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NOTE

This contribution is part of a larger dialogue of three articles and one responding piece that form the current issue of *JOLCEL*. The other contributions are “Competition, Narrative and Literary *Copia* in the Works of Boncompagno da Signa and Guido Faba” by Jonathan M. Newman (pp. 35–54) and “The Morosophistic Discourse of Ancient Prose Fiction” by Erik Gunderson (pp. 56–80). The response piece is “Letters, Poems, and Prose Fictions in Cosmopolitan Latinity” by Roland Greene (pp. 82–86).

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Avatars of Latin Schooling. Recycling Memories of Latin Classes in Western Poetry: Five Paradigmatic Cases*

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ABSTRACT

This paper tries to elucidate the significance of Latin schooling for the production of poetry by lining up five typical cases of recycling Roman texts, from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The French poet Baudri de Bourgueil (ca. 1050–1130) rewrote Ovid's *Heroides* 16–17 within a cultural context, characteristic of the incipient 'Ovidian age,' *aetas ovidiana*, based on classroom practices such as paraphrase, *accessus* and glosses, presupposing a sense of historical continuity —or *translatio studii et imperii*— from Antiquity down to the twelfth century. In his great work, *The Comedy*, the Florentine Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) reused Ovid in a quite different way, representative of the allegorizing tendencies noticeable in Italy and France towards the end of the Ovidian age. The Early Modern motto *ad fontes*, on the other hand, presupposed a breach between ancient and present times, none the less capable of being bridged, by means of imitation within the framework of *studia humanitatis* and a new philological culture, made possible by the printing press. This cultural paradigm shift is illustrated by a look at a famous sonnet by the Spanish Golden Age poet Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645). Finally, our modern and postmodern era, characterized by an ambivalent attitude to the classical heritage, is represented by the Anglo-American poet T.S. Eliot (1888–1965) and his Swedish successor Hjalmar Gullberg (1898–1961), both of whom remembered their Latin classes in their mature poetry, marked by irony, distance and, probably, nostalgia.

The following paper sets out to expose the significance of Latin schooling for the production of poetry by lining up five typical cases of recycling Roman texts, from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The fact that these model texts belong to different genres (lyric

* I want to thank the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their valuable comments and suggestions for improvements.

or narrative poetry) has not been crucial to my discussion, which is aimed at establishing a general comparative taxonomy on the field of literary reuse. My choice of representative students, in turn, has been dictated by their canonical status (as major poets) and exemplarity in literary history; the first two flourished in the High Middle Ages, the third embodied some advanced properties of Early Modern lyric poetry, and the last two could on reasonable grounds be considered typical of two phases of modernism. Each of my five cases is meant to demonstrate a specific strategy of literary recycling; an intertextual device, as it were, which in turn epitomizes an instance of cultural memory, a way of perceiving and relating to the past.

Case I: Paraphrase (Baudri de Bourgueil)

At the beginning of the medieval reception of the Latin classics was grammar. This seems quite natural, since already the old Roman teaching of literature, the *enarratio poetarum*, was a part of the grammar curriculum. Medieval teaching of Latin literature, in the monasteries as well as in the cathedral schools, inherited this connection to grammar. Pupils were taught to put a standard set of questions to literary texts, known as the *accessus ad auctores*.¹

Such introductory texts might sometimes provide us with interesting snapshots from contemporary literary classroom situations. Some of them are accessible in Bavarian manuscripts from the twelfth century, edited by Robert B.C. Huygens. Let us see what they say of Ovid, a main classical model for what the German scholar Ludwig Traube, more than a hundred years ago, famously labelled the *aetas ovidiana*. Traube considered this ‘Ovidian age’ typical of Western European literary culture of the twelfth and thirteenth (and, it should be added, the fourteenth) centuries.² In two *accessus* to Ovid’s *Epistulae heroidum* (or *Heroides*), we are told that the poet’s work should be classified as a moral statement, teaching us good manners while eradicating the bad ones: “Ethicae subiacet quia bonorum morum est instructor, malorum vero exstirpator.” More precisely, Ovid had written the *Heroides* with the intention of elucidating three kinds of love (all of them condemnable): mad, unchaste, and furious. The second of these categories, the *amor incestus*, unchaste or adulterous love, is exemplified by *Heroides* 16–17, featuring Helen of Troy, who married Paris in spite of being the lawful wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. By contrast, Penelope, the protagonist of *Heroides* 1, is adduced to illustrate the commendable chaste love, due, of course, to her fidelity to her long absent husband, Ulysses.³

Times had been (comparably) ill-suited for Ovid during the previous centuries, the *aetas vergiliana* in Traube’s parlance, and the widespread monastic Cluniac reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries did probably not do much to improve his reputation. But the various *accessus* dedicated to his work indicate that things were changing for the better, a development which I would like to exemplify with the French poet Baudri de Bourgueil (ca. 1050–1130), an abbot in the county of Anjou southwest of Paris (and later Bishop of Dol in Bretagne), frequently counted among the so-called Loire poets and nowadays accessible in

¹ Two imperative presentations of the *accessus* corpus are Richard Hunt, “The Introduction to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century,” in *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. Geoffrey L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1980), 117–44; and Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 9–72.

² Ludwig Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Vol. 2, Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, ed. Paul Lehmann (Munich: Beck, 1911), 113.

