influence of Chaucer's Middle English translation of the *Consolatio*, a translation that Usk also knew. I begin with an example of a passage in Usk whose source, in terms of ideas, appears to be *Consolatio* 4 pr 6. This is the longest prose in Boethius' work. Eschewing poetic relief for the continuity of expository prose, it gives a decisive account of a providential logic which is never random, despite our myopic perspective. Here is the relevant section of Boethius' Latin text, Chaucer's Middle English version of it, and then Usk's reconception of the argument (passages for particular comparison in bold):

> Nam illud quoque, quod improbis nunc tristia nunc optata proueniunt, ex eisdem ducitur causis. **Ac de tristibus quidem nemo miratur, quod eos malo meritos omnes existimant**; quorum quidem supplicia tum ceteros ab sceleribus deterrent tum ipsos quibus inuehuntur emendant. **Laeta uero magnum bonis argumentum loquuntur, quid de huius modi felicitate debeant iudicare quam famulari saepe improbis cernant**. In qua re illud etiam dispensary credo quod est forsitan alicuius tam praeceps atque importuna natura ut eum in scelera potius exacerbare possit rei familiaris inopia; huius morbo prouidentia collatae pecuniae remedio medetur. (*Consolatio*, ed. Bieler 1984, 4pr6, 43–45).

> For certes, that adversitate cometh somtyme to schrewes [*rascals*] and somtyme that that they desiren, it comith of thise forseyde causes. **And of sorweful thinges that betyden to schrewes, certes, no man ne wondreth; for alle men wenen that thei han wel desservid it, and that thei ben of wykkid meryt.** Of whiche schrewes the torment somtyme agasteth [*deters*] othere to don [*from committing*] felonyes, and somtyme it amendeth hem that suffren the tormentz; **and the prosperite that is yeven to schrewes scheweth a gret argument to good folk what thing thei scholde demen of thilke welefulnesse, the whiche prosperite men seen ofte serven to schrewes.** In the whiche thing I trowe that God dispenseth. For peraventure the nature of som man is so overthrowyinge to yvel, and so uncovenable, that the nedy poverte of his houshold myghte rather egren [*spur*] hym to don felonyes; and to the maladye of hym God putteth remedye to yeven hym rychesses. (*Boece* 4.6, 284–304, *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson 1987)

> "Lady," quod I, **"somtyme yet if a man be in disease** [*is disparaged*] **th'estymacion of the envyous people ne loketh nothyng to** [*considers not*] **desertes of men ne to the merytes of their doynges, but only to the aventure of fortune, and therafter they yeven their sentence.** And some loken [*consider*] the voluntary wyl in his herte and therafter teleth his jugement, not takyng hede to reason ne to the qualité of the doyng, as thus: If a man be ryche and fulfylde with worldly welfulnesse, some commenden it and sayne it is so lente by juste cause. **And he that hath adversyté they sayne he is weaked** [*wicked*] **and hath deserved thilke anoye** [*that same misfortune*]. **The contrarye of these thinges some men holden also and sayne that to the ryche prosperyté is purvayed into his confusyon**, and upon this mater many autorites of many and great-

> wytted cleerkes they alegen. And some men sayn though al good estymacion forsaken folk that han adversyté, yet is it meryte and encrease of his blysse, so that these purposes arne so wonderful in understandyng that trewly for myn adversyté nowe, I not howe the sentence of the indifferent people wyl jugen my fame." (*Testament*, ed. Shoaf 1998, 1.6, lines 512–32)

Usk's themes are not exactly what we find in Boethius: the passage from the *Consolatio* concerns how just rewards, whether evil or good, look from a human as opposed to a providential perspective, whereas Usk is concerned with his own reputation as either an evil-doer (hence his worry about slanderers) or a man of good conscience (hence the examples of his friends who know his "truth"). But that is only a matter of difference at the manifest level of content. The latent level of style tells us something else. Consider, simply, how clean and actually concise is Usk's prose. If we compare, from the quotations above, two sentences that convey similar ideas, one from Chaucer's *Boece* and one from Usk, we can see the briskness of Usk's prose movement:

> *Boece*: and the prosperite that is yeven to schrewes scheweth a great argument to good folk what thing thei scholde demen of thilke welefulnesse, the whiche prosperite men seen ofte serven to schrewes.

> *Testament*: And he that hath adversyté they sayne he is weaked and hath deserved thilke anoye. The contrarye of these thinges some men holden also and sayne that to the ryche prosperyté is purvayed into his confusyon . . .

The passage from Usk has no exact equivalent in the Latin, but if we compare Boethius' Latin of the passage with Chaucer's English, and then bring in Usk's thematically related English, we can see immediately how Usk easily balances equal ideas, a proposition and its contrary, through simple parataxis. I do not suggest that Chaucer is a bad translator; Chaucer's interest here is in grasping every element of Boethius' prose, not in achieving something like the clean thrust of the Latin syntax, with its three clauses pointed by three transitive verbs. Usk's syntax is structured differently, but it is equally clean, free of crowded relative clauses and other messy elements.

Another example can suggest Usk's gift for condensation along with riffing to his own purposes. The transition from *Consolatio* 1pr4, where Boethius laments the injustices of worldly reputation, to the beautiful hymn of 1m5, "O stelliferi conditor orbis", which celebrates a cosmic harmony that ought also to govern human affairs, illustrates how Usk can turn poetry into robust prose. Again the intertext would be Chaucer's *Boece*, but here it is probably more telling to make the comparison directly with Boethius' Latin.

> hoc tantum dixerim ultimam esse aduersae fortunae sarcinam quod, dum miseris aliquod crimen affingitur, quae perferunt meruisse creduntur. Et ego quidem bonis omnibus pulsus, dignitatibus exutus, existimatione foedatus ob beneficium supplicium tuli. Videre autem uideor nefarias sceleratorum officinas gaudio laetitiaque fluitantes, perditissimum quemque nouis delationum fraudibus imminentem, iacere bonos nostri discriminis terrore prostratos, flagitiosum quemque ad audendum quidem facinus impunitate, ad efficiendum uero praemiis incitari, in-

sontes autem non modo securitate uerum ipsa etiam defensione priuatos. Itaque libet exclamare:[3] (*Consolatio*, ed. Bieler 1984, 1pr4, 46)

1 O stelliferi conditor orbis,
qui perpetuo nixus solio
rapido caelum turbine uersas
legemque pati sidera cogis,
5 ut nunc pleno lucida cornu
totis fratris obuia flammis
condat stellas luna minores,
nunc obscuro pallida cornu
Phoebo propior lumina perdat
10 et qui primae tempore noctis
agit algentes Hesperos ortus
solitas iterum mutet habenas
Phoebi pallens Lucifer ortu.
Tu frondifluae frigore brumae
15 stringis lucem breuiore mora,
tu cum feruida uenerit aestas
agiles nocti diuidis horas.
Tua uis uarium temperat annum,
ut quas Boreae spiritus aufert
20 reuehat mites Zephyrus frondes,
quaeque Arcturus semina uidit
Sirius altas urat segetes:
nihil antiqua lege solutum
linquit propriae stationis opus.
25 **Omnia certo fine gubernans**
hominum solos respuis actus
merito rector cohibere modo.
Nam cur tantas lubrica uersat
Fortuna uices? Premit insontes
30 **debita sceleri noxia poena,**
at peruersi resident celso
mores solio sanctaque calcant
iniusta uice colla nocentes.
Latet obscuris condita uirtus
35 clara tenebris iustusque tulit
crimen iniqui.

3 This only would I say, that the final burden of adverse fortune is that as long as wretches are accused of some crime, they are thought to deserve what they suffer. So indeed I, deprived of all my goods, stripped of my honors, and disgraced in public opinion, bore punishment instead of promotion. And here is what I seem to see: the wicked workshops of lawless men overflowing in joy and jubilation; every last degenerate making threats with brand-new deceptions and denunciations; good men fallen, laid low by their fear of this crisis of mine; every last criminal encouraged to dare a crime because he will go unpunished, and to commit it because he will be rewarded; and the guiltless deprived not only of their safety but even of their defense. And so I exclaim: (*Consolatio*, trans. Relihan 2001).

Nil periuria, nil nocet ipsis
fraus mendaci compta colore.
Sed cum libuit uiribus uti,
quos innumeri metuunt populi
summos gaudent subdere reges.
O iam miseras respice terras,
quisquis rerum foedera nectis!
Operis tanti pars non uilis
homines quatimur fortunae salo.
Rapidos, rector, comprime fluctus
et quo caelum regis immemsum
firma stabiles foedere terras. (1m5)[4]

But he that can ne never so wel him behave and hath vertue habundaunt in manyfolde maners, and be nat welthed with suche erthly goodes, is holde for a foole and sayd his wytte is but sotted. Lo, how false for aver [*wealth*] is holde trewe. Lo, howe trewe is cleaped false for wantyng of goodes. Also, lady, dignytees of office maken men mykel comended, as thus: he is so good, were he out [*of office*], his pere shulde men not fynde. Trewly I trowe of some suche that are so

4 1–6 Creátor of the sphére beáring the fíxed stars, / Yoú whó on a thróne everlásting resíde,
Cónfoúnding the sky with the swíft stórm wínd, / Cómpélling the stárs to submít tó láw –
Thus, with líght in her hórns fúll now and brílliant, / Cátchíng fúll fórce fíre from her bróther,
7–10 / Does the moón put to béd dím constellátions; / Thus, with hórns in a shroúd, dárk now and ghástly,
Phoébús hárd by, does she lóse all her líght; / Thús, at first twílight Vésper is síghted,
11–14 Eárl shépherding frígid moon-rísings; / Thén ás Lúcifer, pále at the súnrise,
Hé chánges agaín hís reíns and his path – / Yoú whó in the chíll of the leáf-shedding fróst
15–18 Make the dáy cóntráct, briéf in durátion; / Yoú whó púnctuate níght's fleeting hóurs
Whén súmmer appeárs íncándéscént; / Yoú whose strength bálances múltiform seásons,
19–22 So the leáves caúght úp by the sharp Nórth Wind / Thé Wést Wind brings báck plíant and súpple;
23–26 Só seéds ónce sówn únder Arctúrus / Wíll Sírius sínge as ácres of rípe grain –
There is nóthing dischárged fróm the old órders,/Désérting its póst and próper posítion.
Cóntrólling all thíngs towárd their set óbject,/Only húmán deéds you disdaín to rein ín
27–30 In the wáy they deserve – youí, theír hélmsmán. / So it ís; wh cán slíppery Fórtune
Cause such chánge and such spórt? Hárd púnishment dué / For the breách of the láw quáshes the guíltless;
31–34 Dégénerate wáys on a lóft throne / Crush beneáth theír heél, guílty and sínful,
Thé nécks of the goód in hórrid revérsal. / Ánd glórious ríght is shroúded in shádow,
35–38 Búried in dárkness; thé júst man accepts / Bláme for the wícked.
Nó, nót pérjury, nó proud imposture / Hárms ór húrts thém, dréssed in false cólors;
39–42 Bút whén they delíght in fléxing their múscles, / Gládly they óverthrow próminent prínces,
Thóse whó térrorize númberless nátions. / Nów, nów have regárd for pítiful nátions,
43–48 Whóéver you áre who bínd the world's cóncord. / We are nó poór párt óf thís vást wórld,
Wé mórtals, storm-tóssed on Fórtune's salt ócean – / Ó hélmsman, make cálm the swíft-running seá swell,
Máke stáble the eárth in the sáme concord / Wíth which you pílot the límitless heávens.
(*Consolatio*, trans. Relihan 2001, whose stress marks are preserved here.)

> praysed, were they out ones, another shulde make him so be knowe he shulde of no wyse no more ben loked after: but onely fooles, wel I wotte, desyren suche new thynges. **Wherfore I wonder that thilke governour out of whome alone the causes proceden that governen al thynges whiche that hath ordeyned this worlde in werkes of the kyndely [*natural*] bodyes so be governed, not with unstedfast or happyous [*fortuitous*] thyng, but with rules of reason whiche shewen the course of certayne thynges: why suffreth he suche slydyng chaunges that misturnen suche noble thynges as ben we men that arne a fayre parsel of the erthe and holden the upperest degré under God, of benigne thinges, as ye sayden right nowe yourselfe – shulde never man have ben set in so worthy a place but if his degré were ordayned noble. Alas, thou that knyttest the purveyaunce of al thynges, why lokest thou not to amenden these defautes? I se shrewes that han wicked maners sytten in chayres of domes [judges' seats] lambes to punysshen there [where] wolves shulden ben punisshed.** Lo, vertue shynende naturelly for [*on account of*] povertie lurketh and is hydde under cloude. But the moone false, forsworne as I knowe myselfe for aver and yeftes, hath usurped to shyne by day light with peynture of other mens praysinges: and trewly thilke forged lyght fouly shulde fade were the trouth away of colours feyned. Thus is nyght turned into daye and daye into night, wynter into sommer, and sommer into wynter, not in dede but in miscleapyng of folyche people. (*Testament*, ed. Shoaf 1998, 1.10, 946–68)

The obvious point that editors and most scholars of Usk would make is that, where Boethius purges his discourse of the self-reference of 1pr4 to ascend to a powerful cosmic theme in 1m5, Usk turns the theme of cosmic harmony into an extension of his own autobiographical complaints. But indeed we expect such appropriation of strong argumentation. However self-interested Usk's comments on the wretched times may be (and is Boethius' lament any less self-serving?), he carves his own path by capturing and condensing, and by steering the cosmic Neoplatonism of the *Consolatio* to the purpose of unembarrassed political outrage. I have indicated Usk's condensation of passages in the underlining and font coding. The underlined section at the start of the quotation from Usk corresponds generally – and indeed loosely – to the underlined passages of *Consolatio* 1pr4. Here Usk has drawn out the inverse implications of Boethius'words: if Boethius claims that an accusation brings with it the assumption that suffering and loss of possessions are deserved, Usk pursues the other side of this claim, that those who lack possessions are held to deserve that injustice by reason of their naïvete, no matter how virtuously they have lived. In the middle section (bold) we can see how, via some deft gestures, Usk summarizes the entire cosmology of 1m5, lines 1–24 (the "kyndely bodyes"), dilating instead on the power of the divine "conditor" to govern, not by chance but by reason, stopping to "wonder" at the impotence of divine oversight when it comes to the "slydyng chaunges" of human affairs. In the section near the end, bold and underlined, we can see how Usk condenses the prayer to the *conditor* with perfectly cadenced clauses, achieving the effect of Boethian anapaests with the accented rhythms of English prose: "Alas, thou that knyttest the purveyaunce of al thynges, why lokest thou not to amenden these defautes?" He sharpens the argument by alluding to the political and legal affairs of his native London, where men win and just as quickly lose office.

And it is to London itself, or Usk's relentless advertising of his attachment to London, that I turn now. In 2pr7, Boethius, having got his autobiographical complaints out of his system, and having been duly instructed about the fickleness of Fortune, turns to a cosmic account of magnitude, in relation to which Rome and the affairs of Roman politics are only a tiny point. We can assume that Usk knew this passage not only from the *Consolatio* itself and from Chaucer's *Boece*, but from Chaucer's use of its themes at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde,* where Troilus's soul looks down from the eighth sphere upon "this litel spot of erthe" and laughs to see the woes of this infinitesimal "wrecched world." Usk's transformation of the passage is not poetic, like Chaucer's in the *Troilus*, but an exercise in ethics and practical political philosophy.

> In hoc igitur minimo puncti quodam puncto circumsaepti atque conclusi de peruulganda fama, de proferendo nomine cogitatis, ut quid habeat amplum magnificumque gloria tam angustis exiguisque limitibus artata? Adde quod hoc ipsum breuis habitaculi saeptum plures incolunt nationes lingua, moribus, totius uitae distantes, ad quas tum difficultate itinerum tum loquendi diuersitate tum commercii insolentia non modo fama hominum singulorum sed ne urbium quidem peruenire queat. Aetate denique M. Tullii, sicut ipse quodam loco significat, nondum Caucasum montem Romanae rei publicae fama transcenderat et erat tunc adulta Parthis etiam ceterisque id locorum gentibus formidolosa. Uidesne igitur quam sit angusta, quam compressa gloria, quam dilatare ac propagare laboratis? **An ubi Romani nominis transire fama nequit Romani hominis gloria progredietur?** Quid quod diuersarum gentium mores inter se atque instituta discordant, ut quod apud alios laude apud alios supplicio dignum iudicetur? . . . Sed quam multos clarissimos suis temporibus viros scriptorum inops delevit oblivio! (*Consolatio*, ed. Bieler 1984, 2pr7)[5]

> "And certes," quod she, "yet at the hardest [cometh] suche fame into heven. [Is] nat the erthe but a centre to the cercle of heven*?* A pricke is wonder lytel in respecte of al the cercle, and yet, in al this pricke [*i.e. even in this tiny space*], may no name be borne [*carried*] in maner of peersyng, for [*on account of*] many obstacles, as waters and wyldernesse and straunge langages, and nat onely names of men ben stylled and holden out of knowlegynge by these obstacles, but also cytees and realmes of prosperité ben letted to be knowe [*are prevented from being known*] and their [renoun] hyndred so that they mowe nat ben parfitely in mennes proper understandynge. **Howe shulde than the name of a synguler Londenoys passe** [*go beyond*] **the gloryous name of Lon-**

5 And another thing: There are many peoples who inhabit the enclosure that is this truncated dwelling place. They differ from each other in language, in customs, in their entire way of life; and because of the difficulty of land travel, the mutual incomprehensibility of languages, and the infrequency of trade, the reputation of individuals cannot reach them all; and not only that, not even the reputation of cities can. A last point: In Cicero's time, as he himself records somewhere or other, the reputation of the Roman state had not yet crossed over the Caucasus Mountains, though it was at that time a fully mature nation, inspiring terror in the Parthians and the other peoples in that region. So do you see how circumscribed, how straitened is the glory for whose expansion and prolongation you all work so? Or, where the fame of Rome's name cannot go, shall the glory of a Roman man advance? And what of the fact that the customs and institutions of different peoples are at odds with one another, so that what some deem worthy of reward others deem worthy of punishment? . . . Yet how many men, highly esteemed in their own day, have been erased by that amnesia which is the scarcity of historians for them! (*Consolatio*, trans. Relihan 2001, modified).

> **don, whiche by many it is commended, and by many it is lacked** [*blamed*]**, and in many mo places in erthe nat knowen than knowen?** For in many countrees lytel is London in knowyng or in spech, and yet among one maner of people may nat such fame in goodnes come, for as many as praysen commenly as many lacken. Fye than on such maner fame. Slepe and suffre him that knoweth prevyté of hertes to dele suche fame in thylke place there nothynge ayenst a sothe shal neyther speke ne dare apere by attourney ne by other maner. Howe many great named and many great in worthynesse losed han be tofore this tyme that nowe out of memorie are slydden and clenely forgeten for defaute of writynges? . . . And so thou sekest rewarde of folkes smale wordes and of vayne praysynges. Trewly, therin thou lesest the guerdon of vertue, and lesest the grettest valoure of consyence, and uphap thy renome everlastyng. (*Testament*, ed. Shoaf 1998, 1.8, 808–37).[6]

The context of Usk's passage is not a casting away of worldly concerns in view of the vast cosmos, as in the *Consolatio,* but a reassurance that even political infamy is a limited thing, that Usk's political mishaps will be shortlived in memory, and that the virtue of his intentions will be everlasting. While retaining the cosmic theme, the smallness of earth compared to the vastness of the heavens, as well as the idea that earth itself is vast and different according to geography and custom, Usk inscribes his own London as the center of a worldview. With this he locates his version of "virtue ethics" in an immediate political environment. Picking his way through Boethian themes – individual *gloria*, imperial *fama*, diversity of custom, praise and blame, the incompleteness of the written record – he condenses ideas, rearranges them, and reconditions their import to achieve a completely different effect that is utterly coherent on its own terms. Decisively, he leaves behind the grand distinctions between heaven and earth that frame the Boethian account, dilating instead on what it means to be known in one's own time and place, how praise and blame are fugitive because political life is ever contingent. Ian Cornelius has described Usk's appropriation of the *Consolatio* as at once comprehensive and historically particularized (Cornelius 2016, 284), and there is no better witness to that historical particularity than this passage. It is certainly an exercise in perfecting an English prose style that can rival the movements of Boethius' Latin for joining a minor premise to a major premise. Take this sentence (in bold):

> Howe shulde than the name of a synguler Londenoys passe [*go beyond*] the gloryous name of London, whiche by many it is commended, and by many it is lacked [*blamed*], and in many mo places in erthe nat knowen than knowen?

The thought process of this passage ascends from the tiny particularity of a single Londoner (Thomas Usk) to the wide renown of London itself, which is both praised and blamed by many, but which is ultimately to many more around the world an unknown entity, a tiny point in the vast heavens and even in the earth itself. The idea is inspired by Boethius' "An ubi Romani nominis transire fama nequit, Romani hominis gloria progredietur?" (Or, where the fame of Rome's name cannot go, shall the glory

6 Emendations in this quoted passage are based on the apparatuses in the editions by Shoaf (1998) and Shawver (2002).

of a Roman man advance?) Usk's reversal of that order, beginning with the single Londoner and building to the glory of London itself, is a beautiful unwinding and simplification of the hypotactic structure of the Latin prose. We even have a hint of Usk's rhetorical training, where he foregrounds the detail of praise and blame, the essential components of epideictic rhetoric: thus where London is known in the world, it is the subject of praise or blame, but even that attention does not carry its repute to distant parts.

There are other ways to assess how Usk's prose bears the imprint of professional training in *dictamen.* He would most likely have received instruction in the *cursus*, an accentual rhythm for Latin prose which was part of the teaching of the *artes dictaminis*. The *cursus* was used as a kind of ornamentation, especially at the ends of clauses, and it was so pervasive that it was considered applicable to almost any official prose communication (Denholm-Young 1946; Denholm-Young 2003; Cornelius 2010, 289–330). Because later medieval Latin had become accent-based, the Latin *cursus* could be imitated in a vernacular prose such as English that used a similar distribution of rising and falling cadences (Schlauch 1960, 574–575). Given that Usk knew prose rhythms, it is inevitable that we would find examples of the *cursus* in his prose, although his use of them in English was likely more intuitive than studied, a transference from Latin into English born of a certain familiarity. A micro-analysis would certainly turn up *cursus*-like cadences such as, in the passage just quoted, ´--´-´- (velox): the **glór**yous **náme** of **Lón**don; or ´--´- (planus): **knów**en than **knów**en. Such cadence is a formal principle that is both ornamental (making effects that gratify the ear) and structural (dividing and emphasizing ideas). We cannot not put too much weight on this by itself, as these effects may come as much from his reading of other English prose, including Chaucer's, as from his professional knowledge of the Latin *cursus*; in other words, he may have picked up the sounds of English prose from vernacular reading rather than from his professional use of Latin (Schlauch 1960; Cornelius 2018, 31). But taken together with his sensitive recasting of Boethian syntax, such cadences can show another level of response to the ulterior motivation of the *Consolatio*. What Usk is translating is not a text but a style, a way of writing and hearing philosophical argument. As Johnson has put it, the *Testament* experiments with the logic of prose style to produce a transformative work (Johnson 2013, 178).

Intersecting social histories both enabled and determined Usk's philosophical "translation": the turbulent London politics of the 1380s which enabled the rise of an obscure "local boy" to a position of (dubious) prominence as the object of parliamentary vengeance; and the notarial or scrivening trade, which afforded him an education into Latin and vernacular letters and literature, and which also gave him a professional profile as a member of a class active in almost any urban center across medieval Europe. As an experiment in vernacular style, the *Testament* in turn contributes to the current of intellectual history that would, in the early modern period, begin to see the ascendancy of vernaculars over Latin for philosophical prose. Usk's *Testament* is a rich testcase for studying the invention of vernacular philosophical prose and the conditions that made it possible. Usk grafts style, that "untranslatable", onto a new vernacular

idiom of philosophy. In this his work and its context merit comparison with those of his more famous or at least prolific contemporaries: John Trevisa as well as Chaucer in English; in Italian, Brunetto Latini, Dante, and Boccaccio's philosophical expositions of his *Teseida*; and in French, of course, Oresme, Evrart de Conty, Raoul de Presles, and Denis Foulechat. Moreover, if Usk's prose bears the imprint of professional training in *dictamen,* it would be unsurprising if one common thread of vernacular philosophy across late-medieval western Europe was the stylistic workshops of the *dictatores*, the notaries and letter writers whose practical knowledge of Latin gave them a special sensitivity to the rhythms and syntax of prose. Perhaps Usk's stylistic proficiency was as singular as his unfortunate biography, but I venture, rather, that his work offers a paradigm for broader study of the rise of vernacular philosophical prose.

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Wim Verbaal

Latin, Medieval Cosmopolitism, and the Dynamics of Untranslatability

Introduction

Much has happened in recent years in Translation Studies, due to some general currents that influence both society and scholarly work,[1] and to some specific publications. Among the more important of the latter undoubtedly belong the two books by Emily Apter, *The Translation Zone* (2006) and, particularly, *Against World Literature* (2013). In this last book, Apter takes an even more radical position against the option of World Literature as it was advanced by David Damrosch in his very popular *What is World Literature?* (2003), which gave rise to the field of World Literature Studies.[2] His most recent book, the very readable *Around the World in 80 Books* (2021), may be considered both an apt illustration of the significance the field in the meantime got and of Damrosch's own complete disregard for the criticisms as formulated by Apter.

Damrosch's view of World Literature is entirely based upon works available in English and thus in translations. When considering the way translations are ruled and determined by economic market restrictions (as painfully illustrated by Nicholas Glastonbury in a contribution to the Los Angeles Review of Books, May 2021) and notably the forces operative within the international and Anglophone translation field – the almost negligible presence of translated works in the English book-market (as already laid bare by Gisèle Saphiro in 2010)[3] – it will be clear to everyone that, despite his best intentions, Damrosch's understanding of World Literature risks becoming a restricted field, limiting the aspect of "World" to "Anglo-translatable" or even "Anglo-translated".[4]

In protesting this new and unconscious form of imperialist or colonialist Americanization, Apter launched the concept of Untranslatability, actually more as a right

1 I tried to pay attention to this topic in my paper "Decolonizing Latin: On Paradigms, Self-Evidences, and the Place of Latin in a Changing World" at the conference of *Medialatinitas IX: Nostalgia and/in the Latin Middle Ages*. Charles University, Prague: September 22–24, 2022. The paper was inspired by the issue of *postmedieval* 11 (2020) that appeared under the title *Medieval Studies: Stakes of the Field*. See moreover Albin, Erler, O'Donnell, Paul, and Rowe (2019).

2 See e.g., the publications by Theo D'haen as well as D'haen, Damrosch, and Kadir (2012) and Seigneurie (2020).

3 For more recent statistics (up to around 2012), see the *Index Translationum* by the Unesco: https://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsstatexp.aspx?crit1L=1&nTyp=min&topN=50 (accessed 28 October 2022).

4 This Anglocentrism forms the background to Mufti (2016).

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that should be respected than as a workable tool.[5] Nonetheless, she encountered the fiercest opposition, inspiring, among others, a voluminous collection of essays from Routledge, entitled *Untranslatability: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Large, Akashi, Józwikowska, and Rose 2019). In spite of the title, the publication aims to be an open manifest against any presumption that there might exist something like "untranslatability". On the first pages of the *Introduction*, "untranslatable" is characterized as "an exaggeration" for which "English (or whichever target language is intended) does not have a single-word equivalent" (note the self-evident primary position of English!) (Large, Akashi, Józwikowska, and Rose 2019, 2). It is clearly suggested that "untranslatability" is only due to the incapacities of the translator.

This is the background against which I hope to offer some ideas on the concept and the dynamics of untranslatability. These are the writings that made me ponder different ways of understanding the concept of translation and notably the difficulty of translators and translation scholars in aligning themselves with those who do not profess their own opinions or whose opinions they consider as one more attack against the value of translations.

As a scholar occupied with texts in the past, moreover as a specialist of what I prefer to call the forgotten literature of Western Europe – Latin remained the most important writing language until far into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but is never considered in any approach to modern literatures, be they World or nationalist – and as a translator myself of a small "peripheric" language with a strong tradition in translation, I think we can learn something by looking to the period that may be labelled as one of the most intensive translation periods in European history: the Western European Middle Ages. I hope my study of this period may offer other insights into what we understand as translation, as transfer, and also as untranslatability.

The ideal translator

Let me start with a quote that belongs to a well-known and often used text in literary scholarship.

> El texto de Cervantes y el de Menard son verbalmente idénticos, pero el segundo es casi infinitamente más rico. (Más ambiguo, dirán sus detractores; pero la ambigüedad es una riqueza.)
>
> Cervantes' text and Menard's are verbally identical, but the second is almost infinitely richer. (More ambiguous, his detractors will say, but ambiguity is richness.) (Borges, *Pierre Menard,* trans. Irby)

5 See Apter (2013, 23): "With translation assumed to be a good thing en soi – under the assumption that it is a critical praxis enabling communication across languages, cultures, time periods and disciplines – the right to the Untranslatable was blindsided."

The short story by Borges, *Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote*, is well known. The narrator tells the story of his French friend Pierre Menard, who recently died and whose greatest achievement, according to the narrator, is the writing of several chapters of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. The narrator considers it a much greater achievement than Cervantes' own work.

What does this well-known surrealist text and its unlikely protagonist teach us about translation and (un)translatability? In my opinion, Pierre Menard might be considered the ideal translator in the traditional sense. As such, a translation tries to offer the best equivalent to its original.[6] What can be a better equivalent than a translation that is identical to the original? For Menard does not copy the Quixote. He *writes* it and does so in the identical language that, to him, is a foreign language. Ménard differs from traditional translators in the fact that the work of translation does not occur between two texts, but concerns rather the translator himself: Menard translates himself into a writer of the original Quixote. This does not imply that he puts himself in the guise of Cervantes.

> Ser, de alguna manera, Cervantes y llegar al Quijote le pareció menos arduo – por consiguiente, menos interesante – que seguir siendo Pierre Menard y llegar al Quijote, a través de las experiencias de Pierre Menard.
>
> To be, in some way, Cervantes and reach the Quixote seemed less arduous to him –and, consequently, less interesting – than to go on being Pierre Menard and reach the Quixote through the experiences of Pierre Menard. (Borges, *Pierre Menard,* trans. Irby)

Is this not exactly what one expects a traditional translator to do? Rewriting (or should we say writing) the source text as if it were written within and from the target culture. Yet, Menard wants to go even further. He translates the writer, Cervantes, into the target culture, into his own person. This, however, causes the differences.

> Es una revelación cotejar el don Quijote de Menard con el de Cervantes. Este, por ejemplo, escribió (Don Quijote, primera parte, noveno capítulo):
>
> *. . . la verdad, cuya madre es la historia, émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones, testigo de lo pasado, ejemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir.*
>
> Redactada en el siglo diecisiete, redactada por el "ingenio lego" Cervantes, esa enumeración es un mero elogio retórico de la historia. Menard, en cambio, escribe:
>
> *. . . la verdad, cuya madre es la historia, émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones, testigo de lo pasado, ejemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir.*
>
> La historia, madre de la verdad; la idea es asombrosa. Menard, contemporáneo de William James, no define la historia como una indagación de la realidad sino como su origen. La verdad histórica, para él, no es lo que sucedió; es lo que juzgamos que sucedió. Las cláusulas finales – ejemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir – son descaradamente pragmáticas.

6 See on the difficult signification of "equivalence" Kenny (1998).

> También es vívido el contraste de los estilos. El estilo arcaizante de Menard – extranjero al fin – adolece de alguna afectación. No así el del precursor, que maneja con desenfado el español corriente de su época.
>
> It is a revelation to compare Menard's Don Quixote with Cervantes'. The latter, for example, wrote (part one, chapter nine): . . . *truth, whose mother is history, rival of time, depository of deeds, witness of the past, exemplar and adviser to the present, and the future's counselor.* Written in the seventeenth century, written by the "lay genius" Cervantes, this enumeration is a mere rhetorical praise of history. Menard, on the other hand, writes: . . . *truth, whose mother is history, rival of time, depository of deeds, witness of the past, exemplar and adviser to the present, and the future's counselor.* History, the mother of truth: the idea is astounding. Menard, a contemporary of William James, does not define history as an inquiry into reality but as its origin. Historical truth, for him, is not what has happened; it is what we judge to have happened. The final phrases – exemplar and adviser to the present, and the future's counselor – are brazenly pragmatic. The contrast in style is also vivid. The archaic style of Menard – quite foreign, after all – suffers from a certain affectation. Not so that of his forerunner, who handles with ease the current Spanish of his time. (Borges, *Pierre Menard,* trans. Irby)

Indeed, saying exactly the same in exactly the same words but in different times as here, or in different cultures as is the case in most translation practices, means that you are not at all saying the same. Translation in this sense is thus indeed impossible as Emily Apter points out by way of Alain Badiou's translation of Plato's *Republic* (Apter 2013, 41–47). At least as long as one starts with the presumption that one is able to say the same and thus refuses to accept untranslatability as a given. I would rather hypothesize that untranslatability can to a certain extent be seen as the necessary precondition that makes possible any translation.

Translation universes

To clarify my meaning, I must explain the conceptual framework from which I depart and by which I want to highlight some concepts and frameworks in the background of many approaches to translation and translation studies.

One of the first theoretical approaches to deal with is Even-Zohar's poly-system theory. In the last version of his "Polysystem Theory revised" (2005, 38), he defines systems as "networks of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of assumed observables ('occurrences' / "phenomena')". This refined redefinition is an answer to the post-structuralist reproach that the concept of "system" is much too immobile, too static, and that it leaves no room for the dynamics that came to be stressed more during the 1990s and the beginning of the millennium.

One of the most important counter-conceptualizations is the idea of the "field", the *champ*, as introduced by Pierre Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, "les champs se présentent comme «des espaces structurés de positions», celles des agents qui œuvrent dans ces «champs de force», «dont les propriétés dépendent de leur position dans

ces espaces et qui peuvent être analysées indépendamment des caractéristiques de leurs occupants (en partie déterminées par elles).» La structure du champ correspond à un «état du rapport de force entre les agents ou les institutions engagés dans la lutte» pour la position hégémonique dans le champ . . .”[7] It is clear that Bourdieu puts a stronger emphasis on the dynamics to which a field is submitted and that the field thereby becomes a much more open and vibrant image than the closed and petrified image a “system” evokes.

In both cases, however, we are dealing with an approach that positions itself from the perspective of the observant outsider. Both presume the observational gap between the scholar and the observed (“assumed observables” in Even-Zohar, “des espaces structures de positions” in Bourdieu). Moreover, Even-Zohar does not question the separability of his “observables”: they are assumed, not in the sense of invented but in that of adopted ones. Bourdieu, on the contrary, reduces all dynamics to power relations, thus tracing all back to Neo-Darwinist evolutionary principles.

As a medievalist I experience these critical points as true limitations. They do not function in the cultural sphere in which I have to take my position. I therefore prefer the concept of the universe as an image. It has the abstract connotation of Even-Zohar’s system but is more dynamic. Moreover, it is constructed by forces, not merely containing them as Bourdieu’s field. Most importantly, universes are not separable observables. They imply me as the observer, and they intrude into and infuse each other. This will prove of crucial importance when considering the medieval world and the part played by Latin.

Untranslatable universes

After this conceptual and theoretical interlude, I want to return to concrete examples to make things a bit more comprehensible. I could transfer Menard’s challenge to my own situation. Comparable to what he did, I am supposed to transfer myself as a non-native speaker of English into the English-spoken universe. Native English-speakers immediately notice several consequences. I am not capable of reproducing Quixote in the original language. My English betrays my status as a non-native speaker. Words appear where they would never appear in a native context. Phrases sound un-English. And in case I am speaking to English-speakers, I need not mention the accent.

7 Chauviré and Fontaine (2003, 16–17): “Fields are presented as ‘structured spaces of positions’, those of the agents operating in these ‘force fields’, ‘whose properties’ depend on their position in these spaces, and which can be analysed independently of the characteristics of those who possess them (in part determined by them). The structure of the field corresponds to a ‘state of the balance of power’ between the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle ‘for the hegemonic position in the field’.” (my translation).

Indeed, in my situation we might recognize Even-Zohar's view of a poly-system as the "system" of my local universe confronted with the "system" of an English-spoken universe as is the actual scholarly universe. Both universes do not coincide and have contact only through the language that functions somehow as the bridge over the gap – but that gap remains. As the "transferor", I remain locked within my own local universe, always feeling somehow colonized or hegemonized by the internationalized local universe of English with which I share the language but not the universe itself. If I wanted to achieve this, I ought to follow Menard as the ultimate model and work to transfer or translate myself into a member of the English universe. Yet, even then, what I would say will never sound as a native speaker of the English universe. The gap that separates me from the English-spoken universe will remain and thus always impose itself on my use of the language, making me a stumbler in comparison to native English speakers.

The Latin universe

Bringing myself onto the scene is a conscious move to demonstrate the difference with the medieval situation. The importance of English today is often compared to the situation of Latin in premodern times, mostly with its position in Antiquity, but that does not concern us now. We will limit ourselves to Latin as the language of the schools and of intellectual life, as it was installed in Carolingian times and continued until the twentieth century. The comparison and even the similarities with today's English seem evident.

Yet, the most important is often forgotten. While the use of both languages as scholarly languages may seem comparable, the universes to which they belong have no intersection at all. The Latin universe was never local but shared, common to all users of its language. For almost two millennia there have been no native speakers of the Latin tongue. Everyone using Latin had to conquer it the way I must conquer English. Some of them did it better than others but all came to the Latin universe in the same way. The Latin universe demanded and still demands an initiation of all its speakers and they share this common conquest of a universe that is not bound to any localization: its loci of localization are school and church that may display local variance but that in themselves are not bound to any regional or local borders. Variance within the Latin universe is, for that reason, individually bound and not tied to the pre-existing local universe of a mother tongue.[8]

This, of course, has far-reaching consequences for any Latin scholar in the Middle Ages. A Latinate medieval scholar belongs automatically to more than one universe. He is part and parcel of his local universe that he shares with those speaking more or

8 This part summarizes the more developed argument in Verbaal (2019).

less the same mother tongue and who come from comparable local conditions. It is a local universe, regionally restricted, just as are my Dutch-spoken universe and the English-spoken universe to which a full entrance will always be denied to me. The Latinate medieval scholar, however, was also part and parcel of a cosmopolitan universe that he shared with all those using the Latin language because they were all initiated in the same way. They were all initiated to a universe that did not belong to any localized situation and thus could not exclude anyone who spoke its language. Language was not the bridge between both universes. The Latin language constituted one of these universes, not to the exclusion of the other but as a parallel universe that at the same time was inseparable from the other one.

Inter-universe translation

What does this mean when we then turn our attention to translation in the medieval world? As a starting point we must posit that translation rarely concerns the transfer between two "separatable observables", separated by an inter-universal gap. When talking about translation from Latin to the vernacular or the other way round, there is no inter-lingual gap that separates two distinct universes as was the case with me and the English-spoken universe. Translation for the medieval scholar, on the contrary, is all too often an intra-transfer between universes that belong inseparably to one and the same person: they cannot be separated as they are always present within each other. They overlap without being identical.

Even more, these universes are not only not identical while overlapping, they are also complementary. In this sense it is important to keep in mind Niels Bohr's principle of complementarity. I think it an important means by which we must learn to approach pre-modern texts and cultures. It helps to get a better grip on what happens in the medieval translators' mind. The basic idea behind the principle of complementarity explains why we as observers can only see one of two (or more) options. In quantum mechanics, with Niels Bohr as one of its founding fathers, light can behave as if consisting of particles, thus as matter, or as a wave, thus as immaterial. The point is that light behaves in the way we as observers approach it. When we measure its material aspects, it behaves as material, whereas when we look after its diffraction patterns it behaves as a wave. We as the observers determine how light reacts to our approaches. We are part and parcel of the observation, not outsiders, and, simultaneously, what we observe, in this case light, is not indifferent to our observing.[9]

Translation in the medieval mind thus is not even a transfer but rather a transformation, or, even better, it is like changing one's clothes when turning to a particular task, duty, or work. One knows that one should better not wear a suit when going

9 For the importance of Niels Bohr for the humanities, see Barad (2007).

to dig in the garden, just as it is inappropriate to enter an official reception in Bermuda shorts and sneakers. In a similar way, the medieval mind adapted style, wording, phrasing, and meter when writing in the other language.

An illustrative example of a similar multilingual universe is offered by Dante who writes his more ego-inspired texts (his poetry, the Vita Nova, the commentary on his own poems) in Tuscan Italian with its own rules and poetics, his technical and scientific treatises in a scholastic Latin and his (ironic) response to the early humanist Giovanni del Virgilio in perfect classical Latin, both in wording and in pastoral stylistics. The three universes interfere with each other, they overlap and yet are not identical. Even more, they are complementary because none of them allows the other to be applied outside its proper scope.

Of course, this causes problems when applying systemic or field-theories in a similar situation. These suppose a movement from one separable domain into another. Yet, medieval translation, in the first place, is never a cross-systemic transfer. Rather it is a cross-universe turn: you go from one universe into the other without leaving the first because both overlap or infuse each other without ever suppressing the other.

This is important for understanding what lies behind medieval translation. Often, in modern scholarship and translation studies, it is not even referred to as translation in our sense but rather as a kind of free adaptation or rewriting. Yet, what causes the difference is not so much a "freedom" or an actualisation but rather the conscience of a kind of untranslatability. Translation in the medieval sense does not happen across languages but across literary universes. You do not look for the equivalent form or expression as regards the original, the source text. Rather, inescapably the target universe imposes its own rules. This is not seen as some kind of break between source and target universe because the transferor belongs to both: they both belong to his own essence. In fact, he is the mutual infusion. Or better, he is a multiverse as a person. And for that reason, he is very well aware that the forces, as they dominate one universe, cannot work similarly in the other. He must transform them into new ones that build up the other universe.

Universe translation

Some examples can make this more concrete and visible. I start with two translation chains. The first departs from Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the scene of Pallas' death in the tenth book, Virgil allows himself one of those rare intrusions into his own story.

