

JACQUES LE GOFF'S ROUND THE WORLD TOUR

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the dissemination of the work of Jacques Le Goff in an international perspective, through the presence of his works in university and national libraries chosen as samples in all continents. In addition, and perhaps more than the original editions, translations into the languages of the various countries are interesting, as obviously reaching an audience both broader and less specifically trained than the “insiders”. Another important point is the time of diffusion, not only of Le Goff’s work, but also of 20th century French historical thought —the so-called “Annales school”— and the overcoming of barriers between historiography and other human sciences, such as anthropology and ethnology; the differences between diverse cultures are evident and relevant.

KEY WORDS

Historiography, Middle Ages, Annales, Diffusion, Translation.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Historiographia, Medium Aevum, Annales, Diffusio, Traductio.

Jacques Le Goff celebrated his 90th birthday on the 1st of January 2014. This essay is certainly a tribute to this great medievalist but not in any celebratory sense. My intention is rather to supply a few more elements for understanding the meaning and popularity of the work of a historian who never shut himself up in a so-called ivory tower or closed himself off from the contemporary world around him. Mine are just a few extra elements because a truly thoroughgoing overview would require me to bring in other skills and other academic and geographical disciplines in order to open up our field to the issues dealt with, and the methods used, by Le Goff. Could this be a proposal¹ ?

There is nothing surprising about the fact that the books of great historians are to be found in University and national public libraries in their original version, written as it is frequently the case in such common languages as English and French. However, their translation into the languages of the various Countries may give greater cause for thought. It is, in fact, normal to require specialists to possess some multilingual reading skills but the same cannot be expected of people with more cultural curiosity than tools to satisfy it or of students who are not always accustomed to employ languages other than their own. It is thus useful to provide here even a statistically approximate idea of the presence of books by Jacques Le Goff, or at least of some of them, in Countries (although certainly not in all of them!) of all continents. It is important to highlight that the choice of examples, whilst not random, is necessarily limited for reasons of time, space and sometimes availability of data. The purpose of this exercise is to gain an understanding of whether its results bear witness to the ability of such publications to move out of the specialist field and appeal to a readership which is both wider and not educated so specifically for them. As a general principle, the answer to this question must be positive. It is not unusual for history books to be read and appreciated by non-specialist readers. And we should not forget that this is due to a considerable extent to the ability (and desire) to write history also for those who are still new to the interest and the appeal it can have, with special focus on the young.

Another aspect which is clearly of great importance is the time-scale of the dissemination of Le Goff's work but also (and for specialists the two are not easy to distinguish) of French 20th-century historiographic thought. I'm thinking here, clearly, of the so-called *Annales* school and the overcoming of the barriers between history and the other human sciences (no-longer a fashionable term) such as anthropology and ethnology. In some cultural contexts, such as the English speaking sphere, there was in fact delay and resistance until the end of the 1970s and beyond. This was also the case in Germany, whose historiographical tradition held out for some time against new tendencies. The schematic Marxism of the countries of "real

1. I wrote these words before Jacques Le Goff's long life came to an end on the 1st of April of this year, 2014. There is no celebratory intention in this essay, as I mentioned above, nor is it intended as a memorial. The debate with this great historian will go on for quite some time to come at least as long as the innovative quality of his work survives. It is perhaps, however, now time to reflect on the popularity of his work when the dividing line between "before" and "after" is now upon us. I am grateful to Flocel Sabaté for his attention to, and valuable suggestions for this article.



Socialism" was also an obstacle, however distant from Marxist thought it was, and there is therefore nothing surprising about the fact that in the Balkan world, for example, translations of Le Goff's work only started to make an appearance at the beginning of the 21st century. Even countries like Spain and Portugal have only recently opened up to the most recent historiography after the end of the Franco and Salazar dictatorships led to greater openness to cultural innovation in general and historiographical change in particular.

But it was precisely the **United Kingdom**, however markedly late, that felt the need for a panoramic overview of the work of this great medievalist, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, in the form of a conference in 1994 under the guidance of Miri Rubin in Cambridge, the results of which were published three years later². On that occasion, a range of scholars dealt with some of the most recurrent themes in Le Goff's work (money, saints and miracles, kingship, the body, intellectuals, etc.) but a considerable part of the volume was devoted to Le Goff, the *Annales* and national historiographical traditions. A number of European countries were considered (Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, Spain and Hungary) as well as the United States and Russia.

Exactly twenty years after this initiative, it is clear that Le Goff's work has spread to the extent of taking on an intercontinental dimension, as its presence in the Americas (a particularly significant example is Brazil, as we will see) and Asia (we will look at the example of Japan) shows. As far as Europe is concerned, it has been possible to add here a few considerations on Norway here and, at least partly, on the rest of Scandinavia and a few Countries in east-central Europe. However, the Cambridge conference proceedings are still a highly useful outline as far as the approach is concerned as well as in terms of the historiographical value of the essays contained in them.

As Miri Rubin wrote in her introduction only "the later 70s saw Le Goff's work achieve wider recognition and familiarity through translation" but this was certainly not a uniform process. In the English speaking world in particular, it was only in the 1980s and 90s that an increasingly up-to-date translation of the works of the historians from the *Annales* school and in general of French medievalism is evident. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, if we look back we find that Bloch's *La Société Féodale* (1939) only came out in London in 1961 and *Les Rois Taumathurges* (1924) not until 1973, in London once again, at the same time as the English translation of Braudel's *Méditerranée* (first French edition 1949). It is true that there were a few early examples, but these were perhaps closer to traditional themes than those proposed by the "Nouvelle Histoire"; for instance the translation of Georges Duby's *L'économie rurale et la vie des Campagnes dans l'Occident Médiéval* (1962) came out in London in 1968 while *Le Dimanches de Bouvines* (1973) had to wait until 1990. Better luck had Guillaume le Maréchal (French 1984, English 1985) and *L'Histoire de la vie privée* (with Philippe Ariès) which came out simultaneously in French and

2. Rubin, Miri, ed. *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of medieval History*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.



English (1987-91) although this was already well into the 1980s. As far as Le Goff is concerned, Miri Rubin was kind enough to answer a few of my questions, starting with the relationship (if there was one) between the popularisation of the Annales school and Le Goff's influence on English language historiography. Rubin's opinion is that

while Le Goff is always mentioned as related to the Annales school, he is usually not prominently cited as a main proponent such as Bloch or Braudel. He has much more of a unique voice and is a great synthesizer [...]. When I arrived in the UK [from Israel] in the 1980s the influence was very limited. This surprised me because medieval historians in Israel were so aware of the Annales, had contacts with Jacques Le Goff and admired the Annales school in general. I believe I helped make him better known in the UK [this is certainly true, D.R.] The translation of *Birth of Purgatory* was very important and this is much discussed; the study of St. Louis has had some influence; his classic articles are still widely cited —on time, on popular culture and learned culture. It is as if in every niche of scholarship he has written on, he has followers³.

Allow me a quick aside here on the subject of **Israel** to report the presence of the work of a great many French historians, and Le Goff in particular, in its public and university libraries such as the National and University Library of Israel in Jerusalem or the Tel Aviv University Library although only in French or in the English translation.

It is true that the book *La Naissance du Purgatoire* prompted a great deal of debate and not only in the English speaking world —for which it was translated in both London and Chicago in both London and Chicago just two or three years after the original publication. But it is equally true that the reverberations caused by Saint Louis were far weaker and later; nevertheless a number of reviews of it were published in both the United States and the United Kingdom when it came out as an e-book in 2009: e.g. *American Historical Journal* and *New York Review of Books*, 2010; *Heythrop Journal* (Oxford, 2011). However, apart from a few translations in the 1980s and 90s, also outrageously late (*La Civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval*, 1964, came out in the UK and the USA only in 1988), the process seems to have speeded up since 2000. For example, *L'Europe est-elle Née au Moyen Âge?* was translated and turned into an e-book in 2005; *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent*, 2010, came out in Cambridge in 2012 and *À la recherche du temps sacré*, 2011 was translated in 2014. A new translation of *La Civilisation* was published in 2009 (University of Notre Dame) and this too became a free e-book in 2010.