³ I quote these *accessus Ovidii Epistolarum* from Robert B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores. Bernard d’Utrecht. Conrad d’Hirsau: Dialogus super auctores* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 30–32.

an outstanding edition by Jean-Yves Tilliette.⁴ In two of his poems, numbered 7 and 8 in the Tilliette edition, Baudri rewrote the *Heroides* 16–17, converting Ovid's elegiac couplets to hexameter verse but, on the whole, following his classical model remarkably closely in first giving voice to Paris and his arguments for Helen's escape from miserable Sparta to superior Troy, then to his addressee, initially skeptical about this dangerous adventure but finally giving in to her suitor's alluring words.⁵

Still, a few passages in Paris' discourse are conspicuous for their deviations from Ovid's work and for their blatant anachronisms, observed by virtually all recent commentators. Paris tries to convince Helen at all costs: he says she had better leave her vile countrymen who, firstly, come up with all kinds of fables and old wives' tales and, secondly, are effeminate, addicted to homosexual love, dressing up as women, a kind of moral criticism (7.110–38) anticipating the famous prosimetrum produced by Alan of Lille a few decades later, *De planctu Naturae* (*The Complaint of Nature*). In fact, these two vices—making up stories, and making illicit love—seem to be affiliated: the Greeks are said to invent fancy tales of Icarus, Narcissus and, tellingly, Ganymede. In Troy, on the other hand, heteronormativity reigns supreme, and not only that: The surroundings of my city, continues Baudri's Paris, produce such marvelous grapes and wines that not even the prosperous region of Orléans can enter into competition! And which watercourses, he asks rhetorically, could ever be compared to Xanthus in the vicinity of Troy, with the possible exception of the rivers of Loire and "the happy Changeon, watering the gardens of Bourgueil," *qui Burgulii rigat ortos Cambio felix* (7.194–209)?

Recent Baudri specialists have launched different opinions on these strange passages from his poem 7, which compare archaic Troy with high medieval Bourgueil, as if these two cities were located in the same temporal space. All scholars seem to agree, however, on one thing: Baudri was no naive victim of popular anachronistic conceptions of ancient culture but, as is clear from commentators such as Gerald Bond, Tilliette or Tue Marek Kretschmer, a quite sophisticated poet.⁶ More specifically, I believe, along with Tilliette, that he was joking with his readers here, making Paris come up with a short aside to the poem's contemporary audience. Baudri wanted after all, to quote another poem of his, his muse to be light-hearted, a *musa iocosa* (193.102–8).⁷ Nevertheless, even a poetic *iocus* such as this one might reveal something of the writer's attitude to his art and his literary heritage. To Baudri, Troy and the Loire region in Western France were indeed comparable or compatible, connected to each other by means of a historical continuity which since Carolingian times was frequently labeled a transfer of empire and culture, *translatio imperii et studii*. This transfer was supposed to have proceeded from ancient Greece via Rome to modern France, and Troy, of course was a crucial site in this context, since it was believed to have been the origin or matrix of Rome.⁸

⁴ Baudri de Bourgueil (Baldricus Burgulianus), *Poèmes*, 2nd ed., ed. Jean-Yves Tilliette, vol. I–II (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012).

⁵ In fact, Baudri reused Ovid's *Heroides* repeatedly. For an excellent and updated overview, see Wim Verbaal, "Loire Classics. Reviving Classicism in some Loire Poets," *Interfaces* 3 (2016): 109–28.

⁶ Bond frequently returns to Baudri. As for the *Heroides* paraphrases, see especially Gerald Bond, "Composing Yourself: Ovid's *Heroides*, Baudri of Bourgueil and the Problem of Persona," *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987): 83–117; Tilliette repeatedly emphasizes Baudri's poetic refinement in the notes of his edition. For poems 6–7, see vol. 1 of Baudri de Bourgueil (Baldricus Burgulianus), *Poèmes*, 155–67; see also Marek Tue Kretschmer, "Bourgueil, la nouvelle Athènes (ou Troie), et Reims, la nouvelle Rome. La notion de *translatio studii* chez Baudri de Bourgueil," *Latomus* 70 (2011): 1102–16.

⁷ Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Savants et poètes du Moyen Âge face à Ovide: Les débuts de l'*aetas Ovidiana* (v. 1050 – v. 1200)," in *Ovidius redivivus. Von Ovid zu Dante*, ed. Michelangelo Picone and Bernhard Zimmermann (Stuttgart: M&P, 1994), 97.

⁸ Kretschmer, "Bourgueil, la nouvelle Athènes," 1105–9.

Overall, Baudri, at this early stage of high medieval recycling of Ovid, kept remarkably close to the *Heroides*. His Latin schooling might well have included exercises in paraphrasing the ancients, as school boys had been doing since late Antiquity. That is, indeed, how I would label this kind of literary reuse: paraphrase, but with a twist. Baudri was probably well aware of the possibilities of ‘moralizing’ Ovid, already tried out in the *accessus* tradition, but he preferred another strategy, rewriting the *Heroides* while shrewdly insinuating a criticism of literary make-believe and of queer *mores* in the mouth of Paris.

Does such criticism reflect the opinions of the writer? We cannot be sure of that, since Baudri—in a way, *mutatis mutandis*, reminiscent of Ovid himself—liked to play hide-and-seek with his readers, assembling a rich gallery of *personae* in his poetry.⁹ Paris is one of those fictional characters, and practically all of his arguments are refuted by Helen until she at the end of her speech, somewhat surprisingly, shows herself responsive to her admirer’s recurrent appeals to *fatum* and the gods’ will, finally willing to arrange for her own abduction.

To summarize this: Baudri’s clever exercise in rewriting Ovid reminds us of the High Middle Ages’ sense of continuity between ancient and contemporary culture. He assumed, as it were, his position on the shoulders of the giant that was Ovid, elevated by the ancient poet’s magnitude but seeing more and farther than him. He playfully updated his precursor’s *Heroides* 16-17, converting them to a contemporary debate on the use of pagan learning or mythology, on contemporary morals, divine omnipotence and human agency, perhaps even on Catholic power and Byzantine decadence, without providing his readers or listeners with any definite answers to these thorny issues. This kind of literary reuse, based on a sense of cultural continuity, of dependence as well as difference, might best be classified as a quirky paraphrase of the Latin original text, reformulating its topics or arguments as well as recycling its style, mode or genre.

Case II: Allegory (Dante Alighieri)

Let us proceed to our next case: the first *canto* from the third *cantica*, *Paradiso*, of Dante’s *Comedy*, lines 67–72. At this moment, the protagonist of the work, Dante himself, and his omniscient guide, Beatrice, are about to begin their great ascent through heavenly *Paradise*. Dante has just caught a glimpse of God’s light pouring through the ethereal regions. Now he fixes his gaze upon Beatrice, understanding, at last, that they are entering the purely divine dimension of the universe:

Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei,
 qual si fé Glauco nel gustar de l’erba
 che ’l fé consorto in mar de li altri dèi.
 Trasumanar significar per verba
 non si poria; però l’esempio basti
 a cui esperienza grazia serba.¹⁰

⁹ See 85.35–44: “Quod vero tanquam de certis scriptito rebus / Et quod personis impono vocabula multis.” In translation: “But when I repeatedly write about things as if they were true, / and when I give names to a multitude of persons,” see Baudri de Bourgueil (Baldricus Burgulianus), *Poèmes*, vol. I, 81.