Vergilius, *Aeneis*	***Roman d'Eneas***
quem Turnus super adsistens: 'Arcades, haec' inquit 'memores mea dicta referte Euandro: qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto. quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est, largior. haud illi stabunt Aeneia paruo hospitia.' et laeuo pressit pede talia fatus exanimem rapiens immania pondera baltei impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali caesa manus iuuenum foede thalamique cruenti, quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelauerat auro; quo nunc Turnus ouat spolio gaudetque potitus. nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae et seruare modum rebus sublata secundis! Turno tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptum intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque oderit. (ed. Hirtzel 1900, X. 490–505)	Turnus le vit mort devant soy, .l. anel choysy en son doy que Eneas li ot douné; moult par y estoit bien ouvré .l. lÿoncel fait de jagonce, d'or y avoit bien plus d'une once. Il s'abaissa, du doy li trait, el suen l'a mis. Por fol le fait : puis fu telle heure, s'il seüst, que ja par lui bailliez ne fust, se s'il s'en peüst repentir quant por l'anel l'estut morir. (ed. Petit 1997, 5836–5847)

In the 1150s Virgil's epic was transformed into a French *roman d'antiquité*, the *Roman d'Eneas*. The French version follows the Latin model faithfully in many places. Yet it dares take what we would call its freedom, as can be seen in this fragment. The French leaves out Turnus' insulting and raw address to Pallas' compatriots and soldiers. It also strikes out Turnus' crude treatment of the body, when he puts his feet on Pallas' trunk to rob the sword-belt. And of course, the belt itself changed into a ring with proper emotional value: it was a gift from Aeneas to Pallas.

Do we have to speak here of adaptation and actualisation? Yes, of course, as a technical description of what happened in the transition. But similar terms do not explain why these actions took place. Why was it felt necessary to adapt the model in these points while transforming it into a French response? This has all to do with the distinct universes that overlap in the transferor. What is allowed in the Latin universe, belonging to the universe of school, schoolbooks, teachers, and classics, cannot be valid anymore in the other universe to which the French language belongs. What can be expected from a Latin Turnus, is not allowed any longer in a French Turnus. While the Latin Turnus may behave as a barbarian, a French Turnus must bow to the rules of chivalrous behaviour.

Similarly, Matthew of Vendôme warns modern poets (in Latin) not to make abundant use of similitudes as did the ancients. They did so to fill the content of their verses because they did not have as much to say. The moderns cannot afford it any longer. They must know and do better![10] Matthew actually imposes the forces of the

10 Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria* IV.5: *Antiquis siquidem incumbebat materiam protelare quibusdam diversiculis et collateralibus sententiis, ut materiae penuria poetico figmento plenius exuberans in artificiosum luxuriaret incrementum. Hoc autem modernis non licet.* (ed. Faral 1962, 181).

vernacular universe onto the contemporary Latin one that differs as much from the classical as the vernacular itself. I will return to this.

It is interesting to continue the chain and to see what happened with the *Roman d'Eneas* that itself became the source for transformations into other vernaculars. I took the earliest one, the transformation by the Limburg poet Heinrich van Veldeke, whose *Eneit* is transmitted in a German version, probably also by the poet.

Roman d'Eneas	**Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneit***
Turnus le vit mort devant soy, .l. anel choysy en son doy que Eneas li ot douné; moult par y estoit bien ouvré .l. lÿoncel fait de jagonce, d'or y avoit bien plus d'une once. Il s'abaissa, du doy li trait, el suen l'a mis. Por fol le fait : puis fu telle heure, s'il seüst, que ja par lui bailliez ne fust, se s'il s'en peüst repentir quant por l'anel l'estut morir. (ed. Petit 1997, 5836–5847)	Du Turnus gesach dat der helet Pallas lach vore heme dot ane dat sant, ein vingerin hadde'r ane der hant, der junchere Pallas, dat heme gaf Eneas dore trouwe ende dore vruntscap, dore minne ende dore gesellescap, dat was rot guldin, dat't nit beter ne dorchte sin ende ne was nit te cleine, bit einen duren steine, dat was ein smaragd grune. Turnus der helet kune vergat sich sere dar ane. ere'r kerde dane, ut den vingere he't heme nam, dat heme sint te unstaden quam. he dede ouch boslike, Turnus der rike, heme sine gewalt, des he sint sere entgalt, du der here Eneas sin so geweldech was dat'er wale genesen mochte sin, mare dore dat vingerin, dat'er heme drumbe te dode sluch. dar mede entgalt ouch he's genuch. (ed. Ettmüller 1852, 7599–7626)

While the French version compared to the Latin model appears to be much shorter, the German version is much longer than the French one. Yet, the amplification has nothing to do with a comparable change in content as we saw happening in the original transformation. The Limburg poet only elaborates on elements already present in the French version. The universes of German and French are thus much more akin than those of Latin and French. They overlap and are identical, even though they belong to different persons and different languages!

Another example can demonstrate this overlap in vernacular universes. One of the first purely inter-vernacular translations is the one Giacomo da Lentini made of an Occitan poem by Foulquet of Marseille. Giacomo da Lentini, known as *il notaio*, stands as one of the first and founding poets of the Sicilian school, the poetic movement peopled by writers assembled around Frederic II of Hohenstaufen. The opening strophes are:

Foulquet of Marseille	**Giacomo da Lentini**
A vos, midontç, voill retrair'en cantan	Madonna, dir vo voglio
cosi·m destreign Amor[s] e men'a fre	como l'amor m'à priso,
vas l'arguog*ll* gran, e no m'aguda re,	inver' lo grande orgoglio
qe·m mostras on plu merce vos deman;	che voi, bella, mostrate, e no m'aita.
mas tan mi son li consir e l'afan	Oi lasso, lo meo core,
qe viu qant mu*er* per am*ar* finamen.	che 'n tante pene è miso
Donc mor e viu? non, mas mos cors cocios	che vive quando more
mor e reviu de cosir amoros	per bene amare, e teneselo a vita!
a vos, dompna, c[e] am tan coralmen;	Dunque mor'e viv'eo?
sufretç ab gioi sa vid'al mort cuisen,	No, ma lo core meo
per qe mal vi la gran beutat de vos.	more più spesso e forte
	che non faria di morte naturale,
Parer non pot per dic ni per senblan	per voi, donna, cui ama,
lo bens ce vos voigll ab † len carna fe †	più che se stesso brama,
mas nie[n]s es so ce vos dic: si·m te	e voi pur lo sdegnate:
al cor us fioc[s] qu*e* no·s † remuda o dan. †	Amor, vostr'amistate vidi male.
Per cals raisons no m'ausi consuman?	
Savi dion e l'autor veramen	Lo meo 'namoramento
qe longi*nc*s us, segon dreic et raiso[s],	non pò parire in detto,
si convertis e natura, don vos	ma sì com'eo lo sento
deves saber car e*u* n'ai eissamen	cor no lo penseria né diria lingua;
per longi*nc* us en fioc d'amor plaisen	e zo ch'eo dico è nente
[. . .]	inver' ch'eo son distretto
(ed. Squillacioti 1999, 414)	tanto coralemente:
	foc'aio al cor non credo mai si stingua,
	anzi si pur alluma:
	perché non mi consuma?
	La salamandra audivi
	che 'nfra lo foco vivi stando sana;
	eo sì fo per long'uso,
	vivo 'n foc'amoroso
	e non saccio ch'eo dica:
	lo meo lavoro spica e non ingrana.
	[. . .]
	(ed. Antonelli 2009, 10–12)

The translation seems almost verbally done but what is essential here is that exactly the same happens as we saw between the *roman de Enéas* and Heinrich van Veldeke: Giacomo belongs to the same universe as Foulquet, a universe constituted by the Occi-

tan *fin'amor*, that came to be built alongside the French chivalrous code consisting largely of similar concepts and ideas though expressed in lyrical vernacular. Among Giacomo's contemporary poets we find for example Sordello, the Italian poet from the northern region, who wrote in Occitan. Giacomo thus did not first translate a poem from one vernacular into another but rather re-wrote the poem as part of a shared universe across the vernaculars.

For a final example that will show more clearly the relation between the universes of the vernacular and the Latin, I turn to the story of Troy that became very popular during the twelfth century, notably in the version of Dares the Phrygian, who was considered an eyewitness. This rather dry Latin prose text became one of the subtexts for Benoît de Ste-Maure's voluminous *Roman de Troie*, the third *roman d'antiquité*, written in the same 1150s as the *Roman d'Enéas*. They were clearly part of a literary project with political aims (Verbaal 2011).

I took the scene of Troilus' death, Troilus being the youngest son of the Trojan king who becomes in Dares' story a true hero of the status of Hector.

Dares, *De excidio*	**Benoît de Ste-Maure, *Roman de Troie***
postquam maior pars diei transiit, prodit Troilus ex equo laetus. Argivi maximo clamore fugam faciunt, Myrmidones supervenerunt, inpressionem in Troilum faciunt, de quorum numero multi a Troilo occiduntur: dum acriter proeliantur, equus vulneratus corruit, Troilum inplicitum excutit. Eum cito Achilles adveniens occidit, ex proelio trahere coepit, quod Achilles interventu Memnonis complere non potuit, adveniens enim Memnon et Troili corpus eripuit et Achillem vulnere sauciavit. (ed. Meister 1875, 33)	A la veie les aveit mis, Quant ses chevaus li fu ocis. Feruz esteit de dous espiez, Ne poëit mais ester sor piez : En mi la place s'estendi, E Troïlus sor lui chai. N'ot o lui compaignon ne per: Ainz qu'il s'en poùst relever, Fu Achillès sor lui venuz. Ha ! Las, tanz cous i ot feruz Sor lui d'espees maintenant ! E Achillès se mist en tant Qu'il ot la teste désarmée. Grant défense, dure meslee Lor a rendu : mais ço que chaut ? Rien ne li monte ne ne vaut, Quar Achillès, le reneié, Li a anceis le chief trenchié Qu'il puisse aveir socors n'aïe. Grant cruëuté, grant felenie A fait : bien s'en poüst sofrir ; Ancor s'en puisse il repentir ! A la coë de son cheval Atache le cors del vassal; Adonc le traîne après sei, Si quel virent cil del tornei. (ed. Constans 1904, 21425–21450)

Here we see the opposite movement as we saw happening in the transferal of the Aeneis into the Roman d'Eneas: Benoît expands the scene and gives it a much cruder image than it has in the extremely sober narration by Dares. Achilles is portrayed as a true villain and Troilus' body undergoes the treatment that in the Homeric epic was reserved for Hector. Clearly, Achilles does not fall under the chivalrous code that applied to Turnus. He is called the *renié*, the renegade, and thus belongs to the category of the epic traitors, the Ganelons, the Hardrés, who are not to be trusted. Once again, the French text is less translating than transforming the Latin model into the French universe.

This becomes even clearer when comparing Benoît's text with Guido delle Colonne's Latin transformation in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Benoît de Ste-Maure, ***Roman de Troie***	**Guido delle Colonne,** ***Historia destructionis Troiae***
A la veie les aveit mis, Quant ses chevaus li fu ocis. Feruz esteit de dous espiez, Ne poëit mais ester sor piez: En mi la place s'estendi, E Troïlus sor lui chai. N'ot o lui compaignon ne per: Ainz qu'il s'en poùst relever, Fu Achillès sor lui venuz. Ha! las, tanz cous i ot feruz Sor lui d'espees maintenant! E Achillès se mist en tant Qu'il ot la teste désarmée. Grant défense, dure meslee Lor a rendu: mais ço que chaut? Rien ne li monte ne ne vaut, Quar Achillès, le reneié, Li a anceis le chief trenchié Qu'il puisse aveir socors n'aïe. Grant cruëuté, grant felenie A fait: bien s'en poüst sofrir; Ancor s'en puisse il repentir! A la coë de son cheval Atache le cors del vassal; Adonc le traîne après sei, Si quel virent cil del tornei. (ed. Constans 1904, 21425–21450)	Mirmidones autem Troilum inter bellantes sollicita mente querunt, ipsum animose bellantem inter turmas inueniunt. Tunc ipsum ex omni parte circumdant, in medio eorum ipsum constituunt. Sed ipse ex eis plurimos interfecit et infinitos ex eis letaliter uulnerauit. Verum dum nullus esset ex suis qui tunc ipsi Troilo succureret, Mirmidones interficiunt eius equum, in eorum lanceis ipsum multipliciter uulnerant. Cassidem eius ab eius capite uiolenter extirpant, capucium lorice sue sibi per uiolenciam disrumpendo. Propter quod Troilus, nudato capite, exterminatis uiribus se defendit a Grecis. Tunc superuenit Achilles, qui postquam uidit Troilum habentem caput inerme et omni defensionis auxilio destitutum, in eum irruit furibundus, et nudato ense ictus ictibus cumulando caput eius crudeliter amputauit, caput ipsum proiciendo inter pedes equorum. Corpus autem eius suis manibus interceptum ad caudam equi sui firmiter alligauit, et per totum exercitum inuerecunde post equum suum crudeliter ipsum traxit. Sed O Homere, qui in libris tuis Achillem tot laudibus, tot preconiis extulisti, que probabilis ratio te induxit ut Achillem tantis probitatis titulis exaltasses, ex eo precipue quod dixeris Achillem ipsum in suis uiribus duos Hectores peremisse, ipsum uidelicet et Troilum, fratrem eius fortissimum? (ed. Griffin 1936, 26)

In his Latin transformation, Guido returns to prose but makes the scene even more rude and cruel. It leads however to an indignant apostrophe to Homer, inspired by his elevating Achilles to the status of a hero. By pushing Achilles' barbarous character even further, Guido clearly aims to open the diatribe against the classical poet. He

thus joins the attacks against (classical) poetry as the art of lying that we encounter so often during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A similar exclamation is simply unthinkable in the French universe that misses this direct link to Antiquity. The cross-overs between Latin and French show how they originate from entirely different principles. They belong to different universes.

Cross-universe translations

Yet, one form of medieval translation seems to come close to a transsystemic or truly trans-universal transfer: translation from Greek or Arabic into Latin, i.e., from one cosmopolitan language into another.

The cosmopolitan aspect of the other languages lends stronger authority, another sense of the universes they belong to. In their case it concerns parallel universes with a comparable status to Latin, thus conferring on them a higher authority, comparable but not equal to the sacred text. They surely do not possess the authority of sacred texts (except for those in Greek of course) but they are as authoritative in the field of philosophical knowledge. Apparently, it did not occur to anyone to translate directly from one of the other cosmopolitan languages into one of the Western vernaculars, not even into French, rapidly taking over from Latin. Almost every translation into French passed by an intermediary Latin translation. It will be clear by now that this can be ascribed to the translations belonging to distinct universes rather than to the capacities of the translator. Latin, Greek, and Arabic were closer to each other than each of them were to the vernaculars – at least to the Western-European ones. For, in the East it became clear that the strict separation of cosmopolitan and vernacular universes was not a universal given.

Fundamentally, however, the attitude of mutual infusion of diverse universes does not suddenly disappear to make place for a more modern attitude of cross-lingual transfer. The Arabic or Greek (or other) universes will never be part of the medieval Western transferor as are the universes considered here. Yet, the approach of a cross-universe transferor is similar: he intrudes into the other universe as the infused universes do that are incorporated in himself. Thus, he is not simply translating or transferring the other universe into his own. No, he is rather incorporating the other universe into those that make up his multiverse, not by making it his own, but by infusing it into the universe in himself that comes closest to the other, i.e., the Latin as the cosmopolitan sister-universe.

Conclusion

Medieval translation is not based upon interlingual transfer such as translation is taken today. Rather, it seems based upon the transfer between distinct universes that are more linked to codes, forces, and social and cultural practices than to a language

properly spoken. Languages are linked to these universes, but they are not for that reason localized: they are not "nationalized". They are rather "culturalized", or linked to specific codes and practices that are un-interchangeable and thus untranslatable. They can be transferred without any problem within one universe from one language to the other, as long as they remain linked to the same universe, but they do not allow transferral from one universe to the other. This untranslatability does not constitute a problem since most of these different universes come together in the same person. To him as a medieval translator, it is almost evident to change from one to the other, akin to my example of changing clothes or like those who have a bilingual background know perfectly when to switch between languages. Perhaps better than anyone else they understand translations as indispensable and yet impossible. But they come perhaps closest to what I want to demonstrate here: incorporating diverse (lingual) universes will break down language as a national or nationalist identity-marker and thus form a counterweight to the dangers implied in all insurging regionalisms, including that of American English.

> ¡Más bien por imposible! dirá el lector. De acuerdo, pero la empresa era de antemano imposible y de todos los medios imposibles para llevarla a término, este era el más interesante.
>
> Rather as impossible! my reader will say. Granted, but the undertaking was impossible from the very beginning and of all the impossible ways of carrying it out, this was the *most* interesting. (Borges, *Pierre Menard,* trans. Irby)

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Alex Mueller

Alexander and the *Ars Dictaminis*: Translating Language Through Letters

> *Aristotles inter caetera docebat eloquentiam, sic adhuc declarant sua Homerica commenta et Iliadis dictamen quod dedit Alexandro.*
>
> Aristotle, among other topics, taught eloquence, as is evident in his commentaries on Homer and *dictamen* on Troy, which he gave to Alexander.[1] Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon* (c.1327)

The medieval romances of Alexander the Great are filled with written correspondence between the Macedonian conqueror and his many friends and enemies, from his teacher Aristotle to the Persian King Darius. While the epistolary character of these texts has long been recognized, scholars have not fully addressed the ways in which Alexander's letter writing appealed to a geographically dispersed readership throughout the Arabic Near East, the Latin West, and the Scandinavian North. Even if we limit our focus to the Latin translations of the Pseudo-Callisthenes Greek Alexander Romance (c. 200 B.C.E.), we must contend with an overwhelming number of vernacular language traditions, ranging from French to Italian to Swedish to Russian. For English readers, two Latin recensions of a Latin prose history known as the *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*, which are based on the *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri* of Archbishop Leo of Naples – itself a mid-tenth century Latin version of the Greek Alexander – proved to be particularly attractive, resulting in four Middle English translations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the four, three are fragments of longer poems in alliterative verse, one of which is entirely devoted to Alexander's epistolary encounter with Dindimus, King of the Brahmins (Cary 1967, 24–61). Alliterative long lines share rhythmical features with the prose *clausulae* of their Latin sources, which makes this association between Alexander's letter writing and alliterative verse particularly compelling.

This chapter focuses primarily on the longest of the alliterative poems, the *Wars of Alexander*, which offers the greatest insight into the epistolary allure of the Alexander romance. Scholars have long noted the similarities between the headlong cadences of alliterative verse and the dactylic rhythms of the Latin *cursus*, a prose technique that marks the endings of clauses with formulaic combinations of accented and unaccented syllables (Lawton 1979, 329–343; Cornelius 2009; Johnson 2013, 61–78). This rhythmical method of punctuating *clausulae* was taught within universities as part of the *ars dictaminis*, the medieval art of writing letters (*Statuta antiqua universitatis oxoniensis*. ed.

1 Hidgen, *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington and Lumby (1869, 3.360). The English translation is mine.

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Gibson 1931, 20–23, 169–174). The manuals used to teach this art, the *artes dictandi*, were reproduced in schoolbooks that contain prose exemplars, ranging from letter formularies to prose histories. Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* was a common example, not because of its letters, but because of what John Lydgate calls its "sovereignty of style" (ed. Bergen 1906–1935, 373), its commanding use of *cursus* and rhetorical devices, such as apostrophe and *amplificatio* (Camargo 1994, 165–187). The *Historia* was popular among alliterative poets, especially John Clerk of Whalley and the *Siege of Jerusalem*-poet, whose common dialect and alliterative formulae suggest they were regional contemporaries of the *Wars of Alexander*-poet (Duggan and Turville-Petre 1989, xxv–xliii; Simpson 2002, 68–120; Mueller 2013). When we also consider manuscripts such as Cambridge University Library MS Mm.v.14, which contains Guido's *Historia*, the *Historia preliis*, and the alliterative *Siege of Jerusalem*, we are left to wonder what the manuscript's audience considered to be the relationship between Latin letter writing and English alliterative verse (Hilka and Magoun 1934, 84–86; Ross 1955, 149–150; Mueller 2013, 93–99). In the chapter that follows, I want to suggest that the *Wars of Alexander*-poet views the Alexander corpus as optimal for translation, not just for its imperial subject matter, but also for its learned style, which exhibits the rhythmical and epistolary potential of the *ars dictaminis*. To make this argument, I begin with an analysis of the relationship between the *Historia preliis* and the *ars dictaminis* in thirteenth-century Italy, proceed into an examination of the dissemination of the *Historia preliis* in fourteenth-century England, continue with an investigation of the dictaminal character of two alliterative Alexander poems, and conclude with an assessment of the epistolary style of the *Wars of Alexander*.

The Historia preliis *and the* Ars dictaminis

The story of the translation of the Alexander romance begins much earlier in antiquity, but for the purposes of my argument, I begin with an examination of Leo's *Nativitas*, the base text for the *Historia preliis* recensions and the source for the *Wars of Alexander*. Leo discovered the Greek manuscript in Constantinople and translated it into Latin between 951 and 968/9 C.E., inspiring the production of numerous copies, of which over one hundred survive. Among the extant witnesses of Leo's text, the closest to the original is Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS E.III.4 (Ba), which was copied around 1000 C.E. in southern Italy. This book is a veritable compendium or *summa* of Alexander material, including popular texts devoted to epistolary exchanges, the *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo* and *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* (*Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman*, ed. Pfister 1910; *The History of Alexander's Battles,* trans. Pritchard 1992, 7; Stone 2016, 724–744). As Charles Russell Stone illustrates, this version of Leo's *Nativitas* was disseminated in subsequent centuries as the *Historia preliis* via three recensions that incorporate Byzantine and Jewish material about Alexander, which made them particularly attractive in

Norman and Hohenstaufen Italy, especially to Frederick II who proved to be a profusive host for Latin translations of the many Eastern depictions of the philosopher-king (2016, 725). For my purposes, the third and most important recension, known as I^3, which was composed between 1218 and 1236, became what Stone calls "the culmination of Latin Alexander romance in Frederick's multicultural, polyglot Italian lands" (2016, 726). The I^3 also becomes the eventual source of the English alliterative *Wars of Alexander*, which extends this multilingual correspondence with amplified accounts of Alexander's Eastern epistolary engagements.

The I^3 recension was produced within and adjacent to a southern, particularly Campanian and Sicilian, Italian imperial environment, where many writers flourished, including Pietro della Vigna, Frederick's chancellor and secretary (Kantorowicz 1957, 322–359). Pietro famously composed a popular *summa dictaminis*, a compilation of epistolary examples, including papal letters and administrative memoranda, which document Frederick's courtly undertakings and the creation of a style of sovereignty that became an exemplar for western European imperial diplomacy (Grévin 2008a, 271–300). As Benoît Grévin has meticulously documented, Pietro's compendium reflects a political expansion and revision of the *ars dictaminis*, which originated as a set of rhetorical principles for letter-writing within the eleventh-century monastic circles of Monte Cassino and developed into an art of legalistic and bureaucratic composition within twelfth- and thirteenth-century university classrooms, including the Bolognese *studia* that Pietro occupied as a law student (Grévin 2008b). The dictaminal teaching of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian universities did not abandon its attention to the standard parts of the pseudo-Ciceronian epistle, particularly the salutation, exordium, narration, petition, and conclusion, but the *dictatores*, the writing teachers, increasingly composed manuals that stretched their scope and transferred the focus of writing instruction to prescriptive techniques for description, amplification, and abbreviation, treatises on verse rhythms and prose cadence, and formularies for common administrative writing tasks. By shifting the emphasis to flexible examples for future writers to adapt, Pietro's *summa* puts the theoretical principles of the *ars dictaminis* into action, establishing a wide-ranging field for the implementation of the "epistolary", including both the common vocabulary and formulas for political and personal letter-writing, from notarial memoranda to intimate letters, which writers could copy and incorporate into their own compositions (Grévin 2008a, 276–300). As another product of Frederick's dictaminal environment, the I^3 recension of the *Historia preliis* was composed within an imperial context in which the letter and its rhetorical forms and cadences developed into a confluence of art and bureaucracy, obscuring the common divisions between verse and prose and between private and public writing.

Approximately a decade after the completion of the I^3 recension, another important figure who emerged from this epistolary setting was Guido delle Colonne, a judge in Messina, Sicily from 1243–77, where and when he was commissioned to compose the *Historia destructionis Troiae* by Matteo della Porta, the Archbishop of Salerno,

who served as protector of Campanian dictaminal writers, including Pietro's student Nicola da Rocca *senior*, before and after the departure of the Hohenstaufens in 1266 (Nicola da Rocca, ed. Delle Donne 2003, 53, 74–75; delle Donne 2004, 143–159; Grévin 2005, 101–115; Brunetti 2019, 39–59). In the epilogue to this Trojan history, Guido acknowledges his patron Matteo and emphasizes his awareness of an audience who seeks a high style of ornamented Latin:

> ego hystoriam ipsam ornassem dictamine pulchriori per ampliores metaphoras et colores et per transgressions occurrentes, que ipsius dictaminis sunt picture; sed territus ex magnitudine operis, ne dum occasione magis ornate dictaminis opus ipsum longa narracione protraherem [. . .], in tantum insisti, [. . .] quod infra tres menses [. . .], opus ipsum in totoum per me perfectum extitit et completum (Guido de Columnis, ed. Griffin 1936, 275–276).
>
> I would have decorated this history with a more beautiful *dictamen* by means of richer metaphors and colours and through occasional digressions, which are the artistry of this *dictamen*; but frightened by the magnitude of the task, lest I prolong this work by long narration on the pretext of a more decorated *dictamen* [. . .], I persisted so much that, [. . .] within three months, [. . .] I finished and completed this work in its entirety.[2]

Because Guido's text is a translation of Benoît de Sainte Maure's *Roman de Troie* (1904–1912) – itself a French translation of the Latin accounts of Dares (ed. Meister 1873) and Dictys (ed. Eisenhut 1973) – which is not focused on written correspondence, Guido's *Historia* accordingly prefers speeches and apostrophes to the epistolary exchanges that pervade the Alexander Romance. Nevertheless, the *Historia* replicates the rhythmical *clausulae* of the Campanian dictaminal tradition, notably the writing of Tommaso da Capua and Pietro della Vigna, which suggests that, despite his protestations, Guido reproduces the dactylic features of *dictamen* in his Latin prose (Schaller 1965, 317–518; Grévin 2008a, 284).[3] His objections to this imperial register are also evident in his critiques of the violence that would accompany *translatio imperii*, a translation of power from East to West that he calls a "tante cladis diffusa lues" (1936, 11; 'far-reaching plague of great destruction')[4] (Mueller 2013, 11–12, 19–39). Guido's misgivings about perpetuating an imperialist narrative in a sovereign style, particularly in the wake of the Hohenstaufen's demise, may also be found in the I^3 recension, which resists an expected celebration of similarities between Frederick II and Alexander. Instead, Stone argues, "the I^3 reiterates the inefficacy of the conqueror's reign, his presumptuous self-presentation as a divine ruler, and his pursuit of imperial glory, all reflective of criticism that had long defined Alexander's legacy" (2016, 726). Despite

2 Future citations refer to this edition. The translation is adapted from Guido delle Colonne, trans. Meek (1974, 264).

3 I am also indebted to Grévin's essay, "Les techniques de rédaction de l'*Historia destructionis Troiae* et l'école campanienne d'*ars dictaminis* (1220–1290)" which is to be part of a collection on Guido delle Colonne currently in progress.

4 The English translation is mine.

their critical dispositions towards assertions of sovereignty, both Trojan and Alexandrian histories survive in hundreds of copies, reflecting a popularity among European audiences that needs to be further examined.

The Historia preliis *in England*

Among its wide-ranging readership, the *Historia preliis* and Guido's *Historia* gained the attention and intellectual interest of an English audience. The enthusiasm for these texts is reflected in the survival of its English translations that were often produced and copied within dictaminal environments, particularly at Oxford and Westminster. To understand the nature of this engagement, I turn to fourteenth-century English manuscripts that contain both *artes dictandi* and this Alexandrian and Trojan material. For example, one fourteenth-century compilation annotated by English hands, Oxford University, Corpus Christi MS 55, contains both Guido's *Historia* and another well-known dictaminal treatise, the *Summa Dictaminis* of Riccardo da Pofi (Batzer 1910; Thomson 2011, 28–29). Riccardo's compilation of papal epistles was enormously influential, joining the *summae* of Tommaso da Capua and Pietro della Vigna to become one of the most popular *artes dictandi* of the thirteenth century (Schaller 1965, 317–518; Grévin 2008a, 284). This conjoining of Guido with Riccardo is especially provocative because the association of these two rhetorical *auctores* is also made explicit in the *Compendium artis dictatorie*, a late-fourteenth century dictaminal treatise composed in England by an anonymous teacher of rhetoric (Camargo 2016, 345–363).[5] Of the four late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century extant manuscripts that include copies of the *Compendium*, all are associated with Oxford and one even contains a copy of Guido's *Historia*.[6] To solidify this connection between Guido and Riccardo, the *Compendium* includes them in a detailed recommended reading list for those seeking additional examples of letters to read:

> Si quis amplius exemplares epistolas huius artis videre voluerit, legat epistolaria scripta Petri de Vineis, Ricardi de Pesys, Lemouicensis, Petri Blesensis, Guydonem de Columpna de historia Troianorumi <et> sextum librum Decretalium, cum dictaminibus aliis curiosis. (Camargo 2016, 360, 363).
>
> If someone should wish, in addition, to see letters illustrative of this art, let him read the epistolary writings [epistolaria scripta] of Pietro della Vigna, Riccardo da Pofi, the one from Limoges, Peter of Blois, Guido delle Colonne on the history of the Trojans, and the sixth book of the Decretals, along with other carefully prepared compositions.

5 For an earlier published French translation, see Camargo (2015, 287–307).

6 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 358, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 764, Oxford, Balliol College MS 263 (contains Guido); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 65.

For a work that does not contain epistles in the manner of the Alexander Romance, the reference to Guido as an author of "epistolaria scripta" appears misplaced, but his setting within a syllabus filled with *dictatores*, such as Pietro and Riccardo who composed imperial *summae*, attests to the broadening applicability of epistolary writing within the English *artes dictandi*. The lengthy compendia of Pietro and Riccardo were copied within books titled "epistolae", despite the fact that they included lots of texts we would rarely consider to be epistles, such as procedures for legal action and orders from the chancery (Grévin 2008b, 26, 45–57). In characterizing the contents of these *summae*, Grévin (2015, 410) explains that they all

> were assimilated to letters, and they were all rhetorically organised according to the same philosophy of letter writing, and the same stylistic criteria. In other words, the thirteenth century practice of amalgamating administrative, judicial, diplomatic, and literary writing together under the single aegis of the letter form is strikingly evinced through the strategy at work in these collections.

Within this expanded definition, Guido's *Historia* becomes a kind of dictaminal formulary, one that could serve as an example of a "sovereign" style.

When we consider the "epistolary" similarities between Guido's Trojan history and the Alexander romance, as well as the composition of the I^3 recension of the *Historia preliis* within the political sphere of Frederick II's imperial correspondence, we can begin to fill in the translational background or "universe" for the composition of the alliterative *Wars of Alexander*. Of the surviving manuscripts that include the I^3 recension, two are the work of Richard Frampton, a commercial scribe who copied both bureaucratic and literary texts in England from approximately 1390 until 1420 (Doyle 1982, 88–100, 144n19; Parkes 2016, 113–114). These same two manuscripts, Cambridge, University Library, Mm.5.14 (CUL) and Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian, T.4.1(84) (GUL), also happen to include Guido's *Historia*, which gestures towards a special affinity between these two prose histories that Estelle Stubbs links to Frampton's work as a clerk at London's Guildhall (2015, 250–251). During the politically turbulent end of the fourteenth century, civic scribes like Frampton were tasked with additional document production in the royal courts and at Westminster Abbey, including *The Westminster Chronicle*, an addendum to Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* for the years 1381–1394 (Mooney and Stubbs 2013; Stubbs 2015, 231). Barbara Harvey argues that the likely author of this chronicle is the bibliophilic monk, Richard Exeter, who sojourned at Oxford before becoming prior of the Abbey in 1377 (1982, xli). By his death in 1396, Exeter had accumulated a large number of books, including Guido's *Historia* and three other texts that Frampton copied (1982, xlii; Stubbs 2015, 250). It is important to note that the book that contains Guido's *Historia* is accompanied by "multis tractatibus" (Harvey 1982, xlii; 'many treatises'), suggesting it could have been one of the Oxford readers that frequently include Guido's prose as an "epistolary" example (Camargo 1994, 165–187). The presence of another item in Exeter's library, John Bromyard's *Summa Praedicantium*, a preaching manual closely aligned with the principles of the *ars dictaminis*, also indicates that prescriptive rhetoric was a driving force for his bibliophilia. One inventory of

goods even notes that Exeter had a clerk, the very kind the Guildhall could supply from time to time (Harvey 1982, xlii, xli). As Stubbs (2015, 250) suggests, "It is tempting to speculate that the 'clerk' may have been Frampton, and that he could have been diverted from the original task of copying a *Chronicle* for the Abbey's records, by pressures from other patrons". Even if he did not work directly with Exeter, Frampton produced manuscripts within an environment of shared historical and civic interests, which can be traced through his CUL and GUL manuscripts that preserve the I^3 recension, the source for the alliterative *Wars of Alexander*.

The presence of a Guildhall clerk at Westminster suggests the additional influence of the *ars dictaminis* on the reproduction and reception of these books, despite the absence of dictaminal manuals within them. As Kitrina Bevan (2013, 211–218) has demonstrated, scriveners like Frampton could not produce the bureaucratic documents of his profession, such as petitions and deeds, without extensive training in the letter-writing conventions and legal formulae that were fundamental to the *artes dictandi*. The need and desire for such a dictaminal education was so acute at Westminster by the end of the fourteenth century that monks, perhaps even Exeter, were sent to Oxford to compile rhetorical treatises (Clark 2004; Camargo 2012, 109–110). One of these monks, another of Harvey's candidates for the author of the *Chronicle*, was Thomas Merke, who left Westminster to study at Oxford and eventually produce his own *ars dictandi* in 1390 that accompanies Guido's *Historia* in two surviving manuscripts (1982, xxxv–xxxvi; Camargo 1995, 30, 105–147).[7] In this writing treatise, the *Formula moderni et usitati dictaminis*, Merke even urges his audience to refer to the exemplary apostrophes and descriptions of Guido's *Historia*, confirming its status as a source of dictaminal formulae:

> Est autem apostrophacio color rethoricus [. . .] que semper fit cum tali interieccione, "O," doloris vel gaudii causa. De quibus in libello vvlgari quem Guydo de Columpnis edidit *De bello troiano* plurima et diffusa patent exempla [f. 79v] [. . .] Descripcio eciam materiam adauget, quando scilicet narracionem dimittentes, discribimus personam, locum vel tempus. De quibus omnibus <in libro> preallegato *De bello troiano* plurima patent exempla [f. 81r-v] (Camargo 1995, 1.381–389, 474–477)

> The apostrophe is also a rhetorical color [. . .] which is always accompanied with the interjection, "O," on the occasion of suffering or joy. Many widespread examples of these are available in the commonly known book that Guido delle Colonne wrote, *The Trojan War* [. . .] Description also augments material, namely, when abandoning narration, we describe a person, place, or time. Many examples of all of these are available in the aforementioned book, *The Trojan War*.[8]

7 Camargo dates Merke's manual to c. 1390. The two manuscripts that also contain Guido's *Historia* are Dublin, Trinity College 427 (composed before 1415 at Oxford, Merton College) and Oxford, Balliol College 263 (fifteenth century, composed in England).

8 The folio numbers in the Latin refer to Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 237, the manuscript on which Camargo's edition is based. The English translation is mine.

The presence of a copy of Guido's *Historia* in Exeter's library and its reproduction within two of Frampton's manuscripts, the same two that include the I^3 recension, suggest that these texts provide a writing style transferable across genres, and eventually across languages.

Alliteration and the Ars dictaminis

Now that I have suggested a relationship between these Latin prose histories and English *artes dictandi*, I want to consider the implications of this association for the production of English alliterative verse translations. Of the aforementioned two manuscripts produced by Frampton, CUL is of special interest because it also includes the *Siege of Jerusalem*, an English alliterative romance that shares the Northwest Midlands dialect and provenance of the *Wars of Alexander*. In particular, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet's tendency to alliterate *hw-* and *cw-* prefixes associates this romance with the *Siege*-poet and John Clerk of Whalley, the author of the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, a translation of Guido's *Historia* (Duggan and Turville-Petre 1989, xxxvi–xliii; John Clerk of Whalley, ed. Matsumoto 2002). CUL therefore obtains a remarkably alliterative, possibly dictaminal, flair, hosting one alliterative poem and two Latin prose histories that serve as sources for alliterative romances. The selection of the alliterative long line to translate Latin prose additionally suggests that John Clerk and the *Wars of Alexander*-poet recognize the "epistolary" nature of their sources and their potential appeal to their audiences. Even when translating from a text that is filled with letters, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet adds epistolary elements, addressing his audience directly with a salutation:

> Syre, it betid on a tyme, þe text me recordis,
> Þat þe mode kynge of Messedone with mekill nounbre,
> Þat was Sire Philip þe fers, [was] farne out of toune
> For to feȝt with his fais out of fere landis.
>
> (214–271)[9]

Working from a short and understated Latin line, "Interea Philippus rex Macedonie abiit in prelium" (2.18) the *Wars of Alexander*-poet rhetorically augments the I^3's narration in a descriptive style that Merke might call Guidonian.[10] As David Lawton notes in his comparison of Clerk's *Destruction* and the "*Alexander*-poets", the alliterative poets who translated the *Historia preliis*, "The poet of the *Destruction of Troy* [Clerk] commends his source, Guido, as a model of amplification; the *Alexander*-poets, by contrast, are unlucky. The *Historia de preliis* often fails to offer sufficient material to the

9 All quotations and line number references for *Wars of Alexander* are from Duggan and Turville-Petre (1989).

10 All quotations and line number references for the I^3 recension of the *Historia preliis* are from *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni Rezension J^3*, ed. Steffens (1975).

translator working in the alliterative long line form" (Lawton 1981, 260). Even though the Latin sources may possess significant stylistic differences, their translational orientation toward alliterative verse reflects a dictaminal and amplificatory sensibility that a scrivener like Frampton and the patron of CUL appear to share.

Perhaps more importantly, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet's attraction to the Alexander romance is more than just rhetorical – it is also rhythmical. Throughout the poem, the word "clause" signals to the audience a direct reference to the Latin authority, often specifically meaning the composition of a "letter" (278, 1008, 1920, 2081, 2562, 3489). For example, after Darius receives news of Alexander's approach, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet amplifies the nature of the Persian King's epistolary impulse:

> Sire Darius for þa ditis was deeply agreuyd,
> Callis him his conseil, a clause he him enditis,
> Mas a brefe at a braide & it in brathe sendis
> To Alexsandire as belyue & all þus him gretes.
> (2080–2083)

Whereas the Latin merely explains, "Audiens hec Darius imperator, iterum scripsit Alexandro hoc modo" (34.15–16), the alliterative translation expands upon Darius' grief and anger, emphasizing the "clause" he writes in a "brefe", two words that reiterate the writing of the epistle that follows. This association between letter writing and a "clause" may refer to the rhythmical *clausulae* that grammar masters were required to teach to Oxford students in the late fourteenth-century. Two Oxford statutes, which were issued before 1350 and 1380, contain almost the exact same phrasing:

> Item, tenetur singulis quindenis versus dare, et literas compositas verbis decentibus non ampulosis aut sexquipedalibus, et clausulis succinctis, decoris, metaphoris manifestis et, quantum possint, sententia refertis, quos versus et quas literas debent recipients in proximo die feriato vel ante in percameno scribere, et deinde sequenti die cum ad scolas venerint, magistro suo corde tenus reddere et scripturam suam offere. (*Statuta antiqua universitatis oxoniensis,* ed. Gibson 1931, 20–23 and 169–174)

> Every fortnight they [i.e. the students] must present verses, and compositions [*literas*], put together with fitting words, not swollen or half a yard long, and with *clausulae* concise and appropriate, displaying metaphors, and, as much as possible, replete with *sententiae*; which verses and compositions, those who are given the task should write on parchment on the next free day or before, and then on the following day when they return to school they must recite them by heart to the master, and hand in their writings. (my translation)

Within this dictaminal context, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet may have been drawing on a rhetorical term, particularly the writing of rhythmical "clausulae", or *cursus*, that would have been intelligible to the clerical or aristocratic audience for the romance. *Cursus* commonly relies on three particular, largely dactylic, cadential sequences: *planus*, or plain, (ménte reuóluo), *tardus*, or slow (vítam dedúcerem), and *velox*, or fast (lítteris índicáre) (Murphy 1967, 126; Thomson 1983, 298–310; Camargo 1995, 27–29; Camargo 2007, 67–87). While examples of *cursus* abound within Guido's *His-*

toria, they are not as ubiquitous in the I^3 recension. If we examine the salutation of Darius' letter from the same scene, however, we can readily identify rhythmical clauses at the end of sentences: "Darius rex regem et dominus dominantium famulo meo Alexándro mandámus (*planus*): Per universum orbem conmendatum est nomen Darii et laudatum, quin etiam dii títubant nómen eíus (*velox*)" (34.16–20). The combination of the highly alliterative opening of the letter and the dactylic cues about the concluding *clausulae* produce an opportunity for composing alliterating units that replicate the rhythm of the beginning and ending of the Latin sentence, such as "Dari, þe deyne & derfe emperoure" (2084) and "wírschip oure nám[e] (*planus*)" (2089). While we might be tempted to dismiss this affinity between Latin prose and English alliterative verse as a coincidence, the alliterative long line is also the poetic form of choice for John Clerk's *Destruction*, an English translation of Guido's *Historia*.