As far as the **United States** are concerned, Lester K. Little has traced a history of American medieval studies from their dawn in the second half of the 19th century⁴. It does not concern only history strictu sensu, but literature, palaeography, Latin,

3. Rubin, Miri. "Introduction", *The work of Jaques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: IX.

4. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins of Medieval History in the United States", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 85-98.



Spanish and German studies, art history. Little also refers to American medievalism, heir to the one flourishing in England since the 17th Century and especially during the 18th. "That medieval art history was of the greatest interest to American intellectuals is attested to by the nearly universal sprouting of neo-Gothic and neo-Romanesque (generally in that chronological order) churches, libraries, town halls, universities, banks, and, not least, homes of the affluent"⁵. However, this theme would take us too far from the subject of this essay and there are already a great many publications on medievalism in both Europe and the United States⁶.

American medieval studies developed in the shadow of its German counterpart. Specialists teaching in the great universities —Cornell, Stanford, John Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, Princeton— met with the German school also during study trips to Germany. World War One weakened this philo-Germanism considerably. University students interested in medieval studies were sent to such alternative European countries as France, Belgium or England. The Medieval Academy of America was founded in 1925, the first issue of *Speculum* was published in 1926 and the great Charles Homer Haskins and his pupils, such as Lynn White and Joseph R. Strayer, rose to prominence. The main interests were focused on politics, law, institutions, all centered mainly in the High Middle Ages. The 1930s and 1940s were the years of European intellectuals fleeing ideological and racial persecution from Nazism and Fascism to the United States. Historians such as Roberto López, Ernst Kantorowitz, Hans Baron and a considerable number of others led to a significant renewal of research subject matter but not of the methodological framework which remained fundamentally tied to the German model. Beginning in the 1950s and 60s, the great expansion of the North American universities brought with it an exponential increase in the number of medievalists and lastly the legacy of Bloch and Febvre inspired interest in American intellectual circles. Thanks to Lawrence Stone, the social sciences (anthropology, psycho-analysis, demography, statistical analysis, sociology, etc.) entered Princeton and invitations to French colleagues of the *École des Hautes Études* to come to the university for semesters or whole academic years began. It should be remembered, however, that in contrast to medieval historians, it were early modern era specialists who opened the path to the proposed subjects and methodologies of the *Annales* and Past and Present. Braudel's translations date from the 1970s and it was only in 1979 that, in a review of *The Territory of the Historian*:

Stone gave a much needed analysis of the recent developments in French historiography, if only to dislodge the notion that statistics and graphs were all that the *Annales* were about [...]. Stone's remarks on the attention being given to mental habits, symbols, folklore and such made a timely introduction for the books of Jacques Le Goff, which began to appear in English in 1980⁷.

5. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins...": 87.

6. Among the most recent: Pugh, Tison; Weisl, Angela Jane. *Medievalisms. Making the Past in the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

7. Little, Lester K. "Mainstream and Margins...": 94.



For the whole of the 1980s, in fact, reviews focused on French historians including Le Goff (*The Birth of Purgatory, Medieval Civilisation, The Medieval Imagination, Your Money or Your Life*. In the latter case it is not clear —and it was unclear to Le Goff himself — why the words “or your life” were chosen when the original title was *La Bourse et la Vie*).

It is true that the welcome given to the work of Jacques Le Goff in the USA was at the very least uneven and sometimes highly critical, as Maurice Keen’s words confirm (called by Little: “an open-minded historian trained in another school who is at times perplexed by Le Goff but is also willing to hear him out”):

The matters into which Le Goff leads the student of history are those on which there will always be room for debate and very seldom room for proof. He is not interested in problems whose solution can be pinpointed by critical accuracy in the sifting of the records. That, I think, is the reason he can sometimes give the impression of being one who starts more hares than he can hunt to the finish. It is also, I suspect, part of the reason why his interests have tended to concentrate on what makes the past, and especially the mentality of the past, different and foreign from that of the present, rather than on similarities of outlook on and reaction to the perennial problems with which the human condition confronts men. He likes the seas that are hardest to chart, and that is why a historian trained in a more positivist school, like myself, will as a reader find himself hankering from time to time after the markers that narrative history, and the debates over it, used to put down in order to make the past more understandable. The reader will be amply compensated nonetheless by the excitement and mental stimulus of voyaging, with Le Goff as his pilot, into some of the stranger waters of time gone by⁸.

It is now several decades since medieval history in the USA does not limit itself to a closed inner circle. Just think of the colossal conferences in Kalamazoo (biennial from 1962 to 1968, annual since 1970) which Le Goff, invited to hold an introductory lesson in 1987⁹, labelled “Champagne fairs of medieval studies”.

Many American universities have enviable and much envied libraries and, above all, source material collections (reprinted and, in more recent years, digitalised) giving students the opportunity for a thorough training although contact with original sources is in any case irreplaceable. Equally irreplaceable is a knowledge of Latin which is unfortunately increasingly rare in Europe too. But it was also thanks to Latin and her frequent visits to the French archives that it was precisely an American scholar, Elizabeth A.R. Brown, whom Le Goff judged to be the greatest specialist in French medieval kingship. Regarding the history of mentality (the term, as ambiguous as it is —so defined by Le Goff himself— continues being practical), among the pioneers of emotions as a research object we find another American scholar, Barbara H. Rosenwein. On the other hand, Little himself in 1994

8. This quotation comes from a 1989 review by Maurice Keen and it was cited by Little: Little, Lester K. “Mainstream and Margins...”: 95 (note 22).

9. “Why and How to Write the Biography of a Medieval Character: Saint Louis?”.



enumerated readers and emulators of Le Goff's vision of history among whom Lynn White, Teo Ruiz and a considerable number of others.

There is obviously no need to look for translations in a bilingual country like **Canada** where a great many of Le Goff's titles are present in both English and French.

Australia is an English speaking country with important universities, including the two main ones in Sydney and Melbourne. There are a few of Le Goff's works in public libraries, such as the National Library in Canberra, but there are a great many of them (a few dozens) in the universities libraries, with many original French editions. Acquisitions are extremely up-to-date and Melbourne already has a translation (Princeton, 2014) of *À la Recherche du Temps Sacré* (2011) in its catalogue. A further important feature of the Australian universities is the presence of both the *Annales* as a journal and of the works of the first generation of the *Annales* historians (Bloch, Febvre) onwards. Unless I am mistaken, on the other hand, and I sincerely hope this is the case, Le Goff's books for young people are lacking.

In English once again, Le Goff's work is in **New Zealand** too (Victoria University of Wellington, University of Otago): more than twenty between monographs and collective works including the 2011 translation of *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent* (2010). The *Annales* school makes its presence felt here too with about twenty titles by Lucien Febvre, for example.

In the few but intense pages dedicated to Le Goff in **Germany**¹⁰, Otto Gerhardt Oexle complained that "only in the early 1990s, German medievalists have, in fact, come to recognise in Jacques Le Goff's oeuvre an innovative body of work whose future is assured"¹¹. This should, however, not surprise us if we remember that the German translation of Marc Bloch's *Société Féodale* only made its appearance in Germany forty years after the Author's death. In the meantime, however, Le Goff's early books, such as *Marchands et Banquiers du Moyen Âge* (1956) and *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (1957), had been recognised as classics.

A further two of Oexle's considerations are also worthy highlighting. The first is the self-critical attitude that every historian should cultivate towards his or her work:

The historian must take note of the subjective determination of his work, of its epistemological foundations, and of the historical traditions, personal, regional and National, that underlie everything he writes [...] the point is [...] to understand more clearly both the significance and the limits of his research¹².

10. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 79-84.

11. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany...": 80.

12. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. "Jacques Le Goff in Germany...": 79.



Exactly what Le Goff did not forget to practice: “This type of reflection is exemplified, in my view uniquely, by Jacques Le Goff’s essay on ‘Ego-History’ and his book *Histoire et Mémoire*”. The second consideration which I believe was much appreciated and shared by Le Goff himself, and despite the fact that twenty years have gone by since Oexle expressed it, it is still undeniably and perhaps even more true today, is that “there are too few historians studying our continent as a whole, as Jacques Le Goff has recently shown”¹³.

A rapid glance at the catalogues of the main German libraries—including the Humboldt University library—reveals the whole of Le Goff’s work, translations starting in the 1990s and still going on. A great many of his books have been printed more than once (including his books on Europe for children) and the time gap from the original editions have been drastically reduced. *Le Moyen Âge et l’argent* was published in German as early as 2011.

A sharp and in-depth essay by Walter Simmons analysed the resistance to the new French historiography in an area which is anything but uniform, also from the cultural point of view, divided as it was and it is between **Belgium and Holland**, north and south, Flemings and Walloons¹⁴. This is not the place to go step by step through Simmons’s essay where he shows how a potential opening towards Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch’s *Annales*, especially thanks to the availability and support, even if from the outside, offered by Henri Pirenne to the two founders of the journal, did never come true. It is also surprising the lack of immediate historiographical follow-up to the publication of the undoubtedly innovative if debatable and debated book by Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*¹⁵. Marc Bloch’s review of the second German edition (1928) was glowing, as Simmons noted. Later, first Fernand Braudel and then Jacques Le Goff found in the book hints of future *Annales* school research tendencies, both from the point of view of the use of sources other than the traditional documentary ones (always a priority in the historiography of the Low Countries), such as chronicles and narrative literature, not to speak of images,—and from the perspective of what has been referred to as collective psychology. Decades would need to pass before history of emotions was to take its rightful—if not always fully accepted—place in medieval historiography.

I do not know whether attempts have ever been made to parallel one of Le Goff’s early books with Huizinga’s work as regards the use of images as true sources for the historian. The work I have in mind is *La Civilisation de l’Occident Médiéval*, whose images are not illustrations to the text but rather an integral part of the historiographical tale¹⁶. I am also thinking to Emilio Sereni’s pioneering work *Storia del Paesaggio Agrario Italiano*¹⁷ the first step, by images, of a research that should have been completed with a documentary apparatus. In the following decades, the

13. Oexle, Otto Gerhardt. “Jacques Le Goff in Germany...”: 79.

14. Simmons, Walter. “The *Annales* and Medieval Studies in the Low Countries”, *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 99-120.

15. Huizinga, Johan. *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1919.

16. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Civilisation de l’Occident Médiéval*. Paris: Arthaud, 1964.

17. Sereni, Emilio. *Storia del Paesaggio Agrario Italiano*. Bari: Laterza, 1961.



use of images as historical sources became commonplace despite prompting some perplexity from art historians, one of a fairly large number of cases of problematical inter-disciplinary dialogue.

As Simmons has highlighted, Belgian and Dutch medievalists finally remained within the institutional history and sources editions sphere and put aside *histoire globale*, comparative history and the history of mentalities until well after World War Two, in fact until the 1970s.

There is certainly not much sense in looking for translations in countries where French and English are commonly used. In fact, Le Goff's books are massively present in the libraries of the Low Countries and there are very few translations into Dutch (for example *Les intellectuels*, 1989 and *La Civilisation*, 2006).

In **Spain**, the harsh repression unleashed under the Franco dictatorship after the Civil War (1936-1939) excluded Spanish research from a leading position and distanced it from the rest of Europe¹⁸. On the one hand historiography lingered discussing feudalism, the *Reconquista*, and the relations of what was to be considered Spanish identity and the otherness of Muslims and Jews, following the debate of the two exiled conservative historians: Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Américo Castro. On the other hand, at the end of the Franco regime (from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s) there emerged in the universities a reaction against the dictatorship, a reaction marked by a general propensity for a Marxist approach¹⁹. From this position, Authors like Josep Fontana Lázaro developed a virulent criticism of the *Annales*, of the study of mentalities, and of Le Goff himself²⁰, followed later by Américo Castro's criticism of Fernand Braudel and his work *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. The result was a reorientation of Spanish historians towards Anglo-Saxon historiography and German-style scholarship focusing research attention, especially in medieval studies, on the favoured subject of feudalism²¹.

Thus, once again, as Adeline Rucquoi indicated, the first of Le Goff's books to be translated into Spanish — eight years after the original — was not especially influential. It should be noted that it was Argentina which opened the way with *Les intellectuels*, Buenos Aires, 1965 (first French edition 1957), *Marchands et Banquiers*, Buenos Aires, 1969 (first French edition 1956). In the same year, not far from the first French edition (1964), *La Civilisation* came out (Barcelona, 1969) followed by *Le Bas Moyen Âge* (Madrid, 1971), a work for general readership published in German in

18. Claret, Jaume. *El atroz desmoche. La destrucción de la universidad española por el franquismo*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2006. In the paper given at the often quoted Cambridge conference, Adeline Rucquoi showed how Spanish historiography and its relationships with the French "new history" had been studied by some Spanish historians between the beginning of the 1980s and the mid 90s such as: Carlos Barros. See: Rucquoi, Adeline. "Spanish Medieval History and the *Annales*: Between Franco and Marx", *The work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...* 123-141.

19. Riera, Antoni. "El temps i l'espai del feudalisme a Catalunya", *El temps i l'espai del feudalisme*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2004: 561.

20. Roura, Lluís; Fontana, Josep; García-Cárcel, Ricardo; Martínez, Carlos; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La història de les Mentalitats: una polèmica oberta". *Manuscrits. Revista d'història moderna*, 2 (1985): 31-54.

21. In the series and in the spirit of *Crítica/historia y teoría*, directed by Fontana, I indicate: Aróstegui, Julio. *La investigación histórica: teoría y método*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1995.



1965 as *Das Hochmittelalter*, in the *Fischer Weltgeschichte* series. The end of the 1970s, but above all the 1980s, saw a widespread opening up to the *La Nouvelle Histoire* (translated in 1988, ten years after the French original) and translations of French historians' as well as Le Goff's: *Tiempo Trabajo y Cultura*, 1983 (French edition, 1977), *Il Meraviglioso e il Quotidiano nell'Occidente Medievale*, 1986 (original Italian edition, 1983) and, once again, *Les intellectuels* but this time in Spain (Barcelona 1986). Then things seem to change. About Le Goff's work, a series of translations followed from the 1990s on, in increasingly shorter time after the original publication, as shows a glance into the catalogue of *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, where are also to be found many original language copies.

Without entering into the merits of these developments in Spanish medieval studies —or rather Spanish language medieval studies, in order not to forget the active presence of Latin America— just think of the huge Internet sounding board and the discussion potential provided, for example, by Carlos Barros's now over a decade long initiative, *Historia a Debate*.

Still in the *hispano-hablante* context, Le Goff's work can be found all over Latin America, translated and published initially by Paidòs, a publishing house founded in Argentina in 1945, then established in Barcelona and Mexico before merging with Editorial Planeta in 2003, with head offices in Barcelona and publishing in Spain, Portugal and Latin America.

Argentina took on special importance when Claudio Sánchez Albornoz emigrated there after the Spanish Civil War, as noted above. In fact, translations of Le Goff's work began there in the 1960s with *Marchands et Banquiers* which was reprinted ten times in Buenos Aires from 1962 to 1984. Naturally, there are also Spanish translations in both public and university libraries.

