BETWEEN STABILITY AND TRANSFORMATION
Textual Traditions in the Medieval Netherlands

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Introduction*

Between Stability and Transformation. Textual Traditions in the Medieval Netherlands

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Texts are subject to transformation, especially during the Middle Ages. The medieval textual culture was a *manuscript culture* that was characterised in a unique way by *variance*.[1] Every new copy offered the scribe the possibility to adapt the text to new contextual circumstances and every manuscript showed a unique combination of features, thus influencing the meaning of a work.[2] In the beginning of the 1990s, the importance of the study of these phenomena has been strongly emphasised within the so-called *New Philology*.[3] Fierce reactions made clear that this approach was not as new as its provocative, and almost self-ironically posed, name suggested.[4] In 1973, Kurt Ruh and others had already held a plea for the study of textual tradition in every respect, including the author, the adaptor, the scribe or printer, and the audience of a text.[5] Gradually the American discussion and the European tradition were connected and the merit of New Philology was acknowledged.[6] In 2002, Franz-Josef Holznagel concluded that New Philology functioned

> als eine Art Katalysator [...], der dazu geführt hat, daß die in der deutschsprachigen Forschung schon längst eröffnete Diskussion über grundlegende Probleme mediävistischer Arbeit und speziell über die Bedeutung der Handschrift in der mittelalterlichen Kultur vorangetrieben und über den engeren Kreis der Überlieferungsfachleute und Editionsphilologen hinaus bekannt wurde.[7]

Although New Philology wasn't *New,* it heavily influenced and enhanced the discussion on the importance of textual variation and manuscript tradition and tried to

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1 For an overview of the development of this idea (with reference to Zumthor, Rychner, Cerquiglini and others), see Bumke 1996, 125-126.
2 Nichols 1990 and Nichols 1997.
3 See the contributions of Nichols et al. to the special issue of *Speculum* 65 (1990), issue 1.
4 See, among others, Stackmann 1994 and the contributions to Busby 1993. For the relation with other theoretical trends, see Lepper 2012, 122-129.
5 Grubmüller et al. 1973, 171-172. For a discussion on the results of this approach, see Ruh 1985. For a comparison of New Philology and German medieval studies, see Schnell 1997 and Williams-Krapp 2000.
6 The 1997 special issue of *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* on 'Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte' formed an explicit attempt to connect the American discussion with the European tradition. See Tervooren & Wenzel 1997, 3. In the same year, a special issue of *Editio* tried to connect Old and New Philology. See Gleßgen & Lebsanft 1997. An evaluation of the discussion and further research can be found in the volume 'Überlieferungsgeschichte – Textgeschichte – Literaturgeschichte' of *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik*, edited by Thomas Bein in 2002. See for an overview of important publications p. 100-104 of this volume, and, in the same volume, Holznagel 2002, 127, n. 3.
7 Holznagel 2002, 127.

connect it with contemporary (literary) theory. In the following introduction I will use the name *Material Philology*, introduced by Nichols in 1997.[8]

In the study of Middle Dutch literature, the discussion on Material Philology was picked up rather late. According to Herman Brinkman this can be explained by the marginalisation of philology in Middle Dutch studies.[9] From the 1980s onwards, the philological approach was exchanged for a more cultural historical approach to Middle Dutch texts. Since the international discussion on Material Philology started among philologists, researchers of Middle Dutch literature didn't participate in this debate. Material Philology was adapted in Middle Dutch studies only from the year 2000 onwards. This was the year in which Wim Gerritsen discussed the approach critically and with amazement.[10] In the following years, more and more scholars referred to Material Philology, especially Wim van Anrooij and Johan Oosterman.[11] Not surprisingly, however, it turned out that many researchers were already familiar with the practice of Material Philology before they knew of its existence. The idea of studying texts in their manuscript context has a strong tradition in Middle Dutch studies. Herman Pleij introduced this approach in the mid 1980s, and in the beginning of the 1990s Wim van Anrooij and Dini Hogenelst initiated a unique series of editions of whole manuscripts. Thus Material Philology could easily merge with the already existing interest in manuscripts and textual variation. It stimulated the further exploration of this approach.

Now that the idea of studying texts in their manuscript context is broadly accepted, the next step is to develop a more detailed and differentiated picture of textual variation. Several German scholars already questioned the possibilities of interpreting textual change and argued that not all textual differences are equally relevant. Werner Williams-Krapp, for example, stated that 'die Bedeutung, Aussagekraft und Interpretierbarkeit von *variance* stark überschätzt wird'.[12] In an attempt to develop a more differentiated idea of textual variation, Klaus Grubmüller asked how variance as an aspect of importance in text production (the author) relates to variance in the emanation of texts (scribes). He furthermore proposed to look at different layers of a text (for example the content and the formal aspects) and to study the possible differences between genre, content, language, the context in which a text originated, types of authors, and between oral and written culture.[13]

Other scholars questioned the focus on textual change as such. They argued that medieval texts do indeed differ, but that the stability of texts has to be taken into account too.[14] In his study on scribal corrections in English manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Daniel Wakelin showed that alongside all the vari-

8   Nichols 1997, 10.

9   Brinkman 2009, 6.

10 Gerritsen 2000, 10-14.

11 Brinkman 2009, 5-6.

12 Williams-Krapp 2000, 14. See also Schnell 1997, 92-94 and Cramer 1997, 151: 'die Erkenntnis, daß voneinander abweichende Fassungen nicht von vornherein sinnlos sind, erlaubt noch nicht den Umkehrschluß, jede überlieferte Fassung sei sinnvoll'.

13 Grubmüller 2001, 9-10.

14 See in general Bein 2002, 94, with reference to Müller 1999, 162 and Stackmann 1997.

ance 'textual correctness or incorrectness' played a role of importance too.[15] 'In a culture in which such changes were acceptable', he argued in an earlier article, 'the decision not to change the text was important too'.[16] In all languages we find authors who ask scribes and performers not to change their work.[17] These authors show themselves aware of the fact that texts were easily altered, but didn't take this practice for granted and clearly valued the stable transmission of texts.

An example of an author, who was concerned about the transmission of his text, is the Middle Dutch writer Jacob van Maerlant. In the prologue to his *Derde Martijn* (*Third Martin*) he warns his readers not to change any sentence, word or even a letter of his poem:

> Ic mane mannen metten wiven,
> Die dit sullen lesen of scriven,
> Upten hoghesten ban,
> **Dat si dit dicht laten bliven**
> **Rene, dat siere niet in en driven**
> **Woort, lettre, af no an.**[18]

(I beseech everyone who will read out or write this poem, by the highest anathema, that they will keep it clean and will not add or delete a word or a letter.)

Maerlant seems well aware of the practice of textual variation. The reason for his worry seems to be the fact that he discusses a delicate matter, namely the trinity. The purpose of leaving the text unchanged is to transmit the truth on this matter faithfully. The content of a work might form one of the aspects that influence the way author and scribes deal with the text.

It is interesting to see that this idea of the 'correct text' sometimes goes hand in hand with the idea of changing the work. We find authors that encourage their readers to correct the text if they are able to do so. Frits van Oostrom has collected a number of passages from Middle Dutch literature in which scribal intervention is explicitly addressed.[19] For example, in *Alexanders geesten* (*Deeds of Alexander*) Jacob van Maerlant appears to have a much more positive idea about scribes rewriting his texts than he formulated in his *Derde Martijn*:

> Ic bidde ooc alle dien ghonen mede,
> Waer so si sijn in elken stede,
> Die in desen bouke lesen,
> Sien siere in iet bescreven wesen
> Daer iet aen te beterne es
> Jacop bidt hem allen des,
> Dat sijt beteren, hets wel ghedaen.[20]

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15 Wakelin 2014, 7.

16 Wakelin 2011, 50.

17 See for German examples Schnell 1998, Grubmüller 2001, 8-9 and Quast 2001.

18 *Van der drievoudichede,* 1-6. Verwijs 1879, 56.

19 Van Oostrom 2003, 34-35, with a short discussion on p. 18-19. See also Bouwmeester 2016, 15-17. For the English tradition, see Wakelin 2014, 19-42. For German examples: Quast 2001, 39-40.

20 *Alexanders geesten*, 1521-1527. Franck 1882, 393.

> (I also beg everyone who will read in this book – no matter where they are – in case they find something described in it that can be improved, Jacop begs everyone to improve it, it is done well.)

Passages like this one seem to form the perfect argument to show that textual change was an accepted phenomenon in medieval textual culture. But in the same work, Maerlant also warned his reader not to change the rhyme of his text, because it is all sound: _So wiere an naide enen douc / Van valscher rimen, hi mesdoet, / Want die rime es al goet_ (The one who sews a rag / of false rhymes to it, he does so wrongly, / since the rhymes are all sound. _Alexanders geesten_, Book I, vs. 1401-1404). If we have a close look at these examples, we see that the encouragement to correct the work by changing it stems from the same idea that motivates authors to ask for a faithful transmission of their texts.[21]

These authors ask their readers to _correct_ or _improve_ the text, using Middle Dutch words and phrases as _beteren_ (to correct), _verbeteren ende corrigieren_ (to improve and correct)_, corigieren_ [...] _ende setten in rechten weghe der waerheit_ (to correct and adjust to the truth).[22] The reason they ask their readers to do so, is that they might have made a mistake. For example, the author of the Middle Dutch _Reis van Jan van Mandeville_ (_Travels of John Mandeville_) writes that he might be _dolende_ [...] _in minen redenen mids verghetelicheden ofte anders waer omme_ (wandering in my story because of thoughtlessness/forgetfulness or other reasons).[23] These authors are not encouraging their readers to change a text in order to meet their personal needs, but to create a truthful story.[24] Moreover, correcting was also a means of honouring the work of the clerics, as Wakelin showed. A Middle Dutch example of this idea can be found in _Tondalus visioen_ (_The vision of Tondalus_), where all the people who hear or read the story are asked to correct it (and not make it worse!) for the honour of all clerics:

> Oec biddich hem allen dijt horen solen ochte lesen. Vernyemense hijr in yet dat te calegieren si, dat si dat verbeteren **ende niet en ergeren** omme alre clerken ere.[25]

> (I also pray all people who will hear or read this: in case they learn something in it that should be reproved, that they will correct it and not make it worse, for the honour of all clerics.)

By correcting the text, scribes honour the literary work, the profession of writing and copying and the content that is discussed.

If we shift attention from author to scribes and users, we see that the idea of the correct text was important to them too. Not only do we see scribes copying texts accurately – sometimes even following the layout of their exemplar – we also see people

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21 See Quast 2001, 40: 'Doch auch solche Verbesserungsappelle an koproduzierende Bearbeiter zeugen davon, dass ein Bewusstsein für die ideale Textgestalt existiert [...]. Der bewegliche Text wäre aus Sicht dieser Textproduzenten als Vorstufe einer idealen Gestalt zu verstehen.'

22 Examples extracted from Van Oostrom 2003, 34-25.

23 _Reis van Jan van Mandeville_, f. 3va. Quoted from Van Oostrom 2003, 34. Full text: Cramer 1908.

24 See also Wakelin 2014, 41. He discusses English examples of authors encouraging their readers to correct the text and concludes: 'Yet the poets do not in fact give people licence to rewrite wilfully.'

25 _Tondalus visioen_, 1vb. Quoted from Van Oostrom 2003, 35. Full text: Verdeyen & Endepols 1914-1917.

correcting small details of a work.[26] The scribes of the Charterhouse of Herne cor-
rected their copies with great effort, using more than one exemplar to correct de-
faults in their layer.[27] This concerns not just the meaning of the text, and there is even
more at stake than the production of a perfect text. As Daniel Wakelin showed, for the
Carthusians 'the process of correcting is itself fraught with moral significance'.[28] The
Carthusians' philological approach stems from the Christian tradition of correcting
the Bible and was explicitly prescribed as a moral deed.

Outside the context of the monastery we also find people that paid careful attention
to the correctness of a text. For example, the first prayers of the Gruuthuse manuscript
have been corrected thoroughly by a later scribe. His corrections, nevertheless, rarely
influenced the meaning of the poem. He appears to have brought the text in line
with another copy of the prayers that he valued more, thus showing a strong notion
of what is correct and incorrect, and striving to transmit faithfully the text he consi-
dered best.[29] Other well-known Middle Dutch corrections are found in the Lancelot
Compilation in manuscript The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms 129 A 10, and in
the *Ferguut* in manuscript Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms ltk 191. A corrector
made 250 corrections to the *Ferguut* text and explicitly explained his working method
in a colophon, thereby increasing the value of the copy:

> Here, hier hebdi van Ferragute
> Van beghinne ten inde al ute
> Ghecorrigeert van miere hant
> Over al soe waer ict vant
> In rijm, in vers, in ward messcreven.[30]

> (Lord, hereby you have the poem of Ferragute, corrected by my hand from the beginning to the
> end at all places where I found it was written wrong in rhyme, in verse and in words.)

According to this colophon he corrected al the mistakes he found in rhyme, verses
and words. Willem Kuiper showed that this corrector was actually polishing the text
stylistically. He hardly ever changed the content of the work.[31] These examples show
that medieval scribes made the effort to transmit a text faithfully and that they could
have a strong notion of correctness.

Authors and scribes as well as readers seem to have valued the stable transmission of
texts, and we may safely assume that scribes normally aimed at copying a text faith-
fully. It is, however, clear that medieval texts were frequently changed during their
transmission. As we have seen, one of the reasons for changing a text might have been
correcting it, but this was clearly not the only motivation for textual change.[32] Some-

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26 See for examples of scribes following the layout of their exemplar: Doyle & Parkes 1978, 164-165, Gillespie
1989, 332-334.
27 Kwakkel 2002, 107-112, 120, 122-124.
28 Wakelin 2014, 28.
29 Gabriël & Oosterman 2010.
30 *Ferguut*, 5596-5601. Rombauts, De Paepe & De Haan 1982, 224.
31 Kuiper 1989, 71-215; conclusions on p. 208-215.
32 In his 'Typologie von Schreibereingriffen' Martin Schubert classifies these changes as 'Bemühen um Wieder-
herstellung des Textes'. The scribes exemplar could be damaged or contain mistakes, he says, and intelligent scribes

times striking details have been changed, material has been added or deleted or even the whole story has been rewritten. For genres like songs, devotional texts, short poems and chronicles, rewriting seems to have been self-evident. This brings us to the question of what motivated people to rewrite a work more thoroughly. A contextual shift may evoke these changes, for the text had to be adapted to new readers' frame of reference. We could think of geographical changes, institutional changes, political changes, a change of medium or simply the passage of time.

To further elaborate on the motives of textual change and to nuance the idea of a textual culture characterised by variation, researchers from Ghent University and Radboud University Nijmegen organised a conference entitled 'Between stability and transformation. Textual traditions in the medieval Netherlands', which was held at Ghent University on 21-22 September 2010.[33] Central questions were: what evoked textual change in medieval culture? How did changing circumstances lead to adaptations within a text, and how can these alterations be interpreted? In our call for papers we asked participants to discuss the contextual shift from medieval texts with-in and from the Netherlands, and to elaborate on the whys and wherefores of the accompanying changes. We furthermore encouraged participants to work with the notion of stability.

A selection of the papers given at this conference is published in this volume.[34] Not surprisingly, the idea of transformation appears to be easier to address than the notion of stability: all papers take the transformation of texts as their starting point. This does not mean, however, that the notion of stability does not play a role at all. Stephen Nichols and Adrian Armstrong show that stability and transformation go hand in hand. Texts can be both stable and fluid, depending on the aspect of the work we focus on. The papers of Adrian Armstrong, Rebecca Dixon and Bram Caers illustrate how new contextual circumstances can lead to textual changes. It is interesting to see that a contextual shift sometimes does not evoke the changes we would expect, as Antheun Janse illustrates. A new context as such might not have been enough to evoke changes. The person responsible for the reworking seems to play a crucial role. Some alterations do not just involve a scribe's understanding of what he was copying; they involve someone with knowledge of the context in which a work was supposed to function, and a vision of the content of the text and of its function. It might therefore also be important to distinguish between commercial and non-commercial scribes.[35]

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could correct these mistakes. Schubert 2002, 131 and 133-135. Note that the word *Wiederherstelling* implies that the text was originally faultless, whereas the colophons we discussed in this introduction show that the idea of correcting a work should include possible failure of the author too.

33   Organising committee: Youri Desplenter, Johan Oosterman, Ulrike Wuttke, and myself.

34   Originally we also planned to include a paper by Hans Kienhorst and one by Tjamke Snijders. The paper by Kienhorst grew into a book that he and Ad Poirters are currently writing, entitled *Archaeology of a Book Collection. A Study of Stratification and Interconnectedness in the Historical Library of the Canonesses Regular of Soeterbeeck. With a Catalogue of the Soeterbeeck Collection Compiled in Collaboration with Eefje Roodenburg* (expected in 2017). The contribution by Snijders is included in her book *Manuscript Communication* on p. 181-202. Snijders developed a quantitative approach to measure rewriting in hagiography in high medieval monasteries.

35   See Pouzet 2011, 238: 'Whether religious or secular, single-handed or cooperative, professional or not, each non-commercial manuscript shows that cost and effort were never so great as to preclude the practice and pleasures of scribal *otium*. It would be worth exploring whether such affective investments in the making of books are in line with the textual 'instability' and discursive 'malleability' of the written medium, compared with commercially produced manuscripts – forms of variance which the commercial logic of the printing press was to restrain to a considerable extent.'

The papers by Geert Warnar, Adrian Armstrong and Bram Caers give us a glimpse of the people responsible for more thorough textual changes.

In his contribution to this volume, Stephen G. Nichols elaborates on the tension between stability and transformation by analysing the idea of the omnipotent, unchanging divinity and discussing the medieval concepts of 'sameness' and 'resemblance' in the *Roman de la Rose*. He approaches the manuscript as a system designed to transmit a text. This system has to be able to handle the load of a new context without losing its original function. This means that the work has to change to fit the needs of new readers, while at the same time the original story with its well-known plot and characters has to be reproduced. A work's stability over a longer period thus depends on the generative force of transmission, which is its ability to move or change something for a particular end. Nichols shows that the reader of a work plays an important role in the formation of the image of the text. Manuscripts reveal this normally invisible interaction between work and viewer. For a work to be reproduced over a longer period of time there must be a very strong 'hyper concept' that attracts readers, while at the same time changes must be made for a work to still be relevant and attractive to new readers. Nichols calls this paradox of sameness and adaptation 'mutual stability'.

An approach that focuses on manuscript tradition forces the scholar to look beyond the traditional borders of disciplines. In his keynote paper on the transmission of the *Sachsenspiegel* in the Netherlands, Geert Warnar shows how literature, law and religion were interconnected in medieval textual culture. On the one hand, the *Sachsenspiegel* had to form a stable point of reference for jurisdiction and was thus copied faithfully, and, on the other hand, its meaning was fluid due to the addition of textual passages, illustrations and texts. Moral education and religious argumentation were highlighted especially by later alterations. The case of the lost books of priest and schoolmaster Pieter Pouwelsz, who also made a copy of the *Sachsenspiegel*, illustrates how educated men participated in a textual culture in which discourses, genres, interests and ideologies were intertwined.

Adrian Armstrong demonstrates the importance of studying texts in their regional context, instead of limiting research to the production and transmission of texts in one language. In his paper he discusses the textual adaptation of two works by Jean Molinet (1435-1507), namely *La Recollection des Merveileuses* and his *La Complaincte de la Terre Saincte*. Both texts underwent significant ideological changes when they were printed in Antwerp around 1510 and in 1532 respectively. Armstrong shows how these texts were adapted to new socio-historical circumstances and how cultural agents interacted in the multi-lingual region the Southern-Netherlands formed in this period. The idea of a strong and recognisable story that forms a stable concept over time also plays a role in Armstrong's contribution. He introduces the concept of 'masterplots' and shows how these familiar narrative schemas with a strong ideological charge lend themselves especially well for adaptation. Their recognisable underlying structures can easily be filled with new meaning.

An example of how a text was strategically rewritten in order to appeal to new readers is presented by Rebecca Dixon in her paper on the *Fille du comte de Pontieu* in a manuscript from the Burgundian Library (Paris, BnF, ms fr. 12572). In the prologue to this

text, the editor explicitly presents his work as an adaptation. By elaborating on passages concerning ceremony, travel and combat, the editor creates a story that could help in shaping the identity of its Burgundian audience. This ideological dimension was further developed in the nine illustrations added to the text by the Wavrin Master. By focussing on ceremony, travel and combat too, he visually underlined the themes already highlighted in the story. By looking at the interaction between text and image, Dixon illustrates that the transformation of ideas was not limited to textual production, but formed a 'multilaminated' process that could involve all aspects of book production.

Bram Caers shows us how a text could be reworked and expanded over a longer period of time by different people. Caers studies the subsequent layers of text formation in a manuscript with the Mechelen Chronicle (Mechelen, Stadsarchief MS EE VI 1). By looking at thematic patterns in the additions and alterations, he shows that the scribe of the complete manuscript was probably also responsible for the continuation of the story. Another person, Gerardus Bernaerts, reworked the text at a later moment (probably between 1560-1570). By combining the ideas of Material Philology and *critique génétique*, Caers reveals the different editorial roles of scribes. Whereas the scribe's goal was to continue the story, Gerardus Bernaerts was reworking the chronicle to meet his personal needs and interests. In his article, Caers sheds light on the people responsible for textual changes and additions and on the historical context in which they were working.