This correspondence between the dactylic rhythms of Latin history and the concussive cadence of the alliterative long line suggests a translational equivalency that seeks to elevate a particular type of English verse. As Lawton (1979, 343) suggests:

> It may well be, in fact, that the form of M.E. [Middle English] unrhymed alliterative verse represents a conscious attempt to construct a vernacular high style from the rhythmical principles of the *ars dictaminis*. If this were so, it would help explain one of the basic peculiarities of the alliterative verse corpus: over 22,000 lines of M.E. unrhymed alliterative verse, more than one-half of the whole corpus and two-thirds of the formal corpus, consist of translation from Latin prose sources. The figure is made up from four poems: the *Destruction of Troy* and the three alliterative Alexander poems, one of which, *Alexander B*, is actually an exercise in *dictamen* in the precise sense of epistolary rhetoric.

By emphasizing the "translation from Latin prose sources", Lawton calls attention to the fact that the *Destruction of Troy* is a translation of Guido's *Historia* and the three Alexander poems are translations of the *Historia preliis*. Of the three, he highlights *Alexander B* (henceforth *Alexander and Dindimus*) because it is an alliterative fragment that focuses almost entirely on the letter writing exchange between the Macedonian conqueror and the King of the Brahmins (Cary 1967, 49). Lawton's suggestion that these poems might reflect assertions of a "high", or what we might call a "sovereign", style, is well supported by the previous analysis of the dictaminal context for the *Historia preliis*.

With this in mind, it is particularly provocative to consider Lawton's description of *Alexander and Dindimus* as "an exercise in *dictamen*" and specifically "epistolary rhetoric", which appears to distinguish its style and character as qualitatively different from that of the *Wars of Alexander*, what he calls *Alexander C*. This characterization may be based on *Alexander and Dindimus*' focus on the exchange of letters and their use of standard dictaminal conventions, but this same epistolary debate and its letter formulas appear within *Wars of Alexander* as well. Moreover, *Alexander and Dindimus* survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 264 as an interpolation within the French *Roman d'Alexandre*, a context which may appear to challenge the claim that this fragment of alliterative verse reflects any sort of epistolary "exercise"

(Cary 1967, 49; Gilbert 2015, 110–128). Lawton does not elaborate on his dictaminal description of *Alexander and Dindimus*, which he offers as a conclusion to his 1979 essay on Gaytryge's sermon, but he does offer some limited insight into this assessment in his 1981 article on the *Alexander*-poets' translational *habitus*, particularly in relationship to their source in the *Historia preliis*. For Lawton, *Alexander and Dindimus* is unique because of the poet's "elaborate variation of his source's almost identical epistolary formulae" (260), which may suggest a conscious attempt to experiment with different alliterative combinations that might be employed to replicate the language of formularies that a writer would find in a typical *ars dictandi*. While these writing manuals often warn against excessive ornamentation, a varied use of amplificatory techniques likely reflects dictaminal training.

To understand the nature of this vernacular *dictamen*, it is instructive to compare the epistolary translations of the *Historia preliis* as they appear within *Alexander and Dindimus* and *Wars of Alexander*. For example, in Alexander's first letter to Dindimus, the I^2 recension of the *Historia preliis* provides a conventional, but relatively undecorated, salutation: "Rex regum Alexander ad regem Bragmanorum. Filius dei regis Amonis et regine Olimpiadis, Dimdimo regi Bragmanorum gaudium" (*Gests of Kyng Alexander of Macedon*, ed. Magoun 1929, 178). The I^3 recension offers essentially the same salutation with the extra epithet, "dominus dominantium" (98.6–7), to emphasize Alexander's assertion of dominance over the Brahmins. *Alexander and Dindimus*, however, amplifies the salutation to eight lines of alliterative verse:

> Þe kidde king Alixandre þat couþ is in erþe
> Þat name haþ of nobleté and nevere man dradde,
> Þat grete god Amon in graciouce timus
> Bigat on Olimpias þe onurable quene,
> Dindimus þe dere king doþ for to grete,
> Þat lord of Bragmanus lond and ledere is holde
> And in þis same wise saiþ and sendeþ him goie
> And til alle þat arn aftur him þare.
>
> (191–198)[11]

This excessively ornamented opening to the letter, which asserts a divine origin for his imperial birthright, may reflect both the poet's dictaminal pretensions and an attempt to convey Alexander's latent anxiety about the "nobleté" of his name. The *Wars of Alexander*-poet, by contrast, offers a measured, but slightly elaborated, salutation half the length of its alliterative counterpart:

> I, þat kyng am of kyngis & crouned of lordis,
> Alexsandire þe aire of Amon our driȝtin,

11 Line numbers for all citations of *Alexander and Dindimus* refer to *Gests of Kyng Alexander of Macedon*, ed. Magoun (1929).

> And of þe quene Olimpades, þat I am ofsprongen,
> To þe, Sire Dindyn on þi dese, dities of ioye.
> (4340–4343)

Once again, Alexander asserts his noble status, but without an extensive divine genealogy that would lengthen the epistolary greeting. Perhaps the *Wars of Alexander*-poet recalls Guido's rationale for the unornamented style of the *Historia*, which he chooses for fear that he might "prolong this work by long narration on the pretext of a more decorated *dictamen*". Near the end of the exchange of letters, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet, working from nearly the same Latin salutation (102.30–31), offers a variation of Alexander's greeting:

> Hiȝe kyng without comparison of kyngis all oþire,
> Of all lordis þe lord þat leues vndire heuen,
> Sire Alexsandire, þe aire of Amon oure driȝtin,
> To þe, Sire Dyndyn on þi dese, þis dities I write.
> (4819–4822)

Leaving out his maternal heritage, Alexander uses the extra line to reiterate, perhaps desperately, the extent of his dominion over all other "lordis". If we return to the equivalent salutation in *Alexander and Dindimus*, we find another eight-line greeting that augments Alexander's imperial sovereignty:

> Þe Emperour Alixandre of armus alosed,
> Þat noble is and namekouþ and nevere man dradde,
> By godus chaunce þat ys chose chef ovur kingus
> And of burnus ybore baldest of mihte,
> Þat Amon þe grete god in graciose timus
> Bygat on Olimpias þe onurable quene,
> Bykenneþ King Dindimus in kiþ þere he dwellus
> His aselede sonde and saiþ in þis wise.
> (1078–1085)

While the poet of *Alexander and Dindimus* plays freely with dictaminal ornament, the English elaborations strictly follow the four-stress pattern aa/ax – three alliterating syllables followed by a non-alliterating syllable – the regular sequence for the alliterative long line. Most alliterative poets, including John Clerk and the *Wars of Alexander*-poet (in other parts of the poem), stray from this pattern, which makes *Alexander and Dindimus* especially remarkable, what Frank Grady (2004, 82) calls "a paradigmatic alliterative poem, an almost perfect example of the species" and what Jane Gilbert (2015, 119) calls "exemplary expression of a singular law". *Alexander and Dindimus* also stands out as the only English text within MS Bodl. 264, which is dominated by French Alexander material and a French prose version of Marco Polo's travels, *Li Livres du Grant Caam* (Gilbert 2015, 123–126). For Gilbert (2015, 126), the manuscript's inclusion of *Alexander and Dindimus*, "affirms the outward orientation and global reach of alliterative verse" and "not only translates culturally diverse material into a sophisticated po-

etic verse form, but also commands cosmopolitan and politically astute audiences across and beyond English lands". While *Alexander and Dindimus* may be more than merely an "exercise in *dictamen*", Gilbert's conclusion supports Lawton's 1979 suggestion that this Alexander text may be an exemplar for a translational attempt at a "sovereign" style, one that seeks to combine alliterative verse with "epistolary rhetoric".

The manuscript context for *Alexander and Dindimus* also compels us to reconsider traditional divisions between poetry and prose, which provides insight into what Lawton calls the "peculiarities" of alliterative poets, such as John Clerk and the *Wars of Alexander*-poet, who readily translate learned Latin *clausulae* into popular English verse. In the case of MS Bodl. 264, the language environment is ostensibly French, not Latinate, but *Alexander and Dindimus* is interpolated within the dodecasyllabic *Roman d'Alexandre*, which is largely based on the *Historia preliis*, particularly the I^1 recension (Cary 1967, 29–33; Gilbert 2015, 113–114). *Alexander and Dindimus* stands out as the sole English text, but its incorporation within the manuscript suggests that the alliterative fragment obtains a status that is at least equal to the French alexandrines of the romance. On folio 67r, a rubricator introduces *Alexander and Dindimus* by calling attention to a missing French text and referring readers to the English substitute at the end (fols. 209r–215v):

> Here fayleth a prossesse of þis rommance of alixand' þe wheche prossesse þat fayleth ȝe schulle fynde at þe ende of þis bok ywrete in engelyche ryme and whan ȝe han radde it to þe ende torneþ hedur aȝen and turneþ ouyr þys lef and bygynneþ at þys reson Che fu el mois de may que li tans renouele and so rede forþ þe rommauce to þe ende whylis þe frenche lasteþ

By offering a suggested reading itinerary – urging the reader to flip ahead to the text that fills the gap and then turning back to "þys lef" – the rubrication attempts to mitigate any interruption within the reading experience. As Gilbert (2015, 124) explains, "The rubricator's instructions imply that we are to view the textual fabric of the expanded Alexander narrative as seamless", which appears to reduce any formal and linguistic discrepancies we might discern between French dodecasyllabic and English alliterative verse. Moreover, the manuscript was largely produced between 1338 and 1344 on the continent (likely Tournai) before being completed in England (c. 1400), where and when *Alexander and Dindimus* and Marco Polo's *Li Livres du Grant Caam* were added, along with illustrations interspersed throughout, which present the many parts of the book as a coherent and connected whole (Dutschke 1998, 294; Cruse 2011, 61–102). For Gilbert, however, the inclusion of an alliterative fragment also enhances the learned character of the French romance: "Because *Alexander and Dindimus* contributes a relatively heavyweight intellectual debate to the manuscript's Alexander compilation, it enhances our reading of [the *Roman d'Alexandre*] as a *roman antique*. Strengthening the elements of *clergie*, curiosity, and learning increases the earlier compilation's prestige [. . .]" (2015, 124). This implies a significant transformation of genre to the *romans antiques*, which typically rely on octosyllabic rhyming couplets, the predominant metrical form for French romance. MS Bodl. 264 therefore obtains a the-

matic unity that is animated and elevated by its erudite employment of a surprising variety of languages and their poetic rhythms.

One confusing, but insightful, element of the rubricator's note is the reference to "engelyche ryme", especially since most alliterative poems, including the *Wars of Alexander* and *Alexander and Dindimus*, do not regularly rhyme. On the one hand, this characterization could suggest that, for this scribe, there is no meaningful difference between the concussive rhythms of alliterative verse and the lilting tones of rhyming couplets. On the other, "ryme" could merely indicate that the substituted section is written in poetry, as opposed to the subsequent prose of Marco Polo's *Li Livres du Grant Caam*, which was added to the manuscript in England at the same time as *Alexander and Dindimus* (Gilbert 2015, 123–126). Combining these two possibilities, I want to suggest that this confusion arises precisely because alliterative verse occupies a kind of middle space between prose and poetry, rhythm and rhyme. Consider, for example, Geoffrey Chaucer's narrator in the *House of Fame*, who wants "To make bookys, songes, dytees, / In ryme or elles in cadence" (622–623).[12] Chaucer appears to oppose "ryme" with "cadence", which could stand for "poetry" and "prose" or indicate a difference between rhyming and alliterative verse. By differentiating rhyme from "cadence", Chaucer may be highlighting his frequent use of *cursus* rhythms in his *Boece*, which correspond to the dactylic patterns and initial syllabic stress of its alliterative vocabulary (Johnson 2013, 55–91). Even if we cannot confidently equate "cadence" with alliteration, we can reasonably connect "cadence" with its Latin equivalent "cadencia", which Simon O. uses in his early fifteenth-century writing manual, probably composed at Oxford, to describe *distinctiones*, the rhythmical punctuation of final clauses. For Simon cadence is the key to an elegant dictaminal style:

> Dictamen est litteralis edicio venustate sermonum et egregia sentencia coloribus ornata, per quam quidem diffinicionem, que et qualis sit cadencia, attente scire poterit perspicuous indagator, cuius venustatis [ardentia] extat, quia cadencia nichil aliud esse poterit nisi distinccionis vel scissure et precipue diccionum finalis clausura. (Pantin 1929, 334)

> *Dictamen* is a written utterance decorated in elegant words and a striking statement decorated with rhetorical colors. From this definition a sharp investigator who has a passion for elegance may, with care, learn what sort of thing *cadencia* is. For *cadencia* could be nothing other than the final closure of clauses [*clausura*] or phrases, and especially of words. (Cornelius 2010, 322)[13]

If we did not know that this statement refers to prose *cursus*, we might think that "cadencia" refers to poetic meter, perhaps even the *laisses* of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, which are bound by the concordant rhymes and assonances and the end of each line (Lote 1951 and 1955, 2.54–56).

12 The line numbers from Chaucerian texts are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson (1987).

13 Because the scribe often substitutes "ardencia" for "cadencia", Pantin emends "ardencia" to "cadencia". I follow Cornelius, who suggests that "ardencia" should stand as is (2010, 322n95).

When we consider Simon's characterization of "cadencia" within the context of the Oxfordian statutes of 1350 and 1380 that require training in the writing of *clausulae* and the *Wars of Alexander*-poet's use of "clause" to indicate letter writing, however, Chaucer's reference to "cadence" obtains a dictaminal connotation, one that may be confirmed by another word in that collocation: "ditees". If we set aside the numerous uses of this word in his *Boece* as translations of his source that specifically refer to "songs" (1.m.3, 2.pr.2.71, 3.pr.6.3, 3.m.12.48, 4.pr.6.36), this appearance in the *House of Fame* is the only time Chaucer uses this word to characterize writing in English. While "ditees" may offer a redundant emphasis on "songes", I want to suggest instead that Chaucer is specifically using "ditees" to refer to epistles, whether they are written in "ryme" or in "cadence", which indicates alliterative verse or prose. In the two letters to Dindimus quoted above, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet calls the epistolary writing "dities" (4343, 4822), which correspond with a reference to "dete", or letter that he writes to Darius earlier in the poem (2851). Another contemporary, and particularly relevant, use of "dite" appears in John Trevisa's 1387 translation of Ranulph Hidgen's *Polychronicon*, specifically in a description of Aristotle's tutelage of Alexander: "Aristotle ey3tene 3ere olde among oþere tau3te [eloquence] faire and noble spekynge as it is specialliche i-sene in his Commentis Homerici and in Ditee of Troye, þe which he bytook Alisaundre, and in his Dyalogus of Poetis and in Tretys of Rethorik" (3.361). Within the context of the sentence alone, "Ditee" gains a rhetorical association through its juxtaposition with the teaching of eloquence through poetics and a "Tretys of Rethorik". Moreover, Trevisa offers "Ditee" as a translation of Higden's "dictamen" (3.360), which suggests that these words could be used interchangeably.[14] Since Higden is also the author of an *ars praedicandi*, a rhetorical treatise on preaching that follows the structure of the *ars dictaminis*, it seems unlikely that Higden would proffer the term "dictamen" casually and that Trevisa would be unfamiliar with its epistolary connotations.[15] When Chaucer implies that "ditees" may be in composed in "ryme" or in "cadence", he captures the formal flexibility of dictaminal writing, which could include the prosaic Latin of the *Historia preliis*, the rhyming epistles in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, or the alliterative letters of the *Wars of Alexander*.

The *Wars of Alexander*-poet recognizes the plasticity of *dictamen* by translating the dactylic rhythms of the Latin *cursus* into his alliterative "dities", which are juxtaposed with reference to another poetic meter, the hexameter line. Where the fragment of the poem ends, a description of a monument that celebrates Alexander's imperial dominion calls attention to the metrical form of its inscription:

> And þai ware visid all in vers[is] in variant lettirs,
> Sum in Latens lare, sum langage of Grece,

14 For the full line from Higden, see the epigraph to this chapter.

15 For a discussion of the dictaminal background for Higden's manual, see Jennings' introduction to her (and Wilson's) translation of Higden's *Ars componendi sermones* (2003, 1–23).

> Assisid all of sex foote & sett in betwene,
> Ay thre paire on a plate qware a point ristis.
> (5777–5780)

The "vers[is]" that are "Assisid all of sex foote" likely refers to hexameter verse, which is the form that the language of the subsequent inscription takes in the *Historia preliis* (Cornelius 2009, 81–83). Since the *Wars of Alexander*-poet cannot adequately replicate this Latin meter within the consistency of the alliterative rhythms, Ian Cornelius (2009, 83) suggests that "the poet acknowledges this loss of formal distinction and tries to make amends by naming the Latin verse-form and calling attention to his own distance from the Original. This act of naming the difference between alliterative verse and Latin hexameter contrasts with the assimilation of alliterative writing to Latin rhythmical prose". Even though the alliterative line appears to have more in common with the dactylic cadences of the prose *cursus* than those of the Latin verse, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet still proceeds to translate the hexameters into alliterating units, forcing a rearrangement of the proper place names from geographical to alphabetical proximity. For example, rather than follow the regional logic of his source, which places England and Scotland in the same line (123.9), the *Wars of Alexander* collocates England, Italy, and India because of the alliteration of their initial letters: "Ingland, Itaile & Yndee, & Ireland costis" (5789). Apparently, the *Wars of Alexander*-poet is so dedicated to the consistency of the alliterative form that any resulting reduction or confusion of geographical distance between the far reaches of Alexander's empire is an acceptable sacrifice. Or perhaps the poem ends as a fragment here because the poet recognized that the alliterative line could not accommodate this geographical survey of Alexander's dominion. This commitment to poetic uniformity is also reflected in the presentation of texts within MS Bodl. 264, which centres its focus on the alexandrine lines of the *Roman d'Alexandre*. By referring to *Alexander and Dindimus* as written in "ryme", the rubricator of MS Bodl. 264 proffers a formal consistency between the end-rhymes of the romance's *laisses* and the headlong cadences of alliterative verse, a pretension to equivalency that is even more obvious than the awkward attempt of the *Wars of Alexander*-poet to establish metrical coherency within imperial chaos.

The epistolary style of the Wars of Alexander

As I have suggested above, efforts to collapse formal distinctions between types of writing emerge from a much longer history of rhetorical and poetic instruction that we can trace back the extension of the *ars dictaminis* into what appears to be non-epistolary prose and poetry, such as Guido's *Historia* and the *Historia preliis*. This attempt at dictaminal coherence within and between prosaic and poetic forms is also evident within rhetorical texts and manuscripts composed and compiled as early as the thirteenth century. One commonly included text within these manuscripts is Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria*

nova (c. 1210), which includes a section on differences between prose and poetry, focusing on distinctions in rhythmical freedom, syllabic limitations, and phrase endings.

> Legibus arctetur metrum, sed prosa, vagatur / Liberiore via, quia prosae publica strata / Admittit passim redas et plaustra; sed arta / Semita versiculi non vult tam grossa [. . .] / Prosaicus versus res grossior: omnia verba / Indistanter amat, nisi quae postrema reservat [. . .] / Cetera non variat ratio, sed, carmine metri / Legibus astricto vela ab ejus lege soluto, / Ars eadem semper [. . .] (Geoffrey of Vinsauf, ed. Faral 1923, 1853–1856, 1863–1864, and 1873–1875).

> Meter is straightened by laws, but prose roams along a freer way, for the public road of prose admits here and there wagons and carts, whereas the narrow path of a line of verse does not allow of things so inelegant [. . .]. A line of prose is a coarser thing; it favors all words, observing no distinction except in the case of those which it keeps for the end of periods [. . .]. For the rest [i.e. besides particular syllabic restrictions], the method of prose and verse does not differ; rather the principles of the art remain the same, whether in a composition bound by the laws of meter or in one independent of those laws.[16]

The "principles of the art" that Geoffrey emphasizes here are developed fully throughout his treatise, which include treatments of rhetorical techniques, including amplification and description, that could be activated within the *clausulae* of prose letters or lines of verse epistles. One thirteenth-century manuscript, Glasgow, Hunterian MS V.8.14, places Geoffrey's *Poetria nova*, as well as his *Summa de coloribus rethoricis* and *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi*, alongside a number of other poetic and dictaminal manuals, including Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, Gervase of Melkley's *Ars poetica* and *Dictamen prosaicum*, and a number of examples, such as "Pergama flere volo", an immensely popular poem on the fall of Troy (Faral 1936, 18–119; Boutemy 1946, 233–244). While this compilation is primarily poetic in focus, the inclusion of the *artes dictandi* of Geoffrey and Gervase suggest a kind of epistolary consistency and, what Rita Copeland calls, a "pedagogical coherence" across the treatises (139). We might even call this an anthology, much in the same way that MS Bodl. 264 is an anthology of Alexander material, that establishes the foundation for the instructional combination of verse and prose instruction that we see in the language of the 1350 and 1380 Oxford statues. For Copeland, "the collection in Hunterian V.8.14 is neither simply rhetorical handbook nor poetic anthology, but rather an anthology of style" (2021, 142–143). When we consider the consistency with which the Alexander material – from the amplified recensions of the *Historia preliis* to the alexandrine lines of the *Roman d'Alexandre* to the alliterative cadences of the *Wars of Alexander* – incorporates the principles of both the *artes poetica* and the *artes dictandi*, we can detect the development of an epistolary style that attempts to "rhyme" Latin prose with vernacular poetry.

At the same time that we acknowledge these attempts at formal syncretism within late medieval treatments of the Alexander corpus, we must also consider why the alliterative long line is the preferred translational medium for three out of the four surviv-

16 This translation is adapted from Geoffrey of Vinsauf, ed. Nims (2010), 72–73.

ing English versions of the *Historia preliis*. If we agree that the dictaminal nature of the Latin source material – particularly its epistolary formulae, its dactylic rhythms, and its rhetorical colours – matches the formulaic salutations, concussive cadences, and ornamental amplifications of alliterative verse, then we should explore the possible influences and translational dispositions that motivate the production of these poems. In a previous examination of contemporary romances that were, like the *Wars of Alexander*, also produced in northern England, namely John Clerk's *Destruction of Troy*, the *Siege of Jerusalem*, the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, I argued that these alliterative translations reflect a "clerical voice" that is highly Latinate, politically provincial, and strikingly sceptical of aristocratic assertions of sovereignty (Mueller 2013, 219–222). The learned background and anti-imperialism of these poems are also exhibited in the *Wars of Alexander*, not only through its rhythmical and rhetorical use of a Latin source in the I^3 recension of the *Historia preliis*, a text that reflects its own resistance to empire-building, but also through its depictions of scholarly figures such as Alexander's Egyptian father, Anectanabus, who is described as an intellectual equal to Aristotle:

> Þe iapis of all gemetri gentilli he couth,
> And [as] wele as Aristotill, þe artis all seuyn.
> Þare preued neuir nane his prik, forpassing of witt,
> Plato nor Piktagaras ne Prektane himseluen.
> (43–46)

Whereas the I^3 recension only emphasizes his expertise in astrology and mathematics (8–9), the *Wars of Alexander* amplifies the learning of Anectanabus, who is trained in all seven of the liberal arts, including logic, represented by Plato, and grammar, represented by "Prektane" or Priscian (Steiner 2016, 393). This invocation of Priscian, who flourished nearly a millennium after Alexander, reflects the importance of his canonical grammatical text for the *Wars of Alexander*-poet, who likely received rhetorical training from grammar masters, especially if the instruction followed the model at Oxford, which required it after 1350 (Camargo 2007, 67–87). According to James Simpson (2002, 116), this celebration of clerical learning also exhibits a resistance to imperialism: "Philosophers, not kings, are triumphant in this work. Alexander is even born of a runaway king-cum-philosopher ([An]ectanabus); 'clerkes' produce kings, just as the king's own messages, always in the form of clerically composed letters, express the transience of earthly possession." Given the preponderance of epistles that pervade the poem, the clerical voice is synonymous with an epistolary voice, which reflect a style that attempts to produce a vernacular authority synonymous with Latinate authority.

To arrive at a conclusion about the stylistic choice of the alliterative long line for translating Latin prose, we should consider the nature of other non-alliterative translations, particularly those working from the same texts. For example, whereas John Clerk translates Guido's *Historia* into the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* (c. 1390), John Lydgate, a Benedictine monk educated at Oxford, renders Guido's rhythmical prose

into rhyming couplets in his *Troy Book* (1420), an attempt to match the "souereinte of stile" (ed. Bergen 1906–1935, 373) of his "Guydo maister" (ed. Bergen 1906–1935, 372), the Trojan authority who surpasses all others. As soon as Book Two, however, Lydgate, dramatically announces his failure to translate the *Historia*'s *clausulae* into Chaucerian iambic pentameter:

> I am so dulle, certeyn, þat I ne can
> Folwen Guydo, þat clerke, þat coryous man,
> Whiche in latyn hath be rethorik
> Set so his wordis, þat I can nat be lyke.
> To sewe his stile in my translacioun,
> Word by word, lyche þe construccioun,
> After þe maner of gramariens,
> Nor lyke þe stile of rethoricyens,
> I toke nat on me þis story to translate;
> For me to forther Clyo com to late,
> Þat in swyche craft hath gret experience;
> I leue þe wordis and folwe þe sentence.
> And trouþ of metre I sette also a-syde,
> For of þat arte I hadde as þo no guyde
> Me to reducyn, what I went a-wrong;
> I toke non hede nouþer of schort nor long,
> But to þe trouþe, lefte coryouste
> Boþe of making and metre be.
> (Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen 1906–1935, 2.169–2.186)

While Lydgate surely exaggerates his ability to "Folwen Guido", his epideictic confession offers considerable insight into his rhetorical training and the limitations of his poetic form. By claiming that he cannot "sewe his stile in my translacioun", Lydgate suggests that the syntactical and syllabic restrictions of Guido's prose, which rely on "þe construccioun, / After þe maner of gramariens", cannot be replicated within heroic couplets in a "Word by word" manner. The invocation of "gramariens", like the reference to Priscian in the *Wars of Alexander*, gestures towards the dictaminal education that grammar masters would have provided to clerks like Lydgate. He then claims to "leue þe wordis and folwe þe sentence", which requires that he "sette also a-syde" the "trouþ of metre" in order to proceed. If we understand the "trouþ of metre" to be a consistent rhythmical cadence, Lydgate is admitting that his rhyming iambic translation cannot produce the same stylistic effect as the *clausulae* of his Latin prose source.

Lydgate's commentary suggests that his early fifteenth-century audience was, at least to some degree, expecting to encounter in his *Troy Book* a literary style worthy of its Latinate predecessor. Given his avoidance of alliterative rhythms and subsequent embrace of Chaucerian rhymes, Lydgate may have seen the writing on the wall, the long literary future of the heroic couplet and the short literary future of the alliterative long line. The fact that alliterative poets, like the author of the *Wars of Alexander*, chose

instead to follow the cadence of the words, even if it meant occasionally leaving the "sentence", suggests that they preferred an epistolary style that amplified the Latinity of their verse form, perhaps to their eventual detriment. Ultimately, when we compare Lydgate's claim that he cannot "sewe" Guido's "stile" into his translation with the *Wars of Alexander*-poet's amplification of the rhythmical and epistolary features of the I^3 recension, we can begin to see that the Alexander romance obtains a kind of rhetorical power that exceeds its imperial potential within late medieval England. As Christine Chism (2002, 152) suggests, the *Wars of Alexander* "pursues in extremis a chivalric ambition that at once defines and disarticulates itself by its own historical impossibility". Put another way, *translatio studii* outpaces *translatio imperii*, elevating alliterative verse to a claim to a "sovereign" English style, even as its dictaminal character undermines that assertion. In the case of the Alexander romance, translating language through letters, and by the cadence of the letter, produces an epistolary style that seeks to satisfy the Latinate, rhythmical, and anti-imperialistic tastes of its clerical writers and audiences.

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Bruce O'Brien

Translation, Conquest, and the Law: The Medieval English Experience

What can we learn about the nature of a conquest by studying the decision to or not to translate laws in the aftermath? It is not simple to answer this question in part because of the complicated role of translation in the very creation of law texts. Translation itself is not a single thing but can aim at producing quite different products depending on the desires of the translators and their patrons. Translations also participate in a broader culture and are not at all isolated from other texts made or used at the same time. Translation's role can only be understood in the broader context of the historical experiences of speech and textual communities: our task, then, is to lay out their proportions, roles, and relationships with one another.

I will focus on England, which famously for a post-Roman region began its legal history in the Germanic vernacular of recent invaders and immigrants. I will describe the baseline of English laws of the tenth and early eleventh century in order for us to have something by which to measure the changes afterwards. Using the laws of one king, Cnut (1016–1035 CE), I will then survey the varied products of England's scriptoria to see where one would likely find Cnut's law, and in what form or language. Last, we will follow the course of twelfth-century developments in the recording and translating of Cnut's codes and raise the possibility that what we are witnessing in the rise and fall of translations of Cnut from favour are the after-effects of a point-counterpoint conflict between the old and the new, between ancient and contemporary law, all coded with appeals to a past context in order to hide innovation.

Æthelberht, king of Kent (560–616), issued the oldest law code produced by the Germanic settlers in Britain.[1] What is surprising is that he chose his vernacular, the Kentish dialect of Old English, as the vehicle, despite there existing no tradition in either writing or in the use of his vernacular as a written language. His successors produced codes not only in English, as is well known, but also, according to one recent argument, in Latin. The textual history of English law did not, then, begin with a "tradition" of vernacular legislation, as it is usually described, but rather, it appears, with experimentation involving composition in either Latin or Old English as well as, arguably in one case, of translation from Latin to Old English (Ivarsen 2022). It appears

1 Edited, translated, with commentary by Oliver (2002).

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that the brief law code of Wihtred, king of Kent (690–725), was drafted in Latin before being translated into Old English. Ine's code for his West Saxon kingdom was arguably composed in Latin with no following plan to translate it into English.

English kings were dealing with the choice which other Germanic invaders had to make. When Clovis reigned in Gaul, the people subject to his authority would for the most part have been speaking the late Latin of the province, while the small minority which his own people made up would have spoken some form of German or been bilingual (Wright 1982). One can argue that because of the numbers, Clovis or his advisers chose the local Romance vernacular as the vehicle for Frankish customs, rather than issue laws in German, a language with little presence in written form at the time (Ubl 2017). Within a few generations of Clovis' death, the Franks had become Romance speakers who could read or understand Latin texts without any need for translation. Could kings in England have made a similar choice, but chose not to? It is hard to know what drove the linguistic choices in Britain. We don't know how many Romano-Britons were under the control of new Germanic kings. We don't know what languages they spoke – whether Latin had put down roots, or whether the British Celtic languages had survived in all areas, lowland or highland (Ward-Perkins 2000; Schrijver 2012). It does seem that some of the English made the same choice as Clovis, while others did not.

Translation played a more explicit role in the late ninth century before disappearing from the records of law codes. The credit for the role of translation can be given to King Alfred, who issued a law code in English as well as conducted a campaign of translating Latin classics into Old English. In creating a law code, Alfred chose to translate Latin passages from the Bible as a preface to his own laws (Meeder 2009). This was probably when Ine's code, issued in Latin during his reign (688–726), was translated into English in order to accompany Alfred's code. The king's reason for including Ine's laws with his own have been investigated, but one of its effects was to emphasize the long roots of Christian West Saxon law. Translating Biblical injunctions and his ancestor's code, along with issuing his own laws in English, fits nicely with the king's campaign to revive use of the vernacular, revive literacy, and encourage learning – explicitly among his officials and judges (Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, c. 106, 94–95). Crucial was the choice of the English vernacular to make this plan practicable.

Following Alfred, English kings produced texts of laws in nothing but Old English. Five of Alfred's successors – Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, and Æthelred – issued twenty-five law codes, almost all of which survive in English.[2] In addition, there are another score at least of legal texts whose official status is not always clear, but almost all of which survive in English (analysed by Wormald 1999, 366–397). It is safe to say that by the early eleventh century, there was a strong tradition of com-

2 Edited with commentary *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Liebermann (1903–1916); see also *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. Attenborough (1922); *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. Robertson (1925). A few survive only in Latin translation from the twelfth century, but it seems clear that they were originally issued in English.

position of royal laws in English, a tradition that also appears to have included non-royal codes, or treatises. English was firmly the language of English law.

At the end of this tradition, during the latter half of the reign of Æthelred (991–1016), there is a hint of a change. Æthelred issued more law codes than any earlier king. During the first half of his reign, the four codes he issued resemble those of his predecessors: they represent written record of the results of deliberations of the king's council and are for the most part not derivative of the other law codes of Æthelred or of any earlier kings. Because of this, their evidentiary value is high. They are trustworthy witnesses to the thoughts and plans of the king and his councillors.

The appearance of Wulfstan, bishop of London (996–1002), later bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York (from 1002), in the king's court as the king's legal amanuensis changed this pattern in two ways. First, it looks like the whole idea of what constituted a law code changed radically when entrusted to Wulfstan. Under the influence of continental canon law collections, Wulfstan began treating older English texts as material for redeployment in new royal collections (O'Brien, forthcoming; Elliot 2013).[3] Second, it appears that Wulfstan at times preferred to draft the codes in Latin and then translate them into Old English.[4] Wulfstan is not alone in preferring to compose in Latin before translating into English; the most prolific writer of the entire preconquest period, Wulfstan's contemporary Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, also at times composed texts in Latin in preparation for translating them into English (Raynes 1957). While interesting, what matters is not Wulfstan's method, but rather the fact that his target language for the final issuance was always English.

The creation of a law code by mining older works is certainly what Wulfstan did when he made the code we are going to focus on for the remainder of this paper: the Winchester code of Cnut. Whether or not he drafted these laws in Latin we don't know but given that it uses a good deal of material he had earlier drafted in Latin and then translated into English, it is doubtful (Richards 2010). Wulfstan had already followed these steps. Given that he was using almost entirely derivative materials which he himself had composed, there was little need for him to employ any step consisting of translation.

The Winchester Code, conventionally known as I–II Cnut, mirrors Edgar's two-part code, ecclesiastical and secular, and covers the topics found throughout the corpus: heavy on procedure and criminal penalty, light on jurisprudence and civil law. This code proved to be the unexpected culmination of the preconquest legislative tradition. None of Cnut's four successors issued a code, despite the reputation of two of

3 Michael Elliot's editions of the various versions of Wulfstan's collection are found at: http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliot/manuscripts/texts/wig.html.

4 Wormald (1999, 192) says that VI Atr Old English is a version of VI Atr Latin, and was then subsequently used as a basis for Cnut 1018 or Cnut 1020/1021. The foundational work is Sisam (1953, 278–287).

them as kings who made good laws and abolished bad ones (O'Brien 2015a, 238–240).[5] It seems like the legislative momentum had died with Wulfstan and Cnut. Future kings and councils were content with reaffirming in a general way Cnut's laws as the laws of the land without adding anything else (Maddicott 2004).

Fifty years after Cnut's conquest, the kingdom suffered a military invasion from Normandy. The aim of this invasion was to place the duke of Normandy, William, on the English throne. Despite the shared goals, this conquest did not follow the same course as Cnut's. It was, however, as brutal. In the course of a single battle, the English kingdom lost the better part of its aristocracy as well as its king. These roles were then filled with Normans and their continental allies. Norman control was never seriously threatened by the natives, and in fact was defended by native levies in the serious uprising of Norman barons and their English allies launched in 1075.

In several relevant matters, the Norman conquest of 1066 was similar to the Danish one of 1016 (O'Brien 2020, 41–64). Neither Danes nor Normans had much of a tradition of written law before conquering England. Once in charge, both Danes and Normans relied on existing English law-making practices and institutions of governance to maintain their hold. Both dressed up in English cultural garb in order to minimize visible disruptions. Both tied England into a grander international world: A North Sea empire ruled by Cnut and a more modest Norman empire established by William I (Bolton 2009; Le Patourel 1976). After both conquests, the kingdom was multilingual and produced texts in several languages (after 1016, the principal languages were Welsh, English, Scandinavian dialects; after 1066, Flemish, Welsh, French, Breton, Hebrew, English, and Scandinavian dialects) (O'Brien 2011, 69–121). Both Danish and Norman royal courts were at times patrons of literature in Latin as well as in vernaculars (Tyler 2017).

In one area of comparison, however, there was an important difference. Although the Danes who invaded spoke a dialect of Germanic that differed from the one the English spoke, it has been argued that there was in the early eleventh century no significant unintelligibility between English and Scandinavian vernaculars (Townend 2002, 181–211). The Danes and the English could generally understand one another. After 1066, that intelligibility was not the case for the Romance-speaking Normans and the Germanic-speaking English. This difference explains the very different course of languages and translation in the laws that followed each conquest (O'Brien 2011, 72–81).

So, unlike Cnut's conquest, the Norman conquest shifted the language of governance. There was not really much choice of which language to shift to. Written French existed but was hardly likely to be considered an option; by 1066, there were only a few texts existing in French, all of which suggest that the utility of writing in French had not yet come to the attention of the ducal court or Norman clergy. The Normans did share a language with the English: Latin. In the decade following 1066, as continental clergy and barons infiltrated more and more areas of English life, more of the

5 Both Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwineson are praised for their law-making.

business of the kingdom, its church, its laws, its business, shifted from English to Latin as the preferred medium. The kingdom-wide inquest near the end of William the Conqueror's reign, the Domesday Inquest, with its final Latin record of thousands of jurors swearing oaths in their vernaculars, attesting to the contents of vernacular documents, and its employment of professional translators, marked the final shift of weight from English to Latin, a shift visible from time to time in the years leading up to 1086 (Rigg 1992; Fleming 1998; Clanchy 2012, 35–38).

Moving from governance to the narrower subject of legislation, one finds a landscape transformed. The first three Norman kings produced very little of what we might call legislation.[6] The full collection consists of two writs of William I on proof and Church courts, and three writs or proclamations by Henry I on his coronation, the schedule of public courts, and coinage. The reason perhaps for so little new output might simply be that the Normans acknowledged that the laws of Cnut, England's legal standard in the reign of William's predecessor Edward the Confessor, remained the legal standard after 1066 (*Quadripartitus*, 83–85; Sharpe 1994, 148–172).[7]

In the half century after the conquest, copies of Cnut's Winchester code multiplied and received special treatment from compilers, scribes, and translators. Cnut's laws dominate the scene of written law. After this first period, there follows another half century when a very different kind of law code rises up in popularity, rivalling Cnut's laws. Translation plays a role in both movements. The nature of those roles tells us a good deal about the status of written law and ancient custom in post-conquest England.

Copies of Cnut's Winchester code were copied after the new Norman regime had conquered the kingdom: only one copy, in fact, might arguably predate 1066.[8] King Cnut's long Old English text circulated in stand-alone pamphlets or, when appearing in the two large vernacular collections of laws, might be placed first.[9] Translations of Cnut's laws from English into Latin were also undertaken during the first decades of Norman rule. Between possibly before c. 1100 and the 1130s, several Latin versions of Cnut's Winchester code were produced. In two of three versions, what was produced was more than simply a Latin translation of Cnut's laws. In these two translations, the compiler or scribe has acted as an editor, cutting out some chapters, revising the rest and adding other legal texts to Cnut's code, all of which travel as if part of Cnut's pro-

6 Although the size and number of Anglo-Norman edicts is not entirely dissimilar to that of tenth-century kings, their overall proportion is extremely small when measured by all of the legal literature produced during the reigns of William I, William II, Henry I, and Stephen.

7 The attribution is attested by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Mynors, Winterbottom, and Thomson (1998–1999,1:328–30 [2.183.9]).

8 London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. i: See Ker (1957, 210–215); Wormald (1999, 224–228).

9 London, British Library, MS Harley 55; MS Cotton Nero A.i; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383: See Ker (1957, 302–303 [Harley 55] and 110–113 [CCC 383]); Wormald (1999, 253–255). Detailed recent descriptions of all of these can be found at Da Rold, Kato, Swan, and Treharne (2010 [2013]), available at http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220.

mulgation.[10] In their translated forms these are new law codes, in a new language, but they remain for the most part made up of existing laws. Chapters added to Cnut's laws are almost always taken from other existing codes, from Alfred-Ine to Æthelred. In the third Latin version, the translator has created a true historical encyclopedia of English laws from Ine to the time of Henry I, but has arranged it so that his translation of Cnut's Winchester code is first.[11] This translation aimed to represent the contents and structure of the Old English source.

Two matters ought to be noted. Not only do these translations of Cnut stand in lieu of authentic new legislation by the Norman kings, but they serve in fact as the preferred vehicle of the few post-conquest texts that survive. The so-called Ten Articles of William I is likely the intended fifth and last book of the translation and revision of Cnut and other laws known as the *Instituta Cnuti*.[12] Henry I's edicts appear in the second book of a grand translation of Old English laws known as *Quadripartitus* (ed. Liebermann, 14–15, 146–166). The early law books join old and new, give precedence to Cnut, and translate everything into Latin. The second matter of note is more surprising. Two of these three translations fall into the same methodological camp as Wulfstan and the codes he created for Æthelred and Cnut. They both rearrange their sources and combine separate texts to create not, strictly speaking, a new law, but instead a law newly structured. The path of influence between Wulfstan's experiments c. 1000 and the decisions of these anonymous and private compilers of laws a century later is hard to see. There are differences between the two; the later compilers are more likely to assemble lightly edited blocks of existing sources, while Wulfstan revised and rearranged his sources (usually ones he himself had authored). What both Wulfstan and the later compilers do have in common is knowledge of the world of contemporary canon law, where just such a method lies behind the creation of the collections which served as the principal vehicles for transmitting ecclesiastical law (Brett 1992; Rolker 2005; Elliott, 2013).

The impact of these translations on developments that occurred in twelfth-century records of English law is clear. One of the key decisions made by this first wave of translators was to choose Latin as the target, but to continue to rely on the Old English register of law for their technical terms. They did this by transliterating key Old English terms in their translations.[13] By doing so, these translators threw their weight behind something happening in other places in Norman government. This phenomenon was

10 The two translations are the *Instituta Cnuti* and the *Consiliatio Cnuti*. See O'Brien (2003) and Liebermann (1893).

11 Most recently described and analysed by Wormald (1994).

12 The *Instituta* and *Articuli* are presented as if one text in their earliest manuscript, *Textus Roffensis*: see Strood, Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, MS DRc/R1, fol. 80r. For the argument that they originally formed one text, see O'Brien (2015b, 6 and n13).