Mexico is also worth mentioning with translations of books such as *Il Meraviglioso e il Quotidiano* and *Les intellectuels* (both on their second edition in 1986). In Mexico the presence of French medieval studies as well as quite a few of Le Goff's books owes a lot to the constant efforts of Jérôme Baschet, one of Le Goff's closest and most esteemed disciples, with support from Jean Claude Schmitt. Martín F. Ríos Saloma provided an overview of the situation of medieval history in Mexico in an article which analysed four contexts: teaching, dissemination, exhibition organisation and publishing²². The Author argues that, despite some progress "Mexican medieval studies are still in their infancy" above all if compared to very different development in Argentina and Brazil. This is also the situation in other Latin American countries such as **Peru**, for example, where interest in national history prevails despite the pioneering efforts of Gloria Cristina Flórez Dávila²³.

As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, the end of their dictatorships in the first half of the 1970s had an evident effect on the rebuilding of teaching systems

22. Ríos, Martín F. "The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 93-116. This new but highly active journal has published a great many reviews about historiography that complement the vision over Le Goff's work.

23. Author, amongst other publications, of: Flórez, Gloria. *Derechos Humanos y Medioevo: un hito en la evolución de una idea*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010.



and the evolution of historiography in general, and medieval studies in particular, in both Spain and **Portugal**.

An enquiry presented in 2004 (and published two years later) at an *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo* seminar on Portuguese medieval and Renaissance history is greatly useful as far as Portugal is concerned²⁴. The Author looked at medieval studies in Portugal over the last quarter of the 20th century and its restructuring, which moved in tandem with the reorganisation of teaching, in particular in universities; there also was an increase in the subjects and chronological time frames covered, together with a larger number of historians and the need for contacts with other academic institutions. It is also interesting to note that it was seen as important to underline the increase in the female presence in the world of historical research. The *Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais* was set up in 1984 with its own specialised journal. Universities taking the greatest role would appear to be the ones of O Porto (in conjunction with similar institutions in Spain, Italy and Brazil), Lisbon and Coimbra. However, if on one hand, “despite the effort that was made in the last quarter of the 20th century, there is still much to do in the field of the Portuguese Middle Ages”, on the other hand, openness to *Annales* and the *Nouvelle Histoire* cannot but exert influence on the general and medieval historiography, “that has sought to follow European trends, albeit with some delay in relation to certain issues”²⁵. Actually, the impression given is that a time lag in relationships with the outside world did occur and that this has not been entirely made up, whilst the studies of Paula Pinto supplies an impressive mass of data on Portuguese history produced in various research sectors in precisely those twenty five years following the political and cultural modernisation of the country. If, in line with our purpose here, we look for Le Goff’s work either in the original or in translation, we find very little in French and a little more in Spanish, but the bulk is in Portuguese, starting in the 1970s and clearly accelerating in the three decades that followed for an obviously not final total of a little more than twenty. It should be noted, however, that some of these met with considerable success, as later reprints confirm. This is true of *La Bourse et la Vie*, *Faire de l’Histoire*, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* and *L’Europe racontée aux jeunes*. The most successful, however, have been *Les intellectuels*, *Le Merveilleux et le Quotidien* (reprinted from 1985 to 2010) and, above all, *La Nouvelle Histoire*, reprinted at least five times before 1990.

These Portuguese translations are obviously also present in **Brazilian** libraries (the Rio de Janeiro National Library and university libraries such as that in Campinas SP) alongside many original editions and a few English and Spanish translations. Brazilian translations (which sometimes duplicated Portuguese ones, such as that of *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*, published in Lisbon in 1980 and Petropolis in 2013), began and were already numerous in the 1980s but multiplied in the decades that followed. There are multiple copies of some books (a sign of a large readership) and

24. Pinto, Paula Maria de Carvalho. “Os estudos medievais em Portugal (1975-2000). Organização dos estudos e principais linhas de orientação”. *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 106/2 (2006): 247-271.

25. Pinto, Paula Maria de Carvalho. “Os estudos medievais...”: 252.



many editions were published, such as *Les intellectuels* (5 from 1988 to 2007), *Storia e Memoria* (5 from 1990 to 2003), *La Nouvelle Histoire* (5 between 1990 and 2005). No copies appear to have been bought yet of the books which have come out in France since 2010.

As well as this translation policy as far as studies of medieval history are concerned, fresh impetus has also been given since 2000 to purchases of both studies and original or reproduced sources, some of which have been publicly funded, in particular by the São Paulo state. Moreover it was precisely with the creation of the USP (Universidade de São Paulo) in 1934 that the first and most important centre for medieval studies in Brazil was set up after that, in the third decade of the 19th century and up to the first half of the 20th century, the main interest of Brazilian historians had been in their national history. However, from the 1980s onwards, other centres made themselves felt, such as the two universities in Rio de Janeiro, the Federal and the Fluminense. The setting up of the *Associação Brasileira de Estudos Medievais* dates from 1996: it promotes meetings and conferences and has been publishing *Signum. Revista da ABREM* since 1999. The voluminous issue 5 of 2003 (436 pages) was entirely devoted to a Homenagem a Jacques Le Goff with original articles on matters dear to him, a reprint of his essay on Limbo, a critical review of some of his recently translated works and much more. In 2005, an online journal called *Medievalista* was founded as well. It should be remembered that while Brazilian interests in Middle Ages are still very young, they have opened studies and debates of a methodological character such as a recent international meeting entitled *Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge?*²⁶ A wide-ranging methodological and critical essay by Néri de Barros Almeida on Le Goff himself proposed not to highlight the value of Le Goff's work —judged limitless— but rather to identify its motivations and implications on theoretical, methodological and political levels. This is not the place for an analysis of the various aspects of this essay but it is important to emphasise that rethinking Le Goff's work is equivalent, for many Brazilian historians, to retracing the first phase of their training. As the Author notes, in the context of cultural history:

Few historians have been read with as much attention as Jacques Le Goff. Endowed with a unique talent, he saw his writings projected beyond the domain of the study of the Middle Ages, influencing several generations of historians from around the world. He had a particularly marked influence in regions outside Europe, such as Brazil, where his research results imposed themselves as a theoretical and methodological model of medieval studies. It is through some of his best known texts that we intend to develop our thinking, taking him not only as an exponent of the "third generation" of the Annales but as an influential figure in particular in shaping the young tradition of medieval history studies in Brazil²⁷.

26. Méhu, Didier; Almeida, Néri de Barros; Silva, Marcelo Cândido da, eds. *Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge? Les médiévistes face aux usages sociaux du passé. Actes du colloque tenu à l'université de São Paulo du 7 au 9 mai 2008*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012.

27. Almeida, Néri de Barros. "Por uma 'Europa cultural': cultura e política na obra de Jacques Le Goff", *A Idade Média entre os séculos XIX e XX. Estudos de historiografia*, Néri de Barros Almeida, ed. Campinas:



In the words of Sverre Bagge²⁸:

Jacques Le Goff's works are certainly well known in Scandinavia, particularly among the younger generation. The journal *Annales* does not seem to be very much used, as Scandinavians are mostly reluctant to read French, but works by *Annales* historians are often read in English. The history of mentality and historical anthropology have been in vogue since the 1990s, and Le Goff's words about what is common to Caesar and the least of his legionary is frequently quoted and discussed. Of his works his article in *La Nouvelle Histoire*, *Pour une Autre Moyen-âge* and the book about purgatory are the best known. By contrast, there has been less use of his book about St. Louis, perhaps because kingship has been less in the centre of interest in recent years. As a matter of fact, there is a considerable interest in history in Norway, but mostly with a focus on Norwegian and local history, notably the Second World War, and books written in Norwegian. The same applies possibly to the other Scandinavian countries, although not to the same extent.

Until very recent years, there were only two translations of Le Goff's books, both into Swedish. The first, *Att Skriva Historia* in 1978, *Faire de l'Histoire* (1974) became an audio book in 2004, the second, *Ockraren och Døden* (The moneylender and death, but the original title was *La Bourse et la Vie*) published in 1990, was made into an audio book in 2002. This was joined by *Kroppens Historia under Medeltiden* in 2011, a translation of *Une Histoire du Corps au Moyen Âge* (with Nicolas Truong, 2003) which was also turned into an audio book in 2012.