That chronicles often show a complex history of creation, is also illustrated by Antheun Janse. He discusses the textual tradition of the Gouda Chronicle – a chronicle of the county of Holland that was produced in at least three stages in the fifteenth century. The text was reproduced in a time dominated by the struggles between the Hooks and the Cod, but it turns out that the scribes did not regularly adapt the text for political reasons. In this case the contextual shift did not evoke textual changes on a large scale. More frequently Janse found what he calls *local markers*: textual changes or additions that are of particular interest to a specific town or village.

The making of this thematic issue was a process characterised by both stability and transformation. As time evolved, circumstances changed. We are happy that the editors of *Queeste* were willing to publish the articles in a special issue and thank them for their editorial work. We would like to thank the contributors for their patience and their willingness to publish their article in this issue. Over the past years, a lot of people have invested time in this project. We would like to thank them for their effort. We thank Kate Rudy for correcting the contributions of Dutch-speaking authors. A word of special thanks goes to Youri Desplenter (Ghent University), who has led the editorial process in the first years of the project. We are grateful for everything he contributed to this issue.

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Mutable Stability, a Medieval Paradox
The Case of Le Roman de la Rose

STEPHEN G. NICHOLS

It has become *de rigueur* to view the Middle Ages as a period of textual mutability, defined by what we sometimes refer to as *le texte mobile*. My own work over the last decades has certainly argued this cause. The rationale for relativism was a necessary corrective in the face of entrenched views asserting the primacy of a fixed text established by critical methods intended to purge the work of 'errors in transmission'.[1]

Yet even those who argue, to the contrary, that 'transmission errors' often represent creative 'participation' by a talented scribe, must recognize the attraction of a stable work. After all, despite an extraordinary record of innovation, invention, and discovery, the Middle Ages are an era that resisted change in and for itself. And yet this same veneration of conservative values underlies a fascinating paradox of medieval culture: its delicate and seemingly contradictory balance between stability, on the one hand, and transformation, on the other. It may be that only an era that saw no contradiction in promulgating an omnipotent, unchanging divinity, which was at the same time a dynamic principle of construction and transformation, could have managed the paradox of what I want to call 'mutable stability'.

While we can find this principle at work in a number of domains – not least in the myriad art forms known as 'Romanesque', as Meyer Shapiro long since noted – I will limit myself in this paper to the manuscript transmission of vernacular works of literature. In particular, I want to look longitudinally at transmission practices of manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* to demonstrate several aspects of mimetic transformation of the text that illustrate a basic principle of stability, namely, *the ability of an object to adjust to load changes without any reduction in performance*.[2]

What exactly does this mean? How can we speak of a literary work – medieval or otherwise – in terms of 'stability', 'load stress', and 'performance dynamic'? Strange as it may seem, the terms make sense once one recognizes manuscript transmission as both a technology and a sophisticated model of communication, in essence, a dynamic system. Dynamic systems are designed to perform functions within proscribed parameters that define its nature. Since each performance results in input stresses of one kind or another, these forces necessarily produce changes as the system adapts to the pressure. That's only to be expected since no two performance-situations will ever be identical. If systems cannot accommodate load stress, while still performing

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1 See Nichols 1994; Nichols 1997; Nichols 1995; Nichols 1989; Nichols 1990; Nichols 1991; Nichols 1992; Nichols 2006a; Nichols 2007; Nichols 2006b; Nichols 2008a; Nichols 2011.
2 *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* 1967, 2217 defines 'stability' similarly as: 'the property of a body that causes it when disturbed from a condition of equilibrium or steady motion to develop forces or moments that restore or adapt the body to the original equilibrium or motion'.
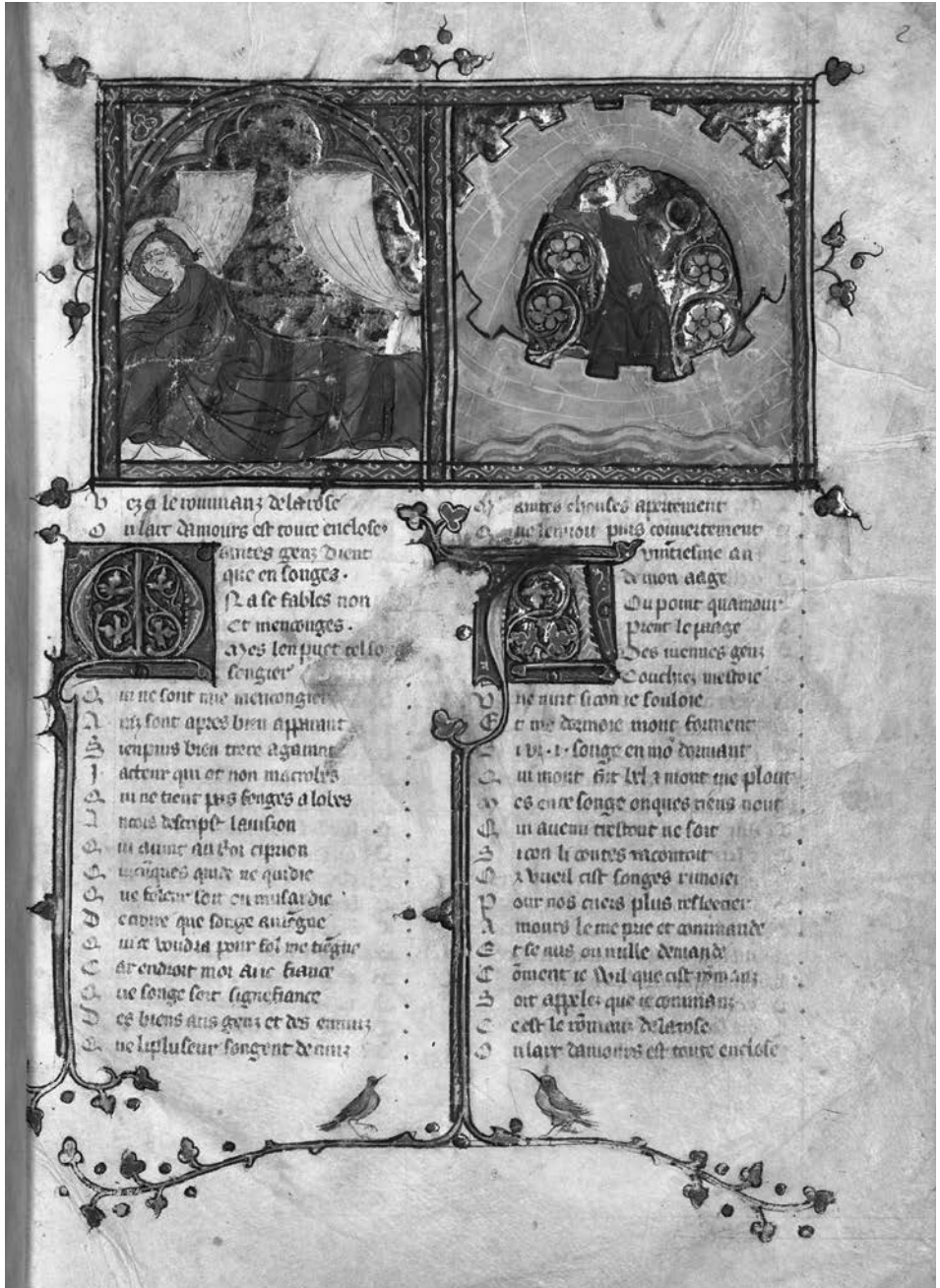
Fig. 1 Example of complex manuscript folio page. *Roman de la Rose*. Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. gall. 17, f. 1r. Paris, early 15th century.

Fig. 2   Example of a royal presentation manuscript. Coronation of Philip VI (1328). *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 2813, f. 353v. Paris, 14th century.

the functions for which they are designed, they will fail. Consequently well-designed dynamic structures are those flexible enough to accommodate new demands, while still performing essential functions (which also evolve over time).[3]

Medieval vernacular manuscripts are sophisticated examples of systems designed primarily to transmit the text of literary works along with other kinds of visual and text-based information deemed appropriate for a reader's appreciation and comprehension of the work. As the following observations and illustrations (Figures 1–4) demonstrate, folios or leaves of vernacular manuscripts are mixed media constructions combining a number of constituents as noted.

– A physical base (parchment or rag paper) supporting a text layout, usually in two columns written in one of a number of the writing styles developed during the period (Figure 1);
– Marginal decorations that frame and separate the columns, sometimes connected to the writing by elaborately-formed lines emerging from stylized, enlarged initials;
– Elaborately-crafted, colored historiated or decorated initials often three or four lines deep at the beginning of a text section (Figure 2);
– Smaller initials in alternating colors (often red and blue) meant to signal textual subsections (Figure 3);

3 With the advent of an increasingly more complex environment for computational and Internet technology, stability engineering has evolved from such areas as physics and structural engineering to address problems of distributed applications. Pankaj Garg and his collaborators at Hewlett-Packard Laboratories define the paradox of mutable stability in a computational environment as follows: '… a distributed application is stable when it can provide an intended level of service over time, *as the underlying hardware, networks, and usage patterns change*. […] Being stable means that an application is not going to exhibit chaotic or catastrophic behavior when there are perturbations [to the system].' Garg et al. 1996, 1–2.
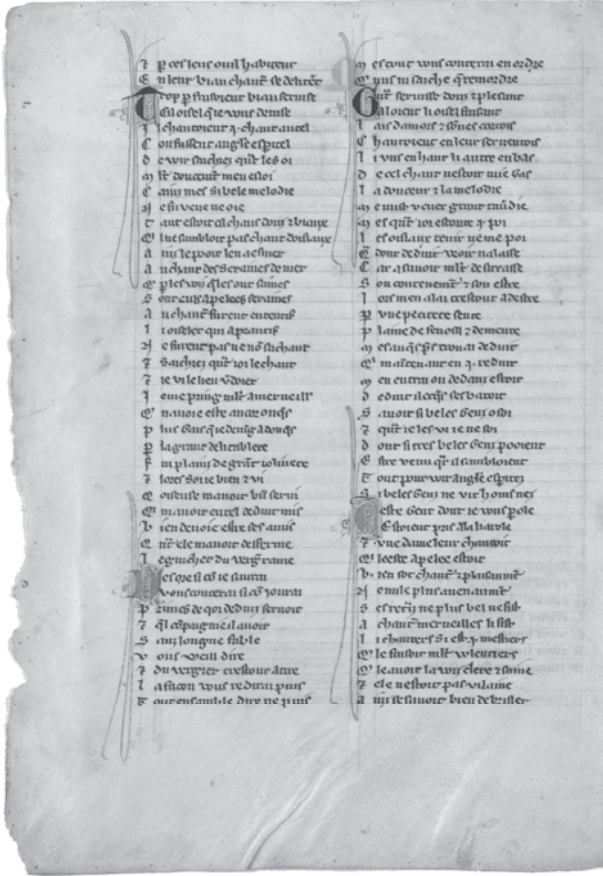
Fig. 3   Alternating pattern of red and blue decorated initials. *Roman de la Rose*. Dartmouth College, ms Rauner Codex 3206, f. 5v. Paris, 14th century.
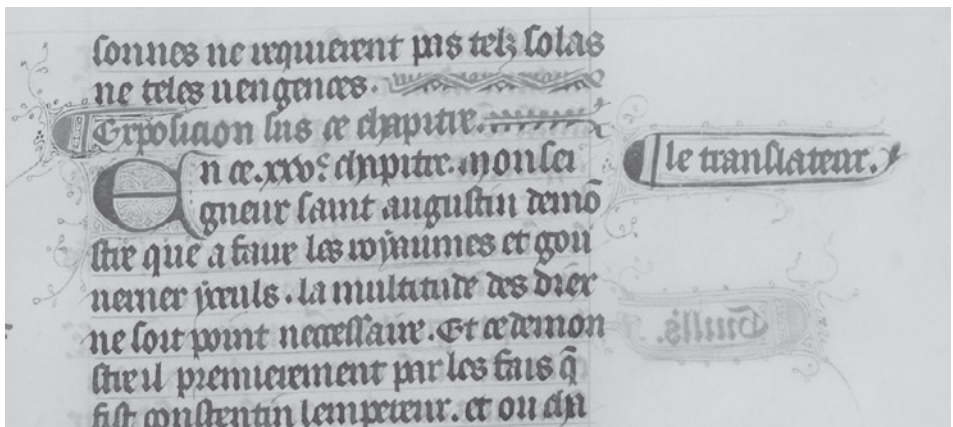
Fig. 4   Manuscript folio with gloss added by scribe or translator: 'Exposicion sus ce chapitre. Le trans-lateur'. Saint Augustin, *Cité de Dieu*, translation by Raoul de Presles undertaken at the behest of King Charles V. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms fr. 22912, f. 269r. Paris, 1375-1377.

Fig. 5   Elaborate presentation manuscript. Christine de Pizan presents her book – the manuscript of her collected works – to Queen Isabeau de Bavière, wife of King Charles VI. London, British Library, ms Harley 4431, f. 3r. Paris, 1401-1410.

– Miniature paintings of various sizes offering a visual commentary on the narrative;
– Red-lettered rubrics in the text columns to guide the reader by commenting on narrative events, identify speakers in a dialogue; or describe scenes in a miniature.
– Glosses on the original intercalated with the text (Figure 4).
– Sometimes marginal or bas-de-page drawings, paintings, or comments are found that may date from the production of the manuscript, or else represent later additions.

In short, vernacular manuscripts evolved during the thirteenth and especially the fourteenth centuries into complex semiotic artifacts. While the basic function of the manuscript remained constant – that is, the need to represent and transmit written works – the production of individual manuscripts could be affected by such issues as: cost, purpose, changes in artistic style, place of production, public taste, fluctuations in moral tolerance (in the case of works – like the *Roman de la Rose* – with controversial passages), or the effort to render older works in a contemporary mode, to name but a few such causes.

We know, for example, that occasion and patron affected not just the appearance of a codex, but also essential aspects of content. A copy of a work intended for a royal or noble patron typically may boast such refinements as extensive illumination, an elegant scribal hand, well-executed historiated and decorated initials, well-planned rubrication, brilliant marginal decorations, glosses on the text, all executed on the finest parchment (Figure 5). We find, on the other hand, versions of the same work produced
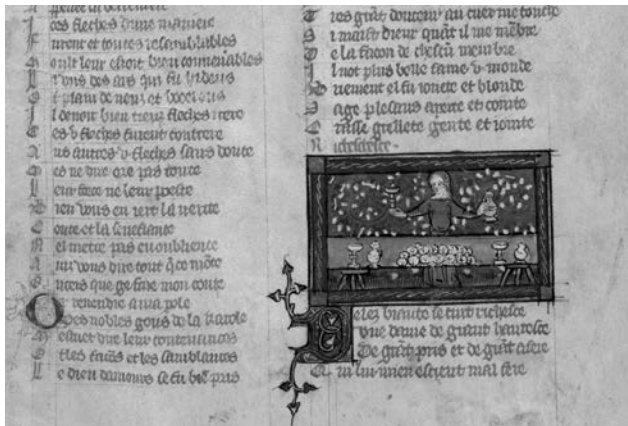
Fig. 6 'Simple' relatively inexpensive manuscript. *Roman de la Rose*. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 143, f. 8r. Paris, c. 1325.

less expensively – perhaps for a merchant of modest means – containing far fewer (and less refined) illuminations, with simple decorated initials, no marginal decoration, no vine motifs framing text columns, a less elegant script, minimal rubrication, and the whole often copied with less care on coarser parchment or paper (Figures 6 and 11).

When one adds to these characteristics the variable of size – codices could be, and often were, voluminous – it's evident that even the best-laid scheme would have difficulty keeping all these independent components within the prescribed system. It's true that master scribes did plan the layout of a given codex with great care. Execution of the plan, however, introduced another set of variables. Factors such as skill, experience, reliability, attentiveness, distraction, fatigue, failure to complete the project, et cetera, were but a few of the dynamic variables affecting the finished product. And then, again, the context of production added yet another pressure affecting the outcome. Manuscripts were not copied in isolation, but in scriptoria where other works were being produced simultaneously. It would be naïve to imagine that environment would not favor a 'dynamic of influence' as scribes – consciously or unconsciously – transferred techniques, or even bits of text or image, from one work to another. And yet, in spite of all these pressures, manuscripts did manage to perform as intended precisely because they were able not simply to accommodate change, but to transform it creatively.

That's why it's important to recognize that load stress on the codex as dynamic system came as much from the function of the structure – what it was designed to do – as from external forces (which were themselves considerable). And the chief source for both was the phenomenon of transmission itself. From the earliest extant vernacular manuscripts all the way to the end of the Middle Ages, textual transmission performed the seemingly contradictory task of reproducing a work composed in the past whose name assured it recognition and thus knowledge of its plot and characters, while nonetheless rendering the new version in conformity with current taste and style so as not to make the narrative seem hopelessly archaic. This meant that for medieval literary works narrative continuity and some form of 'load change' were requisite functions of textual transmission. So true is this observation that one might say of

it what Don Fabrizio, the protagonist of Giuseppe Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo*, says of Italy: 'Things must change so they can remain the same'.

As with all *dicta*, Lampedusa's is an exaggeration. In this case, however, it's one that allows us to understand the paradox of medieval narrative forms whose 'stability' over time – in some cases over several centuries – depends on what I call the generative – or *regenerative* – force of transmission. Why 'regenerative' if transmission involves re-producing the 'same' work from one representation to another? The answer to that question involves recognizing the complex forces at play in the transmission of me-dieval texts, beginning with concepts like 'the same' and 'seeing' or 'perspective'. After all, in a culture where the technology of transmission depends on copying each text by hand, what the scribe sees, or thinks she or he sees, must be factored into our defi-nition of 'sameness' when comparing original and copy.

In the event, 'sameness', for the medieval mind had a very different connotation from our modern senses of the term. Indeed, it even involves a different process of perception and imagination. Whereas in our age of mechanical and digital reproduc-tion, we are used to standards of 'exactness' for things we recognize as identical, me-dieval people had neither the means nor the expectation to make 'same' and 'exact imitation' synonymous. Indeed, one may even question the existence at that time of such a concept as 'exact imitation', at least as we understand it.

The reason may be found in texts that involved 'seeing,' which was a never failing topic of interest and curiosity not only in lyric, epic, romance and drama, but also in theories of vision. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed a growing and in-tense exploration of vision theory with major treatises by Ibn al Haytham or Alhazen, Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and Witelo.[4] Their expositions reflected profound-ly on the relationship between perceiver and perceived, treating such fundamental topics as the mechanics of vision, geometric perspectivism, and other aspects of the interaction between the knowing subject and the object known.

No thirteenth-century poem exploited new theories of vision and perception more innovatively than did the *Roman de la Rose* in its two unequal sections: Guil-laume de Lorris's modest 4,000+ line beginning (c. 1235 C.E.) and Jean de Meun's exuberant and baggy continuation of some 18,000 lines (c. 1280-85 C.E.). Vision and truth are major themes in the *Rose*, as well as key factors differentiating Guillaume de Lorris from his more skeptical – not to say cynical – successor. From the beginning of the poem, Guillaume explores the 'sameness' of different forms of representation. His dream vision recounts adventures that he assures us are so similar to what he ex-perienced in real life as to be virtually identical. He confidently equates seeing and believing in the preface to his poem, which famously opens with the lines (Figure 7):

> Maintes gens dient que en songes
> N'a se fables non et mençonges;
> Mes l'en puet tex songes songier
> Qui ne sont mie mençongier, (ll. 1-4)[5]

4   See Nichols 2008b; see also Lindberg 1996; also pertinent is Simon 2003.
5   Poirion 1974.
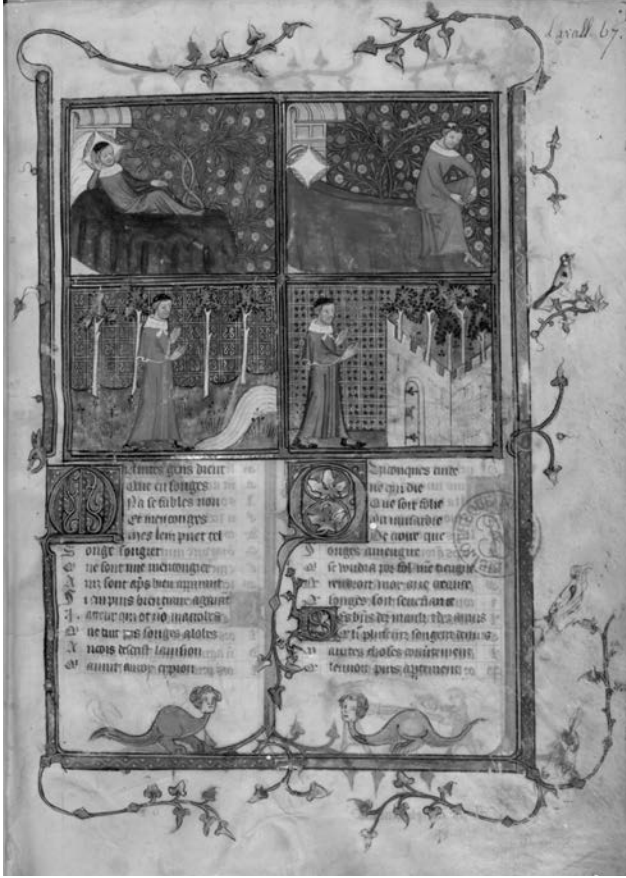
Fig. 7 *Roman de la Rose*, incipit: 'Maintes gens dient que en songes…'. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms fr. 25526, f. 1r. Paris, 14th century.