¹⁰ “As I gazed on her, I was changed within, / as Glaucus was on tasting of the grass / that made him consort of the gods in the sea. / To soar beyond the human cannot be described / in words. Let the example be enough to one / for whom grace holds this experience in store.” I quote *The Comedy* after Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l’antica vulgata*, ed. Giorgio Petrocchi (Milan: Mondadori, 1966–7); for the translation, see Dante Alighieri, *Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso*, trans. Jean Hollander and Robert Hollander (New York: Anchor Books, 2002–8).

This is easy to identify as a Christianized version of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, 13.904–68, where the fisherman Glaucus, after tasting some magic herbs, is being wonderfully converted into a sea-god, *deus aquae* (918).¹¹ Just as pagan Glaucus was utterly changed, in body, mind and element, so is Christian Dante about to be transformed upon entering supernal reality. This divine metamorphosis is actually beyond words, but the poet has luckily access to an ancient example, an *esempio*, to hint at what was happening to him.

How do we know that Dante was reusing his Latin schooling here? Actually, as in the case with Baudri, we don’t, since we lack any detailed account of Dante’s education, but we might arrive at a fair guess. We do know that virtually all education in *trecento* Tuscany still meant Latin education, that grammar was still synonymous with Latin grammar, and that literary studies still meant reading and explaining a Latin text, *lectio* and *enarratio*. As Charles Till Davis has pointed out, Dante surely studied with a grammarian, since he—in the *Convivio* 2.12.2–4—remembers how he struggled to enter into the meaning or *sentenza* of Boethius and Cicero “so much as the knowledge of grammar that I possessed, together with some slight power of the intellect, enabled me to do” (“quanto l’arte di gramatica ch’io avea e un poco di mio ingegno potea fare”).¹² In addition, he probably profited from the teaching of Brunetto Latini, who certainly knew the classics well, including Ovid.

It is true, though, that the breakthrough of the classics in Florentine learning came later, at the end of the *trecento* era; in the Florence of Dante’s youth, the *trivium* was still seen as a preparation for the study of theology, philosophy or commercial activities in the commune. Dante, however, was no typical offspring of the era of European scholasticism. He did not, primarily, identify with modern philosophers but with the classical poets. In this context, we might well recall his fictional meeting with Homer, Horace, Lucan and Ovid in the first infernal circle, those four poets who constitute ‘la bella scola’ along with Virgil, and to which Dante-the-pilgrim is admitted (*Inferno* 4.94). In fact, Ovid enters in at least two similar constellations through Dante’s work: in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (2.6.7), where he is counted among the *regulati poetae* along with Virgil, Statius and Lucan, and as early as in the *Vita nuova* (25.9), where he figures with Virgil, Lucan and Horace as Latin poets which have put the rhetorical figure of *prosopopeia* to good use.¹³ So, in the *Vita nuova*, written when Dante was about twenty-five years of age, we already possess an early draft to *The Comedy*’s ‘bella scola,’ to which Ovid naturally belonged, surely as a result of the author’s grammar schooling.

The Ovid of *Paradiso*, however, is used to express Christian devotion. Several of Dante’s earliest commentators elaborated on his technique of exploiting a pagan fable for pious purposes. A few years after the poet’s death, for example, Jacopo della Lana noted how he had introduced *una favola* to express Beatrice’s stunning contemplative capacities, a procedure which another early commentator, the author of the so-called *Ottimo commento* labeled *alegoria* or metaphor. The Glaucus passage resorts to metaphor, he tells us, since Dante’s poetic style, even though it deals with theology, is completely different from the style of a theological treatise. For some examples of the Latin terminology in this context, we might consult the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola from the 1370s, according to

¹¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3rd ed., trans. Frank J. Miller, vol. II (Rev. by George P. Goold. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 292.

¹² Charles Till Davis, “Education in Dante’s Florence,” *Speculum* 40, no. 3 (1965): 417–18; Dante Alighieri, *Convivio*, 4th ed., ed. Piero Cudini (Milan: Garzanti, 1992), 104–5; Dante Alighieri, *The Banquet (Il convito)*, trans. Elizabeth Price Sayer (New York: Aegypan Press, 2009), 60.

¹³ I have used Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and trans. Vittorio Coletti (Milan: Garzanti, 1991), 74; and Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova*, ed. Manuela Colombo (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1999), 133.

whom the poet's literal story differs from his *sententialiter dicere*, the true meaning of his words. The pagan fisherman is introduced as a 'figure' for the Christian poet, *Glaucus piscator figuraliter est poeta Dantes*.¹⁴

This allegoric procedure (of Dante's) and these interpretive decodings (of his commentators) are not surprising. After all, even the Church Fathers had opened the door for such possibilities of saving the classics within an orthodox framework, as we know from famous statements in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* (*On Christian Doctrine*, 2.40.61) and Jerome's *Letters* (70.2).¹⁵ But the High Middle Ages made this technique of putting pagan themes and procedures to Christian use the very hallmark of the poetics of the *aetas ovidiana*. Perhaps its earliest expressions is to be found in a poem on "The books I used to read" by the Carolingian poet Theodulf of Orleans (17–22):

[...] legebam,
Et modo Virgilium, te modo, Naso loquax.
In quorum dictis quamquam sint frivola multa,
Plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent.
Falsa poetarum stilus affert, vera sophorum,
Falsa horum in verum vertere saepe solent.¹⁶

This attitude, according to which the frequently dubious letter or immediate sense of the text, its *littera* or *sensus*, is considered a foil for its true meaning or *sententia*, can be traced through the hermeneutics of the High Middle Ages in general and probably through the Ovidian commentaries in particular, and it would live on through the Early Modern Age's transmutations of, for example, the Phoenix bird or Narcissus into Christian symbols, converted *ad divinum*. But no one, as far as I am aware, developed this technique in such a masterly fashion as Dante. His work retains the sense of a historical continuity with Antiquity, translating the power claims of ancient Rome into his hopes for the contemporary Holy Roman Empire, but to him, the *translatio imperii* likewise implied a perception of pagan Rome as a foreboding of Christian paradise, "that Rome where Christ Himself is Roman" ("quella Roma onde Cristo è romano," Purgatorio 32.102).