It is worth noting that in Sweden, as in Norway and Denmark (and I also arbitrarily add Finland) there are no other translations into local languages. However, Le Goff's last three books are already available in the original language or in English: *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent* (2010), *A la Recherche du Temps Sacré* (2011, translated into English in 2014), *Faut-il Vraiment Découper l'Histoire en Tranches?* (2014).

As far as the **Baltic republics** are concerned, while the building of the National Library of Latvia is currently underway, in recognition of the fact that Riga is the European Capital of Culture in 2014, apart from a French translation of *Storia e Memoria*, the Lithuanian National Library appears to contain mainly Russian translations of Le Goff's work, some of which have been duplicated in Lithuanian (*L'Europe Racontée aux Jeunes*, *L'Imaginaire Médiéval*, *La Naissance du Purgatoire*), almost all, however, since 2000. Estonia's National and university libraries are much better stocked with original French editions, English translations and a few translations into Estonian also dating from the years after 2000. It is clearly important to remember the effects of the German occupation on these three Baltic states (to whose cultural traditions, moreover, Estonia has ties) and above all of the Soviet occupation from 1944 to 1991.

The relationship between **Russian** historiography and the French school of the second half of the 20th century was the subject of Aaron Gurevich's paper at

Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2008: 1, 74-102, especially, 74.

28. Professor Sverre Bagge of the University of Bergen studies medieval culture and society in Norway and Europe. To these subjects he has devoted a vast number of books. I thank him for the information he kindly gave me.



the Cambridge conference from the starting point of the Moscow observatory and following the common thread of his journey as a medieval historian:

The path of the Soviet Russian historians to the *Annales* has been long and tortuous. For many years our historians have had not enough information about the contemporary Western historiography, and especially about the *Annales* school. In the second half of the 1940s, as students and then as postgraduates, we heard nothing from our professors about Marc Bloch or Lucien Febvre; they may or may not have known Feudal Society and other publications. The prevailing trend in Marxist Soviet medieval studies was that of the agrarian history of the Middle Ages²⁹.

Things started to change in the 1960s when the work of the French *Annales* historians appeared in Russian libraries. However,

during the second part of the 1960s and 1970s the ideological situation in my country was such that historians who tried to use these new approaches to the historical investigation were rather cautious in proclaiming their interest in the *Annales* school, since the official historians, supported by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the chiefs of the Russian Academy and universities, were not inclined to cooperate with French historical thought, but instead saw in the *Annales* their most dangerous enemy. They understood somehow that the *Annales* School of contemporary historiography could be a very dangerous competitor to the so-called Marxist-historical school.

I was lucky to have published the Russian translation of Marc Bloch already in 1973, but I remember that some of the most influential historians in my country were greatly dissatisfied by it and, according to one of them at least, its publication was “a great political mistake”. Other official historians tried to dismiss and minimise the influence of the French historians, saying, for example, that their ideas were not original, and the only trait which differentiated them from other trends in historiography was their good literary style³⁰.

Contacts, even personal ones, with French historians (including, among medievalists, Le Roy Ladurie, Duby, Le Goff) began towards the end of the 1980s and in the meantime, Bloch, Febvre, Le Goff and Ariès's works were translated. If we take a look at the catalogues of the Moscow and St. Petersburg National libraries (incidentally, not easy to consult) and limit ourselves to Le Goff, two aspects emerge —the sometimes truly amazing time lag between the original editions and translations and the very fast making up for lost time which has taken place since the 1990s.

Gurevich's essay is of some interest also for its critical considerations on some of the themes so dear to Le Goff as a French historian —Purgatory, the definition of

29. Gurevich, Aaron. “*Annales* in Moskow”, *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 239-248, especially, 239.

30. Gurevich, Aaron. “*Annales* in Moskow...”: 242.



historical anthropology, the carnival, death (here bringing also Philippe Ariès into the equation). It is important to add that, as we have already seen, some aspects of Le Goff's work were dealt with in Cambridge, apart from considerations of national relevance: time and money, religion and popular culture, intellectuals, kingship, the body. However, the discussion of these themes has no place in this Le Goff's world tour and should in any case be analysed with the benefit of twenty-year's hindsight.

Always at the Cambridge conference, whilst dealing with Le Goff and the *Annales* school's influence in **Hungarian** medieval studies, Gábor Klaniczay was also able to take a look at other cultural and national contexts. The beginning of his text is particularly interesting and worth quoting here:

In 1993, the first class of the recently-founded Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University started its work in Budapest with forty graduate students from sixteen countries mostly —though not exclusively— from the former socialist countries. We began with a questionnaire in which we asked students to name three historians who had been influential in shaping their interest in the Middle Ages. Counting the scores, with no small satisfaction we found Jacques Le Goff far ahead at the top of the list, followed by Georges Duby and by two East European friends of Le Goff, Aaron Jakovlevich Gurevich and Bronislaw Geremek. Distinguished historians of the Slavic and Byzantine Middle Ages like Francis Dvornik and Dmitri Obolenski, or celebrities from neighbouring scholarly disciplines like Ernst Robert Curtius or Erwin Panofsky, took up the rear.

Even though this cannot be taken as representative proof of Le Goff's impact on scholarly circles, his flattering popularity among students has an indicative value. Translations of his works into a large number of East European languages have certainly played an important role in making him well-known. Personal and institutional contacts with him and with other historians of the *Annales* circle must have been even more important. But the principal factor of his popularity must have been above all his ideas and attitudes as expressed in his writings or in stimulating discussions and debates³¹.

Klaniczay drafts a complete if synthetic account of Magyar historiography with its pre-1945 German influences and absence of French references (Bloch, Febvre and the *Annales* remained unknown); then, with the coming of Communism, it came under the influence of Russian Marxism which, even if dogmatic, encouraged new economic history studies.

The first of Le Goff's work to be translated into Central-Eastern European languages was *Les intellectuels* (still in the front rank of Le Goff's work translated around the world): into Hungarian in Budapest 1979; Croatian in Zagreb in 1982; Bulgarian in Sofia in 1993, the promptest having been Poland: Warsaw 1966, soon followed (1970) by *La Civilisation*³². Translations of other works of the *Annales* context also appeared in these years but in limited numbers and with certain serious

31. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales* and Medieval Studies in Hungary", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 223-237, especially, 223.

32. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 224 (note 2 and 3).



gaps. It is, however, important to remember that these are countries in which a reading knowledge of French was commonplace for educated individuals as well as scholars. As Klaniczay has emphasised, however, the interpersonal and inter-institutional contacts for which Le Goff strove early on and throughout his career were of great importance. The *École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* sent history delegations to Hungary from 1966 onwards, to Poland after 1956 and to Czechoslovakia prior to 1968 (a date of obvious political importance). After Le Goff succeeded Braudel as president of the *École* in 1969 a bilateral agreement was established for regular exchanges between the *École* and the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These were contacts which involved student exchanges, established in quite a few countries in this part of Europe; actually, similar joint ventures were set up in Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest and Sofia —former Soviet satellite countries— and in Moscow in the 1990s. Books such as *Paysannerie Française, Paysannerie Hongroise: XVIe-XXe siècles*, Budapest, 1973; *Noblesse Française, Noblesse Hongroise: XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Budapest-Paris, 1981, *Intellectuels Français, Intellectuels Hongrois XIIIe-XXe siècles* came out, the latter under³³ the guidance of Jacques Le Goff and Bela Köpecski, Budapest-Paris, 1985.

The visiting *Annales* historians deliberately tried to ease the intellectual hostilities between East and West by proposing themselves as interlocutors. Not blinded by ideological prejudices, they saw very well that under the veil of Marxist dogmas, a number of interesting historiographic achievements were being accomplished.