(People say that dreams are nothing but lies and stories; but it's possible to dream dreams that are not at all mendacious…)

He continues by saying that at twenty years of age he dreamed a story every detail of which subsequently befell him in 'real life'.

> Lor vi un songe en mon dormant
> Qui mout fu biaus et mout me plot;
> Mes onques riens ou songe n'ot
> Qui avenu tretout ne soit
> si cum li songes recontoit. (ll. 26-30)

(Then I saw a dream while sleeping that was very beautiful and pleased me greatly; for there was nothing in the dream that did not come to pass exactly as the dream had foretold.)

But Guillaume pushes this theme still further to motivate the primal scene of the whole poem. For the work to become, as he asserts, *Li romans de la Rose / Ou l'art d'Amor est toute enclose* (The *Romance of the Rose* / where the art of Love is completely enclosed, ll. 37-38), Guillaume must demonstrate love as first and foremost an

image process and imaginative experience whereby the lover's gaze appropriates the beloved–as–perception and then projects it onto his psyche so as to alter the way he perceives himself and the world.

Classical and medieval theories of the soul viewed the imagination as the psyche's 'image processing' faculty.[6] They also recognized perception as a destabilizing agent provoking change in the viewer who performs perception by assuming aspects of the viewed object.[7] So when Guillaume speaks of 'enclosing the art of love', he uses the expression both literally and figuratively. Literally, to describe 'enclosing' the image of the beloved in the lover's psyche, and figuratively to express the reprocessing of this perception into the 'Rose': the name given to the beloved after her Narcissus-inspired metamorphosis into a projection of the lover's libido.[8]

6   Medieval philosophy found Aristotle's hylomorphic concept of psyche congenial to Christian doctrine, not least because of the active role of perception in mediating change while revealing essential and persistent characteristics of an entity. Aristotle's sees the *psyche* as the essence of being or existence: 'the principle of life or of animation.' In consequence, it perceives the body as intimately linked to mental processes. As Martha Nussbaum and Hilary Putnam note, it not only 'deals with the beings and doings of all substances,' it also 'asks some very global and general questions about all these things, and two questions in particular. First, it asks: How do and should we explain or describe the changes we see taking place in the world? […] Aristotle holds that any coherent account of change must pick out some entity that is the "substrate", or underlying persistent thing, of that change, *the thing to which the change happens and which persists itself as one and the same thing throughout the change.* […] Second, he asks: How do and should we answer "what is it?" questions about the items in our experience? What accounts give us the best stories about the identities of things, *as they persist through time*? […] What is it that must remain one and the same, if we are going to continue to regard it as the same individual? […] Any good account of change will need to single out as its underlying substrates or subjects items that are not just relatively enduring, but also relatively definite or distinct items that can be identified, characterized as to what they are.' Nussbaum & Putnam 1992, 28-29.
7   Christopher Shields, the Oxford philosopher and specialist on *De anima*, points to hylomorphism as one reason why 'Aristotle is happy to speak of an affected thing as receiving the form of the agent which affects it and of the change consisting in the affected thing's "becoming like" the agent (*De Anima* ii 5, 418a3-6; ii 12, 424a17-21)'. Shields 2011. Gerard Watson points to the importance of *phantasia* as the activity responsible for such changes: 'Aristotle describes *phantasia* in the *De Anima* as a movement which comes about in beings that perceive of things of which there is perception and because of an actual perception. It is similar to perception, and beings which possess it often act or are affected in accordance with it (iii.3, 428b10-17) (p. 100). […] If *phantasia* is to be considered to belong to consciousness […] we must look for it among the potentialities in virtue of which we are enabled to judge and arrive at truth or falsity, among which we also count capacities like perception, belief, knowledge and intuitive apprehension (p. 105-106). […] Aristotle considered *phantasia* central to all human cognition […] [which is] how we come to act on our understanding of good and bad. He says that to the intellective soul *phantasmata* serve as sense-perceptions, *aisthemata*. When [the *psyche*] asserts or denies something to be good or bad, it avoids or pursues it. And that, he says, is why the soul never thinks without a *phantasma* (431a8-17) (p. 108-109)'. Watson 1982.
8   There is a venerable medieval tradition of treatises 'on the soul', or psyche, usually called *De anima,* from Aristotle to Augustine and on down to Aquinas's *Commentary on Aristotle's* De Anima. These treatises locate the processing of external visual stimuli in that part of the psyche called the imagination. On these accounts, the imagination produces *phantasiae* or images as a mimesis of external visual stimuli. We must understand 'mimesis', however, as performative rather than a passive reproduction of stimuli. From a modern standpoint, we can picture the imagination in terms of image processing. In consequence, each individual processes visual stimuli in a unique way, where 'seeing' means perception of a phenomenal reality processed through the mind/psyche of the viewer. Medieval perception is thus a dual process of ingesting a 'raw' image of phenomenal reality and refracting it through analytic concepts previously formulated by acquired knowledge, or, in the case of erotic love, through the libido, or even – as Guillaume would argue – through refinement of libidinal forces by the 'laws' or 'art' of love. This means, of course, that perception so conceived privileges not 'objective reality,' a faithful reproduction or copy of the object one has seen, but an affectively constructed version. The dynamic faculty of the medieval imagination spans, then, the space separating 'raw' perception and performative representation. The literature on this topic is extensive, but see the following: Frede 1992; Wilkes 1992; Bynum 1993, particularly 100-107; Lowe 1992, particularly 112-115, 119-123; Charlton 1992, especially 205 ff.
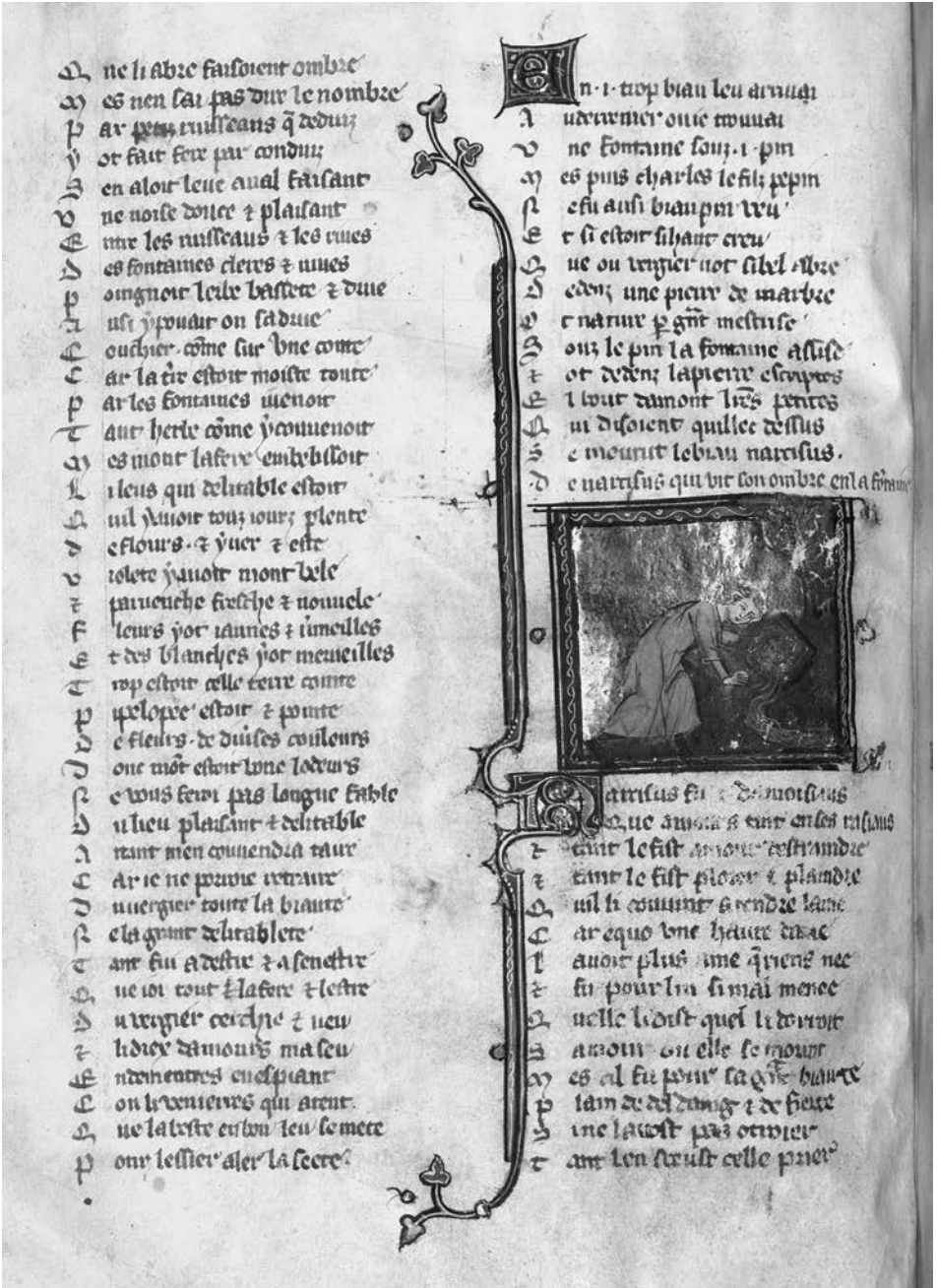
Fig. 8   *Roman de la Rose*, Lover at Fountain of Narcissus. Munich, BSB, ms Cod. Gall. 17, f. 10v. Paris, 15th century.

In short, for Guillaume the narrative involves not simply the dream vision-as-frame, but also the mechanics of 'seeing as loving' – the erotic equivalent of seeing as belie-ving.[9] The mechanics involve both physical and psychic perception leading to affec-tive identification between perceiver, perception, and perceived object. Love for Guil-laume is fate, that is a transformation of self from at least the appearance of freedom to a being who willingly exchanges independent agency for a life governed by strict rules of conduct decreed by *Amour* (the god of love). In this process, the eyes – what an agent looks at and how he controls his vision – are central to Guillaume's thesis of the self-as-agent of its own fate – a view Jean de Meun shares with his predecessor (though for very different reasons). On Guillaume's account, the eyes are impersonal mediators serving to mirror the external world to the Lover's psyche.

In the famous scene at the mythic 'Fountain of Narcissus' when the Lover, peering into the pool, sees not himself on the surface, but the image of the beloved refracted by *deus pierres de cristal* (two crystal gems, l. 1538) deep down at the bottom, the limpid pool and twin crystals become the head and eyes of the lover when viewed from in-side the skull. The *deus pierres de cristal* are not simple lenses. They are instead prisms or mirrors that bend and distort as they refract, in the manner described by thirteenth-century optical treatises. It is here that Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun diverge in their understanding of the transparency of perception. But while they come to dif-ferent conclusions, it's interesting to note that *le regard* (the gaze) and the mirror as an instrument of discrete and universal imaging figure prominently in each of their parts.[10] We'll come to Jean's views in a moment.

At this point note how, for Guillaume, sight is primarily a danger to the viewer: the poem transparently narrates how the mythic *fontaine de Narcissus* becomes the actual *mirëors perilleus* for the lover… though *not* for the reader. Indeed, miniatures of the scene emphasize its specularity (Figures 8 and 9);

> C'est li mirëors perilleus,
> Ou Narcisus li orguilleus
> Mira sa face et ses yex vers,
> Dont il jut puis mors touz envers.
> Qui en cest mirëor *se* mire
> Ne puet avoir garant ne mire
> Que tel chose a ses yex ne voie
> Qui d'amer l'a tost mis en voie.
> Maint vaillant homme a mis a glaive
> Cis mirëors, car li plus saive,
> Li plus preu, li miex afetié
> I sont tost pris et aguetié. (ll. 1571-1582)

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9 Chapters 2 and 3 of Kretzman, Kenny & Pinborg 1982 offer an excellent overview of the medieval reception of Aristotle. See also 'Medieval Aristotelianism' in Craig 1998.

10 Although Aquinas did not write his commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima* until c. 1267 – well after Guillaume's *Rose*, but over a decade before Jean de Meun wrote his continuation – Aquinas's commentary on Book II, espe-cially chapters 9-15 (p. 176-226), and his observations on Book III, particularly on *phantasia* and Intellect chapters 5-14 (p. 327-402), are pertinent to Guillaume de Lorris's positive exposition, and even more cogently to the more nuanced and ironic debates of Jean de Meun. See Pasnau 1999.
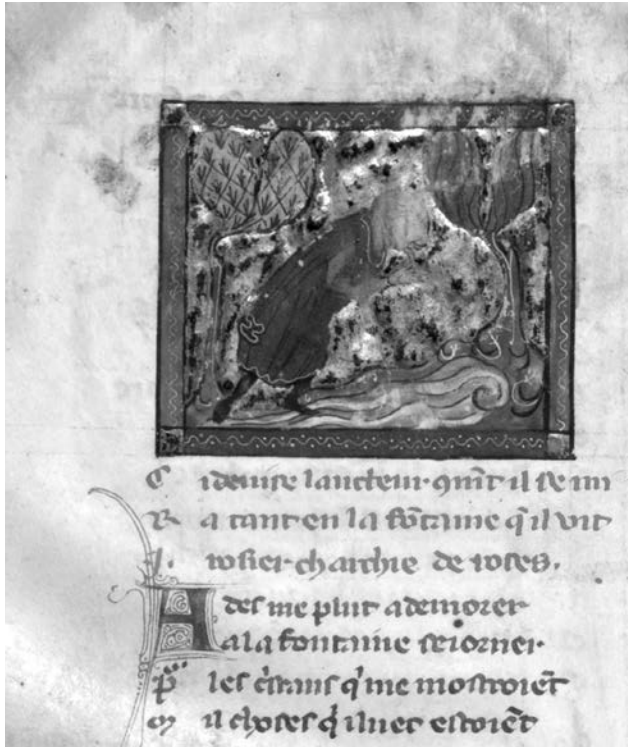
(This is the perilous mirror, / in which the arrogant Narcissus / regarded his countenance and his blue-grey eyes, / whence he was felled quite dead. / Whoever looks at himself in this mirror / must abandon hope of a cure/ for whatever his eyes perceive/ he will be on the way to loving. / This mirror has put many a valiant man to the sword / for the wisest / the bravest, the most confident / are soon ambushed and captured.)

Guillaume's dramatic evocation of the Narcissistic fate awaiting unwary viewers of this mirror may well distract the reader from noting the abrupt shift in mode from the lines just above where the mirror appears as a useful – even beneficent – visual instrument. Now one finds a more ambiguous quality to the fountain's specular revelations. The picturesque landscape recedes to the background as the mirror probes the most secret recesses of the garden and its inhabitants… or at least those whom the narrative will henceforth pursue.

Si sont cil cristal merveilleus
Et tel force ont que tous li leus,
Arbres et flors, et quanqu'aorne
Li vergiers, i pert tous a orne.
Et por faire la chose entendre
Un exemple vous vueil aprendre:
Les choses qui li sont encontre
Et y voit l'en sans couverture

Et lor color et lor faiture,
tretout aussi vous di par voir
Que li cristal, sans decevoir,
Tout l'estre du vergier accusent
A ceus qui dedens l'iaue musent;
Car touz jors, quel que part qu'il soient,
Grant partie du vergier voient;
Et s'il se tornent, maintenant
Pueent veoir le remanant.
Si n'i a si petite chose,
Tant soit repote ne enclose,
Dont demonstrance n'i soit faite
Com s'el ert es cristaus portraite. (ll. 1549-1570)

(These are the marvellous crystals / that have such power that all the places / the trees and flowers, and whatever adorns / the orchard, appears all spread out in them. / So you may clearly understand / I want to give you an example: / Just as the mirror reveals / things that are opposite it / and one sees things clearly in it / both their form and colour, / so I say to you in truth / that the crystals without deception, / reveal every bit of the orchard / to those who contemplate the water; / for at all times and no matter what part it be, / they see the greater part of the orchard; / and now if they turn themselves a bit / they'll be able to see the rest. / There is not the smallest thing, / no matter how hidden or covered, / that will not be revealed / exactly as it was portrayed in the crystals.)

Clearly the mirror is the same in both instances – Guillaume's prismatic 'crystals' embedded in limpid water. Where difference enters the picture, as it were, is in the *kind* of contemplation in question: *mirer* versus <u>*se mirer*</u>, which we can characterize as transitive versus intransitive looking.[11] Using a mirror to see the natural world spread out before one's eyes may inform the viewer and even offer aesthetic pleasure, but it poses no danger. In the event, the mirror serves simply as an instrument to contemplate (*muser*) the world around one. That being the case, why does Guillaume insist so forcefully on the mirror's ability to probe – *sans decevoir* – everything before it? Why does it matter if a scene we contemplate for our own amusement is faithfully reproduced?

Aside from the fact that Guillaume maintains that *everything* in his dream vision will turn out to be 'true', he emphasizes the verisimilitude of specular representation as a critical component of his moral philosophy. It matters very much whether the mirror reflects without deception (*sans decevoir*) because *li cristaus* determine *two* kinds of erotic love: one benevolent – or at least morally defensible – the other deadly. When *li cristaus* are the medium of the transitive gaze that cathects affectively with another being, the narrative lies within the bounds of *fin'amors* (courtly love). This is the mirror-fountain in which 'Cupid, the son of Venus, / sewed the seeds of Love, / which colour the fountain' (1588-1590). And so:

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11   The Latin verb *miro*, meaning 'to wonder', connotes the notion of *meraviglia* or 'awe' akin to the marvellous that reflexive sight associated with 'mirroring' phenomena in early societies. It comes into Old and Middle French with the connotation of absorptive or attentive looking, *regarder attentivement*. It also expresses the action of *viser* 'to take aim at'. Grimas 1992, 417b.

> Por la grainne qui fut semee
> Fu celle fontainne clamee
> La Fontainne d'Amors par droit,
> Dont plusor ont en lor endroit
> Parlé en romans et en livre. (ll. 1595-1599)

(Because of the seed which was sewn / was this fountain named / the Fountain of Love by right, / of which more than a few have, in their places, / spoken in books and romances.)

In this scenario, Guillaume casts the eyes-qua-mirror as an impersonal instrument of fate, linking lover and beloved in a unitary vision. In this monovisual erotic world, seeing is fate because one becomes what one perceives. Psychic image processing shapes a narrative 'romance' purporting to show how duality dissolves into unity: 'two hearts become one', 'two selves merge into one', and so on.[12] The logic that motivates this story springs from the supposition that transitive erotic perception and other-directed aesthetic appreciation can overcome the vision of the world as intransitive, impersonal, and exclusionary – Ovid's lesson in the Narcissus myth.[13]

But what about the other face of the mirror, the erotic gaze that turns deadly? Following Guillaume's lead, we can call this the 'Narcissus principle,' which he evokes when he retells Ovid's story of Narcissus (ll. 1425-1522). Guillaume's elaborate revision of his model embeds the principle of specular representation in a strongly ambivalent semiotic force field. Lest the reader miss the point of the Narcissus principle, he reformulates it in an exemplary double couplet (ll. 1571-74) quoted above: *C'est li mirëors perilleus, / Ou Narcissus li orguilleus / Mira sa face et ses yex vers, / Dont il jut puis mors touz envers* (This is the perilous mirror, / in which the arrogant Narcissus / regarded his countenance and his blue-grey eyes, / whence he was felled quite dead.)

The Narcissus principle occurs when *li cristaus* are used reflexively (*se mirer*) as a mirror turned back on oneself in an intransitive, deadly gaze. Although the Ovidian reference seems sufficient to convey its negative valence, Guillaume renders it doubly lethal by melding the Christian tradition of the seven deadly sins with the classical model. In Christian iconography, the mirror symbolizes the sin of *luxuria* 'luxury', whose Latin connotations include 'wantonness', 'extravagant living', 'excess', 'dissipation', and 'lust' – all states or desires where vision was believed to figure prominently.

In Christian iconography the mirror signifies luxury's penchant for self-contemplation and extravagant toilette. Émile Mâle long ago pointed out the figure of Luxury in the rose window at Notre-Dame de Paris: a voluptuous woman holding a mirror

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12   For a logical exposition of this phenomenon, see Aquinas's commentary to §431A17-B2 of *De Anima,* entitled 'Phantasms are like sense objects'. Op. cit. III, 12, ¶¶142-195, Pasnau 1999, 384-385.

13   Tarrant 2004, Liber III, ll. 339-401 (Echo), 402-510 (Narcissus). Ovid juxtaposes Echo and Narcissus precisely as examples of the failure of reciprocal erotic representation: Echo as intransitive sound, and Narcissus as 'intransive' gaze. Echo: 'inde latet silvis nulloque in monte videtur, / omnibus auditur: sonus est, qui vivit in illa'. ('She hides in the forest, no longer seen on the hills, / heard by all: it is sound that lives in her.' III: 400-401). Narcissus: 'dumque bibit, visae correptus imagine formae / spem sine corpore amat, corpus putat esse, quod umbra est'. ('While he drinks, he's seized by the image of a reflection: he loves desire without a shape, for the body he thinks he sees is but a shadow', III: 416-417).

