

mensen van nature zijn geïnteresseerd in de geschiedenis van hun eigen land. Zoals aangegeven, verwoordde de auteur van de Divisiiekroniek hiermee volgens Levelt slechts de verwachting dat er een markt was voor regionale geschiedenis. We weten echter niet of de auteur van de Divisiiekroniek daadwerkelijk zo redeneerde. Het enige wat we uit deze opmerking kunnen afleiden, is dat in het wereldbeeld van de auteur het vanzelfsprekend was dat mensen zich op de een of andere manier met hun land identificeerden. Of we daar het etiket 'nationaal bewustzijn' op moeten plakken is de vraag, maar Levelt schuift deze kwestie wel erg makkelijk van tafel.

Het kernbegrip in Levelts proefschrift is continuïteit. Bestaande geschiedwerken werden steeds opnieuw gebruikt door opeenvolgende generaties van geschiedschrijvers, en in een of andere vorm opgenomen en verwerkt in nieuwe geschiedwerken. Het grote aantal kronieken en andere bronnen dat Jan van Naaldwijk voor zijn eerste kroniek raadpleegde, moet worden gezien als een momentopname in dit proces. Uiteraard veranderde de historiografie in de loop der tijd, en was het ene geschiedwerk meer vernieuwend dan het ander, maar tussen de late middeleeuwen en de vroegmoderne tijd was er geen radicale breuk. Jan van Naaldwijk was exemplarisch. Hoewel hij een buitenstaander bleef, voelde hij intellectuele verwantschap met humanisten als Erasmus, Willem Hermans en Cornelius Aurelius. Dit betekende echter niet dat hij een volkomen nieuw geschiedbeeld van Holland neerzette; hoewel hij nieuwe verhalen in zijn geschiedwerken opnam, of bestaande verhalen aanpaste, borduurde hij in essentie voort op wat er al was.

Adres van de auteur: Universiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen, Doelensteeg 16, 2311 VL Leiden. g.a.noordzij@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Fifteenth-century theology for simple laymen?

NIGEL F. PALMER

With reference to: Hans Kienhorst en Kees Schepers (ed.), Amand Berteloot en Paul Wackers (contr. to intr.), *Het Wiesbadense handschrift*.

Hs. Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10. Hilversum: Verloren, 2009 (Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden XI). 609 pp., ISBN 978-90-8704-126-7, prijs: € 54,-.

Fifteen years after the first volume in the series of 'Medieval collective manuscripts from the Low Countries' (MVN) this new publication, slightly different from its predecessors, provides a new benchmark, signalling a moment to reflect on how productive the underlying conception of these publications has been. The underlying principle is formulated on the publisher's website as presenting the 'integral content' of medieval collective manuscripts as a single entity, restoring the historical connection between the separate parts which conventional modern editions destroy. There has been nothing exactly comparable for Middle English or Old French literature, and the German series in the Bibliotheca Germanica, which concentrated on short-couplet verse, did not get beyond a few volumes. A review of such a complex publication as 'Het Wiesbadense handschrift' must be selective, and I propose to comment on just a few aspects: the rather remarkable content of this unusual collection of Middle Dutch texts in prose and verse, the historical context in which it might have been produced, the research agenda implicit in the introduction, and the advantages and disadvantages of the mode of publication adopted for this particular item.

Codex 3004 B 10 of the Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Wiesbaden is a large book for a devotional miscellany in the vernacular, the size of a standard folio (but actually a quarto utilizing large-format royal paper), and contains some 153 leaves of paper and parchment. It is dated in a colophon written by hand 7 to the year 1410. What is most immediately fascinating, however, when one handles the manuscript, are the strange added leaves with drawings in grisaille and rather startling red inscriptions, some of them on blue-tinted paper. How it came into the possession of the Premonstratensian abbey of Arnstein on the Lahn, whence it came to Wiesbaden in the latter nineteenth century, is completely unknown. There were of course Premonstratensian abbeys in the Low Countries, for example the abbey of

Park near Louvain, but there is absolutely no evidence that the manuscript came to Arnstein by this route, either in connection with the dissolution or at an earlier time. The drawings, fourteen of which are in silverpoint (datable ca. 1380–1400) and twenty-three in pen-and-ink (datable ca. 1390–1410), which formed the subject of a Harvard dissertation by Marta O. Renger published in 1984, are only loosely connected with the texts, but four of the pen-and-ink drawings were executed directly on the text pages. Furthermore, one of the texts refers explicitly to the silverpoint drawing on the facing verso (f. 110v) and an integral inscription on the pen-and-ink drawing of Moses on f. 45r refers forward to the text that begins on the following verso. Whatever the original function of the pictures may have been (for example to be included in a model book or to serve as models for transposition into another medium such as wallpaintings), it is demonstrable that the principal text hand was involved in including them in the codex. This means that their inclusion cannot just be chance – or at least it cannot be adequately described as chance (p. 7). It is clear that the makers of the codex, or at least one of them, thought it appropriate to integrate a visual dimension into the prayer and meditation which the manuscript was designed to serve.