13 Their appearance and significance as they appear in the writs and charters of William I has most recently been studied by Timofeeva (2022).

the absorption of Old English legal terminology into the Latin texts and court proceedings in general. The Domesday inquest was arguably critical in this phenomenon, though it is hard to imagine the decision by those in charge of the inquest to adopt so much non-Latin vocabulary without that already being the practice of courts and the agents of the crown.[14] Exceptions to this rule – that scribes Latinized English terms – are rare enough to suggest that the practice was a result of a policy decided on by the new royal administration. Evidence that this was a policy discussion, albeit in a much later text, comes from Richard fitz Nigel's *Dialogus de Scaccario*, which refers to the use of *verbi communes* ('common words') in the text which recorded the results of the inquest, Domesday Book. It was Michael Clanchy who pointed out that this phenomenon was what Richard fitz Nigel was likely referring to when he pointed to the adoption of these *verbi communes*.[15]

A shift happens after this wave of translations of the laws of Cnut. While in the half century after the conquest those interested in the fundamental law of the land were content with some form of Cnut's laws – most often in Latin translation though at times in English – this preference changed in the later years of Henry I's reign or in the reigns of Stephen or Henry II. Those constructing law codes describing the *laga Edwardi* would be much less likely to use Cnut as the vehicle and more likely to simply invent a treatise on the laws and customs of the kingdom. These later texts were not at all derivative of existing law codes, neither of Cnut's Winchester Code nor of anyone else's laws. They claim to represent a different royal authority: the laws of Edward the Confessor as confirmed by William I. One of these texts was in Anglo-French and it enjoyed very little popularity. The other, a Latin treatise known as the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, was likely the most popular of all of the legal compositions produced before the end of the twelfth century (O'Brien, 2015a, 231–146).

The relationship between these two groups of texts – the translations of Cnut and the original compositions crediting their authority to King Edward and King William – has never been considered as anything other than coincidental. Both were simply part of the response to the Norman king's attempt to maintain the status quo – two paths to follow for anyone interested in producing a law code. One of the early twelfth-century translators explained, as mentioned earlier, that the laws of Edward meant the laws of Cnut (*Quadripartitus*, Argumentum, c. 1, 83). It looked like there was no difference other than in taste and skill that stood between choosing to create an original treatise or making a translation. But such a lumping misses the importance of chronology and authority. Chronologically, all but one of the texts attributed to Cnut have their origin in texts produced in the aftermath of the conquest, and all of these texts are translations or

14 The scope of the inquest seems to require that the decision had already been made: see the description of the process Fleming (1993).

15 The connection was first noticed by Clanchy (2012, 38); Richard fitz Nigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. Johnson (1983, 63–64 [book 1, chap. 16]).

linked to translations.[16] All of the attributions to Edward the Confessor and William I are found later, after the 1120s or 1130s, and none is a translation.[17] When these original treatises do begin to evolve – revised and expanded by legal writers in the second half of the twelfth century – they often add selections from the older translations of Cnut's laws. Nevertheless, they never acknowledged that the additional laws were Cnut's. Cnut in fact almost never appears, except in one treatise's discourse on the history of the laws of Edward. There, the author of the *Leges Edwardi* says Edward's laws were Edgar's laws, not Cnut's, and that Cnut was infamous as being one of the kings under whom the laws slept.[18] Instead of being arguably the most important law-giver of the pre-conquest period, Cnut ends up criticized for neglect.[19]

Could it be that the *Leges Edwardi*'s condemnation of Cnut as someone under whom law slept is in fact targeting some contemporary translations of Cnut, trying to kill their authority? Perhaps the turn to the composition of original treatises is a sign that the legal standard of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries had begun to crumble. Seen in this light, the translations were not simply evidence of the movement of these older useful texts into another language. They also reveal the conservative phase of attitudes toward legal texts in the aftermath of the conquest. It shows the Normans slowly coming to understand the status and function of written law in their new kingdom. This shift from translations of one king's laws to compositions of more recent kings marks the next stage in the developing notions of written law, revealing a society trying a century after the conquest to pull away from the rigid adherence to the pre-conquest order that had marked the first wave of legal literature. The shift began with a deauthorizing of the old laws and their replacement by new versions of the *laga Edwardi*.

While texts claiming to represent Cnut's laws with one exception cease to be made after the early twelfth century, the contents of his laws continued to play a role in some of the newer treatises produced during the reign of Henry II (1154–1189). One compiler of a lawbook in the 1170s or early 1180s has extended the reach of the second version of the *Leges Edwardi* by fifty percent by adding at the end of the treatise chapters taken from one of the early twelfth-century Latin translations of Cnut, the *Consiliatio Cnuti* (O'Brien 2012, 61–62). Another editor has translated into Anglo-French around a dozen chapters from an Old English version of the Winchester Code and added them to a copy of the first version of the *Leis Willelme*.[20] This French text was itself translated into

16 Dates are in all cases estimated: see O'Brien (2015a, 232–235); Wormald (1999, 398–415).

17 These are the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* and the *Leis Willelme*.

18 ECf 34 in O'Brien (1999a, 194–195).

19 F. W. Maitland noted this discrepancy and thought it so untrue what the *Leges Edwardi* was claiming that it tainted the entire treatise (Pollock and Maitland 1898, 1:103–104).

20 That the translation was directly from an Old English source and not from the Latin *Instituta Cnuti*, as is sometimes claimed, is shown at O'Brien (2003, 185–186).

Latin at some point in the 1180s (Wormald 1999, 407–409).[21] None of these texts mentions Cnut as the authority behind the additions. The decision to borrow from Cnut's code and not from other sources nevertheless shows that Cnut continued to be seen as an authoritative statement of the laws and customs of England. All of these are workarounds for writers to deal with English legal conservatism. Cnut's laws are the phalanx in the battlefield – they cannot be ignored. Multiplication of these texts – both translations of Cnut and the treatises of Edward – took off exponentially during the conflict between the archbishop, Thomas Becket, and the king, Henry II. In a conflict over what was and was not the ancient custom of the realm, it is no surprise that clerics, and perhaps the crown, researched law's past in order to justify their stance in the decades after the face-off at Clarendon in 1164 (O'Brien 1999b).

Cnut as an imagined ancient law-giver makes one last appearance in a new pastiche of the late twelfth century (*Die Gesetze*, ed. Liebermann, 1:493–520). A writer in the final decades of the twelfth century used an old Latin translation of Cnut, the *Instituta Cnuti*, to supply the basis for a code of forest law, which he attributes to Cnut. No medieval copy of Cnut's *Constitutiones de foresta* survives. There are also no indirect witnesses to its circulation. It looks like this text gained little purchase among contemporaries. The age when Cnut's name at the head of a code made a text an authoritative statement of the good old law had ended some time before the reign of Henry II. This forest law was Cnut's last hurrah as a legal standard, and it may very well have been a flop (Liebermann 1894; *Die Gesetze*, ed. Liebermann, 1:620–626; Hudson 2012, 455–486).

Translation and the evolving search for legislative authority continued to interact in new and surprising ways in the final years of the twelfth and the start of the thirteenth century. At the same time as the text of Cnut's forest law was being created, a number of texts were translated from Latin into French, some of which is associated with the baronial protest against royal overreach that led to Magna Carta 1215. The texts are in many cases singletons, and so it is difficult to know how each fit into the trends of the time. Someone produced a translation of the third version of the *Leges Edwardi* and the *Ten Articles of William* that read like glosses and not stand alone texts.[22] Another translator produced a first French translation of the treatise known as *Glanvill*.[23] French translations of the Latin coronation edicts of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II were produced likely as part of the development of opposition to the rule of King John (Holt 1992, 474–477). In one manuscript the three charters appear in both Latin original and Anglo-French translation. They preserve evidence of a shift in royal authority. While the coronation edicts of Henry I and of Stephen claim the *laga*

21 The Latin translation survives in only one copy: London, British Library, MS Harley 746, fols 55v–59.

22 Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.1.1, fols 3v–8.

23 For the French translation of Glanvill, yet unedited, see Tullis (2008, 45–51 and 234–235).

Edwardi as their benchmarks, the charter of Henry II cites the laws of Henry I and of no earlier king. The Norman conquest had begun to fade as the measure of the law of the land. Regardless of their individual reasons for their translation into French, they are all part of the first wave of the mass migration of texts into Anglo-French that would dominate the legal world in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Brand 2000; Clanchy, 2012, 199–225). No text attributed to Cnut was translated into Anglo-French. It seems that Cnut's laws were by the second half of the twelfth century seen as relics whose work as a repository of the *laga Edwardi* had been seized by more explicitly Edwardian texts like the *Leges Edwardi* and the *Ten Articles*, both of which end up in French. By the time translators and readers turned to French, the laws of Cnut had fallen from favour; the only parts of Cnut which end up translated into French are those chapters added to the second version of the *Leis Willelme* hiding behind texts attributed to Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.

What we have seen is the complicated development of trends in translation in a recently conquered kingdom, which combined with a trend in original composition under influence of a developing process of revision and arrangement from canon law. Much of the influence each of these had on the others and on the results happened behind closed doors. We only see fragments of the results. Nevertheless, what is clear is the general trajectory of English law, and, as importantly, English legal memory over the course of three centuries, from the statements emanating from royal assemblies in the tenth century, to Wulfstan's confections of the early eleventh century, and finally the complicated development of collection, translation, and composition that marked the end of this fertile period of legal invention and innovation.

Conquest, the military defeat of one power by a force from somewhere else and the occupation or seizure of territory, was certainly an element in the equation that led to these developments in the role of translation, but is not the whole explanation. Politics and culture combined in the decades before and after the Norman conquest to inspire government policies as well as private agendas, where individuals drew unexpectedly from the deep well of English legal language to fill out the administrative Latin of the new elite. Initially, that inspiration held a tight grip around the shape and authority of Cnut's laws. Over time, however, new realities called for new laws. Here, some writers pried themselves off of Cnut to create new treatises, still authorized by the past, but describing current law in a manner helpful to a reader. But translators throughout the government and in the great ecclesiastical institutions which no doubt lie behind the creation of texts like *Quadripartitus* and the *Instituta Cnuti* had done their work. The language of English law had been transformed, and the private creation of guides to contemporary law had become the norm.

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Natalia I. Petrovskaia

Re-Writing Parts of Europe in Some Vernacular Adaptations of the *Imago Mundi*

Introduction

The present chapter engages with the concept of translation broadly defined by investigating some of the patterns found in the alterations to the geographical description of Europe in vernacular adaptations of the geographical section of the twelfth-century encyclopaedic text *Imago mundi*.[1] As my case study for this investigation I take three translations (broadly defined) of the *Imago mundi* produced in three consecutive centuries in two languages, Castilian and Catalan. The original Latin text was composed by Honorius Augustodunensis in the beginning of the twelfth century in three books, of which the first contained an extensive description of the inhabited world (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982). This book far outstripped books II and III in popularity and not only circulated on its own in Latin but was translated into many European languages, and also formed the basis of a number of looser adaptations incorporated into other texts, themselves often quite popular (Petrovskaia and Calis 2019). The basic structure of the textual map in the *Imago mundi*, inherited by its various vernacular adaptations, is a tripartite picture of the world, constituted by Asia, Europe, and Africa, discussed in that order (Petrovskaia 2022). Each of these is first introduced in a short general outline, and then discussed in more detail, region-by-region, with attention to rivers, main cities, and some etymological discussion, the extent of which depends on each given translation/adaptation.

In this chapter I propose to engage with the concept of translation as transformation and transfer by regarding three vernacular "rewritings" of the *Imago mundi* in the medieval European geographical tradition (Petrovskaia 2020, 361–362; Pate and Rose 2013, 613). I use "rewriting" in the definition introduced by Liedeke Plate and Els Rose, as a way of describing a "technology of cultural memory" which constitutes a "writing again" and does not quite fall either under translation or under exegesis and is "an act of transfer enabling cultural remembrance, rewriting inscribes time and difference" (Pate and Rose 2013, 613 and 614). To "time" and "difference" in this discussion I would like to add "space" as the subject of re-inscription onto the original text

1 This chapter is based on the findings of the research project "Defining 'Europe' in Medieval European Geographical Discourse: the Image of the World and its Legacy, 1110–1500" (2017–2020), hosted by Utrecht University and funded by the Dutch Research Council https://definingeurope.sites.uu.nl/ (accessed 17 June 2024).

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within this process of rewriting. It will be seen in the discussion below that the treatment of the description of Europe in the three rewritings under examination is formed by considerations based on their historical, cultural, linguistic, political and geographical contexts.

As Michelle R. Warren points out, while "in traditional paradigms, source texts are originals that have priority over their derivative translations, modern theory conceptualizes translations that have their own independent value" (Warren 2019, 165). Taking as my premise the notion that this is also the case for medieval translations (*translationes*, moving the text to a new context), I propose to demonstrate this by examining the way in which the geographical area where the translation itself was produced is emphasized in the world-description of the geographical treatise being translated. I have chosen to focus on the Iberian branch of the tradition – *Semeiança del Mundo*, *Mapa mundi* in the Catalan Atlas and the geographical chapters in Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* – because it provides an interesting and illuminating snapshot of the common treatment of the original material across three different periods (*Semeiança del Mundo* of the 1170s–1220s, Catalan Atlas 1370s–1380s, and *Laberinto de Fortuna* in the 1440s), and across what to the modern audience are three distinct genres: an encyclopaedia, a map, and a poem variously defined as epic and / or allegoric and didactic work (Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 21 and 25; Clarke 1973, 61–62).[2] Due to limits of time and space, the focus here will be mainly on the role of Spain itself in these three different rewritings of the *Imago mundi*.

It is important to emphasize at the outset of this discussion the Janus-like nature of the *Imago mundi* tradition: the works belonging to this broad family have a disconcerting tendency to be at the same time politically relevant to their own time of composition, and intentionally archaic in their representation of geographical space (the *Imago mundi* itself, notoriously, frequently prefers Roman provincial designations to twelfth-century placenames). This seemingly confusing duality might also usefully be regarded through the prism of Homi Bhabha's interpretation of the nation narrative: "For the political unity of the nation consists in a continual displacement of its irredeemably plural modern space, bounded by different, even hostile nations, into a signifying space that is archaic and mythical, paradoxically representing the nation's modern territoriality, in the patriotic, atavistic temporality of Traditionalism" (Bhabha 1990, 300). Bhabha's articulation of the tension between the archaic and anachronistic on the one hand and the intensely current on the other, can be traced in each of the three texts here examined.

Since the extent of each text is too expansive to be encompassed within one chapter, the discussion below engages primarily with alterations undergone by the description of Europe, and Spain in particular, in these three texts. This is used as a case

2 I emphasise here the modern conception of genre distinctions. The medieval typology of genre is notoriously distinct from today's, but it is beyond the limitations of this chapter to engage with the issue in the depth which its treatment would require.

study to bring into sharper relief the various tidal forces operating on the adaptations, produced as they were for different purposes, in differing political contexts, and in different genres. The discussion is divided thematically into three parts. These fall broadly within the thematic fields of structure, content, and format. The first addresses the changes made to the description of Spain, and its placement within the broader description of Europe, in the three texts. The second engages with the issues of archaism, focusing on the reasons behind retention of seemingly outdated information in some instances, while in others placenames and epithets are altered to accord with new demands. The third and final section of the discussion engages with the various modes in which the text responds to the demands of the new formats within which its contents are moulded in the adaptations: as a product of aural culture in the case of the thirteenth-century *Semeiança*, of the intensely visual cartographic monument in the case of the fourteenth-century Catalan Atlas, and as part of a verse epic in the *Laberinto*.

Since no overarching discussion of rewritings of the *Imago mundi* as adaptations is currently available, an introduction to each of the texts concerned from that perspective is in order, prior to discussion.[3] The three texts, *Semeiança del Mundo*, the Catalan Atlas, and the *Laberinto de Fortuna*, are briefly introduced in the following section, with special focus on their relationship with the *Imago mundi*.

The texts

The first of the three vernacular texts here examined can be described as a translation of *Imago mundi* Book I without any violence to the narrow technical definition of the term as intersemiotic rendering of meaning from one language system into another, with strong adherence to not only original content but also form, and where possible, syntax.[4] This text, entitled *Mapa mundi* in the manuscripts, but now known as the *Semeiança del Mundo* (1173×1223), is on the whole a faithful rendering – with some minor additions, omissions, and shifts – of the Latin text into Spanish (*Semeiança*, ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 10–11). Its alterations to the contents of the encyclopaedia are minimal, but include structural elements, such as transitional passages introduced as the text moves between the three parts of the world, from Asia to Eu-

3 A broader discussion of the *Imago mundi* tradition, including a wider range of vernacular translations and adaptations, will be provided in my forthcoming book, *Transforming Europe in the Medieval European Images of the World. Fuzzy Geographies*.

4 This is a rough working definition which is not meant to be definitive, but rather to illustrate the common concept of "faithful interlingual translation"; for a discussion of the notorious difficulty of defining "translation", see, for instance, Hermans (2013).

rope, and Europe to Africa. These are investigated in the third section of the main discussion below.

In a move of misattribution typical of the *Imago mundi* tradition as a whole, this text attributes authorship to Isidore of Seville (*Semeiança*, ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 12 and 16; Kinkade 1971, 263; Deyermond 1996, 143–144). One of the three early manuscripts of the *Semeiança* has it alongside a translation of Honorius's *Elucidarium*, suggesting at least the distant possibility that the texts might have been translated together from a collection of Honorius's works (Kinkade 1971, 268 n. 9).[5] It is possible to see the attribution to Isidore merely as an example of misattribution of this text to a known authority, a phenomenon observed in both Latin manuscripts of the text and in other vernacular translations. On the other hand, it is also possible that we are dealing here not with misattribution but with purposeful re-attribution and, indeed, appropriation of the text dictated not merely by Isidore's fame as encyclopaedist but by the fact that he was Spanish, a point emphasized also in twentieth-century histories of geography (Melon 1977, 70; Lacomba 2008, 343). Isidore's name appears to have attracted attribution of geographical and cosmographical materials. A much earlier example of this is the Pseudo-Isidore *De fabrica mundi* in the Códice de Roda (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia cod. 78, s. $x^{ex.}$ / $xi^{inc.}$), fol. 195r-v (Díaz Díaz 1970). It also needs to be emphasized that the mis-attribution in the case of the *Imago mundi* text is not entirely unreasonable, since Honorius relied so heavily on Isidore, that the *Etymologies* and *De natura rerum* are often either the only or the primary source of information in the treatise, and even the editors of the *Semeiança* stated that the text derived directly from Isidore rather than Honorius (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982; *Semeiança*, ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 16).[6] In terms of the implications of the towering stature of Isidore for the prevalent view of the *Semeiança*, Alan Deyermond (1996, 144), for instance, points out that "Since Isidore's encyclopedia incorporates a great deal of information from classical sources, the description of the world offered by the *Semeiança* is not, as one might suppose from its date, a product of the XIIc Renaissance, but a late representation of largely classical geographical beliefs". In fact, since the *Semeiança* largely copies the *Imago mundi*, its antiquarian nature is also inherited from the Latin treatise's remarkably anachronistic view of Europe (reflected in its frequent use of Roman provincial names for various regions) (Kinkade 1971, 263). We will return to this issue of anachronism in the second section of the discussion below.

5 The manuscripts are Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 46 (s. XIII) and Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial X.III.4 (1467) and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS 3369 (s. XIV-XV). The latter is one of six manuscripts containing the *Lucidario* (Kinkade 1971; Sacchi 2008).

6 This has had a ripple effect in scholarship with the reference to Honorius as source of the text tending, with time, towards partial then complete elision in favour of a reference to Isidore (Deyermond 1996, 144; Biglieri 2012, 21). One might see this as a result of the view of medieval geography as a whole as ultimately indebted to Isidore, which led Melon to describe the medieval stage of the history of geography as the Spanish stage (Melon 1977, esp. 69–71, 81–83).

The second witness in the present enquiry is also a text produced for the purposes of conveying geographic information, but in this case not a purely independent textual one like the *Semeiança*, but as an accompaniment to a cartographic representation of the world. This is a Catalan translation of a compilation of extracts from the *Imago mundi* and corresponding to (parts of): chapters 1–3, 5, 7, 26, 30, 33–34 (or 44–5 as they contain similar information), 50–51, 21–23, found on page 2 of the spectacular cartographic monument commonly referred to as the Catalan Atlas.[7] The text preserved thus does not correspond in extent to the whole world depicted on the maps in the Atlas. It only discusses the form of the world, creation of the world, the four elements, the tripartite structure of the inhabited world, islands of the Mediterranean and a part of Europe. It omits Asia for the most part and Africa almost completely, retaining only the first sentence of *Imago mundi* chapter 30 on Africa, giving its etymology and extent (Edson 2007, 78). Evelyn Edson (1997, 166) describes the Catalan Atlas as "an impressive attempt to integrate new cartographical knowledge with the old format". The atlas, which presents a combination of two traditions, encyclopaedic and portolan, is composed of six sheets, of which the last four contain maps, while the first two contain illustrated cosmographical and astrological material (Yoeli 1970, 17; Edson 2007, 75 and 78; Woodward 2013, 567; Sarazin, 2013, 14 n. 5).

The Atlas was gifted to King Charles VI of France by the heir to the Aragonese throne, Don Juan / Prince John (1350–1396; r. as King John I, 1387–1396) and inherited by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris from the Royal Library as MS Esp. 30 (Majorca, ca. 1375) (Kogman-Appel 2020, 21). Although frequently ascribed to Abraham Cresques in previous scholarship, that attribution is erroneous according to Kogman-Appel, who argues that the work was produced by Elisha ben Abraham Bevenisti Cresques (1325–1387) and that it should be referred to as the Ecumene Chart (Kogman-Appel 2020, 19 and 22; Yoeli 1970, 17 and 25; Estow 2014, 2–3).

The whole of the second page of the Atlas / Chart is occupied by a text in Catalan that corresponds to a collection of extracts from the *Imago mundi*, followed by a short discussion of tidal dynamics, which appears to derive from a variety of different sources (possibly including the *Imago mundi*) at col. 2 ll. 63–88 (Rosselló i Verger 2015, 100–101, 104; Edson 2007, 78; Nogueira 2013, 207, 230–31; Petrovskaia 2024). The switch between the two texts is marked with a reference to leaving one text for the other, *pus que aven perlat del mapamundi* 'after having spoken of the *mapamundi*' (p. 2, col. 2 l. 61).[8] It is worth pointing out that the text here, as in the *Semeiança*, is labeled

7 For an image of the page under discussion see the digital facsimile on Gallica at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55002481n/f3 (accessed 16 September 2022). Note that due to the abbreviated nature of the material there is some disagreement in previous scholarship on the exact sources. According to Hoogvliet, the *Imago mundi* chapters used are as I.1–3, 5, 7–35 and 39; according to Edson – I.1–3, 5, 7, 26, 30, 33, 34, 50, 51, 48, 21–23, 40, and 41 (Hoogvliet 1997, 69; Edson 2007, 251 n. 49). For a more in-depth discussion, see Petrovskaia (2024).

8 My transcription and translation.

Mapa mundi. It begins with the words *Mapa mondi uol dir* . . . (‘*Mapa mondi* means . . .’) and translates the first chapters of *Imago mundi* Book I. After the initial introductory sentences, the text picks up at the second sentence of *Imago mundi* I.1: *Huius figura est in modum pile rotunda* ‘Whereof the figure is round like a ball’ which it translates as *la dita ymage ho figura es redona a manera de pilota* ‘the said image or figure is round in the manner of a ball’.[9] The translation continues word-for-word, rendering the egg metaphor of the world structure (Yoeli 1970, 17; Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 50–51).[10] It continues through *Imago mundi* I.2 (*De creatione mundi* ‘of the creation of the world’), I.3 (*De elementis* ‘Of the elements’), I.5, and I.7. Subsequent sentences constitute extracts concerning parts of Asia, Europe, and – very briefly – Africa. These are heavily abridged and re-ordered in respect to the source material. Most importantly, the text discusses Europe twice. After a very brief mention of Asia, it proceeds to give a lengthy passage on Italy. The text for Italy is a very close translation of the first part of *Imago mundi* I.26, including all etymologies and concluding with the reference to the links between Rome and the lion, Brundusium and the stag, Carthage and the bull and Troy and the horse. This is followed by a translation of the first sentence I.30 on Africa, continuing with a translation of the first part of I.33 on the Islands, mentioning only Cyprus and Centapolis (Petrovskaia 2024, 359). This is followed by a translation of I.34 (Sicily) up to the reference to Etna. Because the *Imago mundi* repeats information about Sicily and Etna in I.44 and I.45 it is possible that these are the source of the Catalan Atlas text. This is followed in the Atlas by a rendering of I.50 (on the Red Sea), and the whole of I.51, commencing with *Mare dicitur quod sit amarum* ‘The *sea* is so called because it is *salty*’ (the medieval etymologies are often reminiscent of attempts at puns) translated as *La mar es dita mar perço com et amara* but omitting the final quotation from Ecclesiastes (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 71; Petrovskaia 2024, 359). The following text in the Atlas returns to Europe, doubling back to translate I.21 (including the dual etymology for Europe), continuing to I.22 (Scythia), I.23 (Germania Superior) up to the reference to the etymology of *Alemania* (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 59; Petrovskaia 2024). The text switches abruptly at this point to discuss the tides and the relation between the sea and the moon, partly also based on information derived from the *Imago mundi* (Rosselló i Verger 2015, 100–101 and 104; Edson 2007, 78).

The third witness under examination here is the geographical section of the *Laberinto de Fortuna*, also known as *Las Trescientas,* completed in 1444 by Juan de Mena

9 The present discussion and transcriptions are based on the online facsimile of the manuscript on the Bibliothèque national de France website Gallica at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52509636n/f2 (accessed 20 September 2019). A more extensive treatment of the sections derived from the *Imago mundi*, found in the Catalan Atlas, as well as a discussion of the reasons for the selection of those particular passages in the Catalan text, can be found in Petrovskaia (2024).

10 Yoeli discusses the sources of the atlas with reference to Crone, but the *Imago mundi* is not mentioned (Yoeli 1970, 26–27, Crone 1953). For a discussion of related portolan maps, see Winter (1954); Falchetta (1994).

(1411–1456), one of the classics of Spanish literature, writing at the court of Juan II (1404–1454) (Street 1952; Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997; Beresford 2005, 91–93). The work's purpose was to extol the rule of Juan II and was presented to the king himself (Cañas Gálvez 2015, 13 and 14). The text contains an extensive description of the geography of the world, in stanzas 32–54 (Knauss 2006; Autesserre 2009). This description probably derives directly from *Imago mundi* Book I, although it is not entirely impossible that the author might have had access to the *Semeiança* (Kinkade 1971, 269; Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 31; López Férez 2010, 249–64; Petrovskaia 2023, 20, 24). The poet both condensed and elaborated on the information derived from the encyclopaedia and worked it into his allegorical and instructional (specifically for a ruler) text (Knauss 2006). Indeed, as Knauss observes, this approach to adaptation – to limit the amount of information and to illustrate it with more elaborate descriptions – was not only in the interests of intelligibility but also in accordance with the didactic goals of the poem dedicated to a royal patron (Knauss 2006). This corresponds to rewriting in its definition of transmission of cultural memory, referred to at the beginning of this chapter. It will be seen below, that these result in a number of subtle alterations to the text, which yield a somewhat different emphasis as compared to the Latin original. The dominance of knowledge in the value system Juan de Mena championed, as the ultimate source of prestige, can be read as the background for his use of the otherwise seemingly dry encyclopaedic material derived from the *Imago mundi* tradition in the richly allegorical framework of the *Laberinto* (Hartnett 2011, 354; Knauss 2006).

The poem rewrites the *Imago mundi* as a view of the world from above, shown to the poet by "divine Providence" from the vantage point of Fortune's dwelling place.[11] Thus, although this text, in contrast to our other two witnesses, is not entitled *Mapa mundi*, the association with the visual exercise of cartographic description is nevertheless present. The description of the world proper begins at stanza 34, which refers to the five zones.[12] Autesserre identifies the source of Mena's geographical information as chapters 6–36 of the *Imago mundi*.[13] A full list of passages added by Mena to his rewriting of the Latin original has been published by López Férez, so I will omit the detail here in the interests of brevity.[14] It must be emphasised that Mena does not translate the Latin text, but rather uses it as a source of information. My focus in the discussion below, thus, will be on Mena's treatment of Europe within this geographic descriptive passage.

11 Providence first appears in stanza 20 and is identified in stanza 23 (Autesserre 2009). Post (1912, 225 and 241) mis-identifies the source as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale* (ibid., 241–242), a suggestion refuted in Lida de Malkiel 1950, 33–35 (Petrovskaia 2023, 22 n. 12).

12 Cummins (Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 71); Domínguez (2011, 156).

13 Flint (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 51–66); Autesserre (2009 n. 13); Autesserre provides references to Flint's edition.

14 López Férez (2010, 249–259, 263–264).

The place of Spain in Europe

The structure of the geographic descriptions in all three adaptations is largely informed by the constraints of the original, which in turn, as shall be seen below, carries some features of its own exemplars, such as Isidore's *Etymologies*. It is worth therefore quoting the short chapter of *Imago mundi* 'On Europe' (chapter 21) *in extenso*:

> Europa ab Europe rege, vel ab Europa filia Agenoris est nominata. In qua inprimis versus septentrionem sunt Rifei montes et Tanais fluvius, a Tanai rege dictus, et Meotides paludes, magno mari iuxta Theodosiam urbem seiungentes. (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 59)

> Europe is named after King Europs or after Europa, daughter of Agenor. In which first towards the north are Ripheian mountains and the River Don, named after King Tanaus, and the Maeotian Swamps, severing the Great Sea close to the City of Theodosia. (my translation)

The passage is characteristic of the *Imago mundi* and its way of packaging information. An etymological introduction (Isidorean influence is visible here) is followed by the step-by-step hodoeporical description of the area. It is worth pointing out the lack of emphasis on borders. The *Rifei* mountains and the Don are mentioned as *inprimis* 'first', rather than as boundaries.[15] The Western edge of "Europe", by contrast, is not described in this chapter. This is left until the end of the entire section on Europe, which includes several chapters region by region, and concludes with a chapter on the British Isles and Ireland (I.29). Chapter 21 thus remains open-ended – the entry point of the description of Europe.

The first and in appearance most faithful of the Spanish adaptations, the *Semeiança*, by contrast, shifts the emphasis in its opening chapter on Europe by converting it into a brief overview through the addition of the reference to the Western edge of the region:

> Europa es dicha e llamada del nombre de un rey que dixieron don Europe; otrosi puede seer dicha del nombre duna reyna que fue quel dixieron por nombre duena Europa, e fue fiia dun rey don Agenor. Esta partida de Europa comiença dun rrio que ha nombre Tanays, e desciende fata occidente mas ayuso. Se departe de septentrion e tiene toda Espanna, e acaba se en la tierra mas de Espanna. (*Semeiança*. Ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 78)[16]

15 For a more extensive discussion of the inclusive, rather than divisive, geography of the *Imago mundi* and the implication of the lack of emphasis on borders for the vernacular geographical tradition based on that text, see my forthcoming monograph, *Transforming Europe*.

16 Cf. The text of Version B: *Heuropa es dicha e llamada del nombre de vn rrey que fue que dixeron don Ehurope, e otrosi puede ser dicha del nombre de vna rreyna que fue que dixeron por nombre donna Ehuropa, e fue fija del rrey Agenor. E esta partida de Ehuropa comiença de vn rrio que dicen Tanays, e deçiende fasta oçidente el mar ayuso, e parte de setentrion e viene por toda la Espanna, e acabase en la nuestra mar de España.* (*Semeiança*, ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 79) This constitutes a more complete rendering of the *Imago mundi* chapter, but also adds Spain.

> Europa is called and named from the name of a king who they called *Europe*; otherwise it might be called from the name of a queen who was, whom they called by the name *Europa*, and who was daughter of a king Agenor. This part of Europe begins with a river which has the name *Tanais*, and descends down towards the west. It starts from the north and contains all Spain, and concludes in the land beyond Spain. (my translation)

Without postponing the conclusion to its version of *inprimis* until the end of the chapter range devoted to Europe, this text introduces a symmetrical construction at the outset, marked by the terms *departe* 'starts' and *acaba* 'ends'. It also specifies here explicitly that Europe ends in Spain. This contrasts with the conclusion of Europe at the British Isles and Ireland in the *Imago mundi*.

The significance of the alteration made to the text – and the fact that such an alteration is made at all – is only apparent when the source of the *Semeiança* is recognised as the *Imago mundi*, rather than Isidore's *Etymologies*. The latter text does refer to Spain, in the final position of XIV.iv.2:

> Europa autem in tertiam partem orbis divisa incipit a flumine Tanai, descendens ad occasum per septentrionalem Oceanum usque in fines Hispaniae; cuius pars orientalis et meridiana a Ponto consurgens, tota mari Magno coniungitur, et in insulas Gades finitur. (ed. Lindsay 1911, vol. 1, XIV.iv.2)

> The third of the globe that is called Europe (*Europa*) begins with the river Tanais (i.e. the Don), passing to the west along the northern Ocean as far as the border of Spain, and its eastern and southern parts rise to form the Pontus (i.e. the Black Sea) and are bordered the whole way by the Mediterranean and end in the islands of Gades (i.e. Cadiz). (*Etymologies*, ed. Barney et al. 2006, 289)

Spain is in Isidore's text given twice over (in references to *Hispania* and to *Gades*) as the westernmost edge of Europe. That Isidore is not the source for the passage in the *Semeiança*, however, is clear from the fact that in the preceding passage in the *Etymologies* the etymology given for *Europa* is only the mythological reference to the daughter of Agenor, not, as in both the *Imago mundi* and *Semeiança*, a king of the name. The latter is a significant variation on the etymology for Europe predominantly found in texts of the *Imago mundi* family (Oschema 2013, 165 and 204–206).

Following the *Imago mundi* and echoing the *Semeiança*, Mena, too, begins the Europe section of the world description in the *Laberinto* (stanza 42), with a reference to the origins of the name (Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 75; Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 59). Mena's section on Europe commences with stanza 39: *Vi, de la parte que el Noto se ençiende, / el Cáucaso monte cómo se levanta* (Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 103). The re-targeting observed in the *Semeiança* discussed above can be seen even more sharply in his text, as the information derived from the *Imago mundi* is incorporated and re-purposed in a different genre. Mena's discussion of Europe makes a number of adjustments in respect to the Latin text, which are all closely tied to the poem's function as a treatise on kingship, dedicated to a royal patron. For example, he avoids the term 'king' inherent in Honorius's second etymology for the place-name 'Europe' (from 'king Europs') and adds several references to Gothia (*Gótiga*), in concert with

Spain's discourse of Gothic origins. In particular, in stanza 42, Mena asks the reader to praise the Rifean mountans and Meotidan swamps, *porque vezinos de Gótiga fueron* (stanza 43; Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 75), adding, in the following stanza that the line of Spanish kings descended from Gothia (Petrovskaia 2023, 23): *la gótica gente que el mundo vastase, / por que la nuestra España gozase / d'estirpe de reyes atán glorïosa* (Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 109). As Kerkhof observes, this is much more than is said of Gothia in Honorius's text, and here "Mena aprovecha la ocasión para intercalar un elogio de la tierra de donde la 'estirpe atán gloriosa' de los reyes de España tiene origen" (Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 109, n. 338). This, of course, is in line with the overarching theme of the text, intended as praise for Juan II and apparently appreciated by the king as such (Cañas Gálvez 2015, 14 n. 13). Mena concludes his description of Europe with a discussion of Spain in stanza 48, which is followed by the beginning of the discussion of Africa (with reference to Ethiopia in the opening line), in stanza 49 (Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 112–113).

Thus, both the *Laberinto* and the *Semeiança* alter their source text to emphasize the position of Spain at the westernmost edge of Europe, conscious of the fact that their own audiences are based in that region. Whilst in the case of the former text this might be a deliberate echo of the *Etymologies*, inspired arguably by the reference to Spain in the opening chapter of the Europe section in Isidore, I would suggest that this should be primarily read in the context of twelfth- and thirteenth-century views of the progress of history. Analysed in the framework of a time-space *chronotope*, the text shows a privileging of Spain as the cumulation of historical progress (Bakhtin 1981, p. 84). In the medieval view of the development of history, *translatio studii et imperii*, power and knowledge moved with time from east to west (Jongkees 1967; Weiss 2012, 69). Adding Spain at the end of the geographical description, in the west, the *Semeiança* and the *Laberinto* position its geographical location, themselves, and their audience, as the culmination of human progress.

In both texts this initial change to the opening of the description of Europe is complemented by an act of reordering the text's constituents, resulting in a similar repositioning of Spain at the end of the European section of the text. In the Latin text, Spain occupies the penultimate chapter of the section dealing with Europe, preceding the chapter dedicated to Britain and Ireland, upon which the text moves, with an explicit break, to Africa, marking it as a new section corresponding to a new "part of the world". The *Semeiança* gives Spain the prominent final place in the course through Europe, by moving the discussion of Britain and Ireland (*Imago mundi* I.29) to a separate section of the text, which deals with islands in general. (In the *Imago mundi* there is also a separate section dealing with islands, but these are exclusively Mediterranean islands). Mena's *Laberinto* achieves an equivalent shift in emphasis by reordering the description to finish the entire section on Europe with a description of Spain. The treatment of Britain away from its original position at the end of the discussion of Europe (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 62) in both texts is the result of different adjustments to the order in which the regions are discussed. In contrast to the *Se-*

meiança, which achieves the final position of Spain in the description by moving Britain to the section on the Islands, in the *Laberinto* Britain is moved in the other direction – to the final line of the stanza concerning France (stanza 47; Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 77). The final stanza of the section dealing with Europe is thus dedicated to Spain (stanza 48), whence the poem moves directly to Africa, beginning with stanza 49 (Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 77–78). As in the *Semeiança*, Spain is the concluding section of Europe, thus arguably the most important, in the historico-geographical framework of *translatio studii et imperii*.[17] Compared to the *Semeiança*, Mena's text makes more of this change by supplementing its effect through the addition of information in the chapter on Spain.

The Catalan Atlas/Ecumene Chart, by contrast, gives Spain no special prominence in its translation of the *Imago mundi* text (and the same applies to France). Instead, it omits the two entirely (Petrovskaia 2024, 364–7). Given the patronage and intended recipient of the work, this is particularly striking, especially if one considers the contrast with the special treatment given to the work's place of creation, Mallorca, depicted in gold in the cartographic section of the work. It is possible that the omission of Spain and France in the textual *Mapa mundi* should not be assigned too much importance, as it could be that the author expected neither the Aragonese prince nor the French king to read the Catalan text. It could also be a question of sources – conceivably the Catalan translation represents all that was available to the translator (Petrovskaia 2024, 360). Nevertheless, putting aside arguments based on coincidence and focusing on the possibility of intention for the time being, one is faced with a tantalizing possibility. The map section of the Atlas / Chart accords greater detail to European regions, and this is mirrored in the *Mapa mundi* text: while the first column concludes with the introduction of the three parts of the world (*IM* I.7), the second column begins with the description of Italy, with Asia omitted almost entirely, in contrast to the extended sections on the region in, for instance, the *Image du monde* (Cf. Edson 2007, 78). This suggests that Cresques privileged Europe over Asia in detail and factual precision.

I would suggest that this issue needs to be addressed not as one of omission, but rather as one of focus. In the brief summary of the *Mapa mundi* text in the introduction above, I have given some details of the information included. It will be seen from this that both Asia and Africa are essentially condensed to a single sentence, while the discussion of islands and the seas, framed by two sections on Europe, is central to this text. The fact that it is followed by a treatise on tides, supports the notion that the sea is the main region discussed here. It is therefore possible that unlike the other two adaptations discussed here, the Atlas / Chart re-writes the text not to privilege its audience's location (because in essence there are two audiences at least, with very differ-

17 The fact that in the *Laberinto* the same effect for Spain is achieved by a different movement of the section of Britain than in the *Semeiança*, is yet another piece of evidence pointing to Mena's independence from the earlier Castilian text.

ent locations) but to privilege the intended audiences' point of attention – the sea, echoing the portolan emphasis of its cartographic section.

Archaic and updated contents

It has been noted before that in reproducing the *Imago mundi* text, the Catalan Atlas / Ecumene Chart appears to ignore contemporary political interests (Estow 2014). It thus appears to be producing material which seems anachronistic and irrelevant. Indeed, in the discussion of Germany, for example, it takes over the thoroughly outdated Roman regional nomenclature employed by the *Imago mundi* (and already archaic in the twelfth century): *Alània, Dàcia, Gòthia* (*El Atlas Catalan de Cresques Abraham*, ed. Llompart i Moragues et al. 1975, 69; Petrovskaia 2024, 364–5). This use of the original terms for the regions, without updating to contemporary placenames, is shared to various extents by our other two witnesses and deserves some attention. Since, unlike the Catalan Atlas text, both the *Semeiança* and the *Laberinto* do discuss Spain in detail, it is worth using that as a case-study.

Following the general trend of the *Semeiança*, the chapter dedicated to Spain largely corresponds to the *Imago mundi*, ending on the enumeration of the six provinces of Tarragona (Catalonia), Cartagena (Murcia), *Lusitania* (Roman province encompassing Portugal and neighbouring parts of modern Spain), Galicia, *Betica* (Roman province, corresponding roughly to modern Andalucía), and *Tinguitania.* The identification of the last is uncertain but it may refer to the Roman province of Mauretania Tingitana, corresponding roughly to modern Morocco.[18] If so, both the *Imago mundi* and the *Semeiança* incorporate part of what we now consider the African "continent" into their concept of Europe, emphasising that the boundaries between the three parts of the world did not have to correspond to bodies of water. A similar phenomenon, which displaces the perceived boundary between parts of the world in relation to the Mediterranean, is observed in the French adaptation of the text, the thirteenth-century *Image du monde* (Connochie-Bourgne, 1995; Jostkleigrewe 2006; Petrovskaia 2022, 57–59). This fluidity of boundaries located at sea in the thirteenth-century material might be seen as a precursor to the centrality of the sea in the later texts, as in the Catalan Atlas / Ecumene Chart *Mapa mundi*, discussed above.[19]

As shown in the identifications for the regions of Spain provided in brackets in the discussion above, the nomenclature used is largely that of the Roman provinces. The text, therefore, demonstrates the archaising feature observed in much of the

18 Mauretania Tingitania also occurs in Isidore's *Etymologies*, although it should be noted that the list of Spanish provinces in the *Semeiança* and *Imago mundi* does not quite correspond to Isidore's (Wojciechowski 2019, 44 and 45).