Fig. 10 *Oiseuse*, holding mirror, admits Lover to Jardin de Déduit. *Roman de la Rose.* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 57, f. 18v. Paris, 14th century.
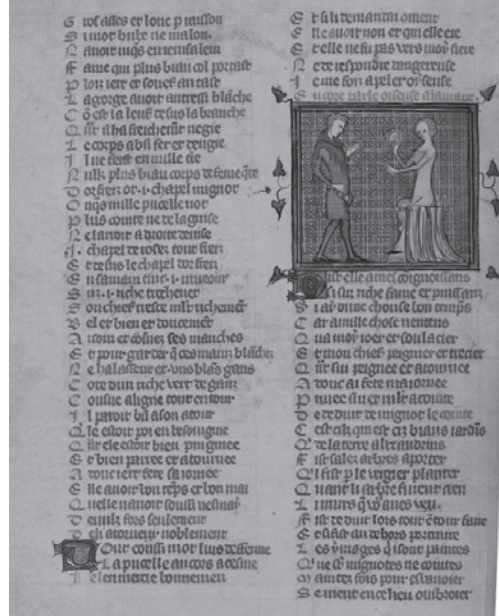
while primping.[14] Guillaume himself invokes the type with a fifty-line virtuoso description of the svelte and comely *Oiseuse* ('Indolence'), the gatekeeper of the Garden of Pleasure (*le Jardin de Déduit,* ll. 525–574). When the Lover finally discovers the discrete gate into the garden, *Oiseuse* greets him holding a mirror in one hand (Figure 10):

> Un chapel de roses tout frois
> Ot dessus le chapel d'orfrois.
> En sa main tint un mireor;
> Si ot d'un riche treceor
> son chef trecié mout richement. (ll. 555–559)

> (A circlet of roses fresh with dew / she wore above a gold-worked circlet. In her hand she held a mirror; / she'd woven a rich ribbon / elegantly into her hair.)

The long encomium to *Oiseuse* as a paragon of courtly beauty and elegance signals a major shift from the world outside the Garden where the Lover has heretofore been wandering, and the superheated atmosphere within. The paean to *Oiseuse* is the first visual test Guillaume sets for the Lover in the Garden to see whether he has the ability to apprehend the underlying reality of the world he has just entered. While the Lover takes *Oiseuse* at face value for an attractive attendant, the reader recognizes the disjunction between appearance and reality, literal and figurative meaning. More exactly, the reader asks why the poet bothers to suspend the narrative just when the Lover finally gets into the Garden in order to indulge in a virtuoso lyric display? After all,

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14 Mâle 1958, 117–118 and Fig. 57. This work is a reprint of an edition published in New York in 1913.

Oiseuse seems to be only a minor character, and one that we will not see again. And why should some thirty-two lines (out of fifty) of this portrait be devoted to a minute description of the woman's face, hair, and neck, while the remaining eighteen lines describe her rich raiment and elegant toilette?

It can hardly be the case that Guillaume, having just devoted nearly three hundred fifty lines to personifying courtly vices on the exterior wall of the Garden, now seeks to apply the same treatment to the 'real' personages the Lover encounters inside. As it happens, the heightened imagery of Guillaume's portrait of *Oiseuse* in fact makes a break with the previous section. It's in keeping with his technique of using visually descriptive passages to make a transition from one section of his poem to another. The technique is a logical one for a dream vision. We recognize this transition after reading barely a few lines of the seductive poetry Guillaume deploys for *Oiseuse's* portrait. The lingering gaze the lyric bestows on her, the caress of the poetic cadences bearing softly mellifluous similes, all these and more subtly perform the absorptive gaze of the mirror turned toward self-contemplation. Rhetorically, we recognize ekphrasis – poetry's admiring gaze watching itself outdo painting – as a verbal analogy to Luxury's intransitive mirror gaze. But Guillaume offers less subtle clues to *Oiseuse's* heritage. Her lyric portrait incorporates a number of iconographic attributes traditionally associated with Luxury.

 The most obvious sign, of course, is her name: *Oiseuse*, 'Indolence', which Guillaume glosses by saying 'It was evident from her appearance that she had little to do: once she had combed her hair, groomed and dressed herself, her tasks for the day were done' (ll. 566-570). Later, she introduces herself to the Lover: 'My friends, she said, call me *Oiseuse*. I am a rich and powerful woman, and have time for everything, because I think about nothing except to play and amuse myself, and to comb and adorn my hair' (ll. 582-588). We have already learned that she wears a gold circlet more beautiful than any maiden ever wore, and over that a second circlet of fresh roses (ll. 551–556).

Oiseuse has the distinction of being the first allegorical personification whom we meet in the *Rose*. Since all the characters in the poem are personifications of positive and negative human attributes, emotions, or impulses – Delight, Love, Beauty, Riches, Reason, Danger, Jealousy, and so on – it's significant that the first 'live' figure should be a personification whose attributes, minutely detailed by Guillaume, associates her with one of the Seven Deadly Sins: Luxury. We begin to see why Guillaume's portrait emphasizes the seductiveness of *Oiseuse qua* image, a characteristic first attributed to *Luxuria* by the Roman poet Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348–c. 410 C.E.). Born in Northern Spain, Prudentius is thought to be the first Christian poet to make extensive use of allegorical personification in his poem, *Pyschomachia* or *Battle for the Soul*.

In his allegorical combat between the cardinal Virtues and Vices for the possession of the human soul, Prudentius paints an unforgettable portrait of *Luxuria*, as a paladin in the host of the Vices who nearly succeeds in vanquishing the soldiers of Virtue not by armed combat, but by overwhelming them sensually, beginning with their sight. *Luxuria* wheels into battle in a splendid chariot 'gleaming with precious gems of all colours, its axle of solid gold, wheels silver-spoked with platinum rims, and golden

reins guiding the horses'.[15] In lieu of arrows or javelins, 'she showers the enemy lasciviously with violets, rose petals yellow garlands of bright lilies, red floral wreaths and baskets of flowers'. Overwhelmed by this vision of loveliness, by the sweet-smelling floral cascade, by the alluring breath she wafts over them, the combatants desire only to yield to the hedonistic scenario she sets before them.

This vision contrasts starkly with the preceding lines, which portray *Luxuria's* night of debauchery and drunkenness. As trumpets sound the call to battle, we see *Luxuria* arise from her couch and stagger unsteadily through the debris of the night's revels to answer the call. This is, of course, the image of *Luxuria* that Prudentius means for the reader to superimpose on the subsequent scene when she dazzles the Virtues with her extravagant equipage. We are invited to register – and deplore! – the misprision of the soldiers blinded to 'reality' by *Luxuria's* theatricalized image.

Prudentius relies for her unmasking on contemporary discussions of the nature of the sins *Luxuria* represents. Initially denoted in Greek by the term *porneia,* then in Latin by *fornicatio, luxuria* had replaced the first two by the end of the fourth century, undoubtedly because it referenced a broader category of sins of the flesh and of perception.[16] But if they ceased to be explicit designators for this sin, *porneia* and *fornicatio* remained very much a part of its semantic field. More to our point, however, *Luxuria* came to signify the erotic gaze that turns deadly by initiating a duplicitous double vision.

If one had to put a name to Prudentius's melodramatic personification of the dual perspective *Luxuria* exemplifies, we might call it 'the parallax principle of perception'. This means that medieval concepts of narrative in the service of moral philosophy – the purpose for which allegorical personification was created – focus parallel perspectives on the same object or image. Parallel sight lines, each originating at a different location, thus converge on the object of focus from separate vantage points. Each view thus yields different facets of 'the same' object. *Luxuria* is the same figure for Prudentius as for the Virtues, but each *sees* something very different. Besotted by *Luxuria's* sensual onslaught, they contemplate her intransitively, whereas the poet sees her – quite literally – on the bias, obliquely. Unwittingly, the bemused virtues adopt the Narcissus gaze that binds the viewer to the surface, the reflecting plane that returns what the viewer's libidinal desire projects: a reflection of the subject's own phantasms.

An obvious avatar of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, the *Roman de la Rose* incorporates the parallax principle of perception repeatedly. Aside from Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's very different view of the dream vision they construct, we have the example of divergent understandings of love – the rationale of the poem – as expressed by a whole range of characters including: *Amor, Vénus, Raison, Le Jaloux, La Vieille, Nature, Génius, Pygmalion,* or the Lover himself at various points. But conflic-

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15 Thomson 1949, 301–302.

16 See Bloomfield 1952. Bloomfield calls Evagirus of Pontus (d. A.D. 400) 'the father of the seven cardinal sins' (p. 57). Cassian was his pupil. Evagirus's list includes *porneia* and Cassian's *fornicatio* as its Latin equivalent. Gregory the Great uses *luxuria*. Gregory's version of the Seven Deadly Sins became the authority for the Middle Ages. 'In Gregory's list *luxuria* is substituted (in seventh place) for *fornicatio.* Given the historical impact of Gregory's account this substitution now establishes itself. In Gregory *luxuria* has a wide remit. It incorporates moral blindness and self-love as well as hatred of God; indeed a little earlier it is said to destroy all virtues (*Moralia* XXI, 12)'. Berry 1994, 97.

ting views are not limited to love. In both parts of the poem, other concepts or be-
haviours spark vigorous debate among the characters.

This parallax factor is built into the very structure of the work from its opening
lines where we learn that the principal actor (*l'Amant*) is 'the same' person as the poet;
only the reader recognizes that this cannot be quite as transparent as it appears, since
the poet, we learn, is five years older than the Lover, and they are engaged in very
different activities: the Lover in dreaming and living an amorous adventure in a *locus
amoenus*, and the poet in making the poem and reflecting on the difference in per-
spective between his naïve younger self and his mature poet-persona. Jean de Meun
complicates this scenario still further by adding yet a third perspective, which he con-
ceals for almost six thousand lines before revealing the death of Guillaume de Lorris
after having completed only about 4,200 lines of a poem that ultimately runs to some
22,000 verses.

In picking up the pen Guillaume had dropped, as it were, Jean maintains Guil-
laume's fictional setting. This means following the Lover's avid pursuit of the Rose
whose form reflected in the *mirëor perilleus* had bewitched him – according to *Raison* –
as fatally as *Luxuria* had ensnared Prudentius's Virtues. Clearly, however, Jean's Lover
and Guillaume's Lover must be very different. For one thing, once he reveals the place
where Guillaume's poem ends and his begins, Jean can no longer maintain the fiction
that the Lover is his younger self. Nor does he wish to do so.

From the time Jean begins his continuation at the point where *l'Amant* and *Raison*
engage a dialectical analysis of *eros* versus *agape*, the Lover ceases to be an indepen-
dent agent to become a spokesman for a naïvely literal worldview that other charac-
ters debate – frequently with outré theses. By casting his Lover as an interlocutor in a
philosophical dialogue (à la Plato), Jean transforms the *Rose* into a scholastic *disputatio*.
Throughout the vigorous dialectical exchanges, he maintains at least a semblance of
the allegorical courtly romance. Indeed, he reasserts its mode forcefully even as he ex-
plodes Guillaume's view of the genre in the final scene – which can only seem shock-
ing to those who have not grasped the implications of his dialectic and its illustrations.

Seeing how Guillaume and Jean figure as readers of their own poem(s), and how
they exploit the parallax principle, we can recognize another component of gener-
ative transformation: *participation*. The *Rose* illustrates how the dynamic divergences
between viewing subject and perceived object affect reading. By a logical extension,
we should not be surprised that it affected the transmission of literary texts as well.
We can better understand the philosophical implications of participation, however
– and for the Middle Ages, they were crucial – if we ask why the interaction between
perceiver and perceived was so critical?

The answer reflects a major difference between theories of perception in the an-
cient and medieval worlds. For the medieval period, perception implicates the prin-
ciple of resemblance, and that, in turn, implicates philosophical anthropology. Augus-
tine illustrates the concept in Book VI of *Confessions* where he recounts how he had
been 'particularly struck with one of the themes of Ambrose's preaching in Milan in

the year 386, the theme of man's being made in the image of God'.[17] It was Ambrose, he tells us, who first made him understand what – as a Manichee – he had found incomprehensible. Namely, how man could be to the image of God, how this could be understood without implying an anthropomorphic concept of the deity?[18]

Whereas Ambrose spoke of 'man's being to God's image and likeness, without distinguishing the two concepts of image and likeness',[19] Augustine's more analytical mind sought to differentiate and define these key terms. He did so by casting 'image' as the model and 'likeness' as its dynamic agent. In Robert Markus's classic summation, Augustine reasons as follows:

> The concept of image includes the idea of likeness, for nothing can be said to be an image of something else unless it is in some way like it. Something may, however, be like something else without being its image – as two eggs are like each other, but are not one the image of the other; *hence the idea of likeness does not include that of image*. The special feature which distinguishes an image-likeness from any other likeness is that an image is somehow dependent on an original which it expresses… Examples of likeness which are also images are the likeness of a child to its parents, or of a painting or mirror-image to its original. *In all these cases the image is in some way 'dependent' on the original which it also resembles*.[20]

Having established the logical hierarchy correlating these terms, Augustine then casts them as performative agents in a ritual for human reform and renewal based on Genesis 1,26-27. A brief look at the actual text of these two verses shows that as an acute reader of Scripture, he perceived the potential metaphysical work that the key terms of the passage, *imago* and *similitudo*, could enhance the metaphysical dimension of his spiritual program.

> Genesis 1,26: et ait faciamus hominem *ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram* et praesit piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et bestiis universaeque terrae omnique reptili quod movetur in terra

> (And he said: Let us make man *to our image and likeness*: and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth.)

> Genesis 1,27: et **creavit** Deus hominem ad imaginem suam ad imaginem Dei **creavit** illum masculum et feminam **creavit** eos

> (And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him: male and female he created them.)

If Genesis 1,26 establishes the authority of *imago* and *similitudo* as the principle of resemblance linking humans to God – with the added concept of authority over lesser

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17 Markus 1964, 137.
18 *Confessions*, Book VI, 3, 4. O'Donnell 1992, vol. I.
19 Markus 1964, 138.
20 Markus 1964, 125 (italics mine). Markus extrapolates Augustine's analysis of the terms from one of the first things he wrote after his elevation to the episcopacy: *De div. quaest.* LXXXIII, 74.

beings that divine resemblance confers – the next verse offers a reading that is even more interesting from the standpoint of our inquiry. To begin with, it's a rhetorically complex, asymmetrical chiasmus *ab:b(a)* that calls attention to the repetition of the verb *creavit… creavit… creavit,* always with the same subject, God, but with three different predicates each referring to a different attribute of the created human being: (1) the collective *hominem*; (2) the deictic accusative singular *illum* – with the sense of 'that' used as a pronoun, and thus an indefinite; (3) the sexually-differentiated *masculum et feminam creavit eos*. One could hardly imagine constructing a more succinct statement of the immutability of God-as-maker opposed to the contingency of his human creations.

While God figures as the unitary creative force, humans have varying references in accord with their mutable and various states. This is an excellent example of what I will later term 'differential imitation', *that is, the iteration of an object with nuanced variation*. In other words, it's no accident that we find three different references to humans in this poetic verse. The references are not innocuous synonyms. Just as the verse unfolds in time, so the different designations – *hominem, illum, masculum et feminam* – suggest an inherent category instability that Augustine will point to as signaling the human potential for change. And not just a potential for change, but a full-blown philosophical anthropology predicated on the dynamic of *imago* and *similitudo* as played out in a *Bildungsparadigma* for which Augustine's own spiritual itinerary, as recounted in *Confessions*, serves as model.

On his understanding of these verses, Augustine derives the concepts of absolute likeness and absolute unlikeness as defining the twin poles of existence.[21] He identifies absolute likeness with Scripture, that is, with God's Word, and absolute unlikeness with formless matter, that is, with what falls outside of – or fails to make itself into the image of – Holy writ. 'And so man, far from God in a place of unlikeness, is required to return to himself and to likeness with God'.[22] That this scale exists as a measure of the degree of proximity or distance from God's Word, may be seen from Book VII, Chapter 12 of *De Trinitate*. Indeed, he explicitly states that the image of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit in the Trinity assist humans to 'subsist as the image of God'. He continues:

> But because that image of God was not made altogether equal to Him, as being not born of Him, but created by Him; in order to signify this, he is in such a way the image as that he is 'after the image', that is, he is not made equal by parity, but approaches to Him by a sort of likeness. *For approach to God is not by intervals of place, but by likeness, and withdrawal from him is by unlikeness.*[23]

While the idea of degrees of distance or proximity imply spatial reference, that is not the case here. In the first place, it is impossible to predicate spatial reference of God. That is why something like the parallax principle cannot function when God is the object of contemplation; for not only do spatial coordinates have no meaning, but also the vantage point makes no difference since contemplation of the divine image

21 Markus 1964, 140.
22 Markus 1964, 140.
23 Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Book VII, 6, 12.

is an inner meditation. As such, it is the quality of the contemplation that matters. When Augustine speaks of degrees of likeness and unlikeness in divine contemplation, he conceives of something akin to what we discussed above as the 'transitive' and 'intransitive' gaze.

When a human 'approaches God by likeness' this betokens a receptive and open mind wholly focused on a point beyond self. It is then that one may experience that brief union with the 'sort of likeness' known as *theosis* or epiphany. The enlightenment accompanying that epiphany is what Augustine calls 'being transformed by the renewing of your mind'. To become a new man is to approach the likeness of God, that is to say, 'to be renewed to the knowledge of God, after the image of Him that created him'.[24]

Of particular importance for our ultimate goal here is the transformative or dynamic role of likeness. As we've seen above, Augustine conceives a dialectical relationship between 'image' and 'likeness'. Image is a model, likeness a dynamic modeling of the image. As early as 388 C.E., Gerhard Ladner tells us, in *De quantitate animae*, Augustine developed the concept of reform, conceived in terms of a revision of one's self, which he couches in terms of 'putting off the old man and putting on the new'.[25] No matter how great the revision needed by an individual to make his likeness approximate the model image, one should never imagine that the image of God is ever lost entirely. 'The image is deformed and in need of reformation, not lost; image and likeness are there at the beginning – both at man's primordial beginning in his paradisial integrity, and at his own individual beginning disfigured by sin – and at the end'.[26]

While Augustine was primarily concerned with the use of Scripture to develop a love of the mind as a key to renewing the self, later Fathers opened this dialectic to include aesthetic contemplation generally. This was logically consistent with Augustine's paradigm since among the other attributes of the divine image was beauty, a material manifestation of the good. Furthermore, the concept of beauty as pleasing proportionality came to be a commonplace expressing the metaphysical correlation – 'likeness' again – linking humans to the universe at large. The idea had scriptural authority from the Book of Wisdom, Chapter 11, verse 21, where God is said to have 'ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight' (…*sed omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti*).

While we may be able to judge proportion at a glance, abstract measures like weight, number, and measure require an engagement of the intellect with the object – scrutiny and judgment, in short forms of contemplation. For that matter, it surely did not escape the attention of the Fathers that the concept of a divinely created order based on the principles of measure, number, and weight, does not occur just anywhere in the Bible, but specifically in the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which begins by affirming that wisdom can never inhabit a soul given to unlikeness, but can only inhabit a soul that strives for likeness:

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24 Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Book VII, 6, 14. Cf. Markus 1964, 140.
25 Ladner 1959, 53, 198.
26 Markus 1964, 142.

For perverse thoughts separate from God: and his power, when it is tried, reproveth the unwise:
For wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins.[27]

Church Fathers sought to make full use of scriptural passages that authorized the moral value of aesthetic contemplation by the subject who engaged it. As Umberto Eco puts it: 'Is beauty something ontologically self-subsistent, which gives pleasure when it is apprehended? Or, is it rather the case that a thing appears beautiful only when someone apprehends it in such a way as to experience a certain type of pleasure'?[28] At the same time, they realized the value of narrowing the gap between the spiritual and the material worlds by finding ways to equate the two. By encouraging Christians to measure the world in terms of the beauty and proportion of Scripture, humans could overlay on their mundane existence a transcendent vision that was both spiritually and aesthetically pleasing.

It follows logically that artistic works should 'ordain a range of effects for the sake of human perfection, and that only this encounter of a work with the perception of it could give birth to beauty'.[29] This principle reveals an awareness that art had social as well as religious utility which could be formulated in rules that 'made possible the birth of an aesthetico-philosophical consciousness' that reconciled two strong currents of medieval sensibility: the spiritual and the artistic.[30]

Knowledge was common to both kinds of sensibility, and – as Augustine insists – it requires the collaboration of the senses and the psyche. In practice, sight and hearing were the senses the Fathers considered most conducive to intellectual activity. In Augustine's hierarchy of the senses, sight and hearing were both important, but sight, because of its association with reading and inner vision ('the eye of the mind'), was paramount. As the conversion scene in *Confessions* shows, divine admonitory hearing – *et ecce audio vocem* […] *quasi pueri an puella, nescio: tolle lege, tolle lege* – commands attention, but sight, the act of reading, directs understanding.[31] Naturally, as soon as one corporeal sense had been granted the status of *maxime cognoscitivus*, 'fully involved with knowledge',[32] then the other cognitive sense, hearing, could be considered. But it took the genius of Boethius to elevate hearing, and with it the concept of rhythm, onto the same footing as sight.