In sum, Dante's reuse of his literary Latin schooling is very different from Baudri de Bourgueil's. It could only exploit the classical heritage by radically transforming it. This artful reformulation of the Ovidian paradigm dispenses with paraphrase and the kind of *iocus* so crucial to Baudri. Dante's reprocessing of the classics, based on a sense of both cultural continuity and alterity, might, today just as well as in the fourteenth-century commentaries to the Glaucus passage, be labeled an allegorization of the Latin original texts. What the Florentine poet recycled in Virgil, Ovid, Statius and their likes was no longer the style, mood or genre of their works but, primarily, their intradiegetic levels of meaning—mythological, historical or pseudohistorical—converted, into his *Comedy*, to a new and different discursive code.

¹⁴ All three commentaries (and quite a few more) are most comfortably studied on the 'Dartmouth Dante Project' website, Dartmouth College, <https://dante.dartmouth.edu/commentaries.php>, accessed online: 2018-02-26.

¹⁵ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. Roger P.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 126; Jerome, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 22–30 (Paris: Apud J.-P. Migne editorem, 1844–55), 22:666.

¹⁶ "I would study Virgil and wordy Ovid. / Although there are many frivolities in their words, / much truth lies hidden under a deceptive surface. / Poets' writing is a vehicle for falsehood, philosophers' brings truth; / they transform the lies of poets into veracity." For both original and English versions, I quote from Peter Godman, ed., *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985), 168–69.

Case III: Accommodation (Francisco de Quevedo)

My next piece of evidence is a canonical text too, probably the most famous sonnet in Spanish literature, composed by the Baroque poet Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) and printed posthumously in the first edition of his collected poems, *El Parnasso Español*, in 1648. It is a strangely solipsistic amatory poem, celebrating the constancy of the speaker's love, even beyond death. Quevedo's first editor, José Antonio González de Salas, assigned it the following title: "Amor constante mas allà de la muerte" ("Love constant beyond death"). Here it is, as it was printed in *El Parnasso Español* 1648 ("Erato, Musa IV. Canta sola a Lisi, XXXI"):

Cerrar podrá mis ojos la postrera
 Sombra, que me llevare el blanco día;
 I podrá desatar esta alma mía
 Hora, a su afan ansioso lisongera:
 Mas no de essotra parte en la rivera
 Dejarà la memoria, en donde ardia;
 Nadar sabe mi llama la agua fria,
 I perder el respeto a lei severa.
 Alma, a quien todo un Dios prision ha sido,
 Venas, que humor a tanto fuego han dado,
 Medulas, que han gloriosamente ardido,
 Su cuerpo dejaràn, no su cuidado;
 Seran ceniza, mas tendra sentido;
 Polvo seran, mas polvo enamorado.¹⁷

The representation of the lover's anticipated moment of death in the first lines of the sonnet gives way, in the second quatrain, to the metaphor of fire, crossing the mythological river of death (Styx or, more probably, Lethe). The tercets repeat this movement from spirit to matter or, to be more precise, from soul (*alma*) to veins and marrow (*venas, medulas*). Actually, in these final verses, the mythological scenery has been replaced by the corporeal remains of the lover. It is his body burnt to dust which finally bears witness to his never-ending passion.

As Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges was the first to note, a substantial part of this poem is a recreation of a passage from the Roman poet Propertius' *Elegies*, where the speaker, obsessed as always with his love for Cynthia, assures his audience that such a magnificent passion will survive his earthly existence.¹⁸ These are the lines 5–12 from Propertius' elegy 1.19:

¹⁷ "The last shadow a cloudless day / may cast on me could close my eyes; / and this, my soul, may be freed by / an hour eager to flatter its ardor: / but on that far shore it will not / forsake the memory where it burned; / my flame can swim frigid water / and will flaunt so cruel a law. / Soul, long imprisoned by a god, / veins, fuel you gave to the blaze, / marrow, gloriously you burned; / it will leave its body, not its cares; / they will be ashes, but still will feel; / dust they will be, but dust in love." Francisco de Quevedo, *El Parnasso Español, monte en dos cumbres dividido, con las nueve musas castellanas*, ed. Ioseph Antonio Gonzalez de Salas (Madrid: Pedro Coello, 1648), most conveniently examined on the website of Biblioteca digital hispánica, Biblioteca nacional de España, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000050707>, fol. 281, accessed online: 2018-02-26. The translation is by Francisco de Quevedo, *Selected Poetry of Francisco de Quevedo: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Christopher Johnson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 137.

¹⁸ Jorge Luis Borges, "Quevedo," in *Otras inquisiciones* (Buenos Aires: Alianza, 1985), 49.

non adeo leviter nostris puer haesit ocellis,
 ut meus oblito pulvis amore vacet.
 illic Phylacides iucundae coniugis heros
 non potuit caecis immemor esse locis,
 sed cupidus falsis attingere gaudia palmis
 Thessalus antiquam venerat umbra domum.
 illic quidquid ero, semper tua dicar imago:
 traicit et fati litora magnus amor.¹⁹

So what exactly does Quevedo reuse in his sonnet? First and foremost, of course, Propertius' verbal constellation *pulvis amore*, two Latin words which belong to different grammatical cases but whose juxtaposition seems to anticipate the Spanish poet's final syntagm, his famous *polvo enamorado*. In Propertius' elegy we can also register "the boy," Cupid, whose presence might be felt in Quevedo's *Dios*, the "god" in the sonnet's line 9, probably referring to Cupid as well. And, last but not least, Propertius imagines his great love shooting across the shores of fate in the elegy's line 12, vaguely foreboding his Spanish colleague's posthumous achievement in the sonnet's second quatrain, where the poet's dead soul on "that far shore" of Lethe, remembering his beloved lady, is prepared to swim back over the cold waves, a ghostlike Leander indeed, defying the stern law of the underworld. As a matter of fact, this magnificent scenario might also be based on another elegy by Propertius, 2.27, where the dead lover is projected sitting at the oars of Charon's boat over the river Styx. If he could only perceive "a breath of air" from his beloved, assures us the Roman poet, that is the voice of his grieving *puella* calling upon him, he would immediately retrace his steps, a return trip which no law concedes (15-16): "si modo clamantis revocaverit aura puellae, / concessum nulla lege redibit iter."²⁰ Here, of course, it is primarily Propertius' "law" (*lex*), which Quevedo might have had in mind when he made his proud lover defy the infernal *lei severa*, the law which prohibits all visitors to the realm of death from returning to where they came from.