19 For the Mediterranean as a region in its own right, see e.g. Abulafia (2011).

Imago mundi tradition. Leszek Wojciechowski sees a similar archaising tendency in his analysis of Isidore's description of Spain in the *Etymologies* (Wojciechowski 2019, 39). As Wojciechowski (2019, 48) points out, Isidore's description formed the basis for Honorius's, but the latter changed the emphases slightly for a new audience, providing only "enough for a reader (receiver) to be able to place the country in the overall picture of the inhabited globe drawn (from the Isidorian perspective) by Honorius". In this respect, the *Semeiança* follows in that tradition. As Alan Deyermond (1996, 144) observes, " . . . the description of the world offered by the *Semeiança* is not, as one might suppose from its date, a product of the XIIc Renaissance, but a late presentation of largely classical geographical beliefs". That the *Semeiança*, in the passage on Spain, does not update the text, is interesting in the light of other changes made in the translation, including the omission of the description of Britain, which is moved to the section on islands, and in particular the distinct adaptation of the material to the host culture in the addition of set formulas and transitional passages discussed below.

Even more striking is the contrast between the archaism of nomenclature and the intended political relevance in Mena's much later *Laberinto*. For the purpose of contrast and illustration, the passage is reproduced in its entirety below.

> Vi las provincias de España e poniente:
> la de Tarragona e la de Celtiberia,
> la menor Cartago que fue la de Esperia,
> con los rincones de todo oçidente;
> mostróse Vandalia la bien paresçiente,
> e toda la tierra de la Lusitania,
> la brava Galiçia con la {Tinguitania},
> donde se cría ferosçe la gente.
> (Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 112–113)[20]

If we compare this to the Spanish chapter of the *Imago mundi*, the changes – with the notable exception of the place-names – are quite marked. The *Imago mundi* itself describes Spain in chapter 28 as follows:

> Inde est Hispania, ab Hispano rege dicta, prius Hiberia ab Hibero flumine, et Hesperia ab Hespero rege nominata. Hęc versus occasum oceano terminatur. Sunt in ea .vi. provincię, Terracona, Kartago, Lusitania, Galicia, Betica, Tinguitania, a propriis civitatibus dicte. (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 62)

Comparing this with Mena's adaptation, we can see that the latter text drops the etymologising of the beginning. It also, unlike the thirteenth-century translation, makes some minor adjustments to the placenames, changing Hiberia (which in Latin is given as part of the etymological section) to Celtiberia, adding Vandalia, and removing Betica. The order of the regions is hodoeporical, roughly circular, and also roughly (look-

20 The brackets are Kerkhof's.

ing at the map) clockwise: Tarragona → Celtiberia → Cartago (= Roman *Hispania Cartaginensis*, into which Celtiberia would roughly fall) → Vandalia (= Andalucia) → Lusitania → Galicia. The progress is then broken with a jump to Tinguitania, if that is indeed to be identified with *Mauritania Tingitana* (Petrovskaia 2022, 51).[21] If, as suggested above, this is *Mauritania Tinguitana* and therefore a region belonging to the body of land commonly referred to by the label Africa, this presents an anticipation of the move to the next section of the textual map, and the discussion of Africa.

There is no reference to contemporary political entities in this passage, although Mena does update his map elsewhere.[22] Mena's focus, however, particularly in the Spanish passage, is not on providing a description of fifteenth-century geopolitical reality but rather the presentation of an encyclopaedic text – and a verbal map – in poetic form. Mena does not refrain, however, from adding some spirit to the material. In particular, the addition of adjectives in the passage above is remarkable, not because of the degree to which it alters the (rather dry) tone of the Latin, but because there is no such use of adjectives anywhere else in the section on Europe. Compare, for instance, the listing of the regions of Greece in stanza 45: *del Mediterrano fasta la grand mar, / de parte del Austro, vimos toda Greçia, | Cahonia, Molosia, Eladia, Boeçia, / Epiro e su fuente muy singular* (Juan de Mena, ed. Kerkhof 1997, 110). This listing is followed by the detailed description of the supernatural powers of the spring, but the eulogizing nature of the adjectives for the Spanish placenames is not replicated. The fact that Spain is privileged in this text – the rewriting for the text's Spanish audience – is also demonstrated in the addition of the reference to Spain to the discussion of Gothia in chapter 53, discussed above (p. 90).

All three texts, therefore, are subject to the influence of the intense conservatism of the encyclopaedic tradition. In each case the adaptation of the material to the new purpose constitutes a process of negotiation with the static and archaic nature of the nomenclature. This is not a product of quaint archaism, but rather evidence for the remarkable strength of the notions of authority, coupled with a reluctance to challenge that authority through change motivated by anything less than equal. For a culture used to perceiving the world as *chronotope*, with a synchronous representation of time-space, so vividly illustrated by the *mappaemundi*, this did not represent a conflict. It did, however, provide ample material for negotiation and adjustment. To the familiar text, with familiar names, an explanation, or some illustrative adjectives might be added, or here and there, a reference to a contemporary land, to be picked up on by the audience. Alternatively, a short adaptation of traditional and old-

21 The fact that just off the coast of Galicia on the Catalan Atlas we see a large island identified as the Insula Tarignania (referring to what now is the peninsula of Cabo Touriñán) raises the possibility, albeit very faint, of mis-association with this not dissimilarly named region.

22 An example of this is the addition of the reference to the *reino de Ungría* 'kingdom of Hungary' in stanza 44 (Juan de Mena, ed. Cummins 1968, 76; cf. Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 60); see also discussion of the absence of the reference to it in the Catalan Atlas in Estow (2014).

fashioned text, with archaic placenames, might be added as a comforting touch to a revolutionary cartographic product, as the *Mapa mundi* was to the beginning of the Catalan Atlas. In the latter case we are also potentially dealing with the author's awareness of the form his work takes. It is with form and context that the next section of discussion is concerned.

Form, aurality, and cultural context

While Cresques and Mena adapt the *Imago mundi* material into a recognizably different format – an introduction to an Atlas/Chart in one case, and as poetry in another – it is the *Semeiança*, which seemingly follows the exemplar closely, in maintaining the prose style and chapter divisions of the original encyclopaedia, that makes some of the most striking changes to its source in adapting it for a new audience. One of its most significant changes is the introduction of transitional passages between the sections dealing with different regions of the world. In these passages, information covered in the preceding section is recapitulated. The passage introducing the section concerning Europe is one such example:

> Ia oystes de suso como se departe el mundo en tres partes: en Asia e en Europa e en Affrica. Ya oystes de Asia la maior, que es en tierra de India, e Asia la menor, que es en tierra de Bitinia, e terra de Frigia. Agora ueamos dest otra partida que dizen Europa. (*Semeiança*, ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 76 and 78)

> You have already heard how the world is divided into three parts: into Asia and into Europe and into Africa. You heard already of Asia the Greater, which is in the land of India, and Asia the Lesser, which is in the land of Bitinia, and the land of Phrygia. Now we shall see the other part which they call Europe. (my translation)

The transitional passage not only links the two sections of the text but recapitulates the preceding section in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the "previously on . . ." we might hear at the beginning of an episode in a modern television series running a multi-episode story-arch. Similarly, a whole new transitional chapter is added by the translator(s) after the chapters on the beasts and monsters of India. By contrast, at this point the *Imago mundi* simply starts the next chapter, 13, with *Ab Indo flumine usque ad Tigrim* . . . (Honorius, ed. Flint 1982, 55).[23] The transitional passage is as follows:

23 It may be worth pointing out, that the French adaptor of the *Imago mundi*, Gossouin de Metz in his *Image du monde* also seemed to have had trouble with this rapid transition, as his text at this point appears to fail to switch to the next area, resulting in the re-assignation of the Middle East to India, which can alternatively be analysed as the re-labelling of the whole region of Asia as "India" (Petrovskaia 2019, 203–206).

> Ia oystes de suso de tierra de India como era rica por oro e por plata et por piedras preciosas e por cibades e por castiellas e por uillas, e oystes otro si del mar que corre por ella e dalgunas sos yslas e de los pescados e de las bestias e de las gentes que moran y fata que allegamos al rrio que ha hy, que dizen Indus. Agora lleamos deste rrio . . . que dizen Tigris, que terras e que cibdades ha . . . (*Semeiança*, ed. Bull and Williams 1959, 62)

> You have already heard above of the land of India, how it was rich in gold and silver and precious stones and cities and castles and towns, and you heard apart from that of the sea which runs through it and of some of its islands and of the fish and the animals and the peoples who live there until we came as far as the river which is there, which they call Indus. Now we read of that river . . . which they call Tigris, which lands and which cities it has . . . (my translation)

These recapitulative passages are suggestive of a reading plan, where before the perusal of the new section, the audience is reminded of material that had been discussed in the previous reading. Indeed, the use of *oyestes* 'you heard', (< *oír* 'to hear'), might suggest that the text was intended to be read out loud to an audience.[24] However, the use of the adverb *de suso* (or *desuso*) 'above', seems to indicate a written text, as does the reference to reading (*lleamos*) at the end of the second passage and seeing (*ueamos*) at the conclusion of the first. No such terminology is used in the Latin, which refers rather to traversing various areas, suggesting a conceptual perambulation through the universe being described.

The absence of such references to aural reception in the Latin *Imago mundi* suggests a difference in attitude towards the texts in Latin and in Castilian (although it may also be a function of the date of composition, as the vernacular references to aural reception are later than the *Imago mundi*). The transition between various major sections in the Latin text is treated in a metaphor of perambulation, with words such as *transeamus* (pres. sj. 1. pl < *transire* 'go over') being used. A similar phenomenon is observed in the French thirteenth-century translation of *Imago mundi* Book I, as Book 2 of the *Image du monde* of Gossouin de Metz. Gossouin's narrative, although it uses, as Gaunt observes, the first person verbal form (both present and future tenses) in the introduction, 'this "nous" is strictly academic, and the futures (*diviserons, savrons*) relate only to what comes next in the text, not to any supposed trajectory or journey'.[25] Stylistically, it seems to stand closer to the Latin than to the Spanish. The problem of oral or written transmission or delivery in Spanish texts has been much discussed, and the only consensus at present seems to be caution in drawing any conclusions on the basis of such clearly formulaic expressions. We might tentatively conclude that in the shift from conceptual perambulation to auditory exhortations the Spanish translator / adaptor of the text is engaging in the process of cultural

24 For a discussion of such addresses to the audience and their implications for narrative texts, see, for instance, Walker (1974, 145–146). Walker relies heavily on Crosby (1936). As a cautionary note pointing to the possibility that such addresses were mere convention, Walker refers to Gybbon-Monypenny (1965, 230–244). See also comments on orality in Dworkin (2018, 15).

25 Gaunt (2013, 70).

translation. The text is not only being translated into a new linguistic medium, with information relevant to the new audience being added (references to Spain), but the new text being thus generated is made to follow the narrative conventions of the host culture.

In the case of Cresques's and Mena's adaptations, the new purpose to which the content is being put is expressed in both format and the mode of selection. Unlike the author(s) / translator(s) of the *Semeiança*, they neither take the whole *Imago mundi* book I nor do they transfer it to an equivalent. Rather, they incorporate extracts from its verbal map into a new, and completely different work. In the case of Cresques, it is possible that the Catalan text should be – rather counterintuitively – considered almost a decoration. One might tentatively suggest that it might not even have been intended to be read (not more, at any rate, than text in a modern coffee-table picture book). It is there to be a reminder of textual authority and not as a source of information. The textual and archaic nature of its authority is necessary as a visual setting for the main part of the work it precedes – the map that is to follow.

It is, in the framework of rewriting, the adaptation of old material to new needs, that should also be our mode of reading of Mena's textual map also. Such adaptations, regarded as unoriginal, have traditionally, and also in this instance, led to the perception of the adapted and translated passages as inferior (Autesserre 2009, 127). This is, however, a later perception. In Mena's text, the geographical description also had its own function. What must be recognized is the skill with which he has repurposed the material in order to fit the needs of his new text.

Conclusion

The present discussion has, albeit perforce briefly, brought into focus the processes of negotiation undergone by the material taken from the *Imago mundi* in three different adaptations. While much of the anachronistic and outdated content of the text of the *Imago mundi* was retained in the rewritings, the re-ordering of the material – as in the emphasis on the discussion of Spain in Section I – appears to invite, and be facilitated by, changes to the form of the adaptation. I have argued that these are also dictated by two important considerations: the mode by which the audience experiences the text, and the requirements of medium and format. The *Semeiança*, for instance, despite appearing to belong to the same broad type as the original *Imago mundi* text, makes some very striking alterations in this respect, both in the reference to "listening" and in re-ordering the component regions of the Europe section. Indeed, in all three cases examined here we are dealing with rewriting in the form of shifting the emphasis in the text regarding the area to which the new version of the text addresses itself.

I have described this phenomenon in terms of rewriting. Applied to medieval "translations", rewriting, with its focus on creation as well as recreation, is a highly productive concept. The phenomena discussed here thus constitute translation and re-

writing. The fact that in this case, translation and rewriting bring the content to new formats, new cultural environments, and new audiences, means that the patterns analysed here can also be comfortably placed within Paul Ricoeur's broader hermeneutical framework, and specifically within his conception of "appropriation" (Ricoeur 2016, 144–156). In Ricoeur's definition (2016, 153), "appropriation" is a "letting go" rather than "any form of "taking possession" as in the common misunderstanding. Rather "appropriation" is understood as an expansion of the reader's horizons and the reader's self through exposure to the text. As Ricoeur (2016, 154–155) writes: "If the reference of a text is the projection of a world, then it is not in the first instance the reader who projects himself. The reader is rather broadened in his capacity to project himself by receiving a new mode of being from the text itself". This influence of text on the reader as part of a fluid and mutual connection, neither entirely divorced from the reader's cultural context and the text's objective (or intended) "meaning" nor entirely dependent on it, encapsulates the nature of rewriting in the three geographical descriptions examined here.

The *Semeiança*, the *Laberinto*, and the Catalan Atlas / Ecumene Chart each engage in the triple process of translation: they in turn re-position Spain in their geographical framework in respect to the Latin original, re-position their medieval audiences in respect to the framework of the geographical description of the world, and re-position us – in the twenty-first century – as new readers engaging in a process of appropriating these texts. We appropriate these texts, of course, in Ricoeur's sense of letting go. He tells us "absolute knowledge is impossible [and] the conflict of interpretations is insurmountable and inescapable" (Ricoeur 2016, 156). Both medieval audiences and those of today appropriate these texts, therefore, – in Ricoeur's sense of the word – by allowing ourselves to be re-moulded by what they tell us of the processes of translation.

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Non-Autonomy in Old Slavonic Miscellanies: South Slavic Metaphrastic Translations in the Miscellanies of Hesychast and Anti-Latin Contents

This chapter spotlights two medieval hagiographies, initially appearing in Byzantine linguistic context and eventually allocating to Old Slavonic manuscripts as translations.[1] Originally belonging to a Greek collection of saints' lives aligned by church calendar, the texts were translated and placed in the thematic miscellany manuscripts together with other Old Slavonic writings of various genres.[2] The novel codices came to diverge in the aims, topics, and structure from the originals to which the texts belonged. The Slavonic miscellany manuscripts maintained overarching themes and prioritized specific subjects within their volumes. The texts were eventually repurposed in the new manuscripts by the will of their translators, compilators, and scribes, albeit in two distinct ways. This chapter will focus on the texts' diverse paths in the process of their transmission and acquisition of new meanings in the new settings.

The multifaceted process, including texts' inter-lingual and material transitions, is more complex than initially appears. It likely includes communities rather than individuals. The translators, compilators, and scribes may have worked synchronously (or not) in the various phases of the process. The inspiration for the rendering of texts into another language by translators may have had no links with their posterior material transmission by scribes. Undoubtedly, the original ideas of the Greek versions of these narratives appealed to those who instigated their translation. The translation process may have been disconnected from the manuscripts' compilation. If this is the case, compilator(s), who may have been the same as scribe(s), could have spotted the

1 This chapter is a revised version of the paper presented at the international conference *Translatio – translation and transfer of language, culture, literature*, held in Venice in May 2022 and hosted by Ca' Foscari University of Venice, in the organization of the project "Modes of Modification," based at the University of Oslo. The chapter is part of broader research under the umbrella of the project "Retracing Connections: Byzantine Storyworlds in Greek, Arabic, Georgian, and Old Slavonic (c. 950–c. 1100)" (M19-0430:1, https://retracingconnections.org), where I have studied the translation of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* into Old Slavonic. I am grateful to the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond for the opportunity to conduct this research. The chapter could not have been completed without the generous provision of manuscripts by the Monks of Hilandar Monastery (Mt. Athos, Greece) and the Hilandar Research Library at The Ohio State University (Columbus, Ohio, USA). I owe special thanks to Mary-Allen (Pasha) Johnson from the Hilandar Research Library.

2 For "thematic manuscripts", see Andrist (2020, 305–346).

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features introduced during the translation, which turned these texts into desirable readings for specific new audiences. Compilators must have known the novel contexts where the texts were to be placed. Scribes may have added a word or two to the already extant translation, by which they became interpolators.

Narratology and translation studies explain this process in the following way. They teach us that medieval texts cover a long path from their original authors to the actual readers who hold them in their hands (O'Sullivan 2003, 199). What an original author has in store for a text may not correspond to what posterior readers experience when encountering the same text. The texts mature over time and change their contexts. With the context transformation, their secondary purposes, functions, and consumption may also be reshaped. In this scheme, translating from one medieval language to another adds several new phases to the transmission process (O'Sullivan 2003, 200).

Besides the reader-focused approach, the material transmission must be viewed as another essential aspect of their afterlife. Medieval texts were contained in manuscripts. The manuscripts' production significantly determined the texts' reception and transmission (Busby 2002, 58). Their lives depended on the ink and hands of scribes, the legibility of the script of a given manuscript, the quality and size of writing material, the layout and space allotted for the texts, and the manuscripts' binding. All these factors could, intentionally or accidentally, influence the texts' existence.

Another significant feature of the texts' afterlives is the potential for their translatability. Once the texts cross the original linguistic confines and enter the interlingual sphere, do they inevitably lose their comprehensibility and get "lost in translation"? According to some scholars, some words and phrases in a language find no equivalents in other languages. From "Nothing is Translatable" to "Everything is Translatable", the fierce debates that linger on give some hope that the crucial interlingual step is still possible to surmount (Apter 2006).

The new meanings that the texts acquire once they transit to their new linguistic areas and new book covers appear challenging to explain in light of the complex theories. Nevertheless, the task of this chapter is to follow up on this path. The chapter will reflect on the inter-lingual transition and inquire into the post-translation whereabouts of the texts in their new environments. The two Byzantine texts written in Greek, the *Martyrdom of Varos* (BHG 1863) and the *Martyrdom of Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, and Orestes* (BHG 646), translated from a prominent Byzantine collection of saints' lives, the Metaphrastic *Menologion*, into Old Slavonic, present the core of the study.[3] These translated Byzantine stories about saints traveled across territories and linguistic areas, maintaining their relevance despite the multiple transitions and the time-lapse.

3 On the Metaphrastic *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, see Høgel (2002a, 2002b, 2014, 2020); Papaioannou (2017); Ehrhard (1897).

The texts emanated from the Metaphrastic *Menologion,* which included the lives of saints and martyrdom accounts for the entire calendar year, divided into ten volumes. The collection followed a fixed structure, beginning with 1 September – the start of the Byzantine calendar year – and ending with August (Høgel 2002a, 11). Nearly every day incorporated the reading of the lives of saints (Høgel 2002a, 11). Two volumes of the *Menologion* were dedicated to September and October, and November, December, and January included double volumes. Finally, the months of February to May were enfolded in a single volume, while June to August covered another volume (Høgel 2002a, 11). This structure of the *Menologion* exemplifies one of its essential characteristics. Such an alignment implies that the texts were mainly read on the feast days of the saints whose lives and deeds they described. The *Martyrdom of Varos* (BHG 1863) appeared on 19 October within this format, while the *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* (BHG 646) occurred on 13 December.

Published at the turn of the eleventh century, the Metaphrastic *Menologion* became prominent shortly after for numerous reasons besides its potential impact on the Byzantine calendar of saints.[4] Symeon Metaphrastes, a notable Byzantine court official who initiated and managed the project around the collection, mainly reused the earlier, late antique hagiographies. In most cases, they came in greatly improved regarding their language and style.

The two texts examined in this chapter accurately illustrate the material originating from late antiquity, mainly of anonymous authorship. The version of the *Martyrdom of Varos* that appeared in the Metaphrastic *Menologion* (BHG 1863) relies on an earlier, anonymous version (BHG 1862) (Høgel 2002a, 181). With this and other texts' rewritings, Symeon Metaphrastes not only reached the literary norms of the time; he further advanced the appealing practice of *metaphrasis* in Byzantium. The *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* in the *Menologion* version (BHG 646), on the other hand, was among the rare examples of texts directly taken from an old Menologion (Høgel 2002a, 191; Ehrhard 1937, 526–527).

Having obtained fame in the Byzantine context, the Metaphrastic *Menologion* soon drew the attention of non-Greek-speaking Christians. It was eventually translated from Greek into several other languages. However, the translation of the *Menologion*'s contents was delayed among the South Slavs (in the territories of Bulgaria and Serbia), at least in the first few centuries after the collection's emergence. Otherwise embracing "all things Greek", the South Slavs did not demonstrate an equal interest in the Metaphrastic *Menologion* at the outset.

The complicated history of the South Slavic lands may have been among the reasons for the delayed transmission of the *Menologion*. Byzantium occupied Bulgaria's

4 The *Menologion* was not explicitly promoted in Byzantium before 1025. After this period, it became so widespread that its copies were produced with equal intensity until the end of Byzantium. The metaphrastic manuscripts comprise one-third of all the extant hagiographical Byzantine manuscripts today. Their number is around 700. See Høgel (2002a, 127–134); Høgel (2020, 270).

territory from the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century, which coincided with the original appearance of the *Menologion*. In this period, minimal literary production and translation in the Old Slavonic language occurred. No material evidence supports significant ongoing translation activities (Yovcheva and Taseva 2012, 288). The twelfth and partially the thirteenth centuries display a gap in our knowledge of the textual transmission from Byzantium to the South Slavic world because of the low manuscript preservation rates (See Ivanova 2008, 40; Fine 1991, 220). The South Slavic material is more consistently conserved only from the fourteenth century, overlapping with the cultural revival of both South Slavic entities, the Second Bulgarian Empire and medieval Serbia. At the same time, Mount Athos in Greece started to play a pivotal role in literary production, which supplied the Slavic lands; it is where the manuscripts discussed in this article come from. The dating of the earliest manuscripts that preserve the translations of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* into Old Slavonic aligns with these historical circumstances. One thirteenth-century South Slavic manuscript keeps a single text translated from the *Menologion*, and more material appears from the fourteenth century (Vuković 2021, 80–101).

It is likely more consequential than the late transmission of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* that the collection was not transmitted in its entirety among the South Slavs. Although the format of the *Menologion* and its alignment according to dates were among its most essential characteristics, the *Menologion* was only partially translated among the South Slavs. The collection experienced disintegration and modifications in the structure and contents. Besides a few examples demonstrating the opposite, most South Slavic manuscripts contained only individual translated metaphrastic texts. Their contents vastly differed from the original layout of the Byzantine Metaphrastic *Menologion*. Out of 148 texts in the Metaphrastic *Menologion* distributed in ten volumes, only 53 translated South Slavic texts are preserved in the manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.[5] The South Slavs commonly copied from one up to four metaphrastic texts within the manuscripts of different purposes. They were followed by various other documents, usually not hagiographies and certainly not metaphrastic hagiographies.

5 A few manuscripts, which displayed the exact contents as in the Metaphrastic *Menologion*, covered only September. The fourteenth-century codex, Hilandar Metaphrast °2, which aligned the texts for the second part of September, was among a few manuscripts that adhered to the metaphrastic structure. Another manuscript dated to the fifteenth century, ZIIIb20, from the Croatian Academy of Sciences in Zagreb, preserves the texts for the first fifteen days of September. This manuscript is considered a copy of a pair of Hilandar Metaphrast °2. Some scholars argued that these two manuscripts were part of the same cycle despite their dating to different centuries. The fact that they encircle only the month of September points to the amount to which the South Slavs covered the translation of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* while adhering to its original structure. Further research needs to examine whether this enterprise was conducted as part of an envisaged larger project. It is also worth investigating why the translation project if it existed as such, was abandoned after the translation of the September volume. See Čalija (2017); Ivanov (2019, 145–146); Ivanova (2004, 254, n. 10); Vuković (2021, 80–101).

These manuscripts are, in scholarship, defined as miscellanies, collections containing texts of various genres written by different authors compiled together. The detailed investigations of this category of manuscripts emerged in the last twenty years through the debates among scholars of different disciplines, such as Stephen G. Nichols, Siegfried Wenzel, Lucie Doležalová, Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Andrew Taylor, Eva Nyström, and others.[6] Although their conclusions could be applied to various research areas, reaching for literature outside the confines of individual disciplines has been sporadic thus far. Scholars have recently re-acknowledged the differences in the contribution level regarding the definition of miscellany among scholars of different disciplines. The authors Bausi, Friedrich, and Maniaci admitted that in some research areas, such as Classical Greek, German, Romance, Medieval Latin, and Byzantine studies, the form, content, and meaning of miscellanies have already been thoroughly addressed with elaborations on many miscellany subvarieties, while in other research areas, the work is still at its very beginning (Bausi et al. 2020, Preface). The diversity in contributions accentuates the need for a more uniform approach in the definition and terminology.

When some of the initial debates regarding the definition of miscellany emerged, scholars concentrated on whether the term "miscellany" implied a specific organization in a manuscript or its structure was of loose and provisional character.[7] Some scholars argued that the term miscellany "does little to address the dynamics of individual examples and sheds little light on the relationship of the texts to their codicological contexts" (Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 3). The concern of these scholars is that the term may be misleading and suggests an arbitrary organization of the manuscript contents "in which there may be a clear organizing principle" (Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 3). According to Nichols and Wenzel, searching for a better concept than "miscellany" may be helpful (Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 3).

Some scholars proposed an alternative term, "anthology", which implies a specific structuring. Anthologies are suggested to have better organization principles and more sophisticated aims. Other scholars argued for the uncertainty of "where an anthology, a miscellany, or even simply a compilation begins and ends" (Boffey 1996, 82). "Miscellaneous" manuscripts may not be as mixed or diverse as they appear at first sight (Shailor 1996, 153–167). They were seldom miscellaneous for the audiences and individuals who produced, read, and used them (Shailor 1996, 167). Labeling them as such reveals our inability to understand manuscripts in their primary cultural context (Shailor 1996, 167).

Besides the text-historical discussions that tackle the miscellanies and their contents,[8] several recent publications contributed to the manuscripts' codicological con-

6 Nichols and Wenzel (1996); Kelly and Thompson (2005); Taylor (2002); Nyström (2009); Dinkova-Bruun (2013, 14–33); Doležalová (2013, 139–165); Doležalová and Rivers (2013).

7 Herrin (1999); Labarge (1997); Kelly and Thompson (2005); Taylor (2002); Reiter (1996, 151–170).

8 Andrist (2020, 307) suggested that these are the "ideas and the content of the book."

text or their physical features.[9] They built upon the earlier scholarship; Friedrich and Schwarke introduced in their volume the debates on the concept of miscellany, starting with Cerquiglini, Nichols, and Wenzel (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 1–26). Maniaci and Andrist attempted to produce a coherent typology for describing complex codices by challenging earlier terminology and concepts such as "booklet", "caesurae", "codicological units", "libelli", "miscellaneous codices", and similar terms (Andrist et al. 2013). The diversity of terms imposed the need for clarification and unification.

Besides the debates on the definition of miscellany, the scholars made a further distinction between composite and, as they call them, MTM (multi-text) manuscripts (Bausi et al. 2020). "Multiple-text" are those manuscripts planned and produced for a single project with one consistent intention and usually made of a single production unit; they are called "non-composite" manuscripts elsewhere. On the other hand, composite manuscripts consist of units that independently existed before they were bound together. Some scholars argue that the composite manuscripts may not be considered miscellanies after all.[10]

In this chapter, I focus, to a greater extent, only on those debates within the studies of medieval "miscellany" manuscripts that touch upon the "non-autonomy" of medieval texts within the manuscript contents. Namely, these studies maintain that the meaning of texts may be altered in a manuscript by the presence of other texts. In manuscript miscellanies, texts do not necessarily appear accidentally and autonomously next to one another (Müller 2013, 84). One of the proponents, Diana Müller (2013, 84), argues that not only does a clear organizational principle exist in the manuscripts of seemingly loose structure; texts take on new meanings depending on what other texts they are placed next to. In their recent contribution, Bausi, Friedrich, and Maniaci also suggested that "multi-text manuscripts acquire the new meaning and new features after single texts are grouped in one volume: this grouping enables a theoretically unlimited possibility of combinations" (Bausi et al. 2020, Preface, XI). Such a possibility allows texts to become non-autonomous within their new manuscript contents.

Following these studies, I propose exploring the non-autonomy of the South Slavic metaphrastic translations within their new manuscripts. Placing aside for the time being the complex issue of why the South Slavs abandoned the previous metaphrastic structure and allowed the Metaphrastic *Menologion* to disintegrate, I will focus on the several textual examples translated from the *Menologion*, which were accommodated within the contents of the Old Slavonic miscellanies in a meaningful way. The novel

9 Bausi et al. (2020); Andrist and Maniaci (2021, 369–394); Friedrich and Schwarke (2016); Maniaci (2018, 11–22); Brita and Karolewski (2021, 459–490). Within Slavic studies, see Miltenova and Birnbaum (2000); Birnbaum (2003, 15–64).

10 Like some scholars mentioned above, Peter Gumbert (2004, 17–42) distinguished between *miscellany* and *composite*. The former manuscripts are those written by a single person and in a single process.

codices likely displayed indicative agendas in the arrangement of their texts. The texts accordingly acquired new meanings within these manuscripts.

One of the manuscripts, Хил458 from Hilandar on Mount Athos, is referred to as an Ascetic-Hesychast Miscellany in catalogues. The other, Хил474, also from Hilandar, is called a Hesychast and anti-Latin collection.[11] The translated Old Slavonic *Martyrdom of Varos* (BHG 1863) was placed within the contents of the manuscript Хил458 as the only metaphrastic text. Similarly, the manuscript Хил474 enlisted the Old Slavonic *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* (BHG 646) within its contents as a sole metaphrastic text to support its Hesychast or anti-Latin ideas. How did these texts come to support the novel concepts in their new contexts? How were the texts eventually recontextualized? The chapter will first investigate the manuscripts' overarching themes by studying their contents, providing a view "from the outside" towards the texts as containers of ideas. I further focus on translation and look at the texts "from the inside," inquiring whether the specific features of their translation form a rationale for copying these two texts in these Old Slavonic manuscripts.

Before discussing the manuscripts' contents, a few details need to be explained. While the meaning of "anti-Latin" syntagm is clear, Hesychasm as a concept needs some further elaboration.[12]

As a movement that originated in fourth-century Palestine and Egypt, Hesychasm lingered in medieval Christianity until it attained its peak in the Byzantine monastic communities of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, including Mount Athos and other monasteries within Bulgaria and Serbia.[13] Its establishment as an ecclesiastical and political doctrine in Byzantium and Bulgaria in the fourteenth century enabled the free entry of Hesychast ideas and compositions in Bulgaria (Hébert 1992, 5).

Hesychasm is primarily a theological concept developed by Gregory Palamas and Gregory of Sinai.[14] Its practitioners sought divine quietness or silence (*hesychia*) through the contemplation of God in uninterrupted prayer. Such prayer involved the entire human being – soul, mind, and body; it was often an inner or silent prayer. The whole human body needed to participate in the prayer so that the human eyes could reach the vision of the uncreated light. In later centuries, a more rigorous physical performance was introduced to the doctrine, which included assuming a position where one controlled breathing, contracted the whole body, and fixed the eyes to-

11 The Hesychast and anti-Latin thematic definition of these manuscripts is noted in the description of manuscripts in the Ohio State University Library Catalogue. In her book, Klimentina Ivanova (2008, 148) reported the same manuscripts' definitions. According to Andrist (2020, 315), "It is crucial that at least 40% of the book consist of texts treating this subject to be considered a 'thematic codex.'"

12 On Hesychasm in general, see Johnson (2010); Meyendorf (1974); Strezova (2014).

13 The literature on Hesychasm in these areas includes Tachiaos (1966, 83–89); Popović (2011, 217–257); Hébert (1992).

14 For example, in his *Discourse on the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ,* Gregory of Sinai compares the light perceived by a monk's prayer with the splendour of the light on Mt. Tabor. See Balfour (1986, 21–57); Popović (2011, 219).

ward the belly (Hébert 1992, 3). The goal of the Hesychasts was to reach salvation through the "permanent prayers, rigorous self-denial, and mortification of the body in their isolated cells, but also to tame the wilderness of the 'desert' or even to convert it into a 'spiritual workshop,' as Gregory of Sinai suggested" (Popović 2011, 221).

Some of the late antique Christian thinkers later utilized by the Hesychasts, such as John Climacus, stated that "the beginning of solitude is to throw off all noise as disturbing for the depth (of the soul) [. . .] A solitary is he who strives to confine his incorporeal being within his bodily house" (John Climacus, Step 27, 5–6). Hesychasm thus involved solitude, prayer, bodily experience and senses, the knowledge of God, and reaching the vision of the uncreated light. Some scholars argued that its meaning was not always clear. It included at least five different things: (1.) a solitary life, solitude, (2.) the practice of inner prayer, inward stillness or silence of the heart, (3.) union through repetition of the Jesus Prayer, (4.) the employment of a particular psychosomatic technique in combination with the Jesus Prayer, and (5.) the theology of Gregory Palamas (Lazarova 2004, 367–368). The Hesychast writings were characterized by an ornamented and exuberant writing style known as word-weaving (Hébert 1992).

As for the structure of the fourteenth-fifteenth-century manuscript containing the Old Slavonic *Martyrdom of Varos*, Хил458 is a composite of two sections. Entitled *Sbornik* ('Collection'), it has no beginning and end, and its two parts are dated differently: the first from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century and the second to the fourteenth century. The division of folia goes as follows: Part 1 takes folios 1–286, and Part 2 occupies folios from 287–447. As the *Martyrdom of Varos* appeared in folios 289–304, the text belongs to the second part of the manuscript, dated to the fourteenth century (Ivanova 2008, 148).

Studying composite manuscripts is never uncomplicated, especially if one is to rely on manuscript catalogues and not their own inspection of the manuscript. In this case, the examination of the manuscript contents may or may not be conducted at the level of the entire manuscript, as it is often conditioned by the dating of binding, which may become irrelevant in case of a later date. I pointed out earlier in the chapter that composite manuscripts may not be considered miscellanies after all.[15] They are not single units but consist of self-contained parts, which may or may not display logical and visible links. These formerly independent codicological sections may have been put together later with intentions that might be completely different from those of their original parts. Their study requires the examination of the binder's intention besides the separate inspection of the individual units and their original production and use.

The contents of this manuscript are described in the catalogue of the Ohio State University Library and, with less detail, in K. Ivanova, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica* (Ivanova 2008). However, the catalogues vaguely specify where the com-

15 Peter Gumbert (2004, 17–42) distinguished between "miscellany" and "composite". The former manuscripts are those written by a single person and in a single process.

posite manuscript's first part ends and the second part begins. Considering that the *Martyrdom of Varos* begins in folio 289, it is conclusive that the text stands close to the opening of the second part of the composite manuscript (Ivanova 2008, 148). The entire manuscript will be discussed in what follows because of the topical resemblance of the contents of the two composite parts (Ivanova 2008, 148).

The manuscript Хил458 includes the following texts (*Hesychast miscellany*, Ohio State University Library catalogue): *On the Commandments of God*, by Athanasius the Great, various excerpts from the *Paterikon*, the *Life of Mary of Egypt*, *Homily on Repentance and Forgiveness*, by Ephraim the Syrian, *Questions and Answers on the Need of the Soul*, *Homily*, by Eusebius of Alexandria, *Homily for Thursday of the Passion Week*, by Eusebius of Alexandria, *Homily on Christ's Resurrection*, by Eusebius of Alexandria, *Homily on Beneficial Punishment* and *Homily on Repentance and Forgiveness*, by Ephraim the Syrian, *Homily on Annunciation* (25 March),[16] the *Transfer of Martyr Stephen's Relics*, *Homily on the Transfer of Stephen's Relics* (2 August), by John Chrysostom, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Christ*, by John Chrysostom, *Homily on the Transfiguration of Christ*, by John of Damascus (6 August),[17] *Resurrectional Canon*, the *Martyrdom of Varos*, *On Proclaiming the Holy Pascha*, by John Chrysostom, *Homily Against Those who Get Intoxicated*, *Homily on the End of Time and Christ's Second Coming*, by Ephraim the Syrian, *Homily on the Beggar and the Rich Man and Charity*, Theodore Studite's *Instructions*, Danil's *Homily on Andronicus and his Wife*, *On the Daughter-in-law who was Killed by her Father-in-law*, *Homily*, by Isaias, *Homily on the Holy Apostles Fast*, by John Chrysostom, a fragment of the *Life of Basil* (the end is missing), and Seven homilies by Ephraim the Syrian.

These homilies are written by various prominent authors, such as Athanasius the Great, Ephraim the Syrian, Eusebius of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom (K. Ivanova adds John of Damascus to this list), on various topics, such as repentance, forgiveness, the needs of the soul, the commandments of God, fasting, and beneficial punishment. The composite also contains homilies for the essential feasts, such as the Passion Week, Christ's resurrection, Annunciation, and the Transfiguration of Christ. Finally, it includes a few hagiographical pieces, the *Life of Mary of Egypt*, a fragment of the *Life of St. Basil*, the *Transfer of Martyr Stephen's Relics*, the *Homily on the Transfer of Stephen's Relics*, various excerpts from the *Paterikon*, Theodore Studite's *Instructions*, and the *Resurrectional Canon*. The discussion of how these individual texts contributed to the ascetic and Hesychast character of the manuscript must remain a subject of further research. In what follows, I will analyze how the *Martyrdom of Varos* advances these ideas and the overarching theme of the manuscript.

16 This text is mentioned only by Ivanova (2008, 148).

17 This text is also mentioned only by Ivanova (2008, 148). It remains to be seen whether two authors wrote these two texts with the same title or it is a single text whose different cataloguers confused the author.

Before that, let us go back to the contents of the fourteenth-century manuscript Хил474 from Hilandar, which presents a thematic compilation of polemical treatises with anti-Latin and Hesychast subjects.[18] The manuscript is a non-composite, and its single scribe is noted as a monk Iōv (*Hesychast and anti-Latin collection*, Ohio State University Library catalogue). Entitled *Sbornik* ('Collection'), it contains the following texts: the *First Latin Collection*, by Gregory Palamas, *Chapters on Latins* by Nilus Cabasilas, the *Polemical Manual against the Latins* by Nilus Cabasilas, other "chapters" on Latin teachings and against the Latins, a testimony from the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Fathers on the Holy Ghost, the *Heresies of Barlaam and Akindynos in 41 Points*, with *Epistle* by Gregory Palamas, the *Disputes on the Christian Faith and Jewish Law*, from the time of Sophronius, an archbishop of Jerusalem, the *Apocalypse of John* (canonical text), *Homily on the Annual Rise of the Dust from John Theologian's Grave* (8 May),[19] the *Readings of Prophet Isaiah* (9 May), *Homily on Slander*, by John Chrysostom, the *Martyrdom of Arthemios* (20 October), and the *Martyrdom of Eustratius and Companions* (13 December). Besides the works of Gregory Palamas, Nilus Cabasilas, and the excerpts from the Holy Scriptures, one may also find disputes on the Christian faith and Jewish law, Apocalypses, manuals against the Latins, and other related subjects. The *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* is one of the few texts that relate to date. The date here probably does not matter, as the random texts that attach a date are not aligned chronologically. The manuscript is primarily thematic with its distinct, overarching subject.

The *Martyrdom of Varos* and the *Martyrdom of Eustratius and Companions* landed in the manuscripts from Hilandar by the compilator(s)' deliberate action and the logic of non-autonomy. The inner features of their translations provide an additional clue for their selection. Which sections could have been appealing to the would-be Hesychast and anti-Latin audiences? Were these the "translation effects" occurring during the translation, which may have caused their inflated appeal among the compilators? According to Mary Kate Hurley (2021, 1), the "translation effects" were the visible traces of the translation process, which could reveal the imagined political, cultural, and linguistic communities that consumed the text. Did the original (Greek) martyrdom stories contain portions of the text carrying ideas that supported the Hesychast and anti-Latin concepts? In the latter case, the translator would have worked with the scribe and the compiler on selecting the texts and rendering them into Old Slavonic, possibly as part of the same project. Both ways were legitimate for the texts to become non-autonomous within their new manuscript contents. Non-autonomy was the principle the compilers used to execute the conceived outcome of their miscellanies. They viewed the individual texts as belonging to a whole. Accordingly, they paid particular attention to those textual sections that represent the general manuscript's themes in each of them.

18 Ivanova (2008, 150); *Hesychast and anti-Latin collection*, Ohio State University Library catalogue; see Evangelou for the overview and bibliography about disseminating miscellanies with ascetical-mystical content in the Slavic world.