Boethius did so by showing that music, based as it is on rhythm, embodied the very

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27 Sapientiae 1,3: 'perversae enim cogitationes separant a Deo probata autem virtus corripit insipientes'. 1,4: 'quoniam in malivolam animam non intrabit sapientia nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis'. *Biblia Sacra* 1983, vol. 2, 1003.

28 Eco 1988, 49.

29 Eco 1988, 50.

30 Eco 1988, 50.

31 See Augustine, *Confessions*, Book VIII, 29. O'Donnell 1992, vol. I, 101. In his commentary on the fig tree in the garden conversion scene in VIII, 28 – *ego sub quadam fici arbore stravi* – O'Donnell identifies Augustine's reference as John 1,47-48 where seeing (*video*) structures the narrative, especially in the source for Augustine's direct quotation: '…sub arbore fici vidi te'. Other discussions of sight in Augustine's hierarchy of the senses include *De libero arbitrio libri tres*, II, vii, and *De Genesi ad litteram*, XII, 29-33, where he develops the technical connotations of *visa*, *visio* as well as his doctrine of the infallibility of intellectual vision. Agaësse & Solignac 1972, vol. II, 374-385. See also the editors' notes regarding *Les trois genres de visions*, *L'infaillibilité de la vision intellectuelle*, and *L'objet de la vision intellectuelle*, Agaësse & Solignac 1972, vol. II, 575-585.

32 Eco 1988, 50.

notion of proportion that Wisdom 11,21 claimed as the divine principle of world or-
der. 'Consonance', he writes,

> which regulates all musical modulations, cannot exist without sound. But consonance is not sim-
> ply an objective datum, for it has to do with a correspondence between sound and perception.
> Consonance is a mixture of high and low sounds striking the ear sweetly and uniformly. Both the
> body and the soul are subject to the same laws that govern the universe, and these are musical laws.
> The human soul modulates its feelings in the manner of the musical modes…[33]

While the ear captures and resonates to musical harmony, 'only the intellect is able to
discriminate and appreciate the notes and chords'.[34]

'Only the intellect is able to discriminate and appreciate…' Let this stand as a call to
order; or at least as a reminder of my purpose, which is to explore the dialectics of 're-
form and revision' – to use Augustine's terms – in the transmission of vernacular lit-
erary texts. This is a matter that scholars have usually treated empirically as a question
of 'reproduction', or copying, rather than as representation. As we know, the process
involves triage of the extant manuscripts in order to postulate a 'best text' – by which
is understood something approximating the work as the author wrote it.

The best manuscript version serves as the basis for an authoritative critical edition.
Divergences from the text of the critical edition are perceived as variants due to scri-
bal error or whimsy. Longer passages not found in the master text acquire the status of
'interpolation', a term, like variant, that designates a supplement. We know this story,
and have all reacted to it in one form or another. Most recently, of course, many of us
have argued against the concept of a fixed or master text whose coherence has been
marred by variation due to incompetent scribes.

Without renouncing that concept, I would like to suggest a slightly different sce-
nario that would enable us to situate the whole question of manuscript transmission
within the history of the Patristic development of perception and aesthetic appreci-
ation that I have been retelling here. For that history is a lesson in the sensory and
intellectual engagement of reader or listener with an external object. Reading and
hearing certain kinds of works do not simply impress the mind; they can change the
whole being. Augustine speaks of reform or renewal – 'putting on the new man' –
while Boethius tells how the psyche appreciates musical modes by imitating its har-
monies. Hence the famous story he tells of the drunken youth from Taormina whose
fury ceased when the musicians in the room changed their playing from the Phrygian
to the Hypophrygian mode.[35]

The lesson impressed on medieval folk was that reading mattered. It mattered be-
cause it was not something external, something that happened 'out there', beyond the
self… precisely the lesson Augustine teaches in the conversion scene in *Confessions*
Book VIII, 28-29. On the contrary, reading or listening involved engagement with and
participation in a work. As the senses assimilated the words, and as the intellect pro-

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33 Eco 1988, 76. Quotations from Friedlein 1867, vol. I, 3; also in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. LXIII, col. 1167-1300
(Migne 1847).
34 Eco 1988, 244, n. 32.
35 Eco 1988, 76-77.

cessed the sensual data, two things happened. First, the narrative became part of the reader's experience thereby 'revising' or 'reforming' his view of the world to bend it into conformity with that expressed by the work. Secondly, the reader's own world-view functioned as a force field that nuanced and 'reformated' as it were the image of the work taking shape in the mind. In short, the reader's understanding of the work was bimodal, consisting of values and insights undeniably derived from the work, but synthesized with the reader's preexisting beliefs and understanding which undergo modification themselves in the process.

Normally, of course, these processes would not be visible. We can trace accounts of them only when they become a theme of personal meditations such as Augustine's *Confessiones*, Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum*, treatises of various sorts, and of course literary works. I would like to suggest, however, that another source of evidence for such dynamic reading practices lies at hand, although not recognized as such. That evidence may be found in the transmission of manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*, the most popular vernacular French text of the Middle Ages. But what exactly do we mean by transmission? And – the corollary question – isn't it time to think of it as both a process of reading and representation?

I've been thinking a good deal lately about these questions. In fact, I have found them so compelling as to conceive a research protocol consisting of two approaches. First, I want to make a longitudinal study of *Rose* manuscripts to determine the extent to which versions vary in response to changing reading practices induced by new modes of representation. But since each manuscript reflects a particular moment and context, one needs to examine examples of other works contemporaneous with a given *Rose* manuscript. It helps if those works were produced in the same place, and if some relationship to the *Rose* can be established, as is the case with works like Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. In such cases, we have examples of works that 'were reading each other', as it were. Let me explain.

'The study of Old French literature can never be divorced from the question of transmission', writes Sylvia Huot in introducing *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*.[36] 'Transmission', in this case, means the insertion of a literary work into the dynamic process of rewriting, adaptation, and revision that leads Daniel Poirion to call medieval writing *manuscriture*.[37] In the case of the *Rose*, manuscript production in the fourteenth century signals the growing prestige of the work, which in turn stimulated the demand for more copies at all levels of society. As Pierre-Yves Badel pointed out thirty years ago, the *Rose* attained popularity in every echelon of the reading public, with manuscripts owned by members of the aristocracy, royalty, ecclesiastics, and the bourgeoisie.[38] He also notes that the reputation of the *Rose* meant that vernacular French literature attained a prestige akin to that of Latin.

While Badel and Huot agree that the fourteenth century saw the 'making' of the *Rose* as the most prestigious vernacular work and thus a model to emulate, they focus primarily on the phenomenon of the work itself as it moves through time and space.

36 Huot 1993, 3.
37 Poirion 1981.
38 Badel 1980.

Fig. 11   Early Portrait of an Un-
courtly   Characteristic: 'Povre-
té Pourtraite'. *Roman de la Rose*.
Baltimore, Walters Art Muse-
um, MS W 143, f. 4v. Paris, early
14th century.
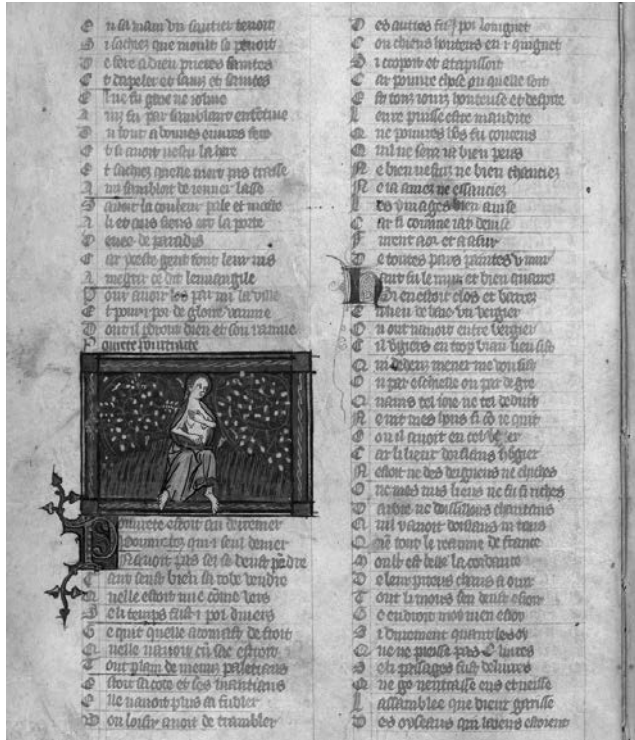
Badel, in particular, traces elements of the *Rose* that later works borrow, while Huot
focuses on the changes wrought on it via transmission. In other words, from their per-
spective manuscripts are basically a means to an end – the end being to convey the
work to a public – rather than a creative initiative in their own right. On that view, the
Rose is essentially a unitary work – however polymorphous – whose influence is uni-
directional: *shaping, but not susceptible to being shaped*. From this perspective, transmission
is basically a 'mechanical' function performed with variable fidelity to the text.

But this view ignores the dynamics of participatory reading we discussed earlier.
Aesthetic contemplation, we recall, initiated a dynamic engagement with the image
of the work acquired in the reading process. That image becomes a double image in
the reading process. On the one hand, the force field of the work inflects the reader's
own view of the world towards the likeness of the work's *Weltanschauung*. On the
other hand, the reader's views subtly nuance the image of the work he assimilates. In
the event, the reader 's image of the work is a composite of these two forces.

Chronology is another variable that can inflect the reader's image of the work. In
this case, its aesthetic norms may be perceived by the reader as archaic, insufficiently
in keeping with prevailing artistic norms of his own time. In that case, he may subtly
nudge his image of the work towards the aesthetic likeness dictated by the norms of
his *own* day. While this risks anachronism – which did not much trouble medieval rea-
ders – it satisfies his aesthetic sensitivity – which was, after all, one of the criteria of
'beauty', as we saw above.

Fig. 12　Late Portrait of Uncourtly Characteristics: 'Pape-lardie & Povreté'. *Roman de la Rose*. New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 948, f. 11r. Paris, 1520.

In such cases, the force of the reader's own *Weltanschauung* and aesthetic sense nudge the *Rose* that he fashions towards a 'likeness' in line with contemporary aesthetic and moral modes. Parenthetically, one should say that this effect may be seen most flagrantly in the manuscript paintings, decorations and mise-en-page of late fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts when compared with earlier examples (Figures 11 and 12).

These facts cannot help but alter the way we think about the variety of and variation in manuscripts of a work like the *Roman de la Rose*, whose extant manuscripts extend over more than two centuries of artistic innovation. The often-considerable differences between manuscript versions tell us that the poem was admired and consequently gained prestige precisely because its transmission exhibits a dynamic process of 'differential repetition'.

Differential repetition describes the generative dynamic of transmission whereby the master scribe responsible for planning a manuscript could – and often did – produce a version that followed the main episodes of the work in question, but with differences resulting from new textual insertions, unusual rubrics and glosses, new miniatures, and so on. When we ask what motivates differential repetition and where do

the changes come from, then things begin to get interesting. Manuscript versions il-
lustrate the generative force of medieval literary transmission, its *energeia* (ἐνέργεια)
or dynamic activity that transforms as it transmits. This is why I say that manuscript
transmission is an authentic form of artistic representation in the full sense of the term.
But what do I mean by a 'generative force'? And why do I associate it with *energeia*?

By 'generative force' I mean the ability to move or change something for a particu-
lar end. That is very close to the way Aristotle defines *energeia* as an agent of motion
and change, a being-at-work. At *Metaphysics* 1050a 21-23, he comments: 'The act is
an end and the being-at-work is the act and since *energeia* is named from *ergon* it also
extends to the being-at-an-end (*entelechia*)'. We find similar passages in *Physics, Meta-
physics,* and *De Anima*, to name only these treatises. In *Physics* 202a 1, for example, Aris-
totle argues that change is an *energeia;* also a purposive acting on something is an *ener-
geia*. In his *Commentary on Aristotle's* Physics, St. Thomas Aquinas defends Aristotle's
concept of motion as indicating that objects are not just the complex of characters
they possess *now*, but also as containing other aspects they have not yet attained. Thus
'motion is the mode in which the future belongs to the present, and is the present ab-
sence of just those particular absent things which are about to be'?[39]

The flip side of the work's manuscript actualization is the dialectical interaction that
takes place with the context that solicits another version of a popular work. Since it
is the public in a particular time and place that orders the copy (and not vice-versa),
we should not be surprised to find traces of the contemporary context on the manus-
cript version it produces. I call the dynamic between manuscript and its context 'dif-
ferential imitation', which is another aspect of the dynamic activity of transformation
associated with *energeia*.

Here the mimetic energy flows in two directions: it is not simply the work that is
being copied in the manuscript, but the whole 'moment', the contextual impetus for
that copy at that moment in that place. And since other literary works are being crea-
ted at the same time, as part of the same contextual impetus that sees the need for a
new version of the *Rose*, the same generative dynamic that responds to that request
also produces other literary works. Is there any reason to suppose that the generative
dynamic is unidirectional?

While the *Rose* certainly does serve as a model for fourteenth century works, why
should its own manuscripts not reflect the same literary actualization (*energeia*) as newer
ones, especially since they're produced at the same time? Once we accept that the
more famous model is being 're-created' at the same time as works that acknowledge
it, then it's not difficult to imagine a dialectic of transference in which each is made to
assume attributes of the other – at least so far as the manuscript representation is con-
cerned. That this was in fact the case would explain the prevalence of 'interpolations'
in the *Rose* during this period, as well as the increase in miniatures, the ingenuity of
their historiation, marginal and bas-de-page paintings that often form an ironic coun-
terpoint to the narrative text, the extensive rubrication, and other innovations found
in manuscript representations of the *Rose* at this time.

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39 Blackwell, Spath & Thirkel 1963, 136-137.

By way of demonstrating how *Rose* manuscripts in the fourteenth century partici-
pate in the generative dialectic of literary production, one might point to a group of
six manuscripts now owned by German libraries.[40] They were all produced in Paris
bookshops during the course of the long fourteenth century. This group of manu-
scripts is particularly interesting, not least of all for having been acquired by German
collectors in the nineteenth or early twentieth century precisely because of their indi-
viduality. They are important for multiple reasons, such as textual additions to Jean de
Meun's section of the poem, or for the significance of their illuminations from major
masters of the period, and not least of all because they have not been studied or de-
scribed as a group, or even for reasons of their recent history.

The *Rose*, in the Düsseldorf Academy (MS 2, olim A.B. 142), for instance, contains
two important interpolations to Jean de Meun – the Litany of Love and the Interpo-
lation of the Privileges. This same manuscript is noteworthy for being the only Rose
codex to exhibit a Nazi swastika, since it was seized from a German-Jewish owner in
the 1930s and became part of a collection 'donated' by Hermann Göring to the Her-
mann Göring-Meisterschule für Malerei in Kronenburg, Germany.[41]

Other manuscripts represent examples of miniature painting from notable masters.
For example, the Frankfurt *Rose* (Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS lat.
qu. 65) has been ascribed to the Maubeuge Master working for Thomas de Maubeuge
in Paris c. 1320. The Master of the Duc de Berry, to take another instance, painted the
Stuttgart *Rose* (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Cod. Poet. et phil.
2° 6), soon after 1400. Knowing the bookshops of origin in such cases enables com-
parison of the Rose codex with fourteenth-century vernacular works produced in
the same workshop.

For example, Richard and Mary Rouse have authoritatively attributed the Düs-
seldorf *Rose* to the Parisian bookshop run by Richard de Montbaston and his wife
Jeanne de Montbaston.[42] From their shop on the Rue Neuve Notre Dame, for some
twenty-five years from just before 1330 until sometime after 1355, this husband and
wife team produced notable examples of thirteenth-century works such as this *Rose*
or *La Légende dorée*, as well as new works with significant links to the *Rose*, e.g., Guil-
laume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire
d'amour*, a *Roman de Fauvel*, and – of particular interest to the interconnection be-
tween projects – a number of manuscripts of the *Bible historiale*.[43]

Jeanne de Montbaston has been identified as the bas-de-page illuminator of a fa-
mous *Rose* codex (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25526) showing nuns gathering penis's from a
penis tree, a Deguileville *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, and three manuscripts of works
from Jacques de Longuyon's Peacock cycle (the text that first codified the legend of
les neufs Preux or Nine Worthies). She also collaborated with her husband on the il-

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40 The manuscripts in question are: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS gall. qu. 80 and MS Ham 577; Düsseldorf, Bi-
bliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, MS A.B 142; Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS lat. qu. 65;
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Gall 17; and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Cod.
Poet. et phil. 2° 6.

41 Weyer 2006, 118.

42 Rouse & Rouse 2000, 235-239. Quoted by Weyer 2006, 125.

43 See Busby 2002, 591.

lumination of BnF, MS fr. 15391 (a *Bible historiale*). Richard painted folios 1-8v, 131 to 204, and 283v to 311v, while Jeanne did folios 11 to 114v, 228 to 265, and 318 to 340.[44]

Since similar evidence can be adduced for the workshop of Thomas de Maubeuge as well as for the Master of the Duc de Berry, there is ample evidence, then, to connect the German *Rose* manuscripts to the flourishing book culture in Paris in the fourteenth century. That observation is strongly reinforced by the knowledge that Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston's atelier produced some nineteen *Rose* manuscripts – of which the Düsseldorf codex is one. The triangulation of *Rose* codices, a particular workshop, and popular fourteenth century texts becomes even more interesting – and compelling – when we remember that the Montbaston and Maubeuge workshops produced a number of *Bibles historiales* (sometimes even working together).

At least nine *Bible historiale* codices, for example, have been ascribed to Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, all made between 1330 and the mid-1350s.[45] It is particularly interesting to think of comparing the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* painted by Jeanne de Montbaston and her *Rose* manuscripts, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Montbaston *Bibles historiales*. Deguileville's text specifically references the *Rose*, so one would expect to find a generative dialectic in that case – though its variable manifestations are what would be of interest. But in the case of the *Bible historiale* the differential imitation can't be predicted in advance, but only intuited on the basis of the long discourses of Nature and of Genius in which Jean de Meun glosses theological doctrine in 'a new – and controversial – key'.

Once the interaction of *Rose* manuscripts with book production in the first half of the fourteenth century has been explored, the same process can be undertaken in the case of the Stuttgart *Rose* – from the hand of the Master of the Duc de Berry – with works of Guillaume de Machaut, a poet intimately familiar with Jean de Meun, and whose work is associated with the *Rose* in at least one important codex, Bibliothèque Municipale d'Arras, MS 897. This manuscript is of particular interest because it contains, aside from Machaut's *Jugement du roy de Behaigne*, ten other works (including Jean's own *Testament*), whose themes relate directly to aspects of the *Roman de la Rose*.

The influence of Jean de Meun on the poetics of Machaut has been noted with growing frequency in recent years. Machaut's subtlety in transforming thematic oppositions of ideas and characters from Jean's work into very different configurations and genres may be seen, for example in an article by Kevin Brownlee published in Early Music History, 'Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*'.[46] Other studies could be cited as well, but as in the case of studies on the transmission of *Rose* manuscripts by Badel and Huot, these comparisons also assume unidirectional influence. Again, one finds an underlying assumption that the generative mimetic force emanates

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44 Fournié 2009, no. 107: 'Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 15391, Présentation' (http://acrh.revues.org/1469#tocto1n12).

45 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 145 A & B; Enschede (Netherlands), Rijksmuseum Twente, MS Inv. no. 2; New York, Morgan Library, MS 322 and 323; New York, Public Library, MS Spencer 4; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 15391; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 20 and 21; Philadelphia, Free Library, MS M VIII 10. For a list of *Bible historiale* manuscripts see Fournié 2009 (http://acrh.revues.org/1830).

46 Brownlee 1991.

from a hyper-concept we can call the *Rose*-qua-work. From that perspective the manuscript that instantiates the poem remains external to it. It seems hard to imagine how anyone could dismiss the drama of the manuscript presentation as adventitious.

Still, when one conceives the 'work' as somehow above or beyond any given manifestation of it, when one thinks of it as the sum of *n*-manifestations – as opposed to having its very *mode of being* in them – then the individual representation does become invisible. Without denying that there is indeed a 'hyper-concept' of the *Rose* emerging from the sum of our experiences with it, we must recognize that that is matter for a different kind of critical and philosophical project. What's at issue here is to recognize that the generative force of each manuscript representation is not unique to the *Rose*-qua-work, but emerges from the culture of literary productivity itself. On this view, the process of differential imitation does not simply affect the content of works produced contemporaneously by a bookshop, it can even influence the choice and poetics of the works copied.

Yet, at the end of the day, is this the whole story? Is it really the case that we're forced to choose between a concept of the work 'as somehow above or beyond any manifestation of it', and 'the work-that-has-its-being in a given manuscript version?' I think not. After all, for a work to manifest what I've called 'generative force' sufficient to motivate a transmission history lasting well over two centuries and running to hundreds of manuscript versions, it must also generate in its readers a very strong 'hyper-concept'. If, as noted above, that is matter for a different theoretical study, we can at least see that the starting point of the inquiry – and the ending point for this article – lies in contemplating the tensile strength of literary form. Poetic structure in the manuscript age is dynamic; it constantly accommodates the stress of modification without losing its ability to adjust to load changes or to suffer any reduction in performance or loss of identity. That is the basis for the medieval paradox I call 'mutable stability'.