Actually, the literary resonance of Quevedo's sonnet is extremely rich, echoing a number of ancient and recent texts, but we do not need to specify all these intertextual traces here.²¹ My point is that such Baroque recycling of Propertius is no coincidence. If there ever was any *aetas propertiana*, it would surely have been the Early Modern Age. The study of poetry in the Renaissance schools, one of the five main subjects which made up the *studia humanitatis*, no longer reduced to any *ancilla theologiae* or *philosophiae*, certainly rehabilitated Propertius, forgotten during the better part of the Middle Ages. This new interest in the Roman elegy also colored the typical Spanish curricula elaborated for the Jesuit schools, which provided the elementary education of Quevedo in Madrid. An anthology such as the *Sylvae illustrium autorum, qui ad usum Collegiorum Societatis Iesu selecti sunt* (1588), by all probability used by Quevedo in his student years, concluded with the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius.²²

¹⁹ "The boy did not linger in my eyes so lightly, / that my dust would lie empty, its love forgotten. / The hero of Phylacus' line could not leave his lovely / wife out of his memory in those dark places, / no, the Thessalian returned, a shadow, to his old home, / eager to touch his love with false hands. / There, whoever I will be, my shade will always be called / yours: a great love will cross even the shores of fate." Propertius, *Elegies*, ed. and trans. George P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 90. The translation into English is mine.

²⁰ "If only a breath of air from his girl will call upon him, / he shall make the journey back, permitted by no law," see *ibid.*, 184, the translation is mine.

²¹ For a solid study on intertextual devices in Quevedo, see Paul Julian Smith, *Quevedo on Parnassus: Allusive Context and Literary Theory in the Love-Lyric* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1987).

²² Some ten elegies by Tibullus and Quevedo are included at the end of part II of the *Sylvae illustrium autorum*,

Hence, the great humanist poet Quevedo adopted the Early Modern doctrine of imitation, formulated by his countryman Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, known as El Brocense, in the preface to his second edition of the Spanish Renaissance poet Garcilaso de la Vega (1581): "I maintain and affirm that I do not consider any poet satisfactory, who does not imitate the excellent ancients" ("digo, y afirmo, que no tengo por buen poeta al que no imita los excellentes antiguos").²³ As a matter of fact, this type of imitation was innovative (as well as creative), not to be confused with earlier paraphrase practices, based on the culture of the printing press rather than that of medieval orality. To Quevedo, the dead masters seemed, as it were, hidden away in printed books, libraries and archives, as is clear from another well-known sonnet of his, representing the poet in retreat to his cottage or "tower" in the country, where his sole company consists of his great books, "the dead," to whom he famously listens with his eyes. These are the tercets of his sonnet, addressed to his editor, José—"Don Ioseph"—Gonzáles de Salas (Polymnia, Musa II, CIX):

Las Grandes Almas, que la Muerte ausenta,
De injurias, de los años vengadora,
Libra, ô gran Don Ioseph, docta la Emprinta.
En fuga irrevocable huie la hora;
Pero aquella el mejor Calculo cuenta,
Que en la leccion, i estudios nos mejora.²⁴

This poem celebrating (Latin literary) *lectio* and *studia* might well serve as a motto for this paper. I quote it, however, since it throws light on Quevedo's intense company with the dead. It tempts me to draw the conclusion that this poet's reuse of his Latin schooling presupposes, metaphorically, a burial of the classics who now, by means of the recent technique of printing, entailing new manners of intimation and allusion, are resurrected in the Early Modern poet's works. Accordingly, such literary recycling would in fact presuppose a distance from the Latin past, bridged by the later writer's verbal recollections. The great cultural continuity of the West, linking old Greece and Rome to contemporary Spain (or France, or England), was no longer self-evident but had to be reinstated and confirmed over and over again, all from the early humanists' philological activities, summed up by their watchword *ad fontes*, to the Baroque poets' eclectic reconfigurations of their ancient masters.

That is why Quevedo had no use for either the paraphrase exercises of Baudri or the integumental rewritings of Dante. I would prefer to label this kind of literary reprocessing, based on a sense of absence and ensuing revival of the dead, as an ingenious assemblage, appropriation or, to use a word conveniently borrowed from Baroque poetics, 'accommodation' of the Latin original text. The term was registered by the Aragonese writer and critic Baltasar Gracián in the "Discurso 34" of his *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1648), an ambitious listing of literary devices, among which he discerns "los conceptos por

explicitly intended for inexperienced students, *Sylvae illustrium autorum, II: Sylvae variorum autorum, qui inferioribus classibus idonei sunt* (Olyssipone [Lisbon]: Antonius Riberius, 1588), 171–88, digitalized by the Biblioteca nacional de Portugal, <http://pur1.pt/23215/4/>, accessed online: 2018-02-26.

²³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Obras del excelente Poeta Garci Lasso de la Vega: Con Anotaciones y emiendas del Maestro Francisco Sanchez, Cathedratico de Rethorica en Salamanca* (Salamanca: En Casa de Lucas de Iunta, 1581), fol. 5., accessible on the website of Biblioteca digital hispánica, Biblioteca nacional de España, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000082500&page=1>, accessed online: 2018-02-27.