19 This text is mentioned only by K. Ivanova. See Ivanova (2008, 150).

In the Greek *Martyrdom of Varos* (BHG 1863), one particular episode in the narrative likely inclines toward Hesychast's ideas. The episode may have caught the eye of the translator as potentially beneficial and supportive of the ideas the manuscript aimed to promote. In the story of his martyrdom, Varos was a fourth-century Roman officer who lived in Egypt (*Patrologiae,* ed. Migne 1899, 1141–1160). He was secretly Christian and kept visiting martyrs-to-be in prisons and helping them. When one of the martyrs died for the faith, Varos stepped in his place and declared himself openly to be a Christian. His betrayal of the Roman government and army to which he belonged was perceived as atrocious because he was a prominent soldier. He was instantly punished through severe torture. The martyr was beaten up, tied to a tree, and hacked with knives and razors. He was eventually left to hang from a tree until he died. His body was then dragged through the town and thrown to the dogs. Another character, Cleopatra, was introduced in the story when his death occurred. Sometimes, this martyrdom is called the *Martyrdom of Varos and Cleopatra*.

She was a woman of Palestinian origin and a widow of an officer who lived with a small son. She secretly took the body of Varos after his death, anointed it, and put it in precious clothes. She kept the body for a while until she decided to return from Egypt to her country. However, she could not transfer the martyr's body unless she had first reported it to the presiding officer. She claimed she needed to take her husband's remains from Egypt. As he was a prominently ranked officer who merited burial in his homeland, she successfully argued in favor of the transfer. She hid the body of the martyr inside the coffin.

Having arrived in Palestine, she buried the martyr with great honour. When people started gathering around his grave, she decided to build him a church. She invested great effort and time in constructing a sacral object that served the martyr's recognition.

Cleopatra's son had reached adulthood by this time and was appointed a military officer. After the church was consecrated and Varos' relics transferred, the liturgy was served, followed by a banquet and a feast. While she was swamped with organizing the celebration, she insisted that the young man only took food or drink once the banquet was over to honour the martyr through fasting. After the feast was over and the day was already drawing to a close, Cleopatra's son fell ill after not eating all day. He was burning with a great fever and eventually died of it at midnight of the same day.

Falling into despair, Cleopatra fell on the ground, tore her hair, and wept for several days. She addressed the martyr Varos and asked what crime they committed to bring such bitter calamity to their lives. Then, she briefly fell asleep from exhaustion and grief.

A vision appeared to her in a dream. The saint, Varos, and her dead son materialized together. They shone like a bright light, dressed in white clothes with crowns on their heads:

> Μικρὸν αὐτὴν ὕπνος ὑπελθὼν ἀνέπαισε, καὶ πάντα ἦν ὁ παῖς αὐτῇ φανεὶς σὺν τῷ μάρτυρι. Παρεστηκότα τε γὰρ ἔδόκει βλέπτειν τὸν ἀθλητήν, καὶ ὡς υἱὸν ἴδιον τὸν αὐτῆς υἱὸν ἐγκεκολπωμένον, ἡ ἀναβολὴ δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐξ ὑπερφυοῦς ἄγαν καὶ ὑπερλάμπρου. στέφανοί τε τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκόσμουν ἥδιστα κεφαλάς. Καὶ οἱ στέφανοι, θεῖον αὐτῶν εἶπες τὸ κάλλος, καὶ ἥκιστα γλώσσῃ ῥητόν. (*Patrologiae*, ed. Migne 1899, 1157)

> The sleep, falling upon her, crushed her a little. The whole [dream] was about her son, who appeared to her together with the martyr. He seemed to her to look upon the athlete standing by, embracing her son as if he were his own. The mantle of both was entirely supernatural and exceedingly bright. They nicely adorned their heads with crowns. You would have said their crowns were of divine beauty that language can barely express (own translation).

The emission of light and the white robes in which both vision characters were dressed recall some critical Hesychast *topoi* mentioned earlier. Through an intense bodily experience, Cleopatra could perceive the light through her dream vision. Terrible tragedy and pain eventually led to peace of mind and tranquillity. The passage discusses attaining what Hesychasts considered the highest aim of their practice. Cleopatra's pain was an analogy for the rigorous asceticism and the radical exposure of the body to extreme suffering.

Cleopatra continued conversing with the two in the dream and received consolation. The martyr Varos persuaded her that her son obtained glory and that she should feel content. He gave her further advice on how to comprehend her son's state and even be capable of perceiving him:

> ἐγγισάτω καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ παῖς, καὶ σοι κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀκριθῶς γενέσθω, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴ καλῶς ἄρα μάθοις τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν. (*Patrologiae*, ed. Migne 1899, 1157)

> Let the young man approach a bit more and accurately materialize in front of your eyes so that you, too, can adequately comprehend things about him (own translation).

The text promises that obtaining knowledge of matters beyond earthly life is possible through rigorous bodily exposure to torment and mortification. Such comprehension comes if physical suffering combines with deep mental contemplation. The passage suggests the synergy of body and mind at the practical level. When translated, this episode must have left its readers convinced that pursuing such practice could lead to the highest goal of their teaching.

The translated Old Slavonic *Martyrdom of Varos* turned the discussed episode of the dream vision into the most powerful passage of the entire text:

> Ма͠лъ тѣ̀ сънъ пашⷣъѹ҆ покои҃. и҃ въсеко бѣше ѡтрокъ по͠и ꙗвльсѧ съ мⷱ҇никѡ҃. прⷣѣ шоꙁ҃ща же мнешесѧ ıтⷣралца. И ꙗ҃ко сн҃а свое́го тоꙁ҃ сн҃а въ на д[. . .]ѣ имѧща. ѡ҃деванїе҃ же ѡбоимъ, ѿ прѣе҃стественыꙇ҃ѧ зелѡ и пр҃свѣтлыѧ вещи. Вѣнци же [. . .]ѣ гла́вы сладостнѣ оу҃крашаа [. . .]ѫ҃ венцѧ же, бжтвнѫѫса м[. . .]ѫ рѐкль бы кто добропѫ. (Old Slavonic, MS Хил458, fol. 302r–302v)

> Falling into a dream, she rested a little. And the entire [dream] was about her son, who appeared to her with the martyr. It seemed to her that [the martyr] walked in front of the athlete, having

> her son as if he was his own. The clothing of both was very immaterial and very bright. They nicely adorned their heads with wreaths. You would have said that their crowns were of divine quality (own translation).

Despite being quite a faithful translation, this passage became the text's essential section through the context change. Its importance for the entire text and the manuscript is based on the ideas corresponding to the overall manuscript's theme. The translation itself was conducted adequately, for the most part, despite the occasional misunderstanding. The Old Slavonic version corresponded to its Greek original to the point where most Slavonic words followed the grammatical forms of Greek words. The section discussing the clothing of the saint and Cleopatra's son followed the phrase quite faithfully by introducing the Slavonic *ѿ* for the Greek *ἐξ* and the Slavonic *зелѡ* for the Greek *ἄγαν*.

The translator achieved a powerful effect with the most critical words in the passage, *ὑπερλάμπρου* ('exceedingly bright'), which was accordingly translated into *прⷭ҃свѣтлыꙗ* ('very light') and the word *ὑπερφυοῦς* ('supernatural'), translated as прьѣ*стественыꙗ* ('immaterial', 'supernatural'). The former word satisfactorily communicated the idea of light to its Hesychast followers, and the latter word in the Old Slavonic version emphasized the "immaterial" aspect. The translator played around with the nuanced meaning of the words.

The text had the potential to contribute to the Hesychast ideas even in its original Greek. The translator may have spotted this potential before the text was translated. He may even have worked with the compilator(s) and scribe(s) to bring the text to the fore. The selection of the text, its translation, compilation, and copying in the manuscript may have been the phases of the same project. The text was likely explicitly translated for this collection.[20] The *Martyrdom of Varos* appears only in this manuscript in the South Slavic realm at this time. As the *Menologion* was not fully translated, a valid reason to select this text specifically for translation (among many others) could lie in this episode. By maintaining the light and immaterial elements in the text, the translator insinuated his imagined community of Hesychasts, turned the narrative into a shared past of the Hesychast community and those Christians before them, and may even have made a successful "translation effect."

The translation of the *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* (BHG 646) and its compilation in the manuscript Хил474 have taken a different path. The Greek version of this text from the Metaphrastic *Menologion* incorporated several details that may have appealed to the future audience of the conceived manuscript with Hesychast and anti-Latin themes (*Patrologiae,* ed. Migne 1864, 468–505). The five martyrs of the story, Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, and Orestes, suffered martyrdom under the emperor Diocletian in the fourth century at Sebaste, Lesser Armenia (now Turkey). They were, however, not a group. The narrative follows their declaration,

20 The later copies of this text appear in the manuscripts from the fifteenth century (Vuković 2021, 87).

one after another, of their Christian faith, seemingly disconnected from each other, followed by each of their trials, tortures, and deaths. The five main characters meet at specific points, accidentally, in, or around the persecutions. However, they witness each other's trials and executions and are inspired by each other. Eustratios is imprisoned and tortured first but dies only at the end after the other four martyrs have already suffered.

The narrative revolves around the trials, their organization, and the specific conditions of martyrs in the court and prisons. The tortures presented in the report are different but equally brutal, from the martyrs being thrown into the fire and stretched on the rack to suffering salt water poured on their wounds.

The potentially appealing elements for the Hesychasts in this Greek text lurk behind the vivid descriptions of the body's exposure to torture and the incorruptibility of the bodily remnants (*ἀφθαρσία*). A section of the narrative describing the persecution and torture of one of the martyrs emphasizes:

> Ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀλλοίωσίς τις τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ἦν θεωρῆσαι καὶ εἰκάσαι, ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τῷ σώματι τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπομένοντα. (*Patrologiae,* ed. Migne 1864, 476)
>
> But no change in the martyr's face was evident, and it appeared and looked as if he awaited the punishment in another person's body (own translation).

These lines suggest a mental practice where one detaches from the physical experience of torture and can even perceive his own body as if belonging to another person. When the officer further asks the martyr: "What is your feeling/thinking now, Eustratios?" he uses the word *φρόνημα*, which implies anything from the mind, spirit, thinking, purpose, or will, to feelings and senses (*Patrologiae,* ed. Migne 1864, 476). We encounter much of the body language in the sentence: *Τάχα ὡς ἔοικεν ἡ τῶν φρενῶν ἐναλλαγή τῇ τοῦ σώματος σαθρότητι ἐπηκολούθησεν.* 'Perhaps, as it seems, the change of mind is followed by the weakness of the body.' (*Patrologiae*, ed. Migne 1864, 477) The interconnection of the mind and body is a prominent detail here. Readers are also provided advice on how not to distract the mental practice by bodily weakness.

When answering to the persecutor, *Εὐστράτος εἶπεν Βούλει πεισθῆναι πεπηρωμένε πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ὄψιν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδυνατεῖ τῷ Θεῷ μου.* 'Eustratios wants to be convinced by all the senses that nothing is impossible for his God.' (*Patrologiae*, ed. Migne 1864, 477). The sensory element is a significant factor in the experience of God. The emission of light is illustrated in a passage when another martyr calls Eustratios a conspicuous star (*περιφανῆ ἀστέρα*; *Patrologiae*, ed. Migne 1864, 480).

Finally, the Greek text included Jesus' prayer towards the end. Eustratios, before his persecution, finishes with the famous wording: *Κύριε Ἐλέησον!* 'Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me.' (*Patrologiae*, ed. Migne 1864, 505). The Jesus Prayer was one of the crucial elements of prayer in the Hesychast practice. The multiple sections of the Greek text mentioning the body, emotions, senses, mind, thinking, light, and bright-

ness could have made the text desirable reading for the future audience who would have a manuscript fostering Hesychast ideas in their hands.

The translated Old Slavonic version of this martyrdom responded, to a degree, to the multifaceted meanings of the various Greek words and phrases used in the text. The elements of the text that could have caught Hesychast attention remained evident, at times powerful while at other times muffled. For example, when the martyr Eustratios was sentenced to severe torture and 'awaited the punishment in a body of another person', the Greek word *ἀλλότριος* ('of the other', 'of another') was translated by a sound word, 'foreign' (*тоужѣмь*).[21] This passage's grammatical forms entirely corresponded to their Greek original (past tense – infinitives – dative plural – accusative – participle). The phrase where Saint Eustratios was seen as a conspicuous star (*περιφανῆ ἀστέρα*) was also efficiently translated into a 'light star' (*свѣтлоу звѣздоу*), here invoking the light metaphor.[22] However, when the judge asks Eustratios about his feelings/thoughts, the translator renders the word *φρόνημα*, of the multi-layered meaning, into *моудрованиѥ*, with a more limited span in comparison to the Greek word, referring only to thinking and reason.

While the Hesychast elements linger in the Old Slavonic translation, the text mainly disregards the potential anti-Latin character of the Greek version, which existed exclusively if the Latins were anachronistically linked with the officials of the Roman Empire. In this case, the repeated trial processes between the Roman officials and the martyrs would have been viewed as an element that provoked anti-Latin sentiments. Even if this was the strategy in the Greek version, such recognition is certainly absent in the Old Slavonic translation.

In the text's opening, the Romans are referred to as 'filled with Godless worship of idols' in the Greek text. The text stresses that *Βασιλεύοντος Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀθέου τῶν εἰδώλων ἐπεπλήρωτο λατρείας καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ζήλῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους λυττῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην προέκοπτον θρησκείαν*. 'All the men zealously strived towards this backward religion.' (*Patrologiae,* ed. Migne 1864, 468). The text's translation indeed contains the phrase *безбожныѥ идольскыѥ испльнина бѣ слоужбы*, which refers to the words above. However, when the 'backward religion' was to be pinned down again, the Old Slavonic text contains only the word *слоуженїе* (service). More importantly, in the opening of the text, instead of mentioning the authorities of the Roman empire (*ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ*), the Old Slavonic translation uses the phrase 'Greek government' (*грьчьскаꙗ власть*). By this phrase, we understand that the translator(s) did not draw the equation between the Roman officials and their contemporary (medieval) Latins. The single words translated to Old Slavonic, which faithfully transferred the

21 Old Slavonic, Хил474, fol. 414r: *Бѣже видѣти и расмотрити ꙗко вь тоужѣмь тѣлеси моукоу прѣтрыпѣкающа.*
22 Old Slavonic, Хил474, fol. 416r.

meaning of the infamous epithets related to the leaders of the Roman Empire, such as ἀθεότητα into безбожїе, lost their relevance in connection to the anti-Latin emotions.

To include the text, which did not promote anti-Latin sentiments in its translation, in the manuscript with the anti-Latin themes appears bewildering. Nevertheless, it could be the Hesychast element of the text rather than the anti-Latin traits, which was perceived as its most significant aspect. The anti-Latin texts dominate in the opening of the manuscript's contents. The compilator may have wished to balance the end of the manuscript with predominantly Hesychast themes. In this Old Slavonic version, the text had the potential to touch the hearts of its Hesychast audience. It was possibly included in the manuscript thanks to the Hesychast rather than anti-Latin elements.

It leads us to think that the not-entirely-fitting *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* could have been translated earlier than the compilation of the manuscript Хил474. The translation may not have been conducted specifically for this thematic manuscript but borrowed from an earlier manuscript. The text had at least several other manuscript copies as early as the fourteenth century (Vuković 2021, 88). Had the text been translated particularly for this collection, the translator would have possibly adhered more assiduously to answer the demands of this thematic manuscript.

If this is the case, the translator and the compilator did not work together on the project of Хил474. The translator had finished his translation work long before the compilator decided to gather the texts under the umbrella of this thematic manuscript. Since a few folios were left to fill the entire manuscript – the *Martyrdom of Eustratios and Companions* starts from folio 411r of the manuscript, which has a total of 426 folios, and the text is unfinished – its selection may have been a result of the need to fill the remaining pages with a text having a broadly fitting theme.

The two texts entered the discussed miscellany manuscripts by different paths. They went a long way from their initial places in the volumes of the Greek Metaphrastic *Menologion* to the Old Slavonic, fourteenth-fifteenth-century miscellanies with Hesychast and anti-Latin contents. In Byzantium, these texts were commonly read on the saints' feast days, as part of the commemoration of saints, or during the everyday meals in monasteries. Their purpose was to inspire monks and other followers to lead exemplary lives, as were those of the saints. When the texts were translated into Old Slavonic and placed in the miscellanies with specific new purposes, other textual features became relevant for their inclusion in the manuscripts. The fresh ideas highlighted in the texts were far from their original textual purposes. The texts thus came to be recontextualized and repurposed, either wholly or to a certain degree. They also became non-autonomous because the ideas and thoughts within their lines, enhanced or at least faithfully rendered by translations, fit into the manuscripts' overall themes.

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The Many Layers of *Translatio*: AM 618 4° and the Lives of Manuscripts in Use

Medieval manuscripts are singular in their appearance, that is, no one manuscript is identical to another. At the same time no singular manuscript is static or constant in its appearance or use over time. Medieval translation provides a similar example of mobility in the way that a translation is not an absolute, but rather an entity on the move; every new re-writing represents a new reception. In modern Translation Studies not only the transfer of the text from source language to target language is treated. Rather the focus has often been on the cultural transfer that involves the re-writing of the text in a new language and cultural setting; the text is part of a larger context of cultural exchange. The translated text from this perspective constitutes in the first instance a move from a source language to a target language, but not necessarily following modern modes of translation. Scholars therefore often choose to talk about transfer or even re-writing when they discuss the movement in the Middle Ages of a text from one language to another. But the mobility of the text did not stop with its transfer into the target language. As soon as it was re-written in its new surroundings it was treated as part of the target language polysystem and could therefore be introduced into new contexts in new re-writings.[1] What we see in the sparse extant material from Scandinavia indicates that this was very much the situation: texts transferred from other languages, primarily Latin, French and German, interacted in compilations and collections with texts originally composed in the vernacular and contributed to the general cultural exchange. It could also be suggested that Latin texts interacted, at least in a learned context, with the vernacular texts, within the same literary polysystem.

A more unusual example of *translatio* is to be found in the manuscript AM 618 4° where the original manuscript contained Latin texts, the Psalter and Canticles from the Old Testament, with parallel Anglo-Norman French translation. This manuscript seems to have been imported from Anglo-Norman England to Iceland, or possibly Norway, during the Middle Ages. After the Reformation the French text of the Psalter was erased by a scribe who subsequently replaced it with an Icelandic translation while the French text of the Canticles was erased without being replaced. The information about the history of the manuscript, therefore, enables us to study the move

1 See e.g. Copeland (1991) on the appropriation of translated texts in the target language. For Norse texts Stefka G. Eriksen (2014) treats the text on the move from source text into various use over time in the target language.

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of manuscript, texts, and languages in a single manuscript over a time-span of about four hundred years.[2]

In the following I will provide an outline of the possible trajectory of the manuscript in the Middle Ages, from Anglo-Norman England in the late twelfth century to Iceland in the late sixteenth century. Unfortunately, the information is sparse for the earlier period and the results of such an investigation will therefore at this point be rather meagre. It is important to stress, however, that using the individual manuscript as a point of departure enables us to reason about the roles of individual manuscripts in the processes of modification that have implications for the general use of texts and manuscripts over time. In this chapter I present a preliminary study of the many stages or facets of *translatio* that could be argued from the artefact, the extant manuscript, and the layers of texts found incorporated in it over time.

The polysystem, observation points and translation

Each stage of the manuscript's trajectory can be related to the contemporary polysystem. This implies that the individual stages under scrutiny are all interrelated and that changes concerning one feature inevitably have consequences for the status of features on all the subsequent stages.

The manuscript forms an *observation point*[3] at each stage in its trajectory which allows us to understand more general aspects of contemporary variation and change in the use and function of manuscripts at each stage of this process. The concept of observation points needs some discussion. In studies of historical processes, we generally operate with a dichotomic concept of diachrony and synchrony. On the one hand the system, as for example the linguistic system, at each point in time is synchronically observed as a fixed point. This system at every chosen point, however, is always the result of taking part in the diachronic flow of variance and change. The relation between synchrony and diachrony has been likened to a train moving along a line between stations, with passengers leaving and embarking. This model of thinking, however, can often lead to the rather simplified view of change as taking place synchronically and generally as in language. But if we stay with the train metaphor for a while it is obvious that each passenger represents not only a change in the passenger list. Two of the exiting passengers may for example meet as they disembark and decide that they should catch the next train together, or someone has by mistake embarked on the wrong train and realises that she has to take another back to the

2 Since this chapter was sent to the publisher it has come to my attention that a paper was presented by Tom Lorenz (2022) at the 18th International Saga Conference in Helsinki and Tallinn in August 2022 providing a similar approach to AM 618 4°.

3 See Horn and Johansson (2021, 8) for the introduction of the concept of *observation points*.

previous station. Instead of clinging to an overly simple metaphor, however, we need to establish an understanding of how the individual event or artefact interacted with the contexts in various ways. Changes over time did not take place along a line and end up at a final station, they were rather elements of a constant exchange and negotiation where some features moved to the surface, others stayed in place, and yet others disappeared and lost their relevance. The observation point is suggested as a concept for taking events and artefacts into consideration in a systematic study where the point offers a view not only of the route passed or the path ahead, but also allows us to include the interaction of events, texts and artefacts in the contemporary landscape and relate them to this on-going process of variation.

In this study of the trajectory of AM 618 4° three observation points are chosen: 1) the point of departure when the Latin texts are translated and the *mis en page* with parallel arrangement of source and target text is formed, 2) the second stage when a calendar is added and 3) the post-Reformation stage when the French text is erased and replaced with a new translation in Icelandic. Each observation point with this approach is a stop on the trajectory of the manuscript as it moves into new contexts. From the first stage when Latin and the Latin text could have a central position in the polysystem of texts, perhaps with a focus on liturgical and other texts of the Church, and where the Anglo-Norman or *romanz* language as well as the transfer of the Latin text into this language could be expected to have a more peripheral position, the next stage would be the introduction of both texts, the *Psalterium Davidis* and the collection of biblical Canticles that follows the Psalter text, in a new context when the manuscript was moved to Norway or Iceland. The original context could be expected to relate to slightly different polysystems than the new one in the peripheral north, but we may also think that the manuscript and its form as well as content could have an impact on the new polysystem it entered.

When the manuscript under scrutiny here is preserved intact over a long period of time until after the Reformation it has had a rather different fate than most Latin manuscripts from the Norse realm; large numbers of manuscripts were destroyed and reused both before and after the Reformation.[4] This could indicate that this individual manuscript has been kept in a milieu where it was valued and had a central position in the local polysystem. It will therefore be relevant to establish with some certainty whether it was in Norway for a period before it was sent to Iceland or if it came directly to Iceland from England. The second observation point, when the calendar was added in the mid-twelfth century, may provide insights into the use and reuse of manuscripts in the period when the Psalter was finally transferred from England to the north.

4 The destruction of medieval manuscripts in the Early Modern period was not restricted to those written in Latin, but affected also vernacular manuscripts. In this chapter the focus, however, is on the fate of a Latin Psalter that survived the destruction of the large majority of Latin manuscripts from the Icelandic Middle Ages.

A final observation point to be considered in the following concerns the fate of the manuscript and the Anglo-Norman text in 1586 when a scribe known as Gunnlaugur Jónsson – who inserted his own name in the margin on fol. 117^{r} – erased the Anglo-Norman text, which seems to have been by now placed at the periphery of the polysystem, and replaced it with an Icelandic translation of the Psalter. This indicates that the Psalter in Latin still had a position in the polysystem, but probably also that it was more relevant to transfer the text into Icelandic. Was the relationship between Latin and Icelandic similar to the one between Latin and Anglo-Norman from the original observation point or had the vernacular taken a different position by this time?

The observation points are chosen in order to elucidate important stages in the trajectory of the manuscript and the contexts in which it was used. An interesting aspect of this trajectory concerns the changes, material, functional, or in relation to the polysystem, that may be gathered under the concept of *translatio*. I suggest that we may discern various types of *translatio* in the interrelations of the texts in the three languages represented as well as in the trajectory of the manuscript itself and its transfer in time and space. It is relevant here to consider at least three different layers or types of *translatio* that are at play and open to scrutiny from each observation point.

The most obvious type and also the one referred to most often would be the very *translatio* or transfer of a text from a source language to a target language, in this case taking place at least twice in the example treated here. But the languages themselves change their status over time and are placed in different positions in the polysystem. Here I refer to both translation proper, the intra-linguistic re-writing of texts as well as the status of source and target languages as they move in time and space as "linguistic *translatio*". This type of *translatio* is rather similar to the concept of *translatio studii* which was used in medieval discourse with regard to the geographical dissemination of erudition and knowledge. The important difference between the medieval concept and the one suggested here is that the latter is related to a wider kind of *translatio* including for example transfer and legitimisation of languages themselves and that the use of the concept is directly connected to the thinking of polysystems and observation points, as for example when Latin is introduced in Scandinavia with high status as the language of the Church. The linguistic *translatio* as defined here concerns the movement of languages and texts within the polysystem and the various domains where they could occur rather than the more one-way focus of the medieval concept.

A second type of *translatio* is the transfer of texts, manuscripts, and material and intellectual culture at various stages from one geographical context to another. This moveability of both texts, ideas, languages, and artefacts is here referred to as "geographical *translatio*". Distinguishing this as a separate type enables us to relate the French, or possibly in this case Anglo Norman French, status in the receiving culture, in this case the Norse culture of Iceland and Norway. This geographical aspect has therefore a political or sociological aspect and the observation points it offers provide broad insights into the interaction and negotiation between cultures at any given

time. Again, as with *translatio studii* mentioned above, this concept is closely related to the medieval concept of *translatio imperii*, the transfer of power. There is, yet again, a difference in perspective, however, as the suggested concept allows us to study transfer in space not only from the point of appropriation and political dominance; it also reflects more subtle movements of individual texts and artefacts in closed networks relevant for changes in the regional polysystem. Whereas the medieval concept is concerned with the transfer of power from the centre to the periphery, the concept of geographic *translatio* has a broader perspective on the interaction of cultures and exchanges between polysystems with implications for both.

A last type of *translatio* suggested here concerns the treatment and changes of material objects and the position of these objects in the polysystem. This obviously relates closely to a central understanding of *translatio* in the Middle Ages, that of the transfer of relics related to the saints of the Church. The relics were not only physically moved, but they were also displayed in adorned crucifixes or other forms of repositories for worship and contemplation. In a similar way the display of a manuscript in its *mise en livre, mise en page* and *mise en texte* can be interpreted as part of the reception of the physical object.[5] This type of *translatio* is here referred to as "material *translatio*". The treatment over time of manuscripts as artefacts would then be of interest in itself in relation to the polysystem, primarily in the evaluation of imported manuscripts, but also in the status of manuscripts in general over time, depending on use, dissemination and access to the materials and skills necessary to produce (and import) manuscripts. Material *translatio* focus on the physical changes in the appearance of the object under study. This could include the original production of the manuscript concerning layout and composition etc., additions of paratexts and marginalia at later stages, as well as erasure of older text and its replacement with new text, whether as a way of adapting the manuscript to new situations or establishing a completely new communication.

The manuscript AM 618 4° and its texts

First the extant manuscript needs to be examined. At the outset, we can say that the series of production units forming new usage units are not made at the same stage.[6] The first production unit is formed by the Psalter, the *Psalterium Davidis*, and the biblical hymns in Latin and Anglo-Saxon French, all written in the same hand and with

5 A recent approach using the concepts of *mise en livre*, *mise en page* and *mise en texte* in order to illuminate the transfer of texts from one language to another as well as from one manuscript context to another is found in Eriksen (2014).

6 For the terminology of *production units* and *usage units*, see Kwakkel (2002) with further references to the discussion of codicological description. For a recent application of this terminology in the description of a Swedish manuscript see Johansson (2022).

illuminated initials formed as part of the original production. The *calendarium* has been written and added at a later stage, and it cannot be asserted that this addition was made as a production unit intended for the present manuscript. The fragment seems rather to have been added somewhere along the trajectory of the manuscript, but most likely before it arrived in the north. When it was bound into the book as it exists today, however, it formed a new usage unit together with the originally produced unit. A third and last production unit is added in the sixteenth century when the French text is erased and replaced by a new Icelandic translation, in Kwakkel's terminology this last production unit should be regarded as secondary. At this point the manuscript again changes its nature as a usage unit, which is treated in some detail below.

The manuscript AM 618 4° is rather large, 25,5 x 18 centimetres. The first leaf carries the calendar. This leaf is not part of the original manuscript and was added considerably later. It is followed by 117 pages (one paper leaf replacing a lost parchment leaf, fol. 72). Note that the foliation made in the manuscript does not include the initial folio containing the calendar.[7] Skårup (1977, 91) states that there were originally 15 quires of 8 leaves, which would mean 120 leaves; two parchment leaves are missing at the end of the manuscript and subsequently replaced by paper leaves. Michael Gullick (2013b, 151) states that several leaves are missing without considering the matter further. The Psalter text is, however, with the exception of the lacuna today partly covered by the paper leaf added in connection with the replacement of the French text in the late sixteenth century.

The manuscript was written in two columns with the Latin texts in the left column and the Anglo Norman French translation in the right column. The Psalter text was written on fols 2–117^{r}. This part of the manuscript is generally considered to have been written in the late twelfth century, a dating recently supported by Gullick (2013b, 151). In the second half of the sixteenth century the French text was erased and a contemporary Icelandic translation of the Psalter was added in its place. The French text is still visible and to some extent readable as a palimpsest (see e.g. Skårup 1977). It is possible to establish with some certainty that the scribe of the sixteenth century Icelandic text also was responsible for the erasure of the original Anglo-Norman text.

The originally formed manuscript also contains the *Hymni et cantica ex testamento veteri*, referred to here as *Canticles* on fols 117^{v}–119. It is generally accepted as the work of the same scribe who produced the bilingual Psalter in the late twelfth century.

The manuscript is rich in illuminated enlarged initials for the psalms traditionally marked. The organisation follows the combined tradition with ten psalms indicated, psalms 1, 26, 38, 51, 52, 68, 80, 97, 101, 109 and 150, that is, the psalms are organised both in the tradition of 1, 51 and 101 in three parts of fifty and the first psalm of Matins

7 Here and in the following I operate with the calendar leaf as fol. 1 of the codex in order to use the same foliation for all leaves of the codex. In Kålund (1889–1894) and handrit.is the foliation starts with the first leaf of the Psalter.

(1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80 and 97) and Vespers on Sundays (109).[8] The enlarged initials are placed parallel in the two columns, one for the Latin and one for the Anglo-Norman text respectively. Some of the enlarged initials were not finished in the first production and are still left as sketches in the extant manuscript (see psalms 52, 68, 80 and 97). It is interesting to note that the one who erased the original Anglo-Norman text left the larger initials untouched and wherever the Icelandic text allowed him to re-use them he did so. In some cases this was not possible which forced the scribe to ignore the initial, but even in these cases the initial is left un-touched. In psalm 26 the initial was painted in the original production phase. The later scribe of the Icelandic text replacing the French text is most likely the agent who filled the initial using colours that the original scribe did not have at his disposal. The psalms spanning between the highlighted psalms are all marked with enlarged initials of two lines in red and blue and sometimes adorned.

The initials for each verse of the psalms were originally painted in red and blue for both texts. In some cases the scribe of the Icelandic translation could reuse the original initial which was then kept intact, but in most cases they were either erased and replaced in a similar colour or altered in relation to the Icelandic text. In the latter instances the scribe re-adjusted the original initial so that it formed a part of the new Icelandic text. The use of original initials and replacement of them when necessary in relation to the Icelandic text provides strong indications that the one responsible for the erasure of the Anglo-Norman text was either the scribe or someone in collaboration with him.

The manuscript contains a number of names in the margin added by later owners or people who have had access to the book. On fol. 34^{r} we find the name Jón Eyólfsson, part of a statement that he has written his own name. On fol. 42^{r} there is a similar note by someone called Eyólfur Oddsson. In one instance (fol. 56^{v}) three names are written stapled vertically below the text, Ǫgmundur, Guðmundur and Hallmundur, perhaps a reflection of the naming tradition of a family, using the same second element for all three names. On fol. 69^{r} Hrafnkell Eyólfsson has written his name. Another similar note is found on fol. 99^{v} where Gunnlaugur Narfason is named as the owner of the book. The most often mentioned name found in the manuscript is that of the scribe identifying himself as Gunnlaugur Jónsson on fol. 117^{r}:

> Endadur j hruna af gun*n*la(u)gi io*n*ssyne þ*ann* 5 dag martij. an*n* do: 1586 (fol. 117^{r})

This identification has been generally accepted in previous scholarship and there is no reason to question it here.[9]

8 For a discussion of the various ways of organizing the psalms of the Psalter see e.g. Panayotova (2011, 250).

9 Gunnlaugur Jónsson was a priest at Hruni from 1583. A couple of generations later the priest of this church was Daði Halldórsson (who was the son of Halldór Daðason, priest at Hruni directly after

Observation points: the manuscript trajectory

In this first step of my discussion the physical manuscript is treated from three chosen observation points. To understand the trajectory of the manuscript we need to treat the production and usage units separately, from 1) the original manuscript of the Psalter and the Canticles as a point of departure, through 2) the stage when the calendar is added in the mid-twelfth century (or was it a replacement of an earlier calendar?) to the last stage 3) when the manuscript is appropriated by a scribe in the time of the early reformed Church in Iceland in 1586. From its first production unit in the late twelfth century until the replacement of the French text by an Icelandic translation in 1586 the manuscript underwent changes in its physical appearance. It also moved geographically and was used in various contexts over the centuries. This means that both aspects of geographical and material *translatio* are relevant from the three chosen observation points.

The parallel organisation of the Psalter with the Latin text in the left column and the Anglo-Norman French text in the right is not unique for AM 618 4°. This arrangement is found in a number of contemporary manuscripts, primarily from Anglo-Norman England, the most well-known probably the Winchester Psalter (Cotton MS Nero C IV; see e.g. Rector 2009: 203–204).[10] There are obvious parallels between the Winchester Psalter and AM 618 4° in the *mis en page* as can be seen for example in the illuminations for the first psalm, *Beatus vir* (Figs. 1a and 1b).

The parallel layout of source and target language text, representing the vernacular text on an equal level with the Latin, seems to be an innovation perhaps initiated as a modification of the glosses that are found in many earlier re-writings of the Psalter. It could possibly also reflect the tradition of presenting the two Latin Psalters, the *psalterium gallicanum* and the *psalterium hebraicum*, in parallel columns as for example in the Winchcombe Psalter (Trinity College Library MS 53; see e.g. Cleaver 2015, 23–24), the synoptic presentation of two Latin versions of the Psalter being the incitement for placing the translation in a parallel column. The tradition of glossing a text in between the lines was then replaced by a translated vernacular text that was presented as more equal to the Latin text, as suggested by Rector (2009, 203–204; see also below on the role of languages in the polysystem).

In the Scandinavian material very few Psalter manuscripts have been preserved from the Middle Ages. Most of them are imported from England or the continent (see Gad 1968, 583–595). In the Norse material the extant evidence of what used to be a

Gunnlaugur from 1624). He went to school at Skálholt with the later manuscript collector Þórmóður Torfason (or Torfeus) who was the owner of the manuscript before it finally ended up in Árni Magnússon's collection. It could be suggested that Þórmóður Torfason acquired the manuscript from Hruni. I thank Bergur Þorgeirsson at Snorrastofa in Reykholt for sending all this information in reply to a question about the church at Hruni.

10 For an overview of manuscripts in Anglo-Norman French see Dean (1999).

large number of Psalter manuscripts is today scant to say the least. AM 618 4° is in fact the only surviving manuscript containing an almost complete Psalter. From the twelfth century there is a fragment of a Psalter, the so-called Kvikne Psalter considered to be originally produced in Norway (see e.g. Kleivane 2021) and there are fragments found in archives such as for example the National Archives in Stockholm and Oslo (Gjerløw 1980). Generally speaking, the Scandinavian production of Psalter manuscripts is rather later. One example of a Psalter fragment obviously written in Iceland is dated to c. 1350, considerably later, and regarded as a product of the Benedictine milieu of the monastery at Þingeyrar (Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir 1983; 2016, 257–274; Stefán Karlsson 1982). The so-called *Vatnsfjörður Psalter* is an example of a Psalter from the fourteenth century with a possible provenance in Iceland or Norway (AM 241 a fol; Louis-Jensen 2006; 2015). This manuscript is today fragmentary, but it provides evidence for a tradition of Psalters with rich illustrations from the Passion of Christ (Louis-Jensen 2006; Liepe 2009). From church inventories it is clear, however, that manuscripts of the Psalter were expected to be found in more or less every church at this later stage. Most of these, whether imported or produced in Scandinavia are now lost.

From the scant material we do have at our disposal there are clear indications that the paralleled vernacular transfer found in AM 618 4° had no counterpart in the earliest material from Scandinavia. Further, there is no example of glosses in any of the earlier fragments. In a later Psalter manuscript, the so-called *Wiener Psalter*, most likely produced by an Icelandic scribe, there are examples of glosses in what appears to be in two considerably later hands (Cod Vind 2713; Uecker 1980). This manuscript would be slightly later than the calendar found in AM 618 4° and therefore could be seen in relation to the second observation point, while the glosses – or interlinear translation – seem to be added after the Reformation and may be related to the Icelandic translation discussed as a third observation point (Uecker 1980; Louis-Jensen 1984). I return to this regarding the discussion on the position in the polysystem of texts and languages in late sixteenth century Iceland. Here it suffices to conclude that the parallel presentation of a translated vernacular text like the one in AM 618 4° is not to be found in the later material; this *mise en page* initiated in Anglo-Norman England never seems to have been adapted to the Norse tradition.

Viewed from the third observation point, however, it appears as if the idea of parallel translation was adopted as a one-time event by the scribe who erased the French text when he replaced it with the Icelandic translation. He also applied this innovation when he replaced a missing parchment leaf. On fol. 71^{v} the word *dextrum* appears in the lower margin written in the sixteenth century hand of the Icelandic translator. This folio is followed by a singular paper leaf (fol. 72) where the Latin text starts with the word *dextrum* (see Fig. 2). The paper leaf is obviously replacing a now lost parchment leaf from the original codex. The scribe has either re-written the Latin text from the original leaf or found another exemplar to replace the lost text. The page is laid out in a similar way as the original parchment leaves with the Icelandic

chi ne alat el cunseil des felunf:
et en la uete des pecheurf ne stout.
et en la chaere de pestilence ne fist.
Maif en la lei de nostre seignor la
uolunted. e en la sue lei purpen
serat par iurn e par nuit.
Et erit ensement cume le fust qued
est plantet de uiste lef decurf def
ewes. ki dunrat sun frout en son tens.
E sa fuille ne decurrat: e tute les oseles
q: il unqf ferad: serunt fait pspres.
Nient eissi li felun ment eissi: mais
ensement cume la puldre que li
uenz getet de la face de terre.
Enpurtico ne surdent li felun en iuise
ne li pecheor el conseil des drecturiers.
Car nostre sire cunuist la uete des iuf-
tes: e leure des felunf perirat.
Pur q̃i fremirent lef genz. e li po
ple purpenserent uaines coses:
Lrei de tere estoutent: e li prince se
asemblerent en un: en contre nostre
seignor e en contre sun crist.

Q̃ ñ abiit in consilio impiorum.
& in uia peccatoꝝ non steit. & in
cathedra pestilentię non sedit.
Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius:
& in lege eius meditabitur
die ac nocte.
Et erit tanquã lignũ q̃d plantatũ
est secus decursus aquarũ: quod
fructũ suũ dabit in tempore suo
Et folium eius non defluet: & omnia
quecũq; faciet prosperabuntur
Non sic impii non sic: sed tanquam
puluis quem proicit uentus a
facie terre
Ideo non resurgunt impii in iudicio
neq; peccatores in consilio iustorum.
Quoniam nouit dñs uiam iustorũ:
& iter impiorum pibit.
QVARE fremuerunt gentes: &
populi meditati sunt inania
Astiterunt reges terre & principes con-
ueneruntin unum: aduersus dnm
& aduersus xpm eius.

Fig. 1a: The illuminated initial for the first Psalm of the Winchester Psalter (Cotton MS Nero C IV, fol. 046r, © British Library Board).

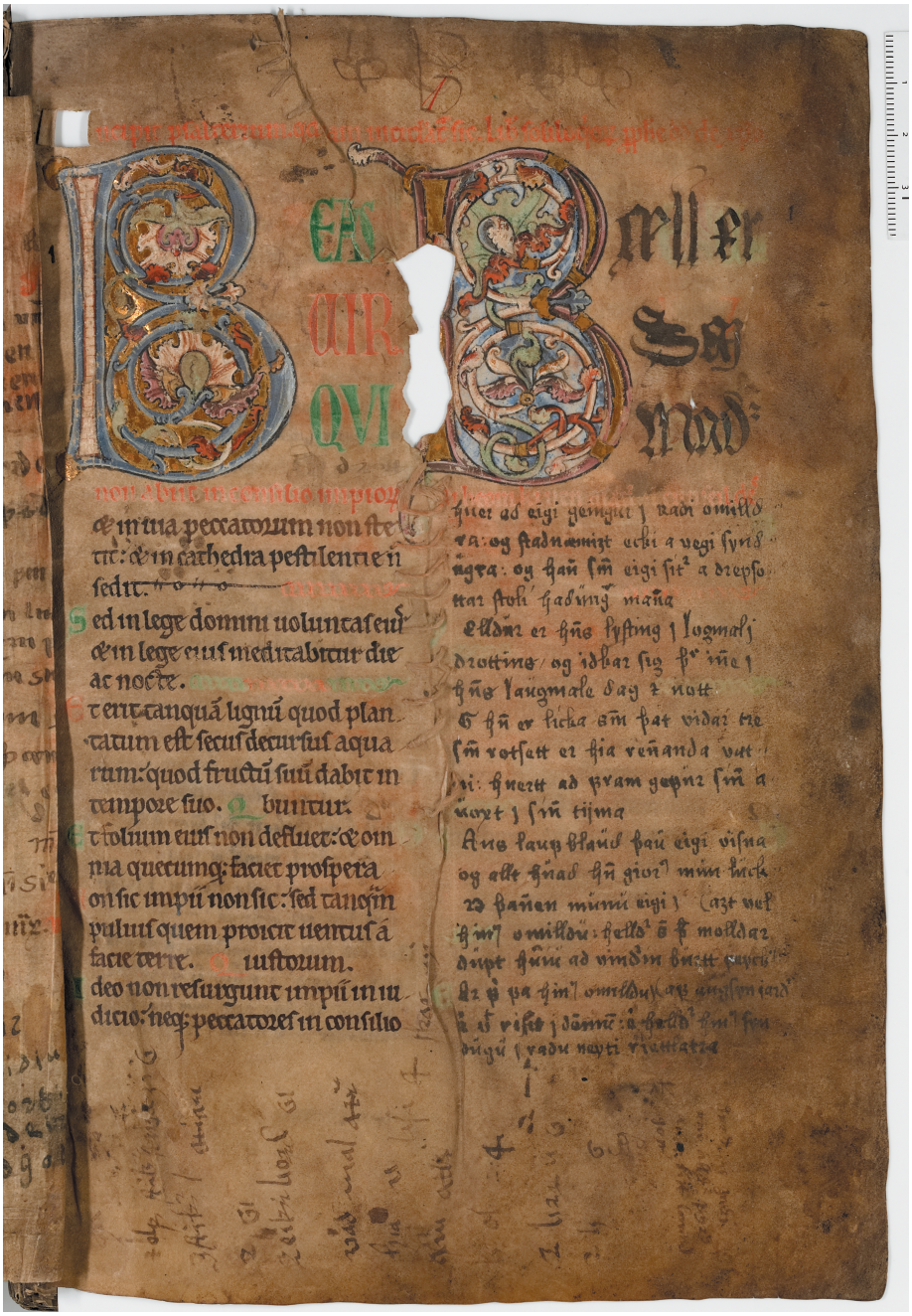

Fig. 1b: The illuminated initial for the first Psalm of AM 618 4°, fol. 1r (Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection. Photo: Suzanne Reitz).