Summary

The medieval codex fostered textual mutability as opposed to the 'fixed text' made possible by print. Yet, the Middle Ages resisted change in and for itself. This paper explores the delicate balance between stability, on the one hand, and transformation, on the other in medieval vernacular literature. Only a culture that saw no contradiction in promulgating an omnipotent, unchanging divinity, which was at the same time a dynamic principle of construction and transformation could have managed the paradox of 'mutable stability'. While this principle operates in a number of domains – not least in the myriad art forms known as 'Romanesque' – this paper focuses on manuscript transmission of vernacular literature. In particular, it examines the concepts of 'sameness' and 'resemblance' that shaped the concepts of vision in the *Roman de la Rose*, and thus manuscripts transmission. Using the idea of generative or regenerative transformation of the text, the paper illustrates a basic principle of stability, namely, 'the ability of an object to adjust to load changes without any reduction in performance'.

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The Books of Pieter Pouwelsz
Literature, Law and Late Medieval Textual Culture in the Low Countries

Geert Warnar

The new interests in text transmission require that the twenty-first-century *medio-neerlandicus* be a jack of many trades.[1] He or she must deal with manuscript studies, history, art history, theology and the history of religion, the Romance and Germanic literatures, the Latin tradition of learning, and even computing. Although most of the contributors to this volume have been trained as literary scholars, the collected essays cover a field that we might describe as late medieval textual culture, including the material aspects of written communication, the intellectual and historical contexts of literary production, readership, provenance and ownership but also the ideologies, beliefs, morality and discourses that shaped writing of all sorts.[2]

The modern *medioneerlandicus* studies epic narrative and poetry, but also medical treatises, chronicles, school texts, manuals for religious meditation, prayer books, juridical texts. This *erweiterter Literaturbegriff* has a long history in scholarship on medieval Dutch texts. Starting in the late nineteenth century, the Flemish philologist Willem de Vreese practiced everything we now speak of as *Überlieferungsgeschichte* or 'New Philology'. For his *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta*, De Vreese collected an enormous wealth of data on the transmission of medieval texts in manuscripts from the Low Countries, giving *medioneerlandici* a methodological head start, long before the *Materialität der Kommunikation* gained its momentum in literary or cultural studies.[3] Focusing on the material process of medieval text production and transmission – including scribal activities, the commissioning of books, provenance, ownership – De Vreese showed for the medieval period that literature in the modern sense of creative writing is not to be separated from other texts. This idea is now generally accepted. New approaches have broken down the barriers between academic disciplines that separated literary studies from history, theology, philosophy, the history of science or the history of law. All of these branches in medieval studies are concerned with written forms of communication and therefore share interests in the textual culture of the period.[4]

For most *medioneerlandici*, this dealing with textual culture is business as usual, but yet one might ask if they may still be considered literary scholars when studying chronicles, prayer books, mystical treatises and so forth. Has the *medioneerlandicus* become a philologist or a specialist in cultural studies? Or has he or she managed to serve many

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1 For the term *medioneerlandicus*, see Gerritsen 1975, 90.
2 Cf. Bray & Evans 2007.
3 For the *erweiterter Literaturbegriff*, see Ruh 1985. The concept of 'New Philology' was introduced in Nichols 1990. On De Vreese and his position in the history of philology, see Warnar 2008a, and Warnar 2006.
4 For the recent interest in the 'New Philology', see three inaugural lectures: Wackers 2002, Van Anrooij 2006, and Oosterman 2007.

masters, by redefining his or her field of work as the textual culture of the medieval period? This paper deals with the *medioneerlandicus* and his/her travels beyond the traditional domains of the literary scholar, not by way of a theoretical statement, but by presenting a case study on the interconnectedness of law and literature that is characteristic for textual culture in the manuscript age with all its varieties of stability and transformation.

Lost books

Shortly after Easter in 1451, Pieter Pouwelsz, priest and schoolmaster in the village of Rijnsburg, received a letter that was sent to him by his former pupil Sofie van Duvenvoorde. It had come to her notice that Pieter was in trouble because of her. Sofie, a Benedictine nun, had secretly left her abbey in Rijnsburg (near Leiden in Holland) to join the newly reformed monastery of Aula Dei in Frisia. And there were rumors that Pouwelsz had known of Sofie's planned escape. This was not true. In her letter Sofie explained that first she had wanted to tell Pouwelsz, but being afraid he would oppose to her plans, she only had hinted at her leaving the abbey: 'That is why I did not tell you more than: Master, you will experience something extraordinary tomorrow'.[5] As Sofie had not dared to confide in Pouwelsz, she had failed to return him some books she apparently had on loan. And now that the books had gone missing, Pieter Pouwelsz was held responsible – or so it seems. Sofie writes that Pouwelsz must show the letter to the abbess and the librarian and others who might accuse the schoolmaster.

Intriguing as this story of the runaway nun and her schoolmaster may be, its relevance for the themes of this volume might not be immediately clear. Where there are no books, there is no stability; where there are no texts, there is no transformation. However, Sofie's letter does provide unexpected details of contemporary practices of reading, writing and the distribution of books. We catch a glimpse of the late medieval female religious life that has attracted so much scholarly attention in gender studies, the history of spirituality, and in literary studies. Bernard McGinn, a specialist in the medieval mystical tradition, qualified the extremely rich literature that grew out of the contacts between clerics and religious women as 'an overheard conversation' – and this seems to be exactly what Sofie's letter is, especially in the sense that it leaves the modern reader with a document in need of a context.[6]

Escaping to Aula Dei, Sofie must have had higher expectations of religious life there than she found in the abbey of Rijnsburg, where a literate young woman had to turn to the local schoolmaster for her education. This might be the reason why Sofie felt sorry for Pieter Pouwelsz, whom she addresses as 'Dear Master'. She repeatedly expresses her gratitude for Pouwelsz's teachings: 'I thank you kindly for the knowledge you have taught me, so that I could understand Holy Scripture'.[7] Master Pouwelsz did

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5 'Daer om ende seid ic niet meer tot u dan: Meyster, U sal marghen wat sanderlings te voren comen'. Edition of the letter in Hüffer 1951, 314-315, and in the article on *Aula Dei* by Willebrands 1954, 83-85.

6 McGinn 1998, 17.

7 'ic danc u vrindelic der lering die ghi mi gheleert heb, dat ic die heylighe scrift verstae'. Hüffer 1951, 315.

more than just supply Sofie with books. He was her teacher, perhaps a spiritual guide, a mediator between the world of learning and the need for religious and intellectual education of the Rijnsburg nuns. Was it his teaching that ignited the religious ambitions in the young Sofie? And if so, what books did he lend her?

These have become unanswerable questions, as the books of Pieter Pouwelsz are lost forever. Whereas we can only speculate on their significance in the religious life of a Benedictine nun, we know more of the schoolmaster. In the same year that Sofie disappeared, leaving Pieter Pouwelsz to account for the lost books, Rijnsburg Abbey paid him for copying a document concerning a visitation by the Benedictines of Egmond.[8] In the same year the Rijnsburg schoolmaster produced a copy of the *Sachsenspiegel* (Mirror of the Saxons), a widely read law book originally written in German in circa 1220 by Eike von Repgow.[9] This manuscript of 268 leaves is Pouwelsz's masterpiece. Using different types of script, Pouwelsz differentiated between the text of Eike and the glosses on the *Sachsenspiegel* that had been added by a fourteenth-century commentator: the jurist Johann von Buch. Pouwelsz' use of hybrida and textualis, rubric and marginal glosses is remarkably sophisticated for a vernacular text. His scribal work earned Pouwelsz a starring role in an article by the paleographer Peter Gumbert on the differentiation of script to manage complex texts.[10] The schoolmaster shows he was an experienced scribe, familiar with the academic practices of glosses and commentaries.

The Rijnsburg priest and schoolmaster belonged to the community of clerics, teachers, preachers, poets, authors, compilers, scribes and other men of letters that shaped late medieval Dutch textual culture. Peter Pouwelsz perfectly illustrates the position of these middle-class intellectuals with access to the Latinate world of learning and the Church but working in the secular spheres of the laity and their vernacular texts.[11] Pouwelsz's activities in 1451 show how late medieval men of letters moved within different areas of contemporary literate society, from writing Latin ecclesiastical documents and teaching young nuns to lending out books and copying a legal compendium. The schoolmaster would not have used the law book for teaching holy scripture to Sofie, but the text offers a perfect case study to explore further the characteristics of late medieval textual culture, and all its forms of stability and transformation. Moreover, a closer look at the *Sachsenspiegel* in the Netherlands may help us to understand why the books of Pieter Pouwelsz are of interest for the twenty-first-century *medioneerlandicus*.

8   'Item den schoolmeester tot Reynsburch gegeven van eenre Latynsscher copien die hi gescreven hadde, roerende van der visitacien die die van Egmonde habben wouden tot Reynsborch'. Hüffer 1951, 818-819; cf. 310-311. The document seems to have been preserved.

9   The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms 75 F 19, according to the colophon written by the priest Pieter van Scouwen ('ghescreven pieter van scouwen priester'). This Pieter is the same as the scribe of a copy of *Der naturen bloeme* (dated 1453): 'here pieter pouwels zoen van schouwen priester'; cf. Gumbert 1988, no. 466. There has been some discussion on the origins of the scribe Pieter Pouwelsz and his possible affiliations to Egmond Abbey (summarized in Westgeest 2006, 248-251). However, this paper for the first time links the references to the scribe and the references to the schoolmaster.

10   Gumbert 1979, 383-388. Pouwelsz's manuscript was used for the edition of the Dutch version of the *Sachsenspiegel* (second version), although the editor left out all the glosses; see De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II.

11   See Warnar 2007; and Warnar 2008b.

Sachsenspiegel

Surviving in hundreds of manuscripts from all over the Germanic lands, including the Low Countries, the *Sachsenspiegel* is a landmark in the historical development of jurisprudence from oral customs to written law.[12] Eike von Repgow produced the first juridical reference work in German. Split up in two books on territorial law (*Landrecht*) and feudal law (*Lehnrecht*), the *Sachsenspiegel* covered all aspects of human life – birth, descent, work, inheritance, marriage, crime, property rights, serfdom, ownership, feudal rights and so forth.

The text was extremely successful. Over 300 manuscripts have been listed as well as another hundred fragments. Ever since Carl Gustav Homeyer published his first edition of the *Sachsenspiegel* in 1827, new *Überlieferungsstränge* have been discerned.[13] New prologues, epilogues and interpretations were added to Eike's original text, constituting new branches in the text transmission. And a whole new frame of reference for the text emerged when the fourteenth-century jurist Johann von Buch produced a glossed version of the *Sachsenspiegel*, bringing Repgow's thirteenth century text up to date with the newly studied Roman law. It was this glossed version of the text that Pieter Pouwelsz copied – perhaps after an older Dutch exemplar, but Pouwelsz's manuscript is the oldest extant copy of the glossed version in Dutch.[14]

For the *Sachsenspiegel* and other medieval law books, questions concerning stability and transformation are crucial. The very reason for writing the *Sachsenspiegel* was to create (legal) stability through a written text that could be taken as a point of reference in jurisdiction.[15] The transmission of the *Sachsenspiegel* well into the sixteenth century indicates that Eike von Repgow's work was a success far beyond his own time and place.[16] However, this wide dissemination brought with it all sorts of textual transformations. Even though basically the same text was copied, studied and used, the manuscripts could differ so substantially that the subsequent modern editors of the *Sachsenspiegel* concentrated on one manuscript rather than undertake the fruitless efforts to produce a critical edition.[17]

The 'New Philology' – and the attention to stability and transformation in manuscript studies – has ruled in scholarship on medieval law books. The *Sachsenspiegel* and other law books have been studied *als Ausdruck der pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit*, focusing on the variation and transformation that is typical for the transmission of these juridical texts.[18] There was a whole series of studies on manuscript illumination, book

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12 General information on Eike von Repgow and his *Sachsenspiegel* with a bibliography to show the amount of research on the work and its dissemination in Kümper 2004.

13 Homeyer 1827.

14 Cf. De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II, ix-xix, on the manuscripts with the glossed version in the Low Countries. Only recently the (German) glossed version has been edited: Kaufmann 2002. A recent study of the glossed version is Kannowski 2007.

15 See Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, 435-436 for a description of the genre of *Rechtsbücher* (books of law).

16 Well documented in the recent study of Kümper 2009a; see 22-48 on the nature and intention of books of law.

17 Schmidt-Wiegand 1991. Cf. Kümper 2004, 8-19, on textual transformation (*Textentwicklung*), manuscripts and editions.

18 Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, with a wealth of literature and references on the German textual tradition of the *Sachsenspiegel*.

production, the commission of manuscripts for specific purposes, the involvement of scribes, or the interaction of the *Sachsenspiegel* with other texts copied in the same manuscripts. All in all, the work done on books of law demonstrates the multifaceted world of the late medieval written word in the German lands. Nevertheless, there is much to say about the *Sachsenspiegel* in the Low Countries.

Sachsenspiegel in the Low Countries

Even when narrowed down to the *Sachsenspiegel* in the Netherlands, the variation in the text transmission is substantial. About a dozen manuscripts with the *Sachsenspiegel* in Dutch have been identified, apart from codices with origins in the Lower-Rhine region and manuscripts with the German text in Dutch ownership.[19] When Pieter Pouwelsz copied the glossed version in 1451, Eike's original text already circulated in the (Northern) Netherlands. An abridged version in Dutch, which seems to have been prepared especially for printing, was very successful. After the first edition of 1479, five further incunabula and several post-incunabula editions were published in the Low Countries.[20]

Apart from this more general classification of Dutch *Sachsenspiegel*-texts, each manuscript copy could have its own characteristics or individual additions. Pieter Pouwelsz's book is a case in point. The last article of the *Lehnrecht* (feudal law) on the integrity of a judge is the inspiration for a long diatribe on corruption in legal matters, warning those who have been given juridical authority to judge others only in the way they would want to be judged themselves. The anonymous author elaborates on the ethical principles in matters of law. Biblical texts are brought to bear in an effort to demonstrate the eternal consequences of injustice caused by greed and law abuse. The passion of Christ is identified as the archetype of the seal of truth (*zeghel der waerheit*) that is given to emperors, kings and rulers to legislate their decisions. However, many officials, lords and judges abuse this seal:

> Truly, this I cannot understand, imagine or grasp. Those that practice such swindle, deceit and falsehood and deal with it, they think of themselves as wiser, nobler and more perfect than did Christ our redeemer […] That is why Christ may rightly say: 'Poenitet me fecisse hominem' (Gen. 6,6). Not that God repented that He created man, but He regrets that His hard and bitter death would be lost on so many. And I say to you in truth: who gives out seal or letters on guilt or innocence or anything from which you or your friends may profit and to deceive, damage or disadvantage others, for them it would be better not have been born at all than to disgrace truth so badly with falsehood and deceit and [in this way they] sentence themselves to hell and eternal damnation.[21]

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19 For the Dutch tradition, see Deschamps 1972, no. 100; on the *Sachsenspiegel* in the Lower Rhine region, see Wolf 2006. See Kannowski 2007, 150 for a manuscript with the German *Sachsenspiegel* in Dutch ownership.
20 Edition (after the only manuscript copy!) in Smits 1872. Cf. Wolf 2006, 306-307, and Kümper 2009a, 339-344.
21 'Waerliken, ic en can mi des niet versinnen, vermoden noch begripen. Die sulke loosheit, bedriechnisse ende loghentael hantieren ende daermede omgaen, si en houden hem selven wiser, edelre ende volcomenre dan Cristum onse ghesontmaker hem ghehouden heft […] Daerom mach Christus wel segghen: "poenitet me fecisse hominem". Niet dat god verdriet dat hi den mensche ghemaect heeft, mer hem jammert dat sinen zwaren bitteren doot an also menighen mensche verloren soude wesen. Ende ic seg u oec bi waren woorden: die segel of brieven

Here, the juridical language of the *Sachsenspiegel* gives way to the moral discourse of the sermon or the religiously inspired complaint literature.[22] Even though it is not at all certain that Pieter Pouwelsz added his own views here, the words he penned are easier to associate with a priest than with legal prose. However, the whole argument is based on a biblical citation that appears in the glosses to the first paragraphs of the *Sachsenspiegel* to point out the divine nature of justice and law (Matthew 7,2: For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again).[23] This connection means that the added text is not just an appendix, but a *reprise* of the commentary to the opening of the *Sachsenpiegel*, reminding readers of the metaphysical grounds of law: *God is selve dat recht. Ende daer om so heft hi life dat recht* – words that are difficult to translate in English, as the German and Dutch *recht* means 'just', 'justice' and 'law'.[24]

The text in Pouwelsz's manuscript is one of many examples of the interventions by scribes, compilers, editors and miniature artists that added new meaning to the *Sachsenspiegel*, highlighting the idea – already put forward in the original text – that the practice of law was closely connected to religious and moral concepts of justice. The meaning of the Middle Dutch and German *gherechticheit* includes both 'justice' and 'righteousness'. This issue could be addressed in literary texts, biblical commentaries and sermons as well as in legal compendia and the visual arts. The fourteenth-century *Weichbildrecht*, a law book similar to the *Sachsenspiegel*, explicitly demanded an image of the Last Judgment to be present in courtrooms, to remind the judge that his legal affairs and decisions had repercussions in eternity.[25]

No matter whether Pieter Pouwelsz himself was responsible for the eschatological twist of the *Sachsenspiegel* or that he just transcribed texts from an earlier manuscript, his copy shows that moral and legal discourse were not distributed over separate spheres of textual culture. Medieval literary production – in a broad sense – was in the hands of men like Pieter Pouwelsz, who had been trained for a career in the Church, the school or to practice law. These men of letters were familiar with a world of learning that united literature, law and religion. Therefore: to understand books like the

gheeft op scout of onscout of op watterleye saken dattet sijn daer u ghewin of comen mach of uwen vrienden, ende om enen anderen te bedrieghen of in scaden te brenghen of verlies, dien waer nutter dat se niet gheboren en waren danse die waerheit mit loghentale ende mit bedriechnis also jammerliken bevlecken ende wisen hem selven ter hellen ende ten ewigher verdoemnissen'. De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II, 217.

22 For examples of poetry on corruption in legal practices, see Meder 1991, 292-302. In sermons: Hubrath 2000.
23 'Ghi kinderen des menschen, rechtet recht ende merct ende verstaet dat, voirwaer, mit alsulke mate als ghi uut metet, mitter selver maten sal u weder in werden ghemeten'. De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II, 215. This text is taken up *verbatim* at the opening of the diatribe: 'Want god is alle recht in allen rechten, ghelic als hi oec spreect in den ewangelio mit wat rechten of maten daer een yeghelyc mede rechtet of uut metet mit alsodanighe mate of rechten sal ic hem weder rechten ende in meten hier namaels als hi niet meer warven en mach op aertrijc ende anders niet te bieden en heeft dan die naecte ziele'. The Hague, KB, MS 75 F 19, f. 21r. Cf. Kaufmann 2002, vol. I, 111. The somewhat specific (Dutch) use of the verbs *inmeten* and *utemeten* in the translation of Matthew 7,2 (take in a certain measure and give away a certain measure) shows the repetition of the same quotation. Cf. Verwijs & Verdam et al. 1885-1952, sub *inmeten* and *utemeten*.
24 De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II, 2.
25 Schnitzler 2000, 7-8. Cf. Kannowski 2007, 126-131. For the Low Countries, also see Stroo & Van Dooren 1998, and, in the same volume, Van Leeuwen 1998.

Sachsenspiegel and to assess their significance for medieval culture one has to find an approach that integrates all disciplines dealing with medieval textual culture, even if these disciplines are now distributed over different university faculties.

Published in a series of sources for the history of law in the Netherlands, the nineteenth-century edition of the Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* has failed to draw the attention of literary historians in the Low Countries, although greater names than Pieter Pouwelsz had shown interest in the text. Jacob van Maerlant, foremost poet of the Dutch thirteenth-century literature, even alluded to *dat duutsche loy* in his *Wapene Martijn*. This strophic poem must have been written before 1300, which is contemporary to the oldest dated manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel* – showing that Eike's Eastphalian work had reached the Low Countries well within a century after its composition.[26] Maerlant's words have been cited frequently to demonstrate the wide transmission of the *Sachsenspiegel*. They also provide an early indication of the intense interaction of texts from Germany and the Low Countries. Moreover, the *Wapene Martijn* shows that literature and law interconnected in a poet's mind, at least in Maerlant's case.[27]

Literature and law

Evidence for the medieval cross-influences of literature and law are found in a wide range of Dutch texts. These include a treatise that takes the (Frisian) ball game of *kaatsen* as an allegory for the legal procedures and the heavenly courtroom drama in *Maskeroen* or other imaginative trials in which the devils claim the right to the souls after Christ's Harrowing of Hell.[28] The most intriguing example might be a rhymed law book: an almost completely neglected text of 1369 verses on the customary rights of succession in Bruges.[29] After its edition in 1839 this anonymous text seems to have gone unnoticed, although the attempt to produce a legal reference work in verses (*in rime scriven voort*) offers highly interesting material for the ongoing discussion on the use of prose or verse in medieval literature – especially as there are traces of a prose version.[30] The arrangement in 53 numbered chapters, each with a title, suggests that the author treated issues on the rights of succession very systematically. In order to assess whether the use of verse affected the juridical accuracy of the text, we would need the expertise of a legal historian. To understand why the Flemish author chose to write in verse, we would have to look for a poetic tradition in the related spheres of knowledge transfer.[31]

Another crossover of law and literature is a hitherto unidentified excerpt from *Jans teesteye* (Jan's testimony), a dialogue by the Antwerp town clerk Jan van Boendale written in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, which served as a preface to the

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26 Wolf 2006, 304-305 (with references).
27 A recent analysis of the *Wapene Martijn* in Reynaert 1996.
28 Roetert Frederikse 1915, and for *Maskeroen*: Snellaert 1869, 493-538.
29 Edited in Van de Putte 1839.
30 Gorissen 1955.
31 Discussion of the use of verse and prose in Lie 1994. More recently, Van Driel 2010 suggested regional traditions may also affected the use of verse and prose.