The texts, which number seventy-seven or more (depending on how some added prayers are counted), make this collection a wonderful quarry of material associated with the religious life of the urban laity somewhere in the region of Aalst, Oudenaarde and Brussels in the early years of the fifteenth century. As such they represent a literary culture in which the vernacular literary production of the Low Countries took on European significance. The hyper-scholarly and monumental edition in the MVN series is only a first step towards securing for this material the place that it deserves to be accorded in international medieval studies. Texts that stand out for being slightly longer than the rest are a catechetical compendium entitled the *Wech van salicheit* (text no. 5), a Netherlandish translation of Gerson's *Miroir de l'âme* (text no. 7), the *Expositie op het Sint-Jan-sevangelie* by Augustijnken (text no. 12, in couplet verse), Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse in

Netherlandish translation (text no. 26), the *Berijmde dialoog over het schouwende leven* (text no. 33), *Questien van eenen goeden simpelens mensche* (text no. 34), the *Antihierarchische disputatie* (text no. 42), and extracts from a translation of the *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis* of Gerard van Vliederhoven (text no. 75). This list reveals that some of the material presented is quite modern – fourteenth-century spirituality filtered through the Modern-Day Devotion of Gerard van Vliederhoven (died 1402) and the reform programme for lay people conceived by Jean Gerson in his *Miroir* (the first part of the *Opus tripartitum*, 1400/1403). It should also be noted that the manuscript contains at least seventeen Dutch prayers and a very large number of further short catechetical or meditational texts intended for private devotion. Nine scribes contributed to the manuscript, one of whom (hand 7) is described as 'editor in chief' (p. 7) or 'redactor' during the last phase of production (p. 65), and the editors hypothesize at various points about how the formation of this group of scribes might be interpreted.

Robrecht Lievens addressed the question of the 'Sitz im Leben' of the Wiesbaden manuscript in the 1980s, taking as his starting point a small group of texts which he considered to be anticlerical, or 'antihierarchical', namely the so-called *Antihierarchische disputatie* (text no. 42) and the *Questien van eenen goeden simpelens mensche* (text no. 34), both of which stand in the tradition of the better known Middle Dutch text *Meester Eggaert en de onbekende leek* and demonstrate how a simple person can win the upper hand over an authoritative cleric. He defined the audience who might be attracted by this position as 'a group of simple, unlearned, mystically inclined and celibate men living in a community and wearing the habit of a religious order, but not members of one of the established orders' – in other words beguards. The editors of this volume also think of the manuscript as having been made by and for a group of laymen living in a community ('een gemeenschap van devote leken', p. 13). That seven of nine non-professional scribes worked together, perhaps over a longer period and using a common stock of paper, and that one of their number assumed a dominant role in finalizing the appearance of the manu-

script and adding numerous prayers and similar short texts to fill every possible gap gives rise to the idea of a group living in a community (as distinct from scribes employed by a workshop to execute a commission).

A further clue is provided by the dated colophon 'Desen boec es [...] | Anno domini MCCCC end x jaer', preceded by a short text which the editors interpret as 'borrowing instructions' ('lenersinstructie'): 'Nota. Also desen boec ghesen es, | soe gheefften weder dies hi es, | soe sal menne u ten anderen male | gherne leenen, dat weet ic wale. | Waermen des oec niet en dade | ende menne anderwerven bade, | hi soude wesen onghereet; | dat seghet de ghene diet wel weet.' I translate: 'Nota. When this book has been read, give it back again to whoever owns it, then you will gladly be given it on loan again, that I well know. If someone were not to do this and he was asked for a second time, he would not get what he wanted. This is said by someone who knows.' Certainly the complex copying process, which is described in exemplary detail in the introduction, raises the question of the context in which a group of non-professional scribes might be involved in the production of such a manuscript, with access to the same writing materials. But there are grounds for caution before it is accepted that the group of scribes became a group of owners living in a community. The 'borrowing instructions' are not sufficiently explicit, and could be interpreted as a generalized warning about the consequences of not giving back a book which you have borrowed, and it remains a puzzle just what name (of a person or of an institution?) has been erased in the colophon – this is most unlikely to have been the name of a beguard community!