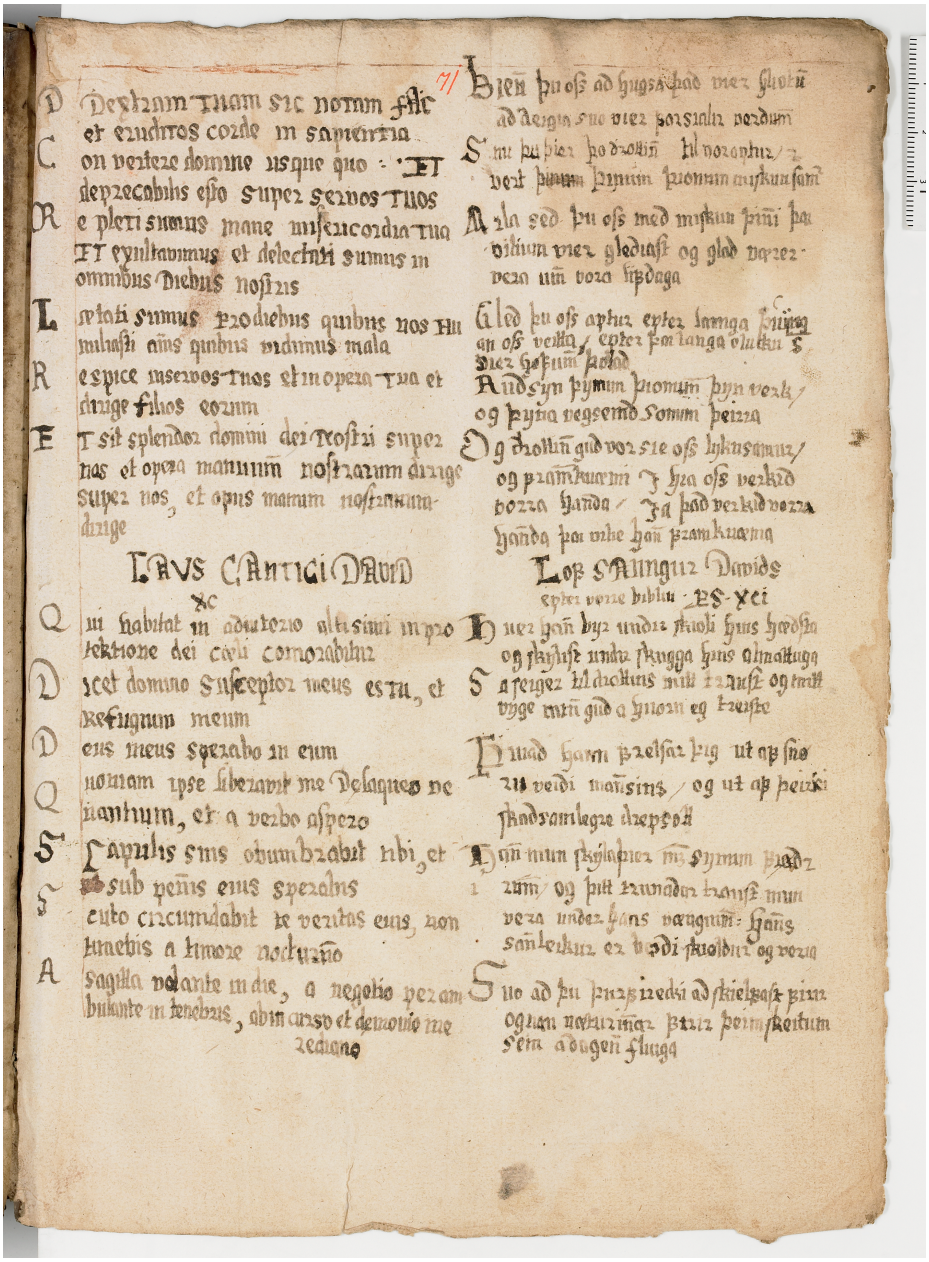

Fig. 2: The paper leaf replacing a lost parchment leaf (Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection, AM 618 4°, fol. 72^{r}. Photo: Suzanne Reitz).

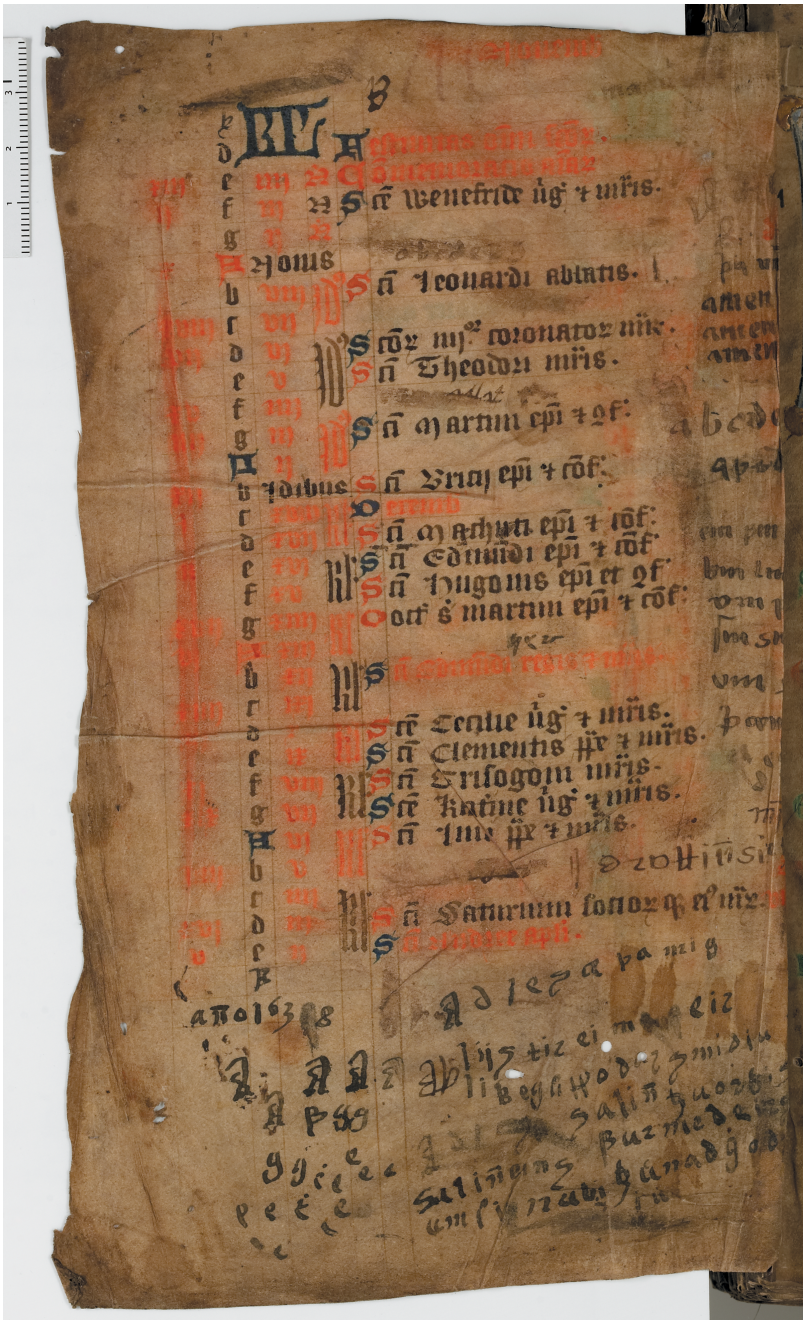

Fig. 3: Verso page of the fragmentary calendar found in AM 618 4° (Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection. Photo: Suzanne Reitz).

translation in the right column. It is noteworthy, however, that only the recto page is used while the verso page is left blank. This could possibly be due to the scribe lacking the time to finish the replacement of the parchment leaf. Another explanation could be that the scribe had at his disposal the Icelandic text, while the Latin text was too damaged to read in the re-writing process; the scribe re-wrote what he could read from the damaged parchment but did not continue his work when the text became unreadable.

The paper leaf in itself then becomes a material *translatio* of the twelfth century text in a sixteenth century transfer or re-writing at the same time as the re-writing of the Icelandic text continues. The twelfth century Latin text is partly transferred into a new century and incorporated in the context in a confirmative sense, that is, its value is ascertained by the scribe.

The dating of the calendar (see Fig. 3) on the first folio to the mid-thirteenth century leads Michael Gullick (2013b, 151) to suggest that the manuscript was moved from England at a point after this date. This sounds plausible as the calendar is in itself a product of Anglo-Norman provenance. Povl Skårup (1977, 91) states that the fragment is not only younger than the main part of the manuscript, but the single extant leaf is also rather smaller than the leaves of the twelfth century part of the manuscript. It could be argued that the original manuscript had been in use over a couple of generations when this calendar was added to the book and that it was only after this addition that it was transferred in a geographical *translatio* to Scandinavia or directly to Iceland. However, the calendar fragment provides primarily information about the trajectory of the Psalter manuscript after 1250 rather than that of the initial production. The calendar could also possibly be a separate import to Iceland and only much later incorporated in the extant manuscript. This hypothesis could be sustained by the evidence of the import of calendars from the continent and England contemporary to the second observation point, that is the late thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century.

Michael Gullick (2013a; 2013b) has treated the fragments found in Norway that are either of English origin, made by English scribes in Norway, or made by Norwegian scribes with English training. He thoroughly discusses the problems involved in distinguishing an English hand from a Norwegian, but despite the caveats he is able to establish groups of hands that can either be referred to as English or Norwegian with English training (Gullick 2013a). In the case of the hand responsible for the main part, the first production unit, there has never been any real doubt about the Anglo-Norman provenance (see Skårup 1977, 91). Gullick (2013b, 151) narrows the provenance down to being from Canterbury.

During the Reformation period the manuscript was obviously in Iceland. Here the French translations were more or less eliminated and replaced partly by the Icelandic translation. This later stage in the trajectory of the manuscript could then be seen as a new stage of *translatio*, in a new context and related to a period when the Church in Iceland was in the process of reformation. This exchange of the target languages con-

siderably alters the usage unit, and it will also have implications for the status of the physical manuscript.

The Icelandic scribe identified as the one responsible for the sixteenth century changes to the manuscript, Gunnlaugur Jónsson, is not known from other sources. It can be stated with relative certainty, however, that he had a personal interest in the transfer he made of the Icelandic Psalter text as replacement for the Anglo-Norman. He is most likely responsible for the erasure of the French text and is also the one who has taken active decisions concerning the incorporation of the Icelandic text in the *mise en page*, with modifications made to align this new text in a similar way as the erased text and using the twelfth century initials as often as possible instead of erasing them. In his work he displays some knowledge of Latin, but first and foremost he is consciously forming a new usage unit from the old manuscript.

Observation points: the texts

The dissemination of individual texts, often incorporated in contexts with other texts and perhaps also with changes in function and use, offers relevant observation points in this process. The individual text, whether as part of the first production unit or added as a secondary production unit, was at one point created with intention perhaps on the initiative of its creator or on order from a patron. In the dissemination the text is often found incorporated in manuscripts in interaction with other texts. These interrelations may provide new insights into the position of the text in the polysystem at various times. Here I focus on the Psalter text and only discuss the other texts found in interaction with it in the manuscript and forming its context at various stages; this interaction, however, does provide information about the trajectory of the texts and their intended functions even at this early stage of analysis. The Psalter text could at the various points of dissemination have various functions; the status of the text is also relevant for our understanding.[11] Psalter texts were read in the liturgy and are found not only in separate manuscripts, but also in multi-text liturgical manuscripts. It was, however, in itself a biblical text that would be re-written separately for individual reading and contemplation, and it was frequently used as a suitable text for learning Latin. In the following the Psalter is tentatively related to the other texts of the manuscript as it developed over time as well as the contexts where it interacted with other texts within the polysystem. The material aspects of this transmission con-

11 For a general introduction to the use of the Psalter and the Hymnal in medieval liturgy see e.g. Palazzo (1998, esp. 129–144). A recent discussion of the various contexts of the Psalter and its dissemination in illuminated manuscripts see Panayotova (2011). For the place of the Psalter in intellectual culture in the Middle Ages see Van Deusen (1999).

cerning the manuscript as an artefact were treated above from three separate observation points. These three points are here revisited from the perspective of texts.

The main and original text of AM 618 4° is the Psalter and its transfer to Anglo-Norman French running parallel on fols 2–117^{r}. The Latin Psalter was frequently re-written in new manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages. It was an important text in the liturgy and therefore was often interrelated to other liturgical texts in manuscripts designed for use in the church and monastery. However, the biblical text is also often found in manuscripts of which it forms the very core. The present context seems to be of a more secular and private nature, where the text could have been used for individual contemplation, representing a later development in the use of the text.

The original Hebraic text was throughout the Middle Ages distributed in two main transfers into Latin, one attributed to Hieronymus and labelled *psalterium gallicanum* and one based on the Hebraic text and referred to as *psalterium hebraicum*. In some contexts these two versions were placed parallel in the same manuscript as pointed out above.[12] The re-writing found in the present manuscript is the one referred to as *psalterium gallicanum*.

There are many examples of transfers of the Psalter into the vernacular in the twelfth century and the present (erased) parallel text in Anglo-Norman French is not unusual. There are a number of Anglo-Norman transfers extant, with some examples of glossed Latin text, and at least one manuscript where the translated text is placed parallel to the Latin in two columns. This arrangement represents a new stage in the trajectory of the originally Hebraic text which had been transferred through Greek into Latin and now also began to be incorporated in the European vernaculars of the Middle Ages.

The Latin translation was central in the medieval polysystem of texts throughout Europe. It was glossed or transferred into vernacular languages as early as the Middle Ages, but these transferred texts seem mostly to have functioned as tools in the process of learning Latin; they were, as far as we can judge from the extant material, never seen as replacements for the Latin text. The Anglo-Norman French re-writing therefore seems to be an innovation which in itself formed a readable text (see Rector 2009, 200). This presents an early example of the transfer of biblical texts from the Old Testament into the vernacular in the twelfth century. From a continental perspective this observation point from the view of the manuscript text highlights the early vernacularisation of central texts in the polysystem, what was definitely an innovation.

A text of particular interest here is the Icelandic translation replacing the erased Anglo-Norman text. It provides an important observation point for the Psalter in post-Reformation Iceland: how the translated text on the one hand related to the Latin and on the other how the printed translation of the Psalter was disseminated and evaluated. To start with the latter the translated text has its own story. This re-writing of a

12 See e.g. the Winchcombe Psalter (Trinity College Library MS 53; Cleaver 2015, 23–24).

translation which had recently been printed in the Icelandic Bible, the so-called *Guðbrandsbíblia* (1584), based on an earlier translation by the Icelandic priest Oddur Gottskálksson, adds a new dimension to the trajectory of transfer of the Psalter (see e.g. Skårup 1977, 93). It represents a stage where the vernacular has moved closer to the centre of the polysystem, its status improved by the new ideas of not only translating biblical texts, but also of the vernacular as equal to Latin as a written language. The parallel Icelandic text is with this in mind a more central entity in the dissemination than was the earlier Anglo-Norman text. At the same time the Icelandic text is still related to the parallel Latin text, a text that has lost some, but obviously not all, of its status. A more or less contemporary transfer to Icelandic in what is more reminiscent of the glosses, placed interlinear to the medieval Latin text, is found in the Wiener Psalter, Cod Vind 2713 (Uecker 1980). The Icelandic glosses are here written by two scribes some time after 1550. It is not the scribes themselves who translated the text, rather they copied an earlier translation which is dated by Jonna Louis-Jensen (1984, 236) to the second half of the fifteenth century. Even if the translation is thereby dated to before the Reformation, the re-writing by the post-Reformation scribes indicates that the Icelandic text had emerged as more central in the polysystem, in much the same way as the translation in AM 618 4°. This should obviously be seen in relation also to the position of the languages in the polysystem which is treated in the following subchapter.

In front of the first folio there is a leaf added later that holds a calendar dated to the mid-thirteenth century. The calendar was central in liturgical life and in the Church to control the holidays of the year. It was often also inserted in front of the Psalter text in manuscripts for individual use. It would therefore not have been surprising to find it added to a Psalter manuscript. The fragmentary calendar placed as the first leaf of AM 618 4° complies with this general tendency of interacting with the Psalter. As this particular calendar is dated to the mid-thirteenth century, however, it is clearly a later addition (see the discussion of the manuscript above) and not part of the originally planned manuscript. Was this new production unit, produced about a half century after the Psalter and Canticles, intended for the present manuscript? This is obviously a difficult, if not impossible question to answer with any certainty. The leaf contains just a fragment of a complete calendar. Skårup (1977, 91) concludes that "Rien n'indique que le calendrier entier ait jamais été attaché au psautier, ni que le feuillet conservé lui ait été avant le moment de la reliure". He is convinced, however, that the calendar was produced in England and points out that this is not the only example of a calendar from England ending up in Iceland (Skårup 1977, 91). This is confirmed further by the mention in inventories from churches in Iceland, the so-called *máldagar*, where there are examples of notes about both *irskar bækr* 'Irish books' and *enskar bækr* 'English books' referring not to the language but rather the style and layout of the manuscripts. A late example of a calendar imported from England is provided by the manuscript AM 249 a fol, probably produced in Norfolk c. 1300, but only arriving in Iceland after the Reformation (Gjerløw 1980, 99; Love 2015, 144–145).

When the calendar was produced in the mid-thirteenth century it was a central text in the polysystem. It was disseminated not only within the Church and monasteries but was also available to lay people. What makes the calendar in AM 618 4° interesting in relation to the Psalter is that it was produced in a similar environment in England, but not necessarily planned as a part of the present manuscript. It could be that the calendar was already planned, and while in England, added to the Psalter, but the likelihood is that it was imported separately and only later incorporated in the older manuscript. From the observation point of this calendar in connection to the Psalter we therefore have two possible views, the one of Anglo-Norman England in the late thirteenth century or Iceland (or possibly Norway) with a *post quem* in the late thirteenth century. It's important to note here, however, that the combination of Psalter and calendar is not unusual and that the binding of the fragment of the calendar in this context would have been common throughout the period.

On the remaining leaves, 117^{v}–119, we find what is characterised as the *Hymni et cantica ex testamento veteri*, or Canticles, various Latin excerpts with what Kålund considers a contemporary parallel transfer into Anglo-Norman French. This combination of Psalter and Canticles would have been most common at the time of the manuscript's production. As with the Psalter text the French text on these leaves has also been erased, but it has not been replaced by Icelandic text. It does appear, however, as if the scribe has initiated the process of translation but never concluded the work. This would also indicate that the Old Testament texts presented on these leaves were still valuable for a learned scribe in the late sixteenth century.

Observation points: the languages

From the above presentation of the transfer of texts in translations from Latin to Anglo-Norman French and subsequently to post-Reformation Icelandic, three languages and their status need to be further investigated. In a timespan of almost four hundred years it could be expected that these languages would have moved in the polysystem of languages. This is related to what I have argued for above as geographical *translatio* and linguistic *translatio*. In the earlier stages of the processes of *translatio* the first mentioned is likely more dominant, when texts and culture are transferred from a continental or Anglo-Norman centre to a more peripheral region. At the same time a linguistic *translatio* involves the introduction and use of the *Lingua franca*, Latin, as a dominating source for the learned elite (which obviously goes hand in hand with another and more general geographical *translatio*).

As mentioned above the Psalter was central throughout the Middle Ages, both as part of the liturgy, for private contemplation and as a primer for learning Latin. In Anglo-Norman England the French language, or *romanz*, was frequently used for glossing the Latin text and soon also for re-writings in the vernacular (see e.g. Rector

2009; Cleaver 2015). These translations are regarded as the earliest literary achievements in Anglo-Norman French and therefore have been central in the emergence of this vernacular (Rector 2009, 201). Geoff Rector argues that the *romanz* language, from being a recently established written vernacular with low status, is soon presented in a way that indicates its move to a position where its status is more or less equal to the Latin. He states:

> Yet, *romanz*'s second dynamic, the refining movement up from a more demotic and regional vernacular, throws into relief one of the hallmarks of the twelfth-century renaissance: the vernacularization of the texts and resources of literary education. It is in the context of this dynamic that we can best locate the history of the *romanz* Psalter, vernacular translations of the pre-eminent text of Christian spiritual, ethical and even discursive formation. (Rector 2009, 200)

The Latin of the text is obviously unproblematic as a central language throughout the Middle Ages and after the Reformation even as the vernacular is expanding its role at the centre of the polysystem. Latin was the *lingua franca* of the period and was written more or less identically all over Europe. The most interesting thing here is rather that the Latin text has been transferred into Anglo-Norman placed in parallel columns throughout fols 2–117. This would indicate that the manuscript at the outset was directed towards an audience that could read the Latin text, but at the same time it also offered an Anglo-Norman text which could be thought of as a support for the reading of the Latin or where the vernacular text was possibly intended to be read in public to a listening audience with references to the Latin text which retained its status of holy text (see e.g. Coleman 1996).

After the Norman invasion of England in 1066 the old language, Anglo-Saxon, was to a large extent soon reduced to a written language in rather limited contexts in monastic and Church milieux (see e.g. Clanchy 1993). Anglo-Norman, the French spoken and written in the Norman parts of France became the language of power and learning in England for the next few centuries and kept its position in for example legal language during the Middle Ages as a parallel language to Middle English.[13]

When continental literature as well as liturgical texts were introduced in Norway and Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one central route of dissemination was through the Anglo-Norman region in England. It has for example been suggested that some, if not all, of the Romanesque literature which was transferred into Norse in this period had its sources in Anglo-Norman texts and may even have been translated in Anglo-Norman England by a visiting Norwegian (see e.g. Budal 2009). There is also some consensus among scholars regarding liturgical texts being imported from England in Anglo-Norman manuscripts or as re-writings of manuscripts from this region (see e.g. Gullick 2013b). In our context it is relevant to consider the status of Anglo-Norman French in the polysystem. Would the parallel texts, the Latin and the French, influence the status of the manuscript in any way? Or could the status of the Latin text uphold

13 See various articles in Wogan-Browne (2009).

the importance of the manuscript through the centuries while many other similar manuscripts perished? It is interesting, as discussed in the section on the manuscript, that the two texts seem to have survived until the French text was erased late in the sixteenth century to provide room for the inserted Icelandic text.

As mentioned above there is another example of a medieval manuscript of the Psalter where an Icelandic translation (or glosses) has been added in the time after the Reformation. In the so-called *Wiener Psalter* two Icelandic scribes have added the translated text between the lines of the medieval text reminiscent of the way medieval scribes glossed their Latin texts. It is interesting here, however, that these post-reformatory scribes have chosen to re-write a text that is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century (Louis-Jensen 1984, 236). This use of the Icelandic language corroborates the impression of the translated text found in AM 618 4° of a vernacular that has moved closer to the centre of the polysystem and at this point can interact with the Latin text.

Conclusion

Any individual book has a life of its own. This is true also for modern printed books, often thought of as unchangeable from the time they leave the printer. Readers mark, comment in the margin and underline the text itself, sometimes producing drawings and even scribbles indicating absent-mindedness or boredom. The printed text stays the same throughout its lifetime (except for books being harvested by ruthless readers for passages, leaves of particular interest or pictures), but the comments and underlining do add dimensions to our reading of it. A copy of a book found in the library of a celebrity with comments (or scribbles!) in this person's hand intrigues us and alters the way we approach even the stable printed text.

In medieval manuscript culture the very text of the manuscript is singular to the degree that it could be questioned whether the concept of *copy* applies to it. In the above I have rather chosen to use the concept *re-writing* for the individual text, thereby marking the agency of the responsible scribe. Any re-writing is seen with this approach as an active and conscientious transfer of the exemplar, reflecting the reception of its text by the scribe and the intended audience. But the medieval manuscript is not as fixed as the printed book. As soon as the manuscript is handled by the intended audience and subsequent generations of users it is the object of changes. New leaves or quires may be added, and old ones disappear, glosses are made to the text or longer additions made in the margins. In many instances we also see the result of absent-mindedness and boredom that reminds us of what can occur in printed books, including names and short phrases with little consequence for the texts. All these later additions have influenced the appearance of the manuscript, its use and how it was evaluated and read. An addition made many generations after the main body of the manuscript text is in this

view always relevant for the contemporary audience and therefore offers a challenge for the philologist trying to get to grips with the manuscript as a communicative act.

In this chapter I have tentatively approached the trajectory of the manuscript AM 618 4° from its earliest stage in the late twelfth century until its latest larger alteration in the late sixteenth century. The aim has been twofold. First, the manuscript itself offers an interesting object of study with relevance to our understanding of the dissemination of texts as well as the distribution, handling, and use of manuscripts. And secondly, it has been my intention to sketch an approach to the description and analysis of a manuscript on the move though time and space over four centuries. The presentation has therefore been more detailed than was strictly needed in order to demonstrate the model. I have chosen three *observation points* in the trajectory of the extant manuscript and argued that these provide us with views of both tradition, contemporary status and innovations related to the manuscript on three points in time and space, the late twelfth century in an Anglo-Norman context, the second half of the thirteenth century in an Anglo-Norman context, but also the possible move of the manuscript to a Scandinavian context and finally the late sixteenth century and a post-Reformation context.

From each of these observation points three aspects have been in focus, the material artefact, the texts, and finally the languages involved. These three aspects have been seen from the perspective of *translatio* on three different levels, geographical *translatio*, linguistic *translatio* and material *translatio*, representing a wider concept of *translatio* than the medieval *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii* and the ideas of *translatio* of relics.

At each observation point the material artefact, the texts (as they are successively added or erased) and the languages can be connected to the contemporary polysystem, allowing us to investigate the movements from periphery to centre and the reverse.

It has been problematic to keep the variables distinct in the previous discussion. Obviously they are constantly interacting and cannot be separated in a definite manner; the presentation is rather intended to present a way to approach the manifold study of a single manuscript's trajectory and how its form, content and subsequent status are constantly in interaction with the contemporary polysystem.

It is now time to sum up the results from the above discussion and form some kind of synthesis where the various aspects are interrelated. The first observation point placed the Psalter and Canticles in the Anglo-Norman context. The manuscript does seem to have been part of an innovative stage in how the Latin texts are positioned in the left column and providing room in the right column for the Anglo-Norman French translation, where earlier glosses and transfers of the texts are usually placed interlinear to the source language text. The status of the manuscript as central in the polysystem is supported by a number of similar manuscripts with elaborate illuminations found in the extant material. This is obviously corroborated by the place of the Psalter at the very centre of a polysystem where liturgical texts in general had central positions. The language, Anglo-Norman French or *romanz*, is here placed in parallel columns which has

been understood as if the *romanz* text at this early stage aspires to a status closer to the central position of Latin in the polysystem.

The second observation point is more uncertain. The calendar added to the manuscript is definitely an Anglo-Norman product and could have been bound with the present manuscript while in England and conformant with the tradition of placing calendars in front of Psalters. At the same time the two parts of the manuscript could have been separate in the Anglo-Norman context and only later bound together, and now in a Scandinavian context. The geographical move of the two parts, however, corroborates what can be seen in contemporary Scandinavia (including Iceland) of the import of both Psalter and calendar manuscripts from England and the continent in the later part of the Middle Ages. There is still some uncertainty about the status of *romanz* in Scandinavia at this point, but there are indications in the romance material translated from the thirteenth century and later that manuscripts written in *romanz* were imported and valued in Scandinavia.

The third observation point places the manuscript and its texts in post-Reformation Iceland. The manuscript still seems to have some status as it has actually survived while so many manuscripts containing Psalters have been lost. But the scribe who erased the *romanz* text did not necessarily show great piety as his action indicates that the central intention was to provide an Icelandic parallel text to the Latin one. The contemporary scribbles in various hands corroborate this observation. But the fact that the Latin text was kept intact indicates that this text was still valued and kept a central place in the polysystem at a time when the text of the Psalter, translated into Icelandic and printed in the *Guðbrandsbíblia* in 1584, became the version that was read. Needless to say, the *romanz* text had by now lost all its status and was moved out of the polysystem (to be revived only in the twentieth century by modern scholars studying the palimpsest). It is finally interesting to note that Árni Magnússon kept this Psalter manuscript intact even as he tore up many other similar manuscripts to reuse the parchment. Most likely this can be explained by the presence of the Icelandic text which made the manuscript more valuable to him. It took another three hundred years before Scandinavian scholars realised how valuable the Latin fragments of the Middle Ages actually were and started to organise, scrutinise and publish their content.

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Massimiliano Bampi and Stefanie Gropper

Translation as Cultural Appropriation in Medieval Scandinavia

Introduction

While courtly literature is usually considered to be the "giving" literature that changed the way of storytelling in Scandinavia, this chapter presents and discusses two different situations in terms of the role played by stylistic and narrative conventions in influencing the translation of courtly literature. Until now this aspect has been discussed mainly in connection with the question of why the courtly epic romances were translated into prose in Iceland and Norway (Kalinke 1981, 134).[1] In Sweden and Denmark, however, courtly romances have been rendered in verse – even if the translations were made from West Norse prose versions like *Flores och Blanzeflor*, or are likely to have used the West Norse translation of works in other languages, as in the case of *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* (Lodén 2012; Lodén 2021).

Our starting point is the hypothesis that each translation is not only a transfer of language but also a transfer of culture (Burke 2022, 23). The meeting of these two cultures and the transfer of cultural artefacts, such as for example texts, results in an entangling of these two cultures. They exist next to each other and interact with each other (Burke 2022, 15). In Norway, courtly literature from the European continent was introduced by commission of King Hákon Hákonarson and translated for members of the court and later also for a wider audience as the representatives of a new culture (Kramarz-Bein 2012). In Sweden, courtly literature was introduced in the early fourteenth century at the behest of Queen Eufemia, German-born wife of the Norwegian king. While in Norway – and from there also in Iceland – courtly literature met an already existing vernacular literature with established narrative and stylistic conventions, in Sweden no evidence of a pre-existing literature in the vernacular has survived. This does not mean, though, that no literary tradition existed prior to the translation of the *Eufemiavisor*, the first known example of a vernacular literature in Old Swedish. We simply have no access to written evidence of literary texts in Old Swedish predating the *Eufemiavisor*.

To be able to transfer the characteristics of style and content of the courtly texts into the Scandinavian languages, the translators had to compromise. Since the literary

1 The idea that translation is best understood as a complex semiotic process involving an intercultural dialogue is one of the core assumptions at the heart of so-called Descriptive Translation Studies, advocated by a group of scholars in Belgium and Holland (Theo Hermans, André Lefevere) and Israel (Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury).

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systems of Norway / Iceland and Sweden were not identical these compromises were different in each case as we want to demonstrate with our examples.

We will look at the Scandinavian translations as suggested by Descriptive Translation Studies (Rosa 2016, 94–104; Even-Zohar 1997; Even-Zohar 2005), a target-oriented approach that focuses on the role of translation in cultural history and studies what translation involves, its circumstances and its reasons (Toury 1995, 15). Each translation is the result of restraints and influences on the target culture. Depending on the position of translations in the target culture translations have to adapt to the narrative rules already present or they can become an innovative factor. In Norway and Iceland, courtly romances meet a strong indigenous narrative literature which restricted the translations of foreign texts. In Sweden, however, the translations were the starting point for vernacular narration and could therefore be more innovative.

Translations are products enabled by the interaction of two different languages and their cultures. They are representations of the transformation that occurs within this interaction and thus hybrid products combining elements from both cultures. As Peter Burke points out, translations of the same text in different surroundings lead to different types of hybridity which can be called "ecotypes" (Burke 2022, 22). These variants are first positioned at the periphery of the literary system, but when they become relatively stable, start to interact with other texts in the literary system and influence the production of new texts they have found their place in the centre of the system. At first, each Scandinavian translation of a courtly text represented an individual variation of a new narrative form – or an "ecotype" – until after some time the characteristics of Norwegian or Swedish courtly style evolved, and a new genre was established. It was a long process for courtly literature to be considered a new literary genre integrated into the literary systems of the Scandinavian countries. Based on Burke's model this process of appropriation can be described in three phases:

1) the first encounter with the new culture. Members of the Scandinavian elites get to know the culture and literature of the Anglo-Norman and other European courts and recognise their importance for their relationship with other European countries. They feel the need to introduce this apparently central European culture or at least elements of it to their own countries that they must perceive as being not only on the geographical but also on the cultural periphery.
2) the first elements and representatives of the new culture introduced – probably by members of the elites or their representatives – into Scandinavian surroundings, such as for example new forms of behaviour and encyclopaedic knowledge, new aristocratic titles, artefacts and texts. As can be seen from the dissemination of the Norwegian *Konungs Skuggsjá* (King's mirror) not only members of the King's court but larger groups of the aristocracy and social elite were eager to participate in this central European culture (Johansson 2018). In this second phase the first texts also get translated. The translated texts join the literary polysystems, which means that they have to react to the already established literary conventions to meet the expectations of the audience. Narratorial commentaries in the transla-

tions reflect these interactions between the foreign texts and the indigenous conventions. Even though the translations may attempt an *imitatio* of European courtly literature the results are hybrid texts that mix new and indigenous elements.

3) elements of the new literature, as for example vocabulary, motives, or stylistic features, have been integrated and are no longer considered as belonging to a different culture. They are part of their own repertoire and can be used in writing new stories while the translated texts have become an integral part of the literary polysystem which contributes to the development of a new genre – in Iceland the so-called indigenous Riddarasögur and in Sweden the *rimkrönikor* (rhymed chronicles)

The texts we will discuss are examples of the second and third phases of this model, and we will look at the different kinds of hybridisation that can be seen in the translation resulting from the interaction between two literatures and cultures.

This interaction between languages and cultures and thus also the translation of texts requires mediators, like for example patrons or other people with an interest in the literary system who are interested in the literature of another culture and translators who are able to adapt a foreign text to their language. Quite often these mediators themselves have a hybrid background, as when travelling between different countries, speaking different languages, or having parents or spouses from a different background. Although we know very little about the people translating the courtly romances into Scandinavian languages, we still have evidence for this hybrid background of the mediators and agents. In Iceland and Norway members of the elite were often merchants who travelled to foreign countries, scholars had to go to foreign universities and the European network of the church and cloisters provided for the exchange of clerics. Since the Viking Age people from Scandinavia have travelled for various reasons to European countries and even beyond (Jesch 2005; van Nahl 2022, 58–61 and 66–72). The main patrons, King Hákon Hákonarson in Norway and Queen Eufemia in Sweden, also had multiple connections to foreign countries.

In this chapter we shall give some examples of the conditions for the translation of courtly romances and for the kind of strategies that were applied to position the translation in the receiving literary polysystem (Even-Zohar 1997; Even-Zohar 2005). We will look at the different institutions in Norway and Sweden that ordered the translations and their roles within the political, social and literary systems of their countries. If the translations were initiated by people with powerful positions, they must have wanted to make sure that the literature they imported and favoured got a place in the centre of the literary polysystem (Bampi 2013). Therefore, it was necessary that the new texts were innovative enough to arouse the interest of their audience, but that at the same time they contained enough elements that were familiar to the audience and well-known from indigenous literature (Bampi and Buzzoni 2013). Which stylistic and narrative elements were considered to fulfil these tasks were different in Norway / Iceland and Sweden, as our examples will demonstrate.

Norway / Iceland

The continental courtly literature met in the western parts of Scandinavia, i.e. in Norway and Iceland in the thirteenth century an already well established literary polysystem, which contained a number of genres with different functions. Norway and Iceland are here studied together, since apart from the fact that Iceland did not develop kingship, its political development paralleled that of Norway, and they both had a similar political development in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Orning 2017, 312). In general, one cannot say for certain whether a translation was made in Norway or Iceland and we thus have to reckon with both Norwegian and Icelandic translations and also with Icelandic redactions of Norwegian translations (Glauser 2005, 374–375). In Norway the literary polysystem mainly consisted of translation of texts belonging to different genres (Eriksen 2013, 48). In Iceland in addition to translations the system also contained texts composed in the vernacular (Glauser 2006, 6–11). In addition, the lyrical genres of skaldic and eddic poetry – which were also known in Norway as can be deduced from runic inscriptions or pictorial sources – the literary system contained several narrative and prosimetric genres which became more and more productive in the thirteenth century. These texts were most likely transmitted orally as well as in written form and during this transmission they were again and again reworked and adapted to new contexts for their audiences' changing expectations. Quite a large number of texts have been dated to the thirteenth century, including many Sagas of Icelanders, historiographic texts like *Heimskringla*, *Landnámabók* or *Konungasögur* (Sagas about the Norwegian kings), and poetologic writings like the *Poetic Edda* or the *Grammatical Treatises*, although the dating of individual texts is sometimes disputed. The oldest manuscripts contain saints' lives and homilies, based on Latin and perhaps also Old English sources. In addition to that in the thirteenth century the oldest *Fornaldarsögur* (Legendary Sagas) were written as well, and both the vernacular and Latin had a strong position in this polysystem when it came to the production of texts. In the second half of the twelfth century Theodoricus Monachus composed his *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium*, probably at the same time as an anonymus author wrote *Historia Norwegiæ*. Both works bear witness that at that time in Norway authors had solid knowledge of Latin historiographic tradition and literary conventions (Würth 2005). Historiographic texts in the widest sense were also translated into the vernacular, such as *Trójumanna saga*, *Bretasögur* or *Rómverjasaga*. Although these texts are only extant in Icelandic manuscripts, they probably were translated in Norway or their exemplars came via Norway to Iceland.

King Hákon Hákonarson (1204–1263) who according to the prologue of *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar*, was one initiator of translations of courtly literature into Norwegian, had grown up in quite a diversified literary environment with texts in the vernacular as well as in Latin. Since this prologue is only preserved in a manuscript from the seventeenth century there are doubts about its reliability. Nevertheless, during his reign a literary milieu developed, in which a number of courtly texts were produced

(Kramarz-Bein 2014, 15). When Hákon gave the order to translate courtly romances – Arthurian romances, *Lais*, epic poetry about Charlemagne or stories relating to Dietrich of Bern – and thus the most innovative and modern literature of the European Middle Ages, there existed a broad spectrum of stylistic, formal and generic literary models in Latin as well as in the vernacular. The translators had to position their new works in this literary polysystem by trying to balance out the new and the conventional ways of expression. Eddic poetry offered a metrical form that could be used for epic narration but in the vernacular tradition it related to very different types of stories than the non-heroic courtly romances. The different saga genres provided a form of narrative where the prose concentrating on the plot was quite often interspersed with stanzas that slowed down the speed of the narration and offered a platform for a more internal view of the characters. But these narrations and their stanzas represented a different time and above all a very different ethos than courtly literature. Although the translators could thus choose between a number of narrative and epic conventions, they had to try to create something new that related to the innovative elements of their originals and at the same time did not challenge their audience too much and was not too far from well-known literary practice. The Norwegian translation of courtly literature renders the epic verse of their originals into rhythmic prose which is embellished with either new stylistic features or with already established elements used in a new way or in higher frequency and density (Kalinke 1981, 134). Along with the style of the courtly romances their narrative structures and complexity also required some creative alterations. How the translators managed to balance the necessities of innovation and tradition will be demonstrated in the following examples.

Ívens saga

According to its concluding sentence the Old Norse *Ívens saga* was translated on behalf of the Norwegian King Hákon Hákonarson from French: *Ok lykr hér sögu herra Íven er Hákon kóngr gamli lét snúa ór franzeisu í norrœnu.* (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 98; 'And the saga of Sir Íven ends here, which King Hákon the Old had ordered translated from French into Norse.') The king is here called "the old" in contrast to his namesake son who was co-regent with his father from 1240–1257. The appellation "old" might thus be an indication that *Ívens saga* was translated during this time (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 35). If the reference to the possible time is correct, then *Ívens saga* was translated at least 20 years later than *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar*. Since this prologue is only preserved in a manuscript from the seventeenth century, scholars have repeatedly doubted its reliability and thus its accuracy on the dating (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke, 99). However, despite some doubts about the exact date of the translation scholars generally agree that *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar* belongs to the earliest courtly texts translated in Scandinavia and that it contributed to wider knowledge about courtly culture and literature (Glauser 2020).

As most other Riddarasögur *Ívens saga* is poorly preserved. It is transmitted in relatively late manuscripts that represent an altered text of the original translation (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 35–36). The three primary manuscripts are: Holm. Perg. 6 from the early fifteenth century, AM 489 4to from ca. 1450, and Holm. Papp. 46 fol. written in 1690. The first two manuscripts are defective, but they supplement each other for a large part of the text. The third manuscript represents a complete, albeit extremely abridged version of the translation. Since a late transmission, most often only in Icelandic manuscripts, is typical for the translated Riddarasögur, it has been debated whether the preserved texts can be used for a comparison with the French texts and how much they can tell us about translation strategies. Although a strictly philological point of view of these late manuscripts can tell us very little about the original text of the translations and of the exact sources used, they nevertheless reveal quite a lot about the strategies that were applied to adapt the texts into new contexts and to secure them a place in the literary system (Busby 2014, 21).