These French-Hungarian discussions in the 1970s drew upon a similar Polish experience which had started earlier. By this time, many studies and monographs of leading Polish historians were available in French translations³², and their results came to be absorbed by international scholarship as the fruits of an autonomous school of history-writing. The innovative tendencies of Polish historiography had a stimulating effect in Hungary, too³⁴.

It is important to point out that Poland is a special case because it is the country which Le Goff visited early and frequently, first on a study bursary and then for both family and political reasons, as he has himself recalled on many occasions, and in particular in the book to the memory of his wife who was in fact Polish³⁵. However, the close relationship between Polish and French historiographers, in particular, though not solely, as regards medieval studies is too well known to require reiterating here; it will suffice to mention joint publications in the field of medieval archaeology, or the name of Bronislaw Geremek, Author of now classic

33. Gieysztor, Alexander; Manteuffel, Tadeusz. *L'Europe aux IXe-XIe siècles. Aux origines des États nationaux*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968; Manteuffel, Tadeusz. *La naissance d'une hérésie. Les adeptes de la pauvreté volontaire au moyen âge*. Paris: Mouton, 1970; Kula, Witold. *Théorie économique du système féodal. Pour un modèle de l'économie polonaise XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Mouton, 1970; Geremek, Bronislaw. *Le Salariat dans l'artisanat parisien aux XIIIe-XVe siècles*. Paris: Mouton, 1968; Geremek, Bronislaw. *Les Marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*. Paris: Flammarion, 1976.

34. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 230-231.

35. Le Goff himself talks about this in the *Reflections*...



studies of the world of work and marginalisation in Paris, and an eminent European personality³⁶. Thus the presence of books of Le Goff, among others, in Polish libraries in both original editions and translations can be taken for granted. Neither should it surprise us that translations began to multiply from the second half of the 1980s (the years of the Solidarność movement, to which Le Goff gave his most heartfelt support) accelerating in the two following decades and continuing to the present day with shorter time lapses from the publication of the originals. *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent* came out in French in 2010 and in Polish in 2011. It is also perhaps worth pointing out that *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes*, which was published in Polish in 1996, was then reprinted more than once in 2004 and 2006.

Moreover, the Yugoslav vicissitudes seemed to constitute yet another example of the weight of ideological and political problems. The break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia began in 1991 with declarations of independence from **Serbia** by **Slovenia** and **Croatia**. The dramatic events which followed are well-known. Apart from a few exceptions: *Les intellectuels* in Ljubljana and Zagreb, *Pour un Autre Moyen-âge* in Ljubljana, *La Civilisation* in Belgrade, and on top of a few books in the original edition in Ljubljana and Belgrade, Le Goff's work in the respective languages of the three republics increased in volume in the second half of the 1990s and the new century, with reductions in the by then rather marked time gap between the originals and the translations. As everywhere to some extent, European themes make their appearance here too, but only after 2000.

A similar process occurred in the republics born from the dismantling of Czechoslovakia in 1993 but with some evident differences. Two examples: there are many original versions of Le Goff's work in the **Czech** National Library alongside many translations into Czech, dating mainly from the beginning of the new century (however, *La Civilisation* came out in Prague in 1991 and was reprinted in 2005). These include the ever-present *Les intellectuels*, *La Naissance du Purgatoire*, *Histoire et Mémoire* and *L'Europe Racontée aux Jeunes*. A speeding up in the process is also evident: *Le Moyen-âge et l'Argent* was published in Prague in 2012. There are, on the other hand, very few translations into **Slovak** even of Le Goff's main works although the Slovak National Library and the Bratislava University Library contain all the translations published in Prague.

To return to Klaniczay's words:

I am certain that it is around the problem of the definition of Europe, in particular in its concept whose roots go back to the Middle Ages and which renders history a living force to explain and shape the present, that we can find the clues for Le Goff's attraction to Eastern Europe and the attraction of Eastern Europeans to his personality and works³⁷.

36. An example: Geremek, Bronisław. *Les Marginaux parisiens...*

37. Klaniczay, Gábor. "Le Goff, the *Annales*...": 237.



To complete this brief and incomplete panorama, I should add that a dozen or so translations appeared in **Greece** between the end of the 1980s and 2009 and there are two translations in the **Albania's** National Library: *La Civilisation* in 1998 and *Il Medioevo. Alle Origini dell'Identità Europea* (2002, published in Italian in 1996). Le Goff however was preceded by Braudel with two titles translated and two copies of *La Méditerranée* in Italian. Here, as later on, the presence of Braudel was useful to me as a marker for the presence of the Annales school.

In Asia too, large National or university libraries contain Le Goff's books. These latter usually have works in the original language but mainly in English translations; in some cases there are a few translations into local languages. A thoroughgoing analysis would be fairly complex and is still to be done, but at least it is possible to give a few examples, apart from the truly unusual case of Japan. It should be pointed out that the libraries' online catalogues are not always either accessible or updated.

Works by Le Goff are available in **China**, where translations began in 1988 with *La Naissance du Purgatoire* and continued with *La Bourse et la Vie* (two editions in 1989 and 2007). In 2007 were published the translations of *L'Imaginaire Médiéval*, *La Civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval* and *La Nouvelle Histoire*, while Saint Louis came out in 2002 and Saint François d'Assise in 2010. There are also many books by Le Goff in Peking Chinese National Library, in French, English and —to a much lesser extent— German. Fairly surprisingly, *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes* was translated from Portuguese in **Macau** in 1997 and equally surprisingly a translation of *Le Moyen Âge Expliqué aux Enfants* (2008) is also available there, while the Manila University Library in the **Philippines** only has a few books in English.

Another unusual case is **South Korea**. It is well known that this is an extremely dynamic and competitive country because it has chosen to invest in education in all fields (a phenomenon especially visible in Italy with the presence of young Koreans studying to become singers, musicians, orchestra conductors). As far as our subject is concerned, a glance at the catalogues of the Korean National Library and especially of Seoul University Library shows that of the ten books by Le Goff translated into Korean, some are available in multiple copies, as for instance *La Civilisation* with as many as eleven copies, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* with four copies in two editions (2000, 2010); the updating is evident with a 2011 translation of *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent (original edition 2010)*. As in other countries such a long way from Europe, the existence of *Le Moyen Âge Expliqué aux Enfants*, translated in 2008, is perhaps surprising. There are also many titles in English, French and German. Once again, the Annales school atmosphere is symbolically represented by various books by Braudel (including the three volume *Civilisation Matérielle et Capitalisme*) in both Korean and European languages.

As far as **Japan** is concerned, Shunichi Ikegami kindly assisted me in this research with a concise historiographic paper packed with information I think it is essential to present here³⁸. He stated to me the following thoughts:

38. Shunichi Ikegami, whom I thank here, studied in Paris with Le Goff from 1986 to 1988 and is professor of Medieval History at Tokyo University. He has published many books and articles on mentality, the



Jacques Le Goff came to Japan for the first time in September 1976 when he gave a highly influential lecture at the “Maison Franco-Japonaise” in Tokyo, entitled *Histoire et ethnologie aujourd’hui*. It was a real manifesto of historical anthropology and it had the whole audience spellbound. Gradually the effects filtered through to the Japanese academic world thanks to the insistence of his supporters—especially Professor Hiroyuki Ninomiya—inspiring sympathy in many and antipathy from a few. Some people dubbed this phenomenon as “Le Goff’s shock”. His speech dealt with three issues: 1. Which were the relationships between history, ethnology and anthropology in the past and which are now? 2. Which are the characteristics of the ‘new history’ born within this interdisciplinary debate? (specific issues: history and writing; history and time; history and space: the history of historical consciousness). 3. Which new objects made their appearance in the Middle Ages, if we take up a position from the perspective opened by ethnology and anthropology? (themes dealt with: the body and gestures, the Melusine legends, the birth of the idea of purgatory, the relationships between medieval men and dreams). It was through this lecture that Japanese historians learnt the essence of the *nouvelle histoire* which was then flourishing in France under the guidance of the third generation of historians of the so-called Annales school.