²⁴ "The great souls of times past whom death makes absent / are liberated from the insults of the years, oh Don Iosef, / by that avenger, the learned printing press. / The hours are on the run in an irrevocable flight, / but that one provides us with the best account / which improves us by means of classes and studies." Quevedo, *El Parnasso Español*, fol. 115, the translation is mine.

acomodacion de verso antiguo, de algun texto o autoridad.”²⁵ Such creative accommodation, characteristic of Early Modern poetry and developed with exceptional subtlety by Quevedo and some of his Baroque or ‘metaphysical’ contemporaries, had in fact already been described by El Brocense in the preface to his edition of Garcilaso de la Vega’s works 1581, according to which the poet “aplica y traslada los versos y sentencias de otros Poetas, tan a su proposito y con tanta destreza, que ya no se llaman agenos sino suyos, y mas gloria merece por esto, que no si de su cabeça lo compusiera.”²⁶ In this context, the object of recycling is primarily the very words, syntagms and controlling concepts of the original text—or text corpus—which are made to reverberate in the rich and eclectic intertextual space, the library space, so to speak, of Spanish Golden Age poetry.

Case IV: Allusion (T.S. Eliot)

Modernity evinces completely different cases of literary reuse compared to what we have seen so far. In the following I will have to limit myself to two poets, one of whom is known all over the world, the Anglo-American Nobel prize winner T.S. Eliot (1888–1965). As for his Latin schooling, we know that he followed a six years long “Classical Course” at Smith Academy, St. Louis.²⁷ Later, at Harvard, where Eliot studied from 1906 to 1914 (except for a year in Paris 1910–11), he would, in contrast to most undergraduate students, continue with both Greek and Latin. Among his teachers was the brilliant E.K. Rand, renowned for his works on Boethius and other Late Antique or medieval authors, commonly known to his students as Ken. Young Eliot might well have learnt something from Rand’s emphasis on the unbroken continuity between pagan and Christian culture. In these years he seems to have taken a particular interest in Late Roman literature. For the Latin courses during the academic year 1908–9 he preferred Petronius and Apuleius, whom he studied for another well-known master, Clifford Herschel Moore. More importantly, from our point of view, is the fact that Eliot during these Harvard years made acquaintance with the Late Roman anonymous poem on the primaveral vigil of Venus, *Pervigilium Veneris* (sometimes, though hesitantly, attributed to the early fourth-century pagan poet Tiberianus). It is a work connected to the widespread cult of the goddess Venus in the Mediterranean world, more precisely the three-night festival of Venus in Spring, probably in a Sicilian setting. The poem focuses on the renewal of all nature—of the vegetation, the animal, the divine and the human world—through the erotic agency of Venus, a topic inherited from classical Roman literature, most conspicuously, perhaps, from the famous opening of Lucretius’ *De rerum natura*.

The British critic and essayist Walter Pater had brought this poem to the fore in the only novel he ever wrote, *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), set in the Rome of the Antonine dynasty during the late second century. In his novel, Pater ascribes *Pervigilium Veneris* to the fictional poet Flavian, to which “old mythology seemed as full of untried, unexpressed motives and interest as human life itself”; hence, Flavian “had long been occupied with a kind of mystic

²⁵ “[T]he conceits by accommodation of ancient verse, of some text or authority.” I quote Gracián’s seminal work according to the modern Clásicos Castalia edition, Baltasar Gracián, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, ed. Evaristo Correa Calderón, vol. 2 (Madrid: Castalia, 1987), 62.

²⁶ “[A]pplies and transfers the verses and thoughts of other poets for his own ends, with such skill that they are no longer alien, but his; and this deserves even greater glory than if he had composed them in his own head.” Garcilaso de la Vega, *Obras*, fol. 6. Translation by Ignacio Enrique Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 130.

²⁷ As far as I am aware, the most up-to-date survey of Eliot’s formative years, including his Greek and Latin schooling, is to be found in the chapters “Schooling” and “A Full Fledged Harvard Man” in Robert Crawford, *Young Eliot: From St Louis to The Waste Land* (London: Vintage, 2016), 59–101.

hymn to the vernal principle of life in things; a composition shaping itself, little by little, out of a thousand dim perceptions, into singularly definite form."²⁸ In addition to the possible influences from Rand and Pater on young Eliot, we should remember the general resonance of the early twentieth-century's scholarly efforts in disciplines such as history of religion and anthropology, focused on ancient spring rites, frequently based on assumptions about the death and rebirth of vegetation gods, that is, the main theme of the *Pervigilium*. Moreover, Pater had construed the *Pervigilium* as a literary anticipation of medieval courtly poetry, so no wonder that influential Ezra Pound paid attention to this poem, most of which he translated in his *Spirit of Romance*, published in 1910 and probably read by Eliot shortly afterwards.²⁹ Finally, at least two English translations of the *Pervigilium* appeared in those years, in 1909 and 1911.³⁰ So, by all accounts, the time was ripe for the impact of the *Pervigilium* on Anglo-American literary culture, not only through translations and re-readings but, as we shall see, for poetic reuse.

In the course of the year 1910, Eliot began to work on his "Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," originally published in the June 1915 issue of the journal *Poetry*, the earliest of those poems of his which later would achieve canonical status.³¹ Ever since Christopher Ricks in 1996 published Eliot's working materials from the years 1910–11, we are informed of the first stages of the poem's manuscript history. It was actually part of a bigger project called "Inventions of the March Hare," and it originally included 29 lines jotted down under the headline "Prufrock's Pervigilium," which never made it to the final version in *Poetry*.³²

These verses depict a sordid city scenario in the spirit of French symbolism. Night is approaching, and "Women, spilling out of corsets, stood in entries / Where the draughty gas-jet flickered / And the oil cloth curled up stairs." They are witnessed by Prufrock himself, walking along the narrow streets. Finally, he is portrayed in his room at midnight, tossing his blankets back, staring into the darkness until dawn comes and "the world began to fall apart..." Prufrock's modern (or modernist) vigil is obviously set in stark contrast to the Late Antique poem's *pervigilium*. This is not a new version or restaging of the model poem's enthusiastic pan-erotic salutation of Spring, but rather a transformation of it into the typical vigil of early twentieth-century metropolis night-life, characterized by prostitution, drinking and smoking, with a very Eliot-like addition of personal anguish. In other words, the Late Antique celebration of new life and returning vigor to the earth has been turned into a vision of the metropolitan waste land, foreboding the third part of Eliot's famous poem with that title, "The Waste Land," published in 1922.³³ By all accounts, Eliot's use of the *Pervigilium Veneris* in his notebook from 1910–11 provides us with the matrix of his later treatment of the ancient or Renaissance masters, projecting their grand scenarios in ironic contrast to his desolate settings of modern post-war city-life. In the first lines of his poem, the Latin writer had claimed that "Spring is reborn throughout the world," *ver renatus orbis est*, and that "In spring are loves in harmony," *vere concordant amores* (2–3).³⁴ In Eliot's drafts for his

²⁸ Walter Pater, *Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas*, vol. I (London: Macmillan, 1898), 77.