In *Ívens saga* we can see quite a few features that witness the interaction of foreign and indigenous literary elements and that demonstrate the process of adaptation to the Norse literary system. As all the other translated Riddarasögur *Ívens saga* is composed in a rhythmical prose, with syntactic parallelism that often is underlined by alliteration. A good example for this court style is Íven's lament over the loss of his wife.[2] In a differentiated literary system, texts have to give their audience clear markers about what is to be expected of the text and which kind of knowledge has to be activated. This is done through stylistic elements, elements of content and of course by paratextual information. *Ívens saga* immediately reveals itself as a courtly romance by its title: *He[r byrj]ar upp sögu hins agœta Íve[ns], er var einn af Artús köppum.* (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 39; 'Here begins the tale of the excellent Iven who was one of Arthur's champions.') Right at the beginning of the text the audience receives an intertextual hint – the reference to King Artus and his knight localises *Ívens saga* among other similar sagas and reveals that a *Riddarasaga* is to be expected. Such intertextual hints prove that by the time this title was written the Riddarasögur were well integrated into the literary system (Glauser 2020, 310). The title invokes the special storyworld of the Riddarasögur and invites the audience to activate its knowledge about the rules of this world. The translator of *Ívens saga* could rely on knowledge about courtly culture without having to explain as much as the first translators – and in fact, *Ívens sag*a does not contain as many ex-

2 *Til hvers skal ek lifa? Vesall maðr var ek, svá ógeyminn. Hvat skal ek útan drepa mik sjálfr? Ek hefi týnt huggan minni ok fagnaði, ok um snúit af sjálfs mín glœp virðing minni, ok vent tign minni í týning, yndi mitt angrsemi, líf mitt í leiðindi, hjarta mitt í hugsótt, unnustu mína í <ó>vin, frelsi mitt í friðleysi; eða hví dvel ek at drepa mik?* (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 74; 'For what reason should I live? I was a wretch of a man, so heedless. What am I to do but kill myself? I have lost my consolation and joy, and through my own fault brought down my honor and turned my reputation into loss, my delight into suffering, my life into loathing, my heart into anxiety, my beloved into my enemy, my freedom into outlawry; why do I delay in killing myself?').

planations of foreign features as for example *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar* does. Within this frame set by the title, the first chapter lays the ground for the reception of the saga and guides the audience's expectations:

> Hinn agæti kóngr Artúrus réð fyrir Englandi, sem mörgum mönnum er kunnigt. Hann var um síðir kóngr yfir Rómaborg. Hann <er> þeira kónga frægastr er verit hafa þann veg frá hafinu ok vinsælastr annarr en Karlamagnus. Hann hafði þá röskustu riddara er í varu kristninni. Þat var einn tíma sem jafnan, at hann hafði stefnt til sín öllum sínum vinum ok helt mikla hátíð á pikkisdögum, er ver köllum hvítasunnu. (ed. Kalinke 1999, 39)

> The excellent King Arthur ruled England, as is known to many. After a time he became king of Rome. He was the most illustrious of the kings who had lived on this side of the ocean and the most popular other than Charlemagne. He had the bravest knights who lived in Christendom. It happened one time, as was customary, that he had convoked all his friends and held great festivities at Pentecost, which we call Whitsun.

The very first sentence emphasises King Artus' fame, and the audience is reminded of his well-known reputation. The references to Artus' kingdom and the comparison with Charlemagne inform the audience about time and space of the story, a method that is also common in other narrative genres within the Norse literary system. The difference, however, is, that this realm of the Riddarasögur is a fictional one. Although Artus as well as Charlemagne appear in Norse historical sources the audience of the Riddarasögur is aware that these courtly romances are fictional stories about fictional characters. For the audience this fictionality is marked by a lack of historical references – as for example to Scandinavian kings reigning at the same time – and by the lack of genealogies. The characters of the Riddarasögur are only named by their first names, and only very rarely is there a reference to their larger family. In *Ívens saga* most of the characters are anonymous. Only the main characters and the ones appearing in other Riddarasögur are named, as Artúr, Íven, or Kalebrant. For a Norse audience used to extensive genealogies that provide for each character an exact position within a tightly knit social network anonymity of the characters must be a strong signal for a story's proximity to historicity or fictionality (Fulton 2017).

The actual plot of *Ívens saga* starts á *pikkisdögum, er vér köllum hvítasunnu* ('at Pentecoast which we call Whitsun'). With this short explanation the translator proves to the audience his qualification and at the same time puts himself on the side of the audience. During these big Whitsun-festivities stories were told – a scenario that was known to the Scandinavian audience from their own tradition as it is witnessed in Kings' sagas and in other texts, as for example in *Þorsteins þáttr sögufróða*, which is part of the saga about the Norwegian King Haraldr Sigurðarson (*Þorsteins þáttr sögufróða,* ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, 235–237) The anecdote about the story-telling at the wedding of Reykjahólar is probably one of the most discussed passages when it comes to the study of oral story-telling in Western Scandinavia (Mitchell 2022). The festivities at Artus' court thus recall a situation known to the audience from public events organized by the indigenous elite. As is typical for a Ridd-

arasaga, *Ívens saga* contains several meta-fictional remarks (Glauser 2020, 299). When starting his tale at the King's court, Kalebrant admonishes his audience to listen well and to pay attention, *þvíat heyrð orð eru þegar týnd, nema hugr hirði þat er eyra við tekr*. (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 39; 'for words heard are lost at once unless the mind preserves what the ears receive.') This explanation indicates on the one hand the consciousness about the differences between written and oral transmission and on the other it indicates that written texts were the norm within the literary system. As in the famous passage at the wedding of Reykjahólar, Kalebrant discusses the truth of his story: *þvíat ek vil eigi týna þeim draum né hégóma, né þat sem efan er í at trúa, heldr þat sem ek reynda ok sá*. (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 39; 'because I do not want to tell them a dream or a fiction nor anything that is subject to doubt, but rather what I experienced and saw.') A story has to be "true", to be reliable – even if it is a story within a fictional frame. Kalebrant describes "truth" as that which is seen and experienced by a person. He thus refers to the concept of the trustworthy eyewitness as it was known to a Norse audience from historical writing or from Sagas of Icelanders. On the other hand, Kalebrant is a purely fictional character, who claims truth for his story. His fictional status is underlined by the fact that he has not been introduced into the story with any genealogy or even just a father's name. The Riddarasaga obviously trusts its audience to have the necessary literary consciousness to understand this meta-fictional discussion and to distinguish between fictional and historical eye-witnesses.

After this narrative frame has been set, the Norse audience can be confronted with topics or motifs that for them are not only different from the well-known ones of indigenous literature, but that would even seem alien within an indigenous genre. While the Arthurian knights' concept of honour could be related to the concept of honour in heroic poetry or the Sagas of Icelanders, the idea that Íven feels sorry for the widow of that man he just killed must have been new in a non-religious context (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 50). The same holds true for Íven falling in love with his enemy's widow, regardless of her beauty (*Ívens saga*, ed. Kalinke 1999, 52). Within the fictional storyworld of the Riddarasögur, however, such seemingly outlandish elements could be accepted. The Riddarasögur thus provided a playground for trying new possibilities of living and relating to each other in Norse society during a period of change, when – in Iceland as well as in Norway – fewer people belonged to the elite and when this elite had closer bonds with Europe and its culture (Orning, 2017, 311).

Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr

The second example is a translation of the French verse romance *Floire et Blanchefleur* which has been dated to the middle of the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century the French verse romance was translated into Old Norse prose, but it is only preserved in later manuscripts. In the early fourteenth century the Norse text was

translated into Swedish (see below), which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Norse translation, usually dated to around 1280. The text itself does not contain any hints to the circumstances of the translation, its patron, time, place or translator. The saga is almost exclusively transmitted in Icelandic manuscripts with 25 manuscripts preserved from the time between 1385 and 1900 indicating the long-lived popularity of the story.

The Old Norse saga is based on version I – the so-called "aristocratic" version – of the French text (Degnbol 2014, 75). The last part of the saga, however, deviates from the French version. Although there are some similarities, version II – the so-called "*jongleur*-version" – of the French text is not the direct model for the saga but must be an independent creation. Nevertheless, the process of adaption and rewriting the first version was similar to the one that lead in France to the *jongleur* version (Degnbol 2014, 73): it was for a newer generation than the first translations. They were still aristocratic or members of an elite, but they knew courtly culture and did not need any description of courtly behaviour or the expensive things at a court. At the end of the thirteenth century most of the old chieftain families in Iceland had been diminished and lost their importance after the fights during the Sturlung age, and the new and upcoming elite had to compete for royal offices after Norwegian laws were implemented (Orning 2017, 312). In Norway as well there were changes after King Hákon Hákonarson's reign. His sons competed for the kingship and their reigns were shorter than their father's so there was more political change. During Hákon's reign Norway reached its greatest expansion in all its history, and it was the aim of Hákon's sons to consolidate this state. As the so-called post-classical Íslendingasögur from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries indicate these people were less interested in complicated feuds with lawsuits dependant on who is able to find more supporters at the court meetings during the þing-assemblies. *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* is well-suited to this new audience, telling a love-story that takes the protagonists to many countries with different cultures and different customs. The audience may have been reminded of places known from pilgrimages or crusades.

What has not yet been studied, however, is the role of women in the production and reception of literature. We do not know whether the growing number of love stories in literature from the end of the thirteenth century was tailored specially for a female audience or whether and how much women participated in the production of texts. However, since *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* was translated into Swedish on behalf of a woman, Queen Eufemia – as will be explained below – we might infer that women were agents acting within the literary system in a different role.

Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr does not have a prologue or any introduction. As in *Ívens saga* the very first sentences inform the audience about the genre and about the storyworld where the plot is going to unfold:

> Felix hét konungr í borg þeiri, er Aples heitir, ágætr at fé ok liði; en hann var heiðinn. Hann bauð út leiðangri ok fór með mikinn her ok skipum til Jacobs land, at brenna ok bæla ok herja á

> kristna menn. En hann var þar með lið sitt VI vikur, ok var engi sá dagr, er hann reið eigi upp á land ok brendi borgir ok rændi fé ok flutti til skipa; ok XXX rasta frá strǫndinni stóð hvárki bœr né borg, ok eigi gó hundr ok eigi gól hani, svá hafi hann eytt allt. En er Felix konungr vildi fara heim aptr, þá kallaði konungr til sín einn riddara, ok bað þá herklæðaz ok mælti svá: 'Farið upp til vegarins ok mœtiz pílagrímum þar, en vér munum hlaða skipin meðan. (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 1–2).

> Felix was the name of a king in that city that is called Aples, excellently endowed with money and men; but he was heathen. He practiced warfare and travelled with men and ships to Jacobsland, to burn and scorch and raid on Christian people. When he had been there with his army for VI weeks, there was no single day, that he did not ride up onto the land, burn cities, steal cattle and bring it back to the ships; within XXX miles from the beach there was no longer any city or village standing, and no dog was barking or rooster crying, in such a way he had destroyed everything. And when King Felix wanted to return home, he called one of his knights, ordered them to put on armour and spoke: 'Go up to the road and meet the pilgrims there, and we will load the ships in the meantime.' (own translation)

This setting is completely different from *Ívens saga* which started at the court of King Artus with story-telling and a competition among educated knights. *Flóres saga and Blankiflúr* is set in a country that is obviously outside the Christian realm. The King of this country prepares to wage war against the Christian people and Christian pilgrims. As in Ívens saga we do not get any genealogy which marks the story as fictional. The martial setting at a royal court is more reminiscent of a Fornaldarsaga than a Riddarasaga. It is only in the second chapter that courtly elements are added. Among the Christian pilgrims the King had taken hostage is a woman whom the King presents to his wife as a present:

> Dróttning varð því fegnari en engi gjǫf fyrri, ok bað hana vera sína fylgiskona ok gæta kristni sinnar; bað hon vel veita henni, ok bað aðra henni þjóna, lék opt við hana ok mælti gaman við hana, ok lét kenna henni valska tungu ok kendi henni aðrar. Konan var kurteis ok prúð, ok gerði sér hvern mann at vin. Svá þjónaði hon dróttningunni, sem sinni móður skyldi þjóna. (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 5).

> The queen was more pleased about that than about any other present before, and asked her to be her servant and take good care of her Christianity; she asked that she was served well and she asked others to serve her, she played often with her and talked to her about entertaining things, and she let her teach her the French language and taught her others. The woman was courteous and fine, and she made everyone her friend. She served the queen as you should serve your mother. (own translation)

Whereas the first chapter started with the "male" side of the story, now the "female" side is introduced. These first two chapters thus suggest an outer sphere for the men and an inner sphere for the women. The outer sphere is associated with martial aspects while the inner sphere is associated with courteous behaviour, entertainment, and education. Since according to Kölbing the remark about learning different languages seems to be an addition in the Norse version (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 5, footnote for line 6.), so it might mirror a particular awareness of the importance of for-

eign languages among the Norse audience – an audience belonging to a country with many political, religious, and economic connections to foreign countries. Between these two spheres, the rest of the story unfolds and takes place in a number of different and rather exotic countries.

As with other *Riddarasögur* and as a marker of fictionality the saga does not contain any genealogies and personal names are rare. On several occasions the translation contains additional explanations especially for a Scandinavian audience:

> En pálmsunnudagr heitir blómapáskir á útlǫndum, þviat þá bera men blóm sér í hǫndum. En blómi er flúr á vǫlsku, ok váru þau af því kallat blómi. Hann var kallaðr Flóres, en hon Blankiflúr; þat þýðir svá sem hann héti blómi, en hon hvíta blóma; (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 6–7).

> But Palm Sunday is called flower-easter[3] in foreign countries, because then people carry flowers in their hands. And flower is flúr in French, and therefore they were called flower. He was called Flóres, and she Blankiflúr; that means the same as if he were called flower and she white flower;

Like in *Ívens saga* the translator boasts of their knowledge and at the same time demonstrates that they belong to the target audience. However, the saga not only contains longer and detailed explanations like this one, but a large number of shorter explanatory subclauses. A similar "slightly pedantic tendency to explicate the development of the narrative" (Degnbol 2014, 79) can also be found in some *Fornaldarsögur*. It seems to be a common narrative within the Norse literary system to convince the audience of a story's plausibility, since it is more common in narratives with fewer historical references.

Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr is closer to the indigenous *Riddarasögur*, written in Iceland from the fourteenth century, than to the earlier translated *Riddarasögur*. It combines elements from the courtly romances – especially the descriptions of educated and refined behaviour as well as the love story – with elements from the *Fornaldarsögur*, including the fights, the travels with their challenges and the missionary story. But in contrast to other translated *Riddarasögur Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* hardly shows any signs of the courtly style except for some alliterating word-pairs which are also common in other Norse genres. The saga is a hybrid product as a result of interaction between different genres within the literary system. *Flores saga ok Blankifl*úr is already rooted deeply in the Norse literary system, as proven by its complex intertextuality. The nested narrative about Trojan matters links up with *Trójumanna saga,* and the ending suggests that of *Laxdæla saga*. It shares a motive with *Grettis saga*, when King Marsilius declares that several sides of a story have to be heard before one can judge a person.[4] The closest connection, however, is between *Flóres saga ok*

3 According to *Blómapáskir* (flower-easter) is the literal translation of the French *Pasque-florie* (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 6, footnote for line 9).

4 *ok er ósagt frá, ef einn segir*. (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, 71; ‚it has not been told, if only one is telling.') In *Grettis saga* Skapti lögsögumaðr uses a similar phrase: *en jafnan er hálfsǫgð saga, ef einn segir*; (*Grettis saga*, 146; 'but a story has been told just half, if only one is telling.').

Blankiflúr and *Víglundar saga*, an *Íslendingasaga* (Saga of Icelanders) dated to the fourteenth century. Both sagas tell the story of the love between a boy and girl who have grown up together and have to fight for a happy ending for their love. These few examples demonstrate not only the integration of *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* into the Norse literary system, but they also show that the saga is more closely related to indigenous sagas than to other Riddarasögur.

As was mentioned before, the last part of the saga deviates from the French version. With its new ending where Flóres is saving his own life and winning Blankiflúr with a fight and the magic ring the story jumps back into the martial world of the beginning. This final part tells of legal proceedings and judicial combat and transposes the action partly to Babylon, partly to Flóres' own country. When Flores and Blankiflúr are 70 years old, they retire to monasteries and spend the rest of their lives as a monk and a nun, but not before they have organised the succession to the throne with their sons. A life within a monastery is presented as an alternative for members of the secular elite, which was a real possibility in the late thirteenth century or in the fourteenth century when members of the social elite increasingly used donations to monasteries for maintaining the fundamental structures of society and for preventing their property from being split between too many heirs (Andersson 2006).

Although in literary histories *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* is usually included among the *Riddarasögur* that King Hákon Hákonarson had commissioned, it was actually translated after his reign had ended and when his sons had taken over. They represented a different generation that no longer needed information or education about courtly culture but was interested in new topics, such as travels to exotic countries and battles against heathens of different religions and cultures. Like their father, Hákon's offspring were associated with many cultural and literary activities (Degnbol 2014, 85). His son Magnús Hákonarsson lagabøtir (reg. 1263–1280) is associated with the revision and codification of the national laws, with the *Hirðskrá* (Rules of allegiance), and with translations from Latin, for example *Alexanders saga*. Hákon's grandson Eríkr Magnússon (reg. 1280–1299) is not known for his own literary activities, but during his reign a representative of the Norwegian aristocracy (Bjarni Erlingsson) travelled to Scotland, where he translated a story belonging to the *Riddarasögur* from French. Eríkur's brother Hákon Magnússon (reg. 1299–1319) is said to have sponsored large translations of religious works. In the beginning of *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, an original *Riddarasaga*, it is stated that the king had great pleasure in fair stories and had many Riddarasögur translated into Norse from "Greek" and French. Although the historicity of this statement about the Greek language may not be very trustworthy it nevertheless indicates the interest in exotic and adventurous stories at the king's court. During Hákon Hakónarson's reign as well as during this later period there was lively contact with different European countries, and there were especially close relationships with Anglo-Norman England and Scotland.

Ívens saga as well as *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* are part of the changes that took place in the Norse literary system during the thirteenth century. Although the genres

present in the literary system in the first half of the thirteenth century were still productive, they included new elements that indicate the competition with the translated *Riddarasögur* and with *Fornaldarsögur*. But the *Riddarasögur* changed as well during the thirteenth century by integrating stylistic and thematic elements from indigenous texts and indigenous contexts. At the end of the century the genres have re-defined their generic boundaries which in literary history usually leads to criticism of the individual representatives of these genres.

Sweden

In Sweden, translation played a major role in the rise and development of a literary tradition in the vernacular throughout the late Middle Ages. Intense translation activity contributed to bringing late-medieval Swedish culture into the broader European context, thus importing customs, notions and idea(l)s into the target system. The translation of literary works, mainly from the continent, is a major part of such activity.

As far as we can tell based on extant evidence, a vernacular literary tradition does not seem to have taken shape before the translation of the so-called *Eufemiavisor*, three courtly romances (*Herr Ivan lejonriddaren*, *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*, and *Flores och Blanzeflo*r) that were turned into Old Swedish at the beginning of the fourteenth century. No strictly literary work is indeed known to us from the time prior to the appearance of these three translations. However, the *Eufemiavisor* can hardly have sprouted out of nowhere. Their formal and stylistic features make the existence of some sort of pre-existing literary tradition likely, although any attempt to reconstruct such a stage remains highly speculative.

The relative dating of the three texts has proved fairly controversial. While it is possible to assert that the *Eufemiavisor* were translated between 1301 (or 1303) and 1312, it is more problematic to establish whether *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* (henceforth *Herr Ivan*) came first, and *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* (henceforth *Hertig Fredrik*) after it, or the other way round. However, for the purpose of the present discussion it is not necessary to go into further details about this matter.

The name *Eufemiavisor* is a modern label. As briefly mentioned above, this group of translations is named after Eufemia of Rügen, German Queen of Norway and spouse of Hákon V, who reigned over Norway from 1299 to1319. Eufemia died in 1312, the same year in which *Flores och Blanzeflo*r is known to have been translated, as stated in the epilogue to the romance. The reason for the texts being named after the queen is that they were translated at her behest, as explicitly stated in the epilogues, most probably for the betrothal of the Norwegian princess Ingebjørg to the Swedish duke Erik Magnusson, which took place in 1302 (Johansson 2015, 151). The three translations are thus generally viewed as a gift to the couple (Würth 2000). The purpose they were meant to serve, though, did in fact stretch beyond their function as enter-

taining stories. As will be shown in more detail later on, the three texts indeed had ideological messages to convey to the Swedish aristocracy (Layher 2010), which the young princess would soon join as a result of her marriage.

The fact that the *Eufemiavisor* are known to us as the very first example of a literature in the vernacular in medieval Sweden also contributes to explaining why they played a major role in appropriating foreign models and schemes, thus shaping aristocratic ideology as reflected in literary works long after their coming into being (Johansson 2015). Most of such works are, quite interestingly, also translations based on various sources. However, the influence exerted by the *Eufemiavisor* made itself felt not only on other translations but also on original works. Here it may suffice to reinforce how they appear to have been used as ideological and formal models for the composition of *Erikskrönikan*, the first major example of the new genre of *rimkrönika* (rhymed chronicles), partly modelled after Middle Low German verse chronicles.[5] In terms of formal features, the *knittelvers* used to translate the *Eufemiavisor* was also used for *Erikskrönikan*.

Let us now take a closer look at each of the three works. Consensus among scholars holds that *Herr Ivan* is a translation based on Chrétien's *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*. The translator made use of a copy of the Old French text, using the Old Norse translation – customarily known as *Ívens saga* – as an "additional resource for the translation process" (Lodén 2021, 50). *Herr Ivan* is the only example of Arthurian romance in Old Swedish.

Nothing certain is known about the source of *Hertig Fredrik*. Although in the epilogue one reads that it was translated from a German translation of a French original, no such source is extant.[6]

There is hardly any doubt about *Flores och Blanzeflor* being based on the Old Norse *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, itself a translation made from the so-called aristocratic version of the Old French *Floire et Blanchefleur*, a romance that enjoyed great popularity all over Europe in the High and Late Middle Ages. The hypothesis of the Old Norse saga providing the direct source text is based on fairly solid ground. The main support for this view is that the ending of the story is unique to the two Nordic versions (i.e. the Old Norse and the Old Swedish ones). However, it is possible that the translator may have used a copy of the Old French original alongside the saga (Lodén 2021, 5).

As for the identification of whomever was responsible for the translation of the three romances, although more than one hypothesis has been put forth over the last few decades, consensus now holds that the *Eufemiavisor* are likely to be the work of one person, most probably a cleric (Andersson 2014, 52; Lodén 2021, 5–6). The translator is usually identified with Peter Algotsson, who was well versed in learned conti-

5 *Erikskrönikan* is generally dated to the 1320s, i.e. only a few years after the appearance of the *Eufemiavisor*.

6 On *Hertig Fredrik* see Layher (2000; 2003); Bambeck (2009); and Matthews (2020).

nental literature, had regular contacts with the Norwegian court and with prominent aristocratic families in Northern Germany.[7]

The *Eufemiavisor* are preserved in a few multi-text manuscripts from the fifteenth century. The main ones are Cod. Holm. D 4, Cod. Holm. D 3, Cod. Holm. D 4a, AM 191 fol.[8] D 3 and D 4a were certainly owned by two noblewomen (fru Elin and fru Märta, daughter and mother), and it is likely that D 4 was owned by Gustav Algotsson, a prominent nobleman, husband of fru Märta and father to fru Elin (Jonsson 2010, 118–120; Andersson 2012, 239). AM 191 fol is known to have been owned by the chaplain of Askeby nunnery, and it is likely that *Flores och Blanzeflor* (the only *Eufemiavisa* in the manuscript) was used for the moral edification of the nuns, some of which were probably of noble descent. All this indicates that an interest in the *Eufemiavisor* in aristocratic environments continued well into the fifteenth century.

The translation activity that started in the early fourteenth century with the *Eufemiavisor* continued to import new literary texts into the Old Swedish literary system in the fifteenth century alongside the production of new rhymed chronicles and occasional texts that were meant to comment on the state of political turmoil of the Swedish kingdom, which came to be ruled mainly by foreign kings.

After the *Eufemiavisor*, literature intended for the higher echelons of society continued for the most part to be translated from foreign sources. This is particularly clear in the case of courtly romances and, more generally, of epic works. During the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a few literary works from the continent were turned into Old Swedish. Some of them were translated from Middle Low German source texts. This is the case with *Namnlös och Valentin* and *Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna* (also known as *Paris och Vienna*). Other works translated from Middle Low German originals which were intended for an aristocratic public are *Schacktavelslek*, an allegory on the game of chess partly based on the Middle Low German *Meister Stephans Schachbuch*, and the C-version of *Sju vise mästare*, most probably based on an incunabulum printed in Lübeck in 1478.

It is noteworthy that Middle Low German culture was considered prestigious in medieval Sweden, as was the Middle Low German language, especially in aristocratic environments (Lodén 2021, 14).

Other important translated works include *Konung Alexander*, *Didrikskrönikan* and *Historia Sancti Olai*. The first is an Old Swedish verse translation of the I2-redaction of the Latin *Historia de preliis* (a work chronicling the deeds of Alexander the Great). It was translated at the behest of Bo Jonsson Grip, a member of the Swedish *riksråd*, in the second half of the fourteenth century (Jansson 2015). The translated text was rewritten considerably to enhance its ideological contents (Bampi 2015). Some parts were ap-

7 For a different hypothesis see Wollin (2015).

8 For a detailed list see Layher (2015). For a description of the main manuscript witnesses see Bampi (2022).

parently added to function as a commentary on treachery and treason as two of the main causes of the moral decay pervading the Swedish court.

Didrikskrönikan is a strongly abridged translation of *Þiðreks saga af Bern*, a major epic compilation having the Gothic king as main protagonist (Henning 1970), and *Historia Sancti Olai* is itself an abridgement of the West Norse *Ólafs saga helga*, a saga narrative about the Norwegian royal saint Ólafr Haraldsson. Similarly, the work known as *Karl Magnus* is a verse translation of two episodes from *Karlamagnús saga*, a West Norse compilation of narratives about the deeds of Charlemagne and his champions (Kornhall 1959).

In all of the abovementioned examples, the target text is marked by a clear tendency to rewrite the source text to adjust it to a different context of use or a different purpose. The constraints obtaining in the target culture did indeed necessarily have a bearing on the way the text was manipulated when it was imported into a new culture. The greater the distance between the two cultures, the greater the degree of manipulation of the text tended to be.

In the following, the role of ideology in the translation of two of the *Eufemiavisor* shall be illustrated by way of a few examples that help elucidate the overall translation strategy.

Before delving into the translated texts, two caveats must be given. First, the textual analysis has been conducted using the critical editions of the Old Swedish and the Old Norse texts. As is widely known, the edited text is the result of a reconstruction based on a thorough examination of all the manuscript witnesses of the work. As such, it cannot be granted the status of original version of the work. Second, since it is not known which manuscript version of the Old Norse translation the translator used, the divergences that can be detected in the target text may have been there in the manuscript version of the text used by the translator. As will be shown later on, though, some divergences are more likely to be the result of conscious choices made by the translator.

Herr Ivan

Herr Ivan is generally held to be the oldest of the three *Eufemiavisor*. If compared to its alleged source text – the Old French *Yvain*, as mentioned above – the translated text contains a number of passages that point to the role played by ideology in rewriting the text for a different public, and indeed for a different purpose. In her doctoral dissertation, as well as in a number of subsequent articles (Lódén 2018; 2021), Sofia Lodén focuses on the value of the target text as "a coherent and engaged interpretation that does not misinterpret its sources but interprets them for the sake of intrinsic coherence" (Lodén 2021, 285). The kind of interpretation of the story and its underlying values that *Herr Ivan* provides is best approached against the background of the

ideological function that this text, along with the other *Eufemiavisor*, was meant to serve (amongst others, Würth 2000).

The following observations are meant to show how the appropriation of the source text appears to have been driven mainly by ideological concerns, all of which linked with the reception of the text in aristocratic environments.[9]

Such concerns regarded mainly two major aspects, securely linked together: a political one (the idealized representation of the ruler) and a pedagogical one (the instruction of the Swedish nobility in terms of ideal conduct).

Joseph Sullivan sums up the thematic core of the text and its political implications as follows:

> among the central thematic features of the Old Swedish text is its program presenting model political behaviors suitable for emulation by noble audience members. In fact, the Old Swedish text delivers a much more coherent and positive picture of right rule and the ideal relationships that should exist between individuals sharing political bonds than had Chrétien's often morally and politically ambiguous *Yvain* (Sullivan 2015, 34).

In particular, the Swedish translator adjusted the portrayal of King Arthur to turn him into a model king.

Quite interestingly, the prologue to the Old Swedish translation follows the pattern used in *Ívens saga* to introduce the recipients to the story. In *Herr Ivan*, too, the prologue provides information about the legendary king, also by comparing him to Charlemagne:

> aff the werdhogasta konunga twa
> ther man æ hørdhe sakt j fra:
> Karlamagnus oc konung Artws;
> til dyghdh oc æro waro the fws
> Artws war konung aff Ængland.
> Han van Rom medh swerdh oc brand
> ok war ther keyser medh mykle æra.
> Han frælste Ængland aff hardhe kæra
> ok skat ther romara førra giordho,
> swa at ængin han sidhen kreffwia thordhe.
> Annar war Karlamagnus aff Franz.
> Thet wil iak idher sighia til sanz,
> mot hedhna mæn for cristna at stridæ
> waro enge fræmbre j thera tidæ.
> Badhe the herra iak sigher j fra
> the haffwa thera framfærdh skipath swa,

9 As shown above, all three *Eufemiavisor* are preserved in manuscripts that were either owned by members of the Swedish aristocracy (Cod. Holm. D 4a and Cod. Holm. D3, and most probably Cod. Holm. D 4) or used for an aristocratic public (AM 191 fol).

ower alla werldina gaar there loff
hwar herra och førstæ søkiæ hoff.
(*Herr Ivan,* ed. Noreen 1931, vv. 9–22)

about the two most worthy kings
about whom stories have ever been told:
Charlemagne and King Arthur;
they were eager for virtue and honor.
Arthur was the king of England.
He conquered Rome with sword and fire
and was emperor there with great glory.
He freed England from hardship
and from tribute which the Romans formerly imposed,
so that nobody has dared demand it since.
Charlemagne was the other one.
In truth I want to tell you:
where Christians battled against the heathens
none was more outstanding in those days.
The two rulers I am telling about
have governed their actions in such a manner
that their praise has spread over the entire earth,
wherever lords and princes hold court.
(*Hærra Ivan,* trans. Williams and Palmgren 1999, 11)

As observed by Sullivan (2015, 35–36), the prologue in Chrétien's *Yvain* is much shorter, and does not contain any reference to Charlemagne.

If compared to *Ívens saga*, though, the Old Swedish prologue shows a more structured comparison of King Arthur and Charlemagne, which can be said to highlight the exemplary nature of King Arthur. In particular, the translator emphasizes their exemplarity both as valorous defenders of the Christian faith and as great rulers, as *reges iusti* whose actions have gained them praise.

King Arthur is thus represented throughout as a ruler in command of his decisions and actions. Accordingly, the Swedish translator rewrites the episode in which the king takes to his chambers with his wife, at the outset of the story. Whereas in the Old French text it is the queen who detains him ([*e [m]es cel jor ensi li avint/ que la reïne le detint,/si demora tant delez li/ qu'il s'oblia et endormi* [*Yvain*, ed. Poirion et al. 1994, vv. 49–52]), in *Herr Ivan* the king is the one who decides to go to sleep, followed by his wife (*Herr Ivan,* ed. Noreen 1931, vv. 59–68). The rewording of the episode emphasizes the king being subject to no decisions but his own, and the fact that the queen is here presented as acting upon King Arthur's decision can be indicative of the translator's ideological agenda.

The other major way in which the Old Swedish text appears to be the result of a conscious rewriting of the source text is its response to the pedagogical preoccupation. This becomes particularly obvious in the attitude towards the portrayal of noble characters' conduct. A good example of this is the scene in which the narrator describes Laudine's reaction to the tragic news of her husband's death. In the Old

French text her despair is described in a rather dramatic way: *she cried out loudly and fell down in a faint. When she was lifted back to her feet, she began clawing at herself and tearing out her hair like a madwoman; her hands grabbed and ripped her clothing and she fainted with every step* (trans. Kibler 1991, 309; corresponds to lines 1150–1160 in the Old French text).

In the Swedish text, Laudine's reaction is described in a very different way. Indeed, her grief "remains rather more controlled: instead of screaming, she weeps and is unable to speak or hear" (Lodén 2021, 54):

> For sorgh gath hon ey talat eller hørt
> ønkelik tha varo hænna laat
> for sorgh ok iæmber ok mykin graat.
> Først hon a likit sa
> ij ofwith fiol hon nider ok la
> (*Herr Ivan*, ed. Noreen 1931, vv. 944–948)

> For grief she was not able to speak or hear
> the sounds she made were pitiable,
> caused by grief and lamentation and much weeping.
> As soon as she saw the corpse
> she fell down in a swoon
> (*Hærra Ivan*, trans. Williams and Palmgren 1999, 53)

It is more than likely that the translator decided to rewrite the description of the grief-stricken woman's conduct in the Old French text because it was considered unworthy of a noble woman. Interestingly, the same kind of censorious attitude is found in other Old Swedish translated works, namely in *Namnlös och Valentin* and in the C-redaction of *Sju vise mästare* (Bampi 2014, 253–254). The fact that there exist other instances of the translator's intervention to rework a passage describing the conduct of noble characters may be taken as a clue to an overall ideological agenda, whereby texts intended for an aristocratic public, in addition to being sources of entertainment, were meant to serve a "pedagogical" purpose, i.e., provide models of conduct for the Swedish nobility to follow.

Flores och Blanzeflor

As seen above, the Old Swedish translation was made from a copy of the Old Norse *Flóres saga*.

Some passages in the Old Swedish translation of *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* appear particularly relevant to the purpose of identifying the main traits of the translated text as opposed to the source text. Such passages regard three main aspects of the ren-

dition of the story: the role of divine intervention, the use of direct speech, and the description of noble characters and their demeanour within a courtly context.[10]

As for the first aspect, the Old Swedish text contains a relevant number of passages where references to God are expanded as compared to *Flóres saga*. On a more general note, a tendency to highlight the religious aspects of the story can be discerned, with God's role as the main mover of the action acknowledged and highlighted by the narrator's voice.[11]

The use of direct speech for passages given in reported speech in the source text features across the Old Swedish *Flores*. The main consequence of this is that there are more dialogues in the target text than in the source text. This feature of the translated text is particularly relevant in that it contributes to enhancing the dramatic tension of the story, thus making some scenes more prominent than others. Also, it functions to highlight the didactic quality of the text, i.e. its role as an instrument for the illustration of good vs. bad behaviour. The latter is without a doubt a major feature of the *Eufemiavisor* as a whole, and indeed of most of the translated literature of secular works in Old Swedish. It is safe to assert, as has been shown in international scholarship, that courtly literature – and literature in general – is best understood if viewed as providing both entertainment and instruction. Broadly speaking, there tends to be an element of ideology to the texts making up the courtly repertoire, with the representation of the courtly world and its values playing a major role in the semantic architecture of these works (see, amongst others, Småberg 2011 and Bergqvist 2015 for Old Swedish chivalric literature).

One interesting trait of the Old Swedish *Flores* is that the translator rewrote some passages illustrating the demeanour of members of the aristocracy to adapt it for an audience of people belonging to the nobility. One such passage is when the king of Babylon finds Blankiflúr / Blanzeflor, kept captive in a tower, in the arms of Flóris / Flores. The source and the target texts differ considerably in the way in which the king addresses the woman:

> ***Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*:**
> Konungr spurði, hvat manna hann væri, "er þú þorðir at ganga hingat í turninn og leggjaz með Blankiflúr? Ok þar fyrir skaltu deyja ok hon, sú hin vánda púta, er hjá þér liggr." Nú kom Flóres í hug, hvílíka sælu þau hǫfðu heima, eðr hvat nú var fyrir augum, ok mælti Flóres til konungs: "Herra", sagði hann, "kallið eigi Blankiflúr pútu, þvíat enga fái þér slíka í yðvarri borg." (*Flores saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 68–69)
>
> The King asked what kind of a man he was, "you who dare to come here to the tower and sleep with Blankiflúr? And for this reason you will die, you and the wicked whore who is lying beside you." Now Flóres remembered how happy they used to be at home and thought of what was

10 The following remarks on *Flores och Blanzeflor* are based on Bampi (2012).

11 See, for example, ll. 665–680, in the Old Swedish text as compared to what is told in the Old Norse saga (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr,* ed. Kölbing 1896, 34–35).

appearing before him right now, and said to the King: "Sir", he said, "do not call Blankiflúr a whore, because there is no woman like her in your castle." (own translation)

***Flores och Blanzeflor*:**
tha mælte om thæn konung rik:
"Hwa æst thu, læt mik thet forstanda,
ther thik thordhe thetta tagha til handa,
gøra vith mik tholik oæra,
sofua medh miin hiærta kæra?
Iak swær om alla gudha iak a,
ij skulin ondan dødh hær fa;
then skamlikasta iak kan radha,
tha skulin ij hær tagha badhe;
the onda quinna hær ligger hos thik
swa hadhelika hafuer swikith mik."
Flores sagdhe til konungin tha:
"Talin the quinno ey illa op a
for idher eghin konungxlik æra!
Hon ær ey værdugh skyld at bæra."
(*Flores och Blanzeflor*, ed. Olsson 1921, 105–06)

Then the mighty King said: "What are you, tell me,
who dared to come here and
to commit such a shameful act,
you who dared to sleep with my beloved?
I swear upon all the gods I have,
you will suffer a terrible death;
the most shameful death I can give you both;
the wicked woman who is lying beside you
has hatefully fooled me."
Flores said to the King:
"Do not speak so badly of this woman
on your royal honour.
She does not deserve to be blamed."
(own translation)

Judging the words uttered by the King as completely inappropriate, the translator deletes his description of the woman's behaviour. Remarkably, Flores appeals to the king's royal honour (*for idher eghin konungxlik æra*).

In a similar vein, later on in the text the translator adds a few words to clarify why he silently disapproves of the King's behaviour:

Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr
þá mælti húsbóndi: "Herra", segir hann, "mér sýniz, sem þú sér óglaðr; væntir mik, at þat sé vegna tollsins, er þú galt svá mikinn, þvíat þat er enn tíundi hverr peningr." Þá svarar Flóres: "Ek hugsa um þann konung, er slíkt býðr." (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, ed. Kölbing 1896, 36)

Then the householder spoke: "Sir", he said, "it seems to me that you are unhappy. I feel it is because of the high toll you had to pay, because it is a tenth of each penny." Then Flóres answered: "I am thinking about the king who orders such things." (own translation)

Flores och Blanzeflor:
S: Husbondin taladhe til hans thæræ:
"Min gæst, mik thykker thik syrghiande væra,
ffor tol idhra pæninga tok min swen —
thy at edher tio gaar hær for en."
Tha huxadhe Flores mædher sik:
"Then konunger ær ey dygdhelik,
ther tholik toll biudher wt at fa,
ther ængin iæmpnath følghia ma."
(*Flores och Blanzeflor*, ed. Olson 1921, vv. 46–47; see also *Le conte de Floire et Blanchefleur*, ed. Leclanche 2003, 72; vv. 715–722)

The householder said to him:
"My beloved guest, it seems to me that you are in sorrow
because of the toll that my boy levied from your money —
in fact, it is a tenth on each penny."
Then Flores thought to himself:
"It is not a virtuous king
the one who orders to levy this toll,
if the money is not equally distributed afterwards."
(own translation)

Concluding remarks

The observations presented above allow us to point to some major differences regarding the way in which the translation of courtly literature – understood as a major instrument of cultural transfer and innovation – had an impact on the Old Norse and the Old Swedish literary systems. In the Old Norse literary system, there already existed a strong narrative tradition in prose (i.e., that of saga writing), which helps explain why Old French romances in verse were translated in prose. Also, other saga genres were already present and productive. The introduction of courtly romances gave rise to the *Riddarasögur* genre, the stylistic and thematic repertoire of which came to interact with the already existing genres. Such an interplay resulted in a cross-fertilization between genres producing hybrid forms, with the *Riddarasögur* being both on the giving and the receiving end of the process of mutual influence. Additionally, the two chivalric sagas discussed here (*Ívens saga* and *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*) represent two stages in the reception of chivalric and courtly matters in medieval Norway and Iceland. Interestingly, *Flóres saga*, as a later product of an interest in the chivalric world than *Ivens saga*, shows a remarkable degree of influence

from indigenous saga genres, rather than from other translated *Riddarasögur*, thus attesting to the fact that the new generic repertoire introduced a generation earlier had already been absorbed, and took active part in the development of the literary system.

The case of medieval Sweden is rather different. Here, the fact that the three *Eufemiavisor* mark the beginning of literary production in the vernacular mean that translation actually paved the way for textual production in Old Swedish. The three texts thus imported narrative and ideological models that were then adopted to give rise either to a new indigenous genre (i.e., the *rimkrönikor*) or to new translations of texts meant to address an aristocratic public. In other words, the ideological agenda of the *Eufemiavisor* kept its validity long after the appearance of the three translations.

Unlike the Old Norse situation, no cross-fertilization between genres is evidenced. It is certainly indicative of the state of the Old Swedish literary system that translations do not seem to have triggered the composition of original works of the same kind (i.e., romances directly written in Old Swedish).

In both cases discussed above, translation came to play an active part in the shaping and development of the literary polysystem of which it became a part. We believe that the different dynamics at play are indicative of the importance of studying translation activity and its various textual manifestations as an integral and active part of cultural production in the medieval period.

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