In Japan, however, it was social history and not historical anthropology which came to prominence because, from the middle of the 1970s, or perhaps even a little earlier, the new current of research in Japanese historiography, independently developed, was precisely following social history and was beginning to re-interpret the medieval society’s culture and its transformation through the study of marginalisation, folklore tales, juridical culture and so on (the leading figures here were Yoshihiko Amino for Japanese history and Kinya Abe for German history). This “Japanese style” social history—which certainly found powerful support in Jacques Le Goff’s lecture—developed for about ten years. A special mention should be given to the special issue in September 1979 of the journal *Shiso* (Thought), focusing on social history, as well as to the founding of the journal *Shakaishi-kenkyu* (Research into Social History) in October 1982 (until issue n. 8 of March 1988). The latter was highly significant in that it was jointly published by historians and anthropologists under the marked influence of the Annales school.

On the other hand, Le Goff’s lecture offered to the important anthropologist Masao Yamaguchi the theoretical weapons he needed to launch an attack on conservative Japanese historians. In the name of historical anthropology and “in-depth” history, Yamaguchi, in fact, energetically criticised Japanese historians following a trend of naïve positivism or of the economic history referring to the “Grand Theory”. It was harsh criticism which inspired a great deal of interest in the academic community of the day.

From then onwards, many of the books linked to the Annales school were translated into Japanese one after the other. It is no overstatement to say that Le Goff is the most popular European historian in Japan: in fact almost all his works have been translated into Japanese (books, articles, volumes by other Authors prefaced by him). In particular, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (published in Japanese in 1977 as well as *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*) had a very large readership. This book and *Histoire et Mémoire* were heartily welcomed not only by those interested in European history but also by those who loved literature or philosophy.

I think that one of the most famous books by Le Goff in Japan is *La Naissance du Purgatoire*. However, two of his books are especially relevant in Japanese historical

collective imagination and spirituality in the European Middle Ages including a *Romanesque world idea* written in Japanese.



circles. The first is *Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l'Eglise et Temps du Marchand* : as well as by medievalists it is much discussed also by modern history scholars. The second is *Ordres Mendicants et Urbanisation dans la France Médiévale*. Urban history research is traditionally very well developed in Japan but it has been influenced markedly by German historiography and especially by the studies of H. Planitz and E. Ennen. Le Goff's approach was welcomed as a change to the perspective of Japanese researchers on the origins of the European city.

Recently Le Goff's influence has also been felt in research into the medieval imagination. For instance, there is a collection of publications on medieval sources translated into Japanese and edited by me, *Medieval Wonders*, which Le Goff supported in the advertising leaflet; five volumes have been translated so far: *I Otia imperialia*, *II Le Roman de Mélusine*, *III Topographia Hibernica*, *IV La Lettera di Prete Gianni* and *La Lettera di Alessandro Magno ad Aristotele*, *V Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii and Visio Tugdali*. This series, which will total ten volumes, introduces Japanese readers to the very varied and fascinating world concealed behind the "feudal Middle Ages" or "Christian Middle Ages" that they learn at school.

Finally, I would like to mention here some of the historians who have been personally guided or strongly influenced by Le Goff, starting with Koichi Kabayama, professor emeritus at Tokyo University who dealt with the issue of Western medieval intellectuals refuting *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*' thesis. His studies led to the publication of *Ideological Universe of the Gothic Era* (1976) and *Paris and Avignon: Knowledge and Politics in Western Middle-Ages* (1990). Mineo Tanaka studied under Le Goff's guidance in Paris and wrote a doctoral thesis entitled *La Nation Anglo-Allemande de l'Université de Paris à la Fin du Moyen Âge*, published in France in 1991. I myself studied under Le Goff for two years (1986-1988) and since my return to Japan I kept publishing books and articles on mentality, imagination, spirituality in the European Middle Ages (my most important book is *Studies on the Mental World in the Romanesque Era*). The Japan Society for Medieval European Studies was founded in April 2009 and now has several hundred members. The most notable characteristic of this academic society is that its members aspire to interdisciplinary research. Here too the influence of the *Annales* school as well as that of Le Goff is evident.

I also owe to Ikegami the information on the many translations of Le Goff's works from 1976 onwards, when French medieval studies came to Japan together with Le Goff himself. In the three decades that followed the number of publications in Japanese has constantly grown, with books being published almost every year during the last decade. Here too, as surprising as elsewhere, we find *L'Europe racontée aux jeunes* (2009).

I was unable to carry out an in-depth enquiry into the situation in **India** but in order not to neglect such a large emerging country, I note here the presence of seven English titles in the National and Delhi University libraries where there are also various copies of books by Braudel (five of *La Méditerranée* for example) and a few copies of the original French editions.

Impossible as it is to give an account of all Asian countries, just as for other continents, I will leave Asia across the **Turkish** bridge where *La Civilisation* was translated in 1999 unfortunately without the images that were such an integral part of the text, not simply illustrations. The work is also present in French with a



few other books by Le Goff in the National Library of Turkey in Ankara and in the Ankara and Istanbul university libraries. *Essais d'Ego-Histoire* (Le Goff was one of the Authors) was translated in 2005; *Les intellectuels*, translated first in 1994 then in 2006, are to be found in Istanbul together with three copies in French, as well as *Le Moyen Âge expliqué aux Enfants*, translated in 2011 and again in 2012. It should also be remembered that the works of French historiography, and the Annales school in particular, are present there: once more, the example is Braudel with many books both in French and in translation. The choice of translating *L'Europe Racontée aux Jeunes* (1997) and *L'Europe est-elle née au Moyen âge?* (2008) was perhaps not a random one, but a great deal seems to have changed nowadays: that's why it should be emphasised that Le Goff frequently expressed his cultural and historical opposition to Turkey's entry into the European Union.

In an article entitled World tour we cannot ignore an entire continent, although it is clearly difficult to talk about one as variegated and challenging as **Africa**. I can thus only produce a few data which are, moreover, fairly obvious. French culture on various levels is a feature of the countries over which France exerted colonial control: thus, we find some of Le Goff's publications in the original language in Algeria, Tunisia and Senegal (but not in Ivory Coast).

There are a couple of books in Cairo University whose catalogues are, however, mainly in Arab. **South Africa** is a separate case where, since the end of apartheid, university life has enormously grown. In the historic universities (Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Western Cape and Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, etc.) knowledge of the first generation of French Annales school historiography has accompanied the arrival of many of Le Goff's books mainly in English and American translations.

I have left **Italy** to the end because it is a peculiar, perhaps unique case. Le Goff himself spoke of Italy as his second motherland because of the ties he formed here during study visits from the time of his first books onwards, in Padua, Florence, Siena and the École Française de Rome, and also because of his remote Ligurian ancestry evident in his mother's surname (Ansaldi), whose grandfather emigrated to France from his home town of Porto Maurizio long before, in the Fascist era, being attached to Oneglia under the single name of Imperia. On one of his Italian trips (to Genoa, for the Columbus year, 1992) Le Goff asked to visit these places, on a sort of pilgrimage which he particularly enjoyed also because it was at the seaside, on the same Mediterranean where he was born and had spent his early years.

However, the real reasons for this exceptionally strong bond are of an historical and cultural nature, as André Vauchez rightly noted at the Cambridge conference, in an essay I will quote here repeatedly:

he has been especially sensitive, above all, to the importance and continuity of city life in Italy, and in particular to the fundamental role played by Italy as a privileged observatory of the Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world. Impassioned by the contacts between civilizations, by change and exchanges, and an attentive observer of existence in all its guises, Le Goff was, perhaps, more able than others to enthuse about a world where rural life was confined to a subaltern role early



on, and where the feudal lords played a lesser part than merchants and jurists: a dynamic, conquering Middle Ages³⁹.