²⁹ Ezra Pound, *The Spirit of Romance: An Attempt to Define Somewhat the Charm of the Pre-Renaissance Literature of Latin Europe* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1910), 10–12.

³⁰ W.H. Porter, trans., *Pervigilium Veneris: The Watch-Night of Venus* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1909); Cecil Clementi, trans., *Pervigilium Veneris. The Vigil of Venus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1911).

³¹ T.S. Eliot, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," *Poetry* 6, no. 3 (1915): 130–35.

³² T.S. Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare: Poems 1909–1917*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Faber / Faber, 1996), 43–44.

³³ T.S. Eliot, "The Waste Land," *The Criterion* 1, no. 1 (1922): 50–64.

³⁴ I quote the Latin text of *Pervigilium Veneris* following the old version of John W. Mackail (who incidentally had edited the poem in 1910) in the Loeb edition, Francis W. Cornish, John P. Postgate, and John

Prufrock poem, we are confronted with precisely the opposite scenario: the city is haunted by darkness, fear, and a sense of being lost, for which reason everything, including people's emotions, seems to fall apart.

All things considered, in Eliot's version, modernity seems to have lost all sense of continuity with ancient culture. The old authoritative voices are reduced to what Eliot himself called 'whispers of immortality,' barely audible among the noise of early twentieth-century urban life. Nonetheless, they are certainly not silenced but deliberately echoed and meant to be recognized, hence the famous notes which Eliot would attach to the first book version of *The Waste Land* ten years later, listing an impressive catalog of writers and works present in the poem, many of them Latin, among them the *Pervigilium Veneris*.³⁵ This kind of literary reuse seems to be based on a sense of discontinuity with a past which nevertheless makes itself felt in the present. It presupposes a dissociation with the Latin cultural heritage, a disconnection which still, however, is perceived as painful. Eliot's typical art of literary reuse thus depended on the device of allusion, generating irony—resulting from a series of contrasts between past and present—and, inevitably, a note of nostalgia too, in the modern text.

Case V: Quotation (Hjalmar Gullberg)

The Swedish writer Hjalmar Gullberg (1898–1961) was a highly esteemed poet, an accomplished translator and a great enthusiast of the classics. His main field of interest was Greek literature, ancient and modern, but he was also, of course, able to read the canonical Roman poets in their original language. Gullberg's biographer Carl Fehrman tells us that he received his elementary education from the age of ten in the Latin school of Malmö in southern Sweden, and at nineteen he continued his studies at Lund University, in the immediate vicinity of Malmö.³⁶ There, his first subject was Latin, and his teacher was professor Einar Löfstedt, known for his studies in the Late Latin language and in the Church Fathers, particularly Tertullian.

In his next-to-last book of poetry, *Terziner i okonstens tid* (1958), whose title in English would correspond to something like 'Terze rime in the Time of Non-Art,' Gullberg remembers his old teacher, dead three years earlier, in a poem to which he assigned a heading in Latin, "Non si demisso si ipse voret capite."³⁷ These words are placed between quotes by the poet himself, so obviously it is a quotation, and in the subsequent verses Gullberg explicitly makes clear from where he got it:

När vi läste, för att det ingick i kursen, Catullus
och professorn förstod på ett ställe att vi inte förstod,
log han åt vår oskuld som var obekant
med denna art av självbefläckelse och översatte:
"Ej om med huvud (och mun) nedsänkt han slukar sig själv."

Jag vet inte om studenter av i dag skulle chockeras
av den bild som vi fann överskrida gränsen för en mans
förmåga att kröka rygg. Efter fyrty år

W. Mackail, trans., *Catullus, Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris* (London: Heinemann, 1913), 348; and, in English, according to Pound's translation in Pound, *The Spirit of Romance*, 10.

³⁵ T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* (New York: Boni / Liveright, 1922), 63.

³⁶ Carl Fehrman, *Hjalmar Gullberg* (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1967), 18–42.

³⁷ Hjalmar Gullberg, *Dikter* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1985), 430–31.

är en personlig nidvers vad jag minns
av det tunnaste häfte som nånsin till odödligheten
burit en diktares namn.

Vad är en diktare? Narkissos,
böjd över svaret, ser i källan plötsligt
i stället för sin bild hans bild som så obscent
slukar sig själv i en bisats hos Catullus.³⁸

These lines obviously refer to a memory from the years 1917–18, when Gullberg had taken up Latin studies in Lund, more precisely to a recollection from his reading in class of Catullus' poem 88, four elegiac couplets dedicated to a certain Gellius, once the Roman poet's friend, later on his rival and now his enemy as well. It reads like this:

Quid facit is, Gelli, qui cum matre atque sorore
prurit et abiectis pervigilat tunicis?
quid facit is, patruum qui non sinit esse maritum?
ecquid scis quantum suscipiat sceleris?
suscipit, o Gelli, quantum non ultimi Tethys
nec genitor lympharum abluit Oceanus:
nam nihil est quicquam sceleris quo prodeat ultra,
non si demisso se ipse voret capite.³⁹

In these eight verses, hot-tempered Catullus fiercely attacks his former friend, here accused of various types of incest, the foulest of crimes. We understand from the final couplet that no one is unable to commit any wicked deed worse than that, not even if he would perform oral sex on himself.