It is quite right to suggest (on p. 12) that this edition is not the place to attempt an untimely resolution of all the issues involved in characterizing this unusual book, but to the mind of the reviewer rather too little has been said, and what is said seems rather too definite. It is certainly the case that those texts in the Wiesbaden manuscript that have a slightly anticlerical slant, or which incline towards apocalypticism, represent a significant element in what is undoubtedly a complex mix of different forms of lay piety. Lievens' sup-

position of beguards may go a step too far, but it remains of interest that an exactly comparable German text from the first half or middle of the fourteenth century, *Schwester Katrei*, is always said to have been composed in the milieu of the Strasbourg beguinages. How should we contextualize this fifteenth-century theology for simple laymen in a manuscript from 1410?

The character of the manuscript is not just determined by the doctrinal content of its texts, but also by the way they have been put together in a specific historical context about which we would like to know much more – and the evidence for which consists only of the manuscript itself. It is a composite manuscript par excellence, but not composite in the sense that texts (and pictures) have been gathered together from different sources and put together in a bundle to be bound. Rather it is to be understood as a collection assembled by scribes working together as part of an ongoing process. Hands 1, 2, 6 and 9 appear to have worked on their own, possibly in succession, but hands 3 and 6 collaborated to a lesser or greater extent with editor in chief hand 7, who assumed responsibility for working over the whole manuscript at a later stage of the process of composition, adding fillers and providing additional texts of his own in the last three quires. At one point a codicologically extraneous block of material on parchment is added, containing two texts that may originally have been made for a quite different context (and are dialectally distinct), namely the *Berijmde dialoog over het schouwende leven* and the *Questien van eenen goeden simpelens mensche* (texts nos. 34 and 35). Finally the picture leaves are integrated, which I would want to see as part of the same process of compilation. Given such complexity the manuscript presents a series of challenges which the tradition of Netherlandish codicology is superbly placed to address. One cannot but be full of admiration at the skill with which the editors, assisted by Amand Berteloot for the script, provide a comprehensive analysis of the construction of the book, the paper stock, the scribal hands, the integration of the picture leaves, the linguistic features of the different scribes, the origin of the exemplars they copied from, together with a bibliographical analysis of the 77 texts, referring for

each text to editions (where these exists) and to parallel transmission in other manuscripts. Given that the work of hand 7 is securely dated to 1410 in the colophon, the paper analysis, whilst providing welcome confirmation of that date, is principally of value as a key to understanding the physical make-up of the book and does not depend on the identification of the watermarks. One is struck, however, that reference here is made only to Piccard's albums (and to Briquet, for hints regarding the place of manufacture) and not to the more extensive material now available in the database Piccard Online. It must also be said that the introduction is very demanding, for it expects the reader to absorb the most minute details of the distribution of hands, etc., before going on to employ this knowledge in thinking about how the various texts in the manuscript hang together.

For a preliminary analysis of the interrelationship of the parts, in terms of content, the introduction provides an expert analysis under the heading 'De textcollectie', which the preface suggests was contributed by Paul Wackers (in which case he picks an argument with himself at one point, in his discussion of the intellectual niveau). This analysis proceeds from a division of the manuscript into three parts, established on the basis of the 'inhoudelijke accenten die in een aantal teksten zijn aan te wijzen' (p. 13), namely quires 1-7 (f. 2-89), 8-11 (f. 90-120), and 12-17 (f. 122-151). The first section is based around the *Wech van salicheit* and the Gerson translation (a remarkably modern text for a Dutch manuscript of 1410) and is described as presenting 'that knowledge which is needed to pursue a good Christian life', making rather different intellectual demands of the reader in its different parts. The second section contains texts 'that are useful for deepening the life of the faith', focusing on a self-confident view of lay spirituality which does not necessarily just go along with what the church wants, and favouring a mode of life that combines the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa* (the subject of one of the added picture leaves): a mode of life for laymen in the world that embraces spiritual and mystical experience. The third section is described as less clearly contoured, combining elements present in the first

and second sections, but focusing now on the needs of private devotion, as is apparent from the numerous numbered sequences and devotional commonplaces rehearsed. There is an element here of combining a content-based with a functional analysis. But it is in these few pages that the reader will find the best starting point for trying to understand the texts in the manuscript as a set, and not simply individual texts brought together by chance and by a desire to pack as much material as possible between two boards.

The edition of the Wiesbaden manuscript would seem to be absolutely central to the programme of the 'Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden' series, combining a meticulous edition (the present reviewer is taking the transcriptions on trust) with a detailed codicological analysis, such as Kienhorst has provided for previous volumes of the series, to help the user understand the relationship between the parts. There is, however, a significant innovation, as this eleventh volume of the series is the first to describe itself as a 'kritische editie' as distinct from a 'diplomatische editie'. Is this moving with the times, is it a deliberate conceptual break with tradition, or is it a feature demanded specifically by the Wiesbaden manuscript?