Sachsenspiegel in a manuscript from 1385. The leaf with the excerpt was added later.[32] Under the heading of *Wolter vraget Johan*, an anonymous scribe has copied a section of *Jans Teesteye* on the faults and failures of *scependom* (i.e. urban jurisdiction but also the sheriffs who have juridical authority in the city). In response to the questions of Wolter (Wouter in the Dutch original), Jan claims that judges are easily led astray because there is no written law to refer to:

> Mer Wolter, sijt seker das,
> Dat angestlijcste dinc dat ye was
> Ofte daer ich ye af hoirde lesen,
> Dat dunct my schependoym wesen.
> Want sy en hebn gein recht bescreven
> Vnde moeten volnisse geven
> Wt oren hoefde na id verlien
> Vnde vertrecken der partien.
> Gaen sy dan vt der gerechticheide
> Vmme gonste, vmme nijt of vmme bede,
> Si sijn ewelic verloren
> Offte sy moetent on restoren.[33]

(But Wolter, be sure, I think the most terrifying thing that has ever been, or that I have ever heard of in reading/teaching, is *scependom*, because they have not written down the law [or: they have no written law, i.e. law books] and have to come up with a sentence themselves on the basis of the testimonies and statements of the [litigating] parties. If they [=the judges] leave justice behind, because of profit, jealousy or by request, they will either be lost forever, or they will have to compensate [the loss of the prejudiced party].)

The Jan of *Jans teesteye*, who may be considered to speak on behalf of the author Boendale, turns out to be very familiar with legal practices. Discussing the dangers of *schependom*, he precisely describes the legal lacuna that law books such as the *Sachsenspiegel* could fill. Moreover, the Antwerp town clerk touches upon the same topics as the sermon in Pieter Pouwelsz's manuscript does. To counter or to prevent a lack of integrity in legal affairs, Boendale emphasizes the religious dimensions of justice:

> Als hi [=the judge] ten ordel gods sal staen,
> Daer men elken meten sal id vat
> Daer hi hier ertrijck mede mat,
> Dan sall dit grote vordeel keren
> In groten rowe, in lanc verseren,
> Ja, eest dat hi ye gedede
> Ofte riet tgegen gerechtichede.
> Want gerechticheit gebiedt opden ban
> Datmen tsine geve elken man.[34]

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32 On this manuscript with an edition of the excerpt, but without identification of the text, see Kümper 2009b. On *Jans teesteye*, see Kinable 1997, 100-120; cf. Warnar 2011, 85-86. Edition of *Jans teesteye* in Snellaert 1869, 137-275.

33 Duisburg, Stadtbibliothek, ms [without signature], f. 1r; cf. *Jans teesteye*, ll. 1104-1115 (Snellaert 1869, 174-175).

34 Duisburg, Stadtbibliothek, ms [without signature], f. 1v; cf. *Jans teesteye*, ll. 1163-1171 (Snellaert 1869, 176).

(When he [=the Judge] appears for God's judgement, where everyone will be measured with the measuring cup he used here on earth, then this great profit will turn into great grief and long suffering, if he has ever acted or advised against justice. For justice commands, upon [the punishment of] exile, that one gives everyman his share.)

Boendale shares the views of law and justice put forward in the glosses to the preface to the *Sachsenspiegel* (including the reference to Matthew 7,2), but the connection to the Last Judgment is a very common theme.[35] The town clerk Jan van Boendale must have been professionally involved in the legal affairs that he commented upon in his dialogue as a literary writer.[36] As a warning to judges, the excerpt from *Jans teesteye* was perfectly relevant to serve as a new introduction to the *Sachsenspiegel*, especially for those who consulted the manuscript. Ownership may be traced back to Caspar Schlegtendal, a sixteenth-century *Gerichtsschreiber* in Werden.[37]

A similar combination of poetry on divine justice with a law book appears in a *Sachsenspiegel* manuscript of 1414, produced in Bergheim (near Cologne). Eike's text is preceded by a poem that warns all rulers of the eternal consequences of injustice and corruption in temporal affairs.

> O paefs, geystlicher vader,
> Keyser, koninc, vorsten al gader
> Herczoge, greve, ritter ende knechten
> Richtet vmb got recht.
> Richter, scheffen, laien inde ghesworen
> Die zo deme rechten sint gheboren
> Richtet deme rijchen als dem armen
> Soe mach sich got over uch erbarmen.[38]

(O pope, spiritual father, emperor, king, all princes, dukes, counts, knights and squires, administer justice justly for the sake of God [or good justice]. Judges, sheriffs, laymen and those who have sworn an oath, those who have been born to administer justice, do this for both rich and poor. Then God can have mercy on you.)

The second half of the poem discusses the Last Judgment in the Valley of Josaphat that is also mentioned in the final section of the texts copied by Pieter Pouwelsz. Again, the Bergheim manuscript is connected to circles of the city administration: the scribe was a certain Johann Scabini (Latin for *schepen*).[39]

The manuscripts from Werden and Bergheim, with texts assembled for specific use in the context of urban jurisprudence, offer us glimpses of a textual culture in which stability and transformation go together. As a law book, the *Sachsenspiegel* itself is copied carefully (although not verbatim). The transformation concerns deliberately chosen texts that surround Eike's work adding new or extra meaning to the juridical material. The emphasis is on the moral and religious principles underlying (secular)

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35 See Kaufmann 2002, vol. I, 110-111.
36 Van Anrooij 1994.
37 Kümper 2009b, 10-11.
38 Kisch 1980, 21-22.
39 Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, 453-454 and 470, and Schmidt-Wiegand 1998, 322-323.

jurisdiction. For a proper understanding of these added introductions as an attempt to secure and enhance the authority of the *Sachsenspiegel*, it is crucial to note that these medieval law books were manuals; that is, they were reference works without the authority of the legislator.[40] Any attempt to make judges accept the rules laid down in a law book stressed the moral aspects of justice in the light of the hereafter, which would involve literary and legal forms of discourse.

An example of this double involvement is found in a Ghent manuscript with Flemish law books and an excerpt from the *Dietsche doctrinale*, possibly also written by Jan van Boendale.[41] The excerpt (in verse) prescribes wisdom, justice, patience and the fear of God as necessary virtues for judges. The last lines of the excerpt link the practice of jurisdiction to the Last Judgment. To the 160 verses of the *Dietsche doctrinale* is added a strophic poem that carries the message of the *Dietsche doctrinale* one step further, in that it identifies the corrupt judge as someone who follows the advice of Lucifer and will be damned. The poem addresses the man who is chosen to judge: *Zo wat manne die daer toe es verheven / dat hy recht vonnese uut zal gheven*. He practices a dangerous profession (his heart may tremble with fear), because *schepenen* have not written down the law of every sentence.[42]

The striking similarities between this poem and the parts of *Jans teesteye* discussed earlier suggest a direct connection, even though the need for written law as a point of reference in jurisdiction is a recurring argument – found already in the opening lines of the *Sachsenspiegel* that highlight the benefits of the book:

> Got hevet die sassen wol bedacht
> Sint dit buk is vorebracht
> Den luden algemene.[43]

> (God has favoured the Saxons, since this book has been made public for all people.)

Literary scholars have studied Eike's prologue more than any other part of the *Sachsenspiegel*, as a remarkable early vernacular example of prologue theory put into sophisticated practice.[44] The whole rhymed prologue, over 200 verses long, is extremely rich and important, loaded with biblical references and *sententia* from school texts and wisdom literature, stressing the benefits of a book that lays down customary law. Eike's text must have influenced other prologues in German and Dutch, although perhaps primarily as an example of exordial commonplaces. Eike seems to have been the first author to use the well-known metaphor of the mirror for a book in the Dutch and German vernacular:

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40 See Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, 445, and Kümper 2009a, 44-48.
41 For the excerpt, see Blommaert 1841, vol. II, 65-68. Cf. Jonckbloet 1842, ll. 3501-3665. On the manuscript, see Hegman 1982, 7-9. On Boendale's authorship, see Reynaert 2002.
42 'Hem mach zijn herte van anxenen beven / Want scepenen en hebben gheen recht bescreven / Van elken vonnesse dat ute gaet'. Blommaert 1841, vol. II, 67.
43 Eckhardt 1955, 38.
44 Kisch 1980, Schmidt-Wiegand 1998.

> Dat spieghel alre zassen
> Sal dit boec syn ghenant
> Want zassen recht is daer in becant
> Ghelijc dat in enen spieghel die vrouwen
> Hore ansicht mogen scouwen.[45]

(This book is called the mirror of all Saxons, since herein Saxon custom is being studied in the same way that ladies observe their faces in a mirror.)

From this explanation, quoted after the Dutch version, it is again clear that the *Sachsenspiegel* is not a legal treatise. Eike's book teaches customs and procedures to establish moral attitudes in a similar way that a medieval mirror of sins and virtues moved its reader to self-reflection.[46]

The emphasis on the moral function of the *Sachsenspiegel* runs parallel with notions on transmitting knowledge and learning:

> Const is een edel scat
> Ende also ghedaen
> So wie se allene wil haen
> Si minret hem daghelixe
> Des versinne die wise sich
> Ende wese milde des hi can.[47]

(Wisdom is a noble treasure, and of such nature, that it diminishes daily for he who wants it for himself. This the wise man should think of, and be magnanimous.)

Const is not easy to translate. It comprises *skills*, *knowledge* and *wisdom*, while literally *const* is a translation of the Latin *ars*. Eike's words must be associated with the biblical text on wisdom as a hidden treasure (Sirach 20,32: *sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus: quae utilitas in utrisque?*). This text had become a standard *sententia* on teaching in school texts, such as the Latin *Facetus* and its vernacular versions: whoever is given wisdom or knowledge by God is expected to pass this on.[48]

These biblical references connect the *Sachsenspiegel* with contemporary wisdom literature and the transmission of knowledge.[49] Eike wrote his *Sachsenspiegel* in the vernacular, which means that he aimed at an audience other than the professional jurists and students of law who studied Latin texts. The last section of Eike's prologue, de-

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45 Cited after the Dutch version of the *Sachsenspiegel* (see De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 5-6); cf. for the German text, Eckhardt 1955, 43. On the metaphor of the mirror, Schmidt-Wiegand 1998, 315-16, and Kümper 2009a, 26-28.
46 A Dutch *Spiegel van sonden* (Mirror of sins) uses the same metaphor: 'When people have a dirty face, they look at themselves in the mirror; would the sinner likewise take a look in the mirror of this book and search his (inner) ground, we would soon find if his conscience holds any sins.' Verdam 1901, vol. II, 3: 'Als lude besmet sijn in hoeren ansichte, soe gaen si hoer besien in haren spiegel ende die toent hem dan waer si besmet sijn: wolde alsoe die sunder hem gaen spiegelen in dit boeck ende een besueck in sinen gronde doen, hij sal vijnden in corter tijt off hi sunden heeft in sijnre consciencien'.
47 Cited after the Dutch version of the *Sachsenspiegel* (see De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 5-6); see for the German text, Eckhardt 1955, 43.
48 On the biblical source, see Schmidt-Wiegand 1998, 317. For the parallels in school texts, see for instance Suringar 1891, 2, and the references on 53-54.
49 Warnar 2008b, 156-59.

dicating the *Sachsenspiegel* to Hoyer, duke of Valkenstein, suggests the latter had asked for this book to be written in German, although Eike had originally composed it in Latin.[50] To this day, there is no manuscript evidence for a Latin original, and it may well be that Eike referred in general to Latin material that was too complicated for Hoyer. Whatever the case may be, Eike was aware of the fact that he did not write a treatise for the professionals in the law faculty, but a vernacular manual for the practice of jurisprudence.

Sachsenspiegel and the Dutch court (c. 1400)

The Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* omits the dedication part of the prologue. However, a small but significant change in the opening lines shows the editor was aware of the *Sachsenspiegel*'s position in the cultural translation of professional learning to the vernacular world of the laity. Whereas the original prologue has 'God has favoured the Saxons, since this book has been made public for all people', the Dutch version has changed this to 'God has favoured the Saxons, since this book has been turned into Dutch for all people'.

> God hadde die zassen wel bedacht
> Sint dat boec in duutsche is ghebracht   [German: Sint diz buch ist vore bracht]
> Den luden algemeine.[51]

This verse prologue was not copied by Pieter Pouwelsz, but appears in three further manuscripts produced in Holland around 1400 with Eike's original text without glosses. All these manuscripts have the oldest version of the *Sachsenspiegel*, another indication (after Jacob van Maerlant's reference) that Eike's work reached the Low Countries at an early stage. The manuscripts, now in libraries in Cologny, Berlin and The Hague, are closely connected, possibly even written by the same scribe.[52] The miniatures share characteristics of the illumination that is typical for the style associated with the Dutch court under the Bavarian rule. The artists of the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscripts also worked on the miniature cycles in the oldest extant manuscripts of the religious encyclopaedia *Tafel vanden kersten gelove* (Handbook of the Christian Faith) written by the Dutch Dominican and court chaplain Dirc van Delft for Albert, duke of Bavaria, count of Holland. Hence, there is much to say for the hypothesis that the Dutch court also commissioned the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscripts.[53]

   In the three illuminated manuscripts of the *Sachsenspiegel*, we come across another

50 Kümper 2004, 11-12.
51 De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 1. Cf. Eckhardt 1955, 39 (for the variants; *duutsche* is only found in the Dutch manuscripts).
52 On the manuscripts, see Defoer et al. 1989, 36-37. The manuscript The Hague, KB 75 G 47 was used for the edition of the unglossed version of the Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* in De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I). See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/cb/0061 for a full scan and description of Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, ms Bodmer 61. For Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms Germ. fol. 820, see Becker & Overgaauw 2003, 300-302.
53 Proske-van Heerdt 1991.

aspect of stability and transformation in text transmission. Without affecting the text itself, the execution of a manuscript could change its appreciation or manipulate its interpretation.[54] The miniatures in the Dutch manuscripts are closely connected to the text, illustrating two major themes in the opening chapters of the *Sachsenspiegel*. In two of the three manuscripts the prologue is accompanied by a miniature with Christ at the Last Judgment but also illustrating the two-sword theory that is found in the first article of the first book of the *Sachsenspiegel*, defining the domains of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction: 'God left behind on earth two swords for the protection of Christianity. To the pope he gave the spiritual sword, and to the emperor the temporal one.' (*Twee zweerde liet God op eertrike te bescermene mede die kerstenheit. Den pauese is beset dat gheestelyc, den keyser dat weerlike.*)[55]

The other miniature (prefacing the second book of the *Sachsenspiegel*) depicts the emperor enthroned. This is an allusion to Eike's statement that the rules collected in his book of law represent the legacy of central authority that originates in the imperial rulership of Constantine and Charlemagne. After an extremely abbreviated summary of salvation history, Eike refers to these pivotal figures in the history of law as follows: 'But now that we have been converted, and God has summoned us, let us keep His law and His commandment which His prophets have taught us, and which kings have ordained for good spiritual people, Constantine and Charlemagne'. (*Nu wi oec bekeert syn ende ons God weder gheladet heft, nu laet ons houden syn ghebot dat ons sine wyszaghere hebben gheleert ende goede gheestelike lude coninghe ghesat hebben, Constantyn ende Kaerle.*)[56] This idea of imperial authority is especially highlighted in the Berlin manuscript, where the two-sword miniature and the imperial miniature have changed places. Now the emperor appears at the beginning of the *Sachsenspiegel*, taking over the position where one might expect an image of the author or a reference to the divine nature of law.

Others have pointed out that the iconographical details (*Reichsadler* and the lion at the feet of the emperor) are reminiscent of miniatures in *Oberbayerisches Landesrecht* manuscripts that were commissioned by the German emperor Ludwig of Bavaria.[57] The Berlin miniature and its prominent position again suggest the Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* came from the court of Albert of Bavaria. The duke, Ludwig's son, must have been familiar with his father's forms of legislation and the strategies with which to promulgate them. It could be that Albert commissioned one or more *Sachsenspiegel* manuscripts to draw attention to his authority in jurisprudence, like his father had done before him with the *Oberbayerisches Landesrecht*.[58] But there is more that links the *Sachsenspiegel* to the Dutch court of Albert. It has been suggested that the Dutch version of the *Sachsenspiegel,* as a compendium of customary law, was meant to form a

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54 On illuminated manuscripts of the *Sachsenspiegel*, see Kümper 2006, and Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, 445-450.

55 De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 13. For the English translation of the German text, see Dobozy 1999, 68.

56 De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 13. English translation in Dobozy 1999, 67.

57 See Becker & Overgaauw 2003, 300-302, and Kümper 2006, 118-120.

58 Previous ownership of the manuscripts suggests the books were used for local jurisdiction. The Berlin copy was owned by Zweder van Culemborg, who was a local judge in the towns of Eck and Maurik, east of Utrecht. The Geneva manuscript was owned by Jan van Doornik, a nobleman living in Apeldoorn at the end of the fifteenth century (Defoer 1989, 36-37).

secular counterpart to the religious manual *Tafel vanden kersten gelove*.[59] These thoughts on a direct relationship between the two texts can be taken one step further by look-ing at a version of the *Tafel*, which survives in two manuscripts from the Trier region but originates in the Low Countries. This compilation in a German dialect combines 44 chapters of the *Tafel* with 20 chapters of which there is no trace in the Dutch trans-mission.[60] Two of these additional chapters feature an abridged version of the *Land-recht* and *Lehnrecht* of the *Sachsenspiegel* that is based on the Dutch text in the manu-scripts associated with Albert of Bavaria.[61] These inclusions provide one of the reasons to assume Dirc van Delft was involved in the production of the extended version of the *Tafel*.

Considering the emphasis on the imperial authority in the iconography of the Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* manuscripts, it is revealing that Dirc puts forward this idea even more explicitly. In the *Tafel*, the text is introduced as *Vain den gesatten recht der keyser Constantini vnd Karoli magni dat man naemet den spygel van sassen*.[62] The accompanying miniature shows both emperors, but especially interesting is the rewriting of the pro-logue to emphasize the imperial involvement:

> Do got dye saissen hatte bedaecht
> Dat hyn der keyser dat recht braecht
> Und den düschen alghemeyn.[63]

> (When God had favoured the Saxons by letting the emperor bring the law to them and to the Germanic people in general.)

Other changes to the prologue also focus on the law as a legacy of Constantine and Charlemagne. Eike's explanation that the set of rules in the *Sachsenspiegel* was handed down by the older generations is specified in that the founders of the law were Charle-magne and Constantine, 'wise and mighty kings, who had knowledge of the law'.[64]

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59 Defoer 1989, 36-37. On the *Tafel vanden kersten gelove*, see Van Oostrom 1992, 172-218. Edition of the *Tafel* in Daniëls 1937-1939.
60 Warnar 2009, 201-05. More on the hypothesis that the German adaptation shows Dirc's involvement in War-nar 2012.
61 This short *Sachsenspiegel* is discussed in Wasserschleben 1881, 131-151. The Dutch origins of the abridged ver-sion emerge in a passage from the prologue: 'So we sich nu rechtis versteit / Weem lief weem leit / Weem it schade oder vroeme / Ummer he dar na goeme / Dat hi recht spreche ende beware'. Wasserschleben 1881, 133. A marginal note explaining the meaning of *goeme (dat is důghe)* indicates the Dutch origins, because the variant goeme appears only in the Dutch version: 'So wie hem rechtes versteet / Wien lief wien leet / Wien scade ofte vrome / Emmer hi daer na gome / Dat hi rechte spreke ende ware'. De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 2. Cf. the German text: 'Swe sick rechtes understeit (var.:versteit) / Weme lief weme leit / Weme scade weme vrome / Immer dar na kome / Recht spreke he unde vare'. Eckhardt 1955, 40; Homeyer 1827, 5, for the variant *versteit*. Dirc's involvement can be deduced from a reference in the *Sachsenspiegel* chapters to other chapters of the *Tafel*. Wasserschleben 1881, 139.
62 'Of the proclaimed law of the Emperors Constantine and Charlemagne, that is called the Saxon Mirror.'
63 Wasserschleben 1881, 132. Cf. Kümper 2006, 120-122, on the miniatures. This version of the prologue seems to be a mixture of the Dutch and German version, as discussed in the preceding section of the paper.
64 'Wyser mechtigher coninghe / Dye sich verstoenden rechtes dynghe / Karaels vnd Constantinis'. Wasser-schleben 1881, 133.