So what literary use does Gullberg make of the Latin studies of his youth? In the first place, he resorts to complete decontextualization. He is not in the least concerned with the person or particular feelings of Catullus, and even less interesting seems, of course, Gellius, his allegedly incestuous affairs and his relation to the irascible poet. All that remains of Catullus' couplets in Gullberg's memory is their final conditional clause, where Gellius is imagined, as it were, committing incest with himself. And the reason for this remembrance seems perfectly clear: the nineteen year old boy, brought up in the early twentieth-century

³⁸ I have tried to translate the poem as follows: "When we were reading, since it was mandatory, Catullus / And our professor, at one passage, understood that we did not understand, / He smiled at our innocence which was unfamiliar / With this kind of self-defilement, and he translated: / 'Not even if, with his head (and mouth) lowered, he devours himself.' / I don't know if any students of today would be shocked / By the image we found transgressing the limit for a man's / Capacity to kowtow. After forty years, / All I remember is a personal polemical line / Out of the thinnest booklet that ever carried / A poet's name to immortality. / What is a poet? Narcissus, / With bowed head over the answer, sees suddenly, / In the spring, not his own image but the image of the one / Who so obscenely devours himself in a subordinate clause by Catullus."

³⁹ "What's that man doing, Gellius, who has the hots for mother / and sister too, who's up all night in the buff? / What's he doing, who won't let Uncle be a husband? / Are you aware how great a crime he commits? / His offense, Gellius, is one that neither remotest / Tethys nor nymph-breeding Ocean can wash away: / for there's no more heinous crime he could commit, not even / were he with down-stretched head to gobble himself." Francis W. Cornish, John P. Postgate, and John W. Mackail, trans., *Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris*, 2nd ed. (Rev. by George P. Goold. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 162–64; for the translation, see Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus*, trans. Peter Green (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 193.

Sweden, still imbued by Victorian morals, was simply unable to conceive of such an act, and when he got it explained by his teacher, he was stunned. In other words, young Gullberg was shocked, and the shock still aches within him forty years later, in 1958, to the extent that it had made him forget everything else in Catullus' vituperative poem.

In all probability, Gullberg's verses should be read as a mildly self-ironic comment on the lost innocence of his youth and perhaps also on the change of morals and manners from the previous fin-de-siècle down to the 1950s. The closing lines of the poem, however, tell us something more. Gullberg not only decontextualizes Catullus' final couplet but reinterprets it in terms of literary self-representation. Throughout his four decades long work, he repeatedly returned to the figure of Narcissus, bent over his reflection on the water of the spring, understood as an image of the modern poet's predicament in the wake of Symbolism. As early as in *Andliga övningar* ('Spiritual Exercises', 1932), there is a poem called "Lidande Narkissos" ("Suffering Narcissus"), where the speaker reacts against the "skönhetstyp" ("type of beauty") allotted to him, expressing a vehement longing for breaking out of his self-contained existence.⁴⁰ In his late books, Gullberg's attitude to Narcissus is even more critical, articulating a strong devaluation of the poet and his work. Specifically, various kinds of modern literary presumption or self-absorption seem to be turned into deprecation or parody.

All this is quite clear from the last stanza of "Non si demisso si ipse voret capite." Here, Narcissus does no longer gaze at his own image in the water. He sees only the boy from Catullus' poem, devouring himself: a distorted picture, indeed, of narcissistic desire, and, in addition, a parodic version of poetic solipsism, with the protagonist literally making a knot of himself. By all accounts, this is Gullberg's farewell to the ornate post-symbolist art to which he had dedicated the better part of his life. If it survives at all, it is as a grotesque reflection from the distant past. Here, indeed, poetic grandiloquence is relegated to a subordinate clause.

So, finally, in "Non si demisso si ipse voret capite," former Latin student Gullberg resorts to a quotation, as did Eliot time and again in his most famous poems, but in a very different way.⁴¹ To the Swedish poet, the quotation is nothing but a personal recollection, a reminiscence from his remote youth, emblematic of the dead-end of modern poetry. What is recycled here is a Latin phrase rendered between quotes and more importantly, this phrase is the very subject of Gullberg's poem, identical with its title, remembered, commented upon, and interpreted. Such explicit reuse of fragments from the past, an advanced and somewhat playful kind of *ars memoriae*, virtually converting the present work to a gloss on earlier texts, would mark much postmodern writing—sometimes labeled an art of quotation—from the final decades of the twentieth century.

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Baudri's ingenious exercises in paraphrasing Ovid depended on a sense of historical continuity, linking present France (or, specifically, Anjou) to the cultural past, quite typical of early medieval culture in Western Europe, focused on the topos of *translatio studii et imperii*. Dante's allegorical rewriting of ancient mythology, on the other hand, while admitting the historical exemplarity of Rome and Roman poetry, presupposes a sense of cultural alterity,

⁴⁰ Gullberg, *Dikter*, 131.

⁴¹ For other quotations in Gullberg's earlier work, see Gullberg's use of Giacomo Leopardi in his poem "Kärleksroman" ("Love Novel") from *Kärlek i tjugonde seklet* ('Love in the Twentieth Century', 1933), and of Goethe (without quotes) in "Nyåret 1942" ("The New Year 1942") from *Fem kornbröd och två fiskar* ('Five Barley Loaves and Two Fish', 1942), in *ibid.*, pp. 157, 295.

a breach separating pagan legend from Christian truth. Such a marked difference between Antiquity and the present was still felt in Early Modern literature, but it was bridged, as it were, by means of new techniques of imitation. Renaissance and Baroque poets such as Quevedo tended to echo Roman verse fragments for their own artificial purposes, imitating or accommodating the old texts in their richly variegated, post-Gutenbergian intertextual space.

In contrast, deracination was a common topic in early Modernism around and after the turn of the century 1900. It certainly impregnated the poetry of T.S. Eliot, according to which twentieth-century Western civilization was characterized by nihilism and decadence, cut off from its cultural roots. Eliot's answer to this bleak predicament was a new kind of experimental poetry, underlining the gap between past and present by means of allusion, expressing irony as well as nostalgia. Such nostalgia was not entirely absent from the work of his Swedish successor Hjalmar Gullberg, who, for his part, resorted more than once to playful quotations from earlier poets, Latin or not, in order to convey a strong personal experience while laying bare or making explicit modern (or postmodern) devices of literary reuse.

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