For these Middle Ages Le Goff, in the Reflections... previous to this article, coined an original but at the same time problematical definition prompting debate and in-depth study: "an era of progress which dares not speak its name".

Le Goff's presence in Italy followed the Italian late discovery of French historiography in the first half of the 20th century, long obstructed by the cultural provincialism of the Fascist era and the weight of the school reforms, introduced by Giovanni Gentile (a figure to whom Le Goff was openly hostile for cultural and political reasons), that associated philosophy and history teaching in secondary education, with generally devastating educational effects, as witnessed by high school graduates of my own generation. In French historiography and education, on the other hand, the coupling was instead history and geography, while in Italy human geography (linked in various ways to the human sciences: history, anthropology, ethnology, etc.) only took off from the 1960s thanks to the research and teaching of Lucio Gambi.

Let's remember, moreover, that Marc Bloch's works were translated in the post-second world war period and, if *La Société Féodale* was translated in 1949, ten years after its publication in France (1939), a book as innovative as *Les rois thaumaturges* had to wait from 1924 to 1977. Le Goff's works, on the contrary, did not suffer delayed translations: there have actually been joint French-Italian editions, works that came out in Italy before than in France and even publications only in Italian. One of these last is *Intervista sulla Storia* (edited by F. Maiello, 1983), a selection of essays entitled *Il Meraviglioso e il Quotidiano nell'Occidente Medievale* (1983), *L'Italia nello Specchio del Medioevo* (2000), a collection of the essays published in *Storia d'Italia Einaudi*, 1974. Also Italian is *Il Medioevo Europeo* di Jacques Le Goff, much more than a mere catalogue for the exhibition of the same name in Parma (28th September 2003-6th January 2004, with eighty thousand visitors); the exhibits had been chosen personally by Le Goff, who also selected the Authors of the book's twenty three essays, still relevant, on the themes dealt with in the exhibition⁴⁰. One must not forget his many contributions to the Enciclopedia Einaudi: "Antico-moderno", "Passato-presente", "Progresso-reazione", "Documento-monumento", then brought together in the five hundred pages of *Storia e Memoria* (1982), which has become a classic example of his school of thought, translated into many languages.

Worthy of a separate mention, however, is the only translation into a regional dialect I knew of: *L'Europe Expliquée aux Jeunes*, published in 1999 in Friuli (a region of northeast Italy) as *L'Europe Contade ai Zovins*.

Le Goff also played an important part in consolidating relationships between French and Italian historians also through friendship and esteem with colleagues

39. Vauchez, André. "Jacques Le Goff and Italy", *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges...*: 71-77 and 76-77.

40. Romagnoli, Daniela. *Il Medioevo europeo di Jacques Le Goff*. Milan: Silvana Editorial, 2003.



of the same approximate age as well as decidedly younger: Giuseppe Galasso, Girolamo Arnaldi, Ovidio Capitani, Claudio Leonardi, Cesare De Seta, Franco Alessio, Umberto Eco, Chiara Frugoni. I also recall his meeting at the *Settimana di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* in Spoleto in 1970 a group of young and very young people—some of whom were still students—destined to enter the ranks of colleagues and friends such as Massimo Montanari and Chiara Crisciani, soon joined by Giuseppe Gatto, Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio and Giuseppe Sergi. And I apologise for any omission, as certain as involuntarily made. In Vauchez's words:

Maturity, and the publication of now classic works, broadened the fame of Jacques Le Goff in Italy, and it could be said that since the mid-1970s he has evolved from an esteemed foreign author to a public figure in the cultural life of the nation. His growing reputation beyond the restricted circles of historians has to be seen in the more general context of the impact of French historiography, which has become a veritable craze in Italy, to the benefit of authors like Fernand Braudel, Georges Duby and Jean Delumeau. But in Jacques Le Goff's case one can speak without exaggeration of a sort of cultural naturalisation⁴¹.

Seminars and debates have been dedicated to Le Goff, some of which have been highly critical, as for the theme of money and of the role of the mendicant orders in medieval economic innovations, a matter still dividing scholars in Italy⁴². His interventions on school and teaching issues have reverberated widely⁴³ and he continued to grant interviews to the most important dailies both on historical themes and current affairs right up to a few days before his death.

His extraordinary communication skills won him in 2008 the *Portico d'Oro* prize, then named after him (Premio Portico d'oro – Jacques Le Goff) in honour of his popularisation of history beyond academic circles⁴⁴. Those who attended his many Italian lectures and conferences, moreover, were able to witness a public appeal that has been likened to that of a rock star, and demonstrations of genuine affection. One particularly significant episode will suffice. In a solemn ceremony on the 21st of October 2000 at the historic Magnani theatre in *Fidenza*, Le Goff was granted honorary citizenship as a token of gratitude for the attention he had paid to its Romanesque cathedral—an extraordinary book of images as he called it—and to the Via Francigena, one of the routes which brought pilgrims from the north

41. Vauchez, André. "Jacques Le Goff and Italy...": 74.

42. See the works of Renato Bordone and the Centro studi sui Lombardi (Asti), of Giacomo Todeschini on the wealth's circulation between Christians and Jews, of Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli on the *Monti di Pietà* (pawnshops).

43. Le Goff, Jacques. *Ricerca e insegnamento della storia*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1991; Romagnoli, Daniela. "Intervista a Jacques Le Goff sullo studio e l'insegnamento della storia medievale (ma non solo)". *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 108 (2006), excerpt: 1-8; the educational journal *Parliamo di Medioevo. Riflessioni sui secoli delle cattedrali*. Milan: Silvana, 2007.

44. The *Portico d'Oro - Jacques le Goff* prize is awarded every year in Bologna since 2008 during *La festa internazionale della Storia*, now in its 11th year, a great event whose many initiatives target the public as a whole and the young and very young in particular.



of Europe to Rome⁴⁵. On that occasion, he publicly asked that the town abandon the name imposed during the Fascist period in the wake of the passion for the Roman empire (it had been Roman Fidentia) in order to return to its medieval name Borgo San Donnino. This was not possible, but since then the road sign signalling the town entrance reads: “Fidenza - Borgo San Donnino”. Le Goff always kept a photograph of that road sign in a prominent place in his flat. That occasion, which was the last time he left France before health problems reduced his mobility, was prompted by three honorary degrees awarded him (to complete an already long running list) by the universities of Roma La Sapienza, Parma and Pavia. At the end of the traditional *laudatio* at this latter university, the historian of ancient philosophy Mario Vegetti highlighted the importance of Le Goff's work in extending the thematic and methodological range of the historical debate and in striving to overstep interdisciplinary barriers:

For Le Goff, as for the historians of the Annales school, history means the history of society as a whole, a total history which takes into account all aspects of human life: economics, techniques, feeding, social organisation, mentality, feelings and so on. [Le Goff] insisted on the importance of intermediate levels between theological theories and pastoral practice, between folkloric and learned culture, between research styles and teaching methods; he was careful to identify in every instance the conditions, languages and players making possible the transition from one level to another. Thus Jacques Le Goff has been and is a master for historians of medieval thought. His works have been long since an essential part of the critical heritage for the history of philosophy, theology and science studies, confirming that the interdisciplinary dialogue which he has always hoped for is now an established fact⁴⁶.

Perhaps this is not entirely true, perhaps a great deal still remains to be done, but optimistic Jacques Le Goff would look to the future with trust and hope, just as he always did.

45. Mazziere, Luca; Mazziere, Marco, dirs. *Strade, santi, pellegrini*. Parma: Set22 (video), 2000 (cast: Jacques Le Goff; Daniela Romagnoli).

46. Vegetti, Mario. *Laudatio*. Parma: Università degli studi di Parma, unpublished.