The decision to go for a critical edition is probably to be welcomed and can be justified in several ways. Many of the texts have been published before, mostly from other manuscripts, but they are not all available in easily accessible editions that can be borrowed from libraries. It would be reasonable to expect that in future, for most purposes, Kienhorst & Schepers will be the edition most commonly consulted. Devotional and catechetical texts are challenging, even for the experienced reader, and the preparation of the text by an expert editor with an intimate knowledge of the material extends a warmer welcome to readers at all levels. And the establishment of a critical text compels the editors to draw attention to passages they have difficulty with, they cannot just pass them by. There is no facsimile, hardcopy or electronic, of the Wiesbaden manuscript, a situation unlikely to change in the near future, as a German regional archive will surely have different priorities. This means that there is no easy way to check editorial decisions that de-

pend on the interpretation of abbreviations or which might be affected by the punctuation and capitalization employed in the manuscript. On the other hand, there is now so much digitized material available free online that diplomatic editions are no longer needed in order to offer the opportunity of experiencing the texts in a form closer to that in which they were originally read. There is clearly no one fit for every text and every manuscript, and the choice of a critical presentation for the particularly complex Wiesbaden manuscript has the particular merit of allowing us to reap the benefits of the editors' learning.

What an mvn edition does not provide, however, is a proper introduction to the texts for readers interested in their content. Not all readers will be familiar with the Paris chancellor's enterprise in writing the *Miroir de l'âme* in French and able to situate the Middle Dutch translation within the vernacular reception of Gerson's writings. Not all will have sufficient knowledge of the 'anti-hierarchical' literature of the period to understand the significance of the dependency of the *Queeste* on the *Dialog van Meester Eckhart en de onbekende leek* (as set out in the footnote on p. 19). Special knowledge is needed to place the particular view of St John the Evangelist implicit in the set of prayers (text no. 40) that hand 7 inscribed on the recto of an added picture leaf at the beginning of the *Antihierarchische disputatie*. These remarks are not intended to suggest that this should have been a volume of 800 rather than 700 pages, but rather to draw attention to the fact that the edition cannot remain a stand-alone. Much more work will be needed on the context of the texts, and the mvn series has provided an excellent foundation for such future studies. But the point remains: a critical edition needs a critical introduction as well as the foundational scholarship this volume provides, and more needs to be done to demonstrate the special significance for the literature of late-medieval Europe of religious prosewriting (and verse) in Middle Dutch.

Address of the author: St Edmund Hall, Oxford OX1 4AR, Great Britain. nigel.palmer@seh.ox.ac.uk

Het geschreven woord in Henegouwen

MARGIT REM

Naar aanleiding van: Valeria Van Camp, *De oorkonden en de kanselarij van de graven van Henegouwen, Holland en Zeeland. Schriftelijke communicatie tijdens een personele unie: Henegouwen, 1280-1345*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2011. 2 delen, 228 + 239 p., ill., ISBN 978-90-8704-190-8, prijs: € 59,-.

De studie van Valeria Van Camp, *De oorkonden en de kanselarij van de graven van, Henegouwen, Holland en Zeeland*, is de vijfde uitgave in de voortreffelijke serie *Schrift en Schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen* en bestaat uit twee delen: Onderzoek (1) en Bijlagen (2). In deel 2 vinden we de onderbouwing van het onderzoek o.a. in de vorm van een overzicht van de gebruikte documenten, lijsten van documenten die op schrift gesteld zijn door kanselarijhanden en een paleografische atlas. Hieronder zal ik ingaan op de inhoud van deel 1: het onderzoek. Vooraf moet nog opgemerkt worden dat het hier eigenlijk een deelonderzoek betreft. Van Camp heeft vooral onderzoek gedaan naar het grafelijke schrijfcentrum in Henegouwen. Parallel hieraan heeft Jinna Smit de Hollandse grafelijke kanselarij onderzocht. De resultaten van dit laatste onderzoek zijn nog niet gepubliceerd.

Toen in 1299 Jan, graaf van Holland, Zeeland en heer van Friesland, op vijftienjarige leeftijd stierf, stierf met hem het "Hollandse huis" uit. De graven van Holland en Zeeland komen vanaf dat moment van buiten het graafschap. In 1299 wordt Jan van Avesnes graaf van Holland en Zeeland. Hij was al graaf van Henegouwen en vlak voor de overgang naar de veertiende eeuw worden de graafschappen in een personele unie verbonden.

Naar de kanselarij van de graven van Holland is in het verleden al onderzoek verricht, maar de Henegouwse kanselarij heeft tot het verschijnen van het boek van Van Camp weinig aandacht gekregen. In haar studie onderzoekt Valeria Van Camp de invloed van de personele unie op de grafelijke administratie. Henegouwen en Holland-Zeeland liggen geografisch gezien niet bij elkaar om de hoek. Zeker niet vanuit een middeleeuws perspectief: er waren enkele dagreizen