Sachsenspiegel and late medieval textual culture in the Low Countries

The shift in attention from the divine to the imperial roots of law is concurrent with a more general movement in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to understand the *Sachsenspiegel* and similar manuals as *Kaiserrecht*.[65] However, as part of the *Tafel* compilation, the transformation has a special significance for Albert of Bavaria, son of the Holy Roman emperor, who himself shares in the authority of the *Sachsenspiegel*. Of particular interest here is that the *Sachsenspiegel* forms part of a series of texts that all address aspects of government, including a genuine mirror for princes based on Thomas Aquinas' *De regimine principum*, a letter of Aristotle to Alexander the Great, based on the *Secreta secretorum* and a translation of the *Ludus scaccorum*, an allegory of the game of chess intended to function as a mirror for princes. Immediately following the *Sachsenspiegel* is a lengthy discussion of the coronation of the emperor.[66]

This cluster of chapters in the extended version of the *Tafel* seems to have been prepared for the moral, political and juridical formation of a ruler, perhaps Albert of Bavaria. As such, the cluster (or *tractatus*) reflects a sudden interest in literature, law and politics in the county of Holland in the first decade of the fifteenth century. In 1403, while Dirc van Delft was working on his *Tafel*, a certain Franconis finished in Holland his own adaptation of the *Ludus scaccorum*.[67] In 1407, Jan Mathijssen, the town clerk of Den Briel wrote his book of law in Dutch, covering all urban offices and legal procedures in five treatises, interspersed with exempla taken from the *Ludus scaccorum* and with references to Aristotle's letter to Alexander.[68] These texts apparently circulated in a community of jurists, clerics, judges and educated scribes like Pieter Pouwelsz. His copy of the *Sachsenspiegel* is the oldest extant Dutch manuscript with the glossed version, but earlier traces of this version may be identified in the *Sachsenspiegel* that was included in the *Tafel*.[69] This is no surprise. Learned men like Dirc van Delft knew how to work with glossed texts or references to the Roman law as it was studied at the universities. The first owner of Pieter Pouwelsz's manuscript was a student, Floris van Adrichem, a member of a *Nacionis almanie*, a German nation (community) of students – with the implication that this Floris had studied at a university.[70]

Pieter Pouwelsz's *Sachsenspiegel* has taken us far away from the letter Sofie van Duvenvoorde had sent him. The books from which her schoolmaster had taught her Holy Scripture must have belonged to a different world from the legal customs and its glosses in the *Sachsenspiegel* studied by Floris van Adrichem. However, the world of this student might be closer to Sofie's than expected. A Floris van Adrichem, bai-

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65 Kümper 2009a, 215-221 and 339-344, on the Dutch printed editions of the *Sachsenspiegel*, titled: *dat boec der keyserrechten gheheten die spegel van sassen.*

66 This cluster of texts is discussed in Warnar 2012.

67 Van Herwaarden 1999.

68 Fruin 1880.

69 The introduction to the *Sachsenspiegel* in the *Tafel* compilation connects the two swords to Luke 22,38 (Wasserschleben 1881, 137) in a way similar to the glossed version of the *Sachsenspiegel* (Kaufmann 2002, vol. I, 133).

70 Cf. the ownership note *Istius libri florencius de adrichem dyocesis Traiectensis venerabilis Nacionis almanie verus est possessor. Si quis inveniat reddere sibi non deferat ut reddente bonum vinum tradat Amen.* This note (crossed out and on the top of a series of notes) must refer to the first known owner.

liff of Beverwijk (died 1500), was the son of Simon van Adrichem and Lysbeth van Duvenvoorde, who was Sofie's sister.[71] If it was the same Floris who owned the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscript that Pieter Pouwelsz had made, could he also have been the one that should have returned the books that his aunt had borrowed? We will never know. In any case, Pieter Pouwelsz is not just a *trait d'union* between different spheres in the world of the written word. His scribal activities and the teaching of this Rijnsburg schoolmaster show the interconnectedness of discourses, genres, interests and ideologies in the textual culture of the late Middle Ages and its varieties of stability, transmission and transformation. And this is precisely the new world for the *medioneerlandicus*.

Summary

The variety of recent work on texts and their transmission in Dutch medieval literature raises new questions on the interaction and cross-influences of philology (old and new) and literary studies within the broader framework of cultural history. Is the study of medieval Dutch literature being redefined in an analysis of medieval textual culture? If so, what does it mean for our scholarly interests in medieval Dutch literature?

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71 For Floris van Adrichem, see Janse 2001, 448, and Groesbeek 1981, 108. For the evidence that Sofie van Duvenvoorde was Floris' aunt, the whereabouts of Floris' brother Nicolaas are of special interest. Nicolaas was abbot of the Benedictines in Egmond (1477-1481). When, according to the Egmond chronicles, Nicolaas was forced to leave the abbey, he fled to Frisia, to his aunt Sofie who lived as a Cistercian nun; see Roefs 1942, 227. She must be the Sofie who wrote to Pieter Pouwelsz. She was the sister of Lysbeth van Duvenvoorde (mother of Floris and Nicolaas). This information on Sofie is to be added to Aalbers et al. 2000, 72.

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'Imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers'
Antwerp Editions of Jean Molinet's Poetry

ADRIAN ARMSTRONG

The work of the *rhétoriqueur* Jean Molinet (1435-1507) was not confined to the Nether-lands, either thematically or in its distribution. Yet the region looms large in his ca-reer, for most of which he was based in Valenciennes (Hainaut) and served as the *indi-ciaire*, or official historian, of the Valois and Hapsburg Dukes of Burgundy. His impo-sing body of work includes a chronicle, a number of plays, a moralized prose version of the *Roman de la Rose*, a manual of versification, and a wide range of poetry. In his poetry and chronicle Molinet focuses on events in the Burgundian Netherlands to a greater extent than had George Chastelain, his predecessor as *indiciaire*. Though much of Molinet's work remained in manuscript form until after his death, various printed editions appeared during his lifetime.[1] Among the posthumous publications are two editions produced in Antwerp by printers whose output covered various languages, notably Dutch, French, and English. Both editions exhibit very significant textual var-iation from other witnesses; one is a complete reworking of its source. In what fol-lows I explore how these editions respond to changing socio-historical circumstan-ces, and consider the role of their multilingual publishing context in the process of textual transformation. I conclude by reflecting on the role of so-called 'masterplots' in the adaptation of topical literature, and on what these cases reveal about the pro-cesses of exchange between French- and Dutch-speaking cultural agents in the Bur-gundian Netherlands.

The texts: ideology and legitimation

The first of the posthumous Antwerp editions is *La Recollection des Merveilleuses Ad-venues* (Compendium of Extraordinary Things), a verse chronicle begun by Chaste-lain and continued by Molinet. Published by the prolific Willem Vorsterman, it has been dated to around 1510.[2] The second, entitled *La Complaincte de la Terre Saincte* (The Lament of the Holy Land), was printed in 1532 by Martin Lempereur for the Tournai bookseller Jean de la Forge. A second edition, printed by Vorsterman the fol-lowing year, is known only from an entry in a nineteenth-century catalogue. Though no author is acknowledged, this piece is a version of Molinet's earliest datable work, *La Complainte de Grèce* (The Lament of Greece), originally composed in 1464 to sup-

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1 Devaux 1996 outlines Molinet's career and ideological stance. Armstrong 2000b, 17-90, examines the manu-script and print transmission of Molinet's poetry. On Chastelain, see Doudet 2005.
2 This dating is proposed in Pettegree, Walsby & Wilkinson 2007, no. 12907.

port Philip the Good's projected crusade.[3] An initial outline of the *Recollection* and *Complainte*, as known from other witnesses, will help give the measure of the changes made for the Antwerp editions.[4]

The *Recollection* is much the more straightforward composition. Its most complete version covers a period from 1429 to 1495 in 148 stanzas. The first forty-three of these are ascribed to Chastelain; they end with a stanza in which, apocryphally or otherwise, Chastelain hands the task over to Molinet.[5] Claude Thiry has observed that the two poets have different approaches to their subject-matter, reflecting their broader socio-cultural attitudes. Most importantly, Chastelain covers events across Europe, and makes relatively few explicit value judgements; Molinet concentrates much more heavily on the Burgundian Netherlands, and often includes polemical or propagandist comments.[6] Neither author, however, supplies much concrete historical detail: their accounts are brief and heavily allusive, apparently prompting readers to remember what they already know. The following stanza – whose opening expression, *j'ay veu* (I saw), introduces the vast majority of stanzas in the *Recollection* – exemplifies the poem's characteristic style:

> J'ay veu roy d'Angleterre
> Amener son grand ost,
> Pour la franchoise terre
> Conquester brief et tost;
> Le roy, voiant l'affaire,
> Si bon vin luy donna
> Que l'autre sans riens faire,
> Content, s'en retourna. (vs. 457-464)

> (I've seen an English king come over, with his great army, to conquer French territory quickly and smartly. Seeing this, the king gave him such good wine that he went home happily and didn't do a thing.)

Molinet is referring to a large shipment of wine that Louis XI sent to Edward IV of England in 1475, in advance of the peace talks that led to the Treaty of Picquigny; but unless readers already know of this event, his account is difficult to understand.[7] The *Recollection* is known to have existed in three manuscripts, of which two are now destroyed; the third transmits Chastelain's portion alone. A version was also printed in the *Faictz et Dictz*, a posthumous edition of Molinet's collected poetry that went through three editions in Paris between 1531 and 1540.[8]

The *Complainte de Grèce*, in its original version, is a *prosimetrum* allegory whose pro-

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3 Pettegree, Walsby & Wilkinson 2007, no. 38094. For Vorsterman's second edition (Pettegree, Walsby & Wilkinson 2007, no. 38095), see *Catalogue* 1842, 182 (no. 2980).

4 For fuller details of the textual traditions outlined below, and the formal and linguistic effects of reworking, see Armstrong 2000a.

5 This version is edited in *Les Faictz et Dictz de Jean Molinet* (Dupire 1936-1939, vol. I, 284-334). References are supplied in the text.

6 Thiry 1984.

7 On this technique, see also Armstrong & Kay 2011, 58-59.

8 For the *Recollection*'s presentation in the *Faictz et Dictz*, see also Armstrong 2006, 19-22.

tagonists are three queens: France, England, and Greece. Greece is enslaved to a seven-headed dragon, and appeals to Western rulers to come to her rescue. France claims that a prophecy by one of the ancient Sibyls refers to Greece's predicament. According to the Sibyl, a monster will come out of the East; two planets will resist it, and eventually a lion will overcome it. France interprets the dragon as the Turks, and the planets as Mercury and Mars, which stand for the Church and the nobility. The lion represents Philip the Good, in a heraldic image that was to become commonplace in Burgundian occasional writing: the lion appears on the arms of various provinces governed by Philip.[9] Only one manuscript contains this first version of the *Complainte*; most transmit only the verse sections, while other manuscript and print witnesses have been updated to take account of more recent historical events.[10]

These two compositions use broadly similar techniques to convey their ideological content, techniques that can be illuminated through the work of Jean-François Lyotard. In *La Condition postmoderne* Lyotard outlines various traditional ways in which cultures have legitimated knowledge, i.e. enabled the recipients of a discourse not only to know a fact or a value, but to *know* that they know it. One of these models of legitimation involves accompanying a narrative with an explicit appeal to understand its significance (e.g. 'the moral of this story is…').[11] The *Recollection* and *Complainte de Grèce* both employ this model, which we might call 'exhortative'. In the *Recollection*, the opening two stanzas prompt a particular kind of response:

> Qui voeult ouyr merveilles
> Estranges a compter,
> Je sçay les nonpareilles
> Que homme sçaroit chanter
> Et toutes advenues
> Depuis longtemps en cha,
> Je les ay retenues
> Et sçay comment il va.
>
> Les unes sont piteuses
> Et pour gens esbahir
> Et les aultres doubteuses
> De meschief advenir;
> Les tierces sont estranges
> Et passent sens humain,
> Aucunes en loenges,
> Aultres par aultre main. (vs. 1-16)

(If you want to hear marvels, amazing to relate, I know some the like of which you could never tell. They all took place a long time ago. I've remembered them, and I know what they're all about. Some of them are pitiful, apt to move people; others are frightening, and involve cases of misfor-

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9   Doudet 2005, 514-516, discusses the lion image.
10   The initial redaction (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3521, f. 186r-193r) is edited in *Faictz et Dictz* (Dupire 1936-1939, vol. I, 9-26).
11   Lyotard 1979. For the ways in which Lyotard's work offers perspectives on late-medieval didactic poetry, see Armstrong & Kay 2011, 19-20, 202-203.

tune. Still others are extraordinary and beyond human understanding – some are praiseworthy, others are of another kind.)

Readers subsequently find that the events are predominantly recent – especially in Molinet's portion – and indeed recounted in ways that appeal to their own memories. Hence the claim that these 'marvels' occurred *Depuis longtemps en cha* (vs. 6) proves rather misleading. More pertinent is the invitation to react to the various events with amazement, fear, or admiration.[12] When the recency of the events is taken into account, it becomes clear that the stanzas gloss the historical accounts as evidence that the audience lives in exciting times. In the *Complainte de Grèce*, by contrast, exhortative legitimation takes the form of allegoresis. France invites Greece (and hence the wider audience) to relate the ancient prophecy to the present day, urging acceptance of her interpretations through a barrage of rhetorical questions: *O Grece, ma chiere amie, qui sera celle horrible beste venant des parties d'Orient? N'est ce mie ce tres furieux dragon, le Turc infidelle?* (p. 17, ll. 45-47) (O Greece, my dear friend, what will be this terrifying beast from the Eastern lands? Is it not that most ferocious dragon, the infidel Turk?). This stokes the crusading enthusiasm of Burgundian courtly élites, Molinet's original audience, by making Philip the Good's anti-Turkish venture seem both righteous and destined to be successful.[13]

The Antwerp *Recollection*

The techniques of legitimation outlined above undergo some fascinating changes in the Antwerp editions. In the *Recollection*, Molinet is much more prominent than Chastelain in Vorsterman's paratext. Both authors are named on the title-page, but only the later poet is mentioned in the colophon: *Cy finent les merveilleuses avenues jusqu'au tamps presens, recueillies par maistre Jehan Molinet et imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers, hors la porte de la chambre au lycorne d'or, de par moy, Guillume Vorsterman* (f. E6r) (Here end the extraordinary events up to the present day, collected by Master Jean Molinet and printed in the famous commercial city of Antwerp, outside the Kammerpoort at the sign of the golden unicorn, by me, Guillamme Vorsterman).[14] Moreover, the order of stanzas is very different from that of other versions. Chastelain's valedictory stanza appears after only twelve stanzas; thirty of Chastelain's stanzas appear in Molinet's portion, so that Molinet is credited with over ninety percent of the poem. Whether this redistribution was Vorsterman's own initiative or reflects a lost source, its effects are very significant. Identifying the two poets' thematic preferences, Thiry establishes that ten of Chastelain's forty-three stanzas are concerned with violent deaths; eight with military action, including urban revolts; eight with political,

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12 Thiry 1984, 456-457.
13 On the *Complainte*'s public, see Devaux 1996, 588-90; Devaux 1997, 60, 63-67.
14 Punctuation, capitalization, and accentuation in quotations from sixteenth-century editions have been normalized in accordance with standard editorial practice.

diplomatic, or dynastic issues; and three with natural wonders.[15] In Vorsterman's edition, *all* Chastelain's stanzas on violent death and military action, and two of those on natural wonders, have been displaced to Molinet's portion.[16] Molinet devotes a much higher proportion of his own stanzas to these themes in any case, so this displacement accentuates the contrast between his contribution and Chastelain's. Conversely, Molinet's expanded portion includes just four of Chastelain's eight stanzas on political, diplomatic, or dynastic subjects, themes in which Molinet had invested less than his predecessor. Only four of Chastelain's stanzas concern the Burgundian Netherlands; three of these are moved to Molinet's portion in the Vorsterman edition, making the region almost imperceptible in the earlier poet's contribution.[17] Eight stanzas from Molinet's portion are absent from Vorsterman's text; these are mostly devoted to non-Netherlandish material and small-scale human interest stories. A single stanza, about a monstrous birth in Bruges, appears in the Antwerp edition but is not attested in other witnesses.[18] Hence, in various ways, Vorsterman's edition gives the *Recollection* a stronger regional flavour. Firstly, its internal proportions and paratextual attributions privilege the poet whose name was better known to the region's book-buying public: Molinet had died only a few years previously, and more of his work than Chastelain's had already been printed in the Netherlands (often with his authorship explicitly indicated).[19] Secondly, the reordering of stanzas accentuates the contrast between the poets. Molinet now practically monopolizes certain themes, notably feats of arms and the ducal territories. Thirdly, and consequently, the *Recollection*'s centre of gravity shifts. In Vorsterman's hands it is no longer a memory-jogger for sensation-seekers; rather, it becomes a chronicle of conflict in the Burgundian Netherlands. Its reshaping is hardly surprising: the region had been a battleground during much of Molinet's career as *indiciaire*, and was always likely to see further hostilities. In 1513, for instance, Henry VIII and Emperor Maximilian would besiege the town of Thérouanne and rout a French army at the Battle of the Spurs, on almost the same spot at which the young Maximilian had defeated a French force in 1479.[20]

What impact did Antwerp's polyglot publishing culture have on the transformation of the *Recollection*? Vorsterman is almost a microcosm of that culture: he printed in a variety of languages over a career that lasted from around 1504 to 1543. Around sixty percent of his publications were in Dutch, but he also produced texts in French, Latin, English, Spanish, even Danish. He was very much an entrepreneur rather than a specialist publisher: his output covers a wide range of genres, and includes numerous works already proven to be commercial successes.[21] This professional profile suggests

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15   For these and the other figures cited in this paragraph, see Thiry 1984, 460-465.
16   The non-displaced stanza is numbered 40 in *Faictz et Dictz* (Dupire 1936-1939).
17   The displaced stanzas in these categories are numbered 22-23, 27-28, 34-35, and 39 in *Faictz et Dictz* (Dupire 1936-1939).
18   The Molinet stanzas omitted are numbered 54, 72, 110-111, 138, 141, and 147-148 in *Faictz et Dictz* (Dupire 1936-1939). The additional stanza (vs. 865-872) is unnumbered.
19   On early Netherlandish editions of these authors' work, see Armstrong 2000b, 71-82; Armstrong 2006, 14.
20   On the Battle of the Spurs, see Gunn, Grummitt & Cools 2007, 251. Molinet alludes to the 1479 engagement in the *Recollection* (vs. 665-672).
21   See Vermeulen 1986, 128-153; Schlusemann 1994; Schlusemann 1997; Meeus 2014, 113.

that certain widely-held assumptions about vernacular printing in the Netherlands should be revised. Modern historians have sometimes concluded that when Dutch-speaking printers published work in French, they were essentially developing side-lines, or marketing experiments, aimed at a courtly élite.[22] Such views are based on an overly binarized image of society – the ducal entourage had no monopoly on lite-rate French-speakers in the region – and certainly do not seem tenable in the case of Vorsterman's *Recollection*. Its title-page indicates that the work was printed *Avec grace et privilege* (by permission and with a privilege): in other words Vorsterman had obtained a temporary monopoly on printing, implying that the book was a sound commer-cial proposition that was worth protecting from competition. This can only mean that he anticipated a substantial regional Francophone public, far beyond court circles. At the same time, the edition's presentation is strongly Netherlandish in flavour. Its *tex-tura* typeface was common for vernacular printing in the region, in French as well as Dutch, but differed from the *bâtarde* typically used in France.[23] More specifically, the *Recollection*'s title takes on a particular significance when read through the conven-tions of Dutch vernacular printing. The key term *merveilleuses* (extraordinary) is a close equivalent of two Middle Dutch terms that commonly appeared in the titles of vernacular editions, often in conjunction: *wonderlijc* and *vreemt*. As Yves Vermeulen has explained, these terms were widely used to describe not only prose romances and folktales, but also prognostications and, significantly, history books. When they appear together, they seem to appeal to a public taste for the sensational.[24] The cross-linguistic resonance of the *Recollection*'s title thus draws particular attention to its focus on the outrageous and the startling.[25] But French and Dutch resonate even more strikingly in the edition's colophon: the reference to *la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers* (the fa-mous commercial city of Antwerp) derives from an expression that the city's printers very often used in their Dutch-language publications: *die vermaerde coopstat van Ant-werpen*.[26] As a result, the edition bears the marks of the region that the poem has come to celebrate: distinct from France, and not exclusively Francophone. All this means

22   See, for instance, Pleij 1982, 20.

23   *Textura* is used, for instance, in the three Valenciennes editions of Jean Molinet's poetry, and in Vorsterman's French-and Dutch-language editions of Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Pompe funeralle des obseques du feu roy dom Phelippes*. See Armstrong 2000b, 74-77, 138-140; Schoysman & Cauchies 2001, 33. On the use of different typefaces in the region, see also Vermeulen 1986, 166-167; Biemans 2004, 30.

24   See Vermeulen 1986, 174-176. The Vorsterman edition may in fact be the earliest known witness of Molinet's portion, and the first to use the title *La Recollection des Merveilleuses Advenues*. Of the other witnesses where this title occurs, the *Faictz et Dictz* dates from 1531. Tournai, Bibliothèque communale, MS 137 was copied in 1562: see Faider & Van Sint Jan 1950, 169-171. Tournai, Bibliothèque communale, MS 105 may have predated Vorster-man's edition, but relative dating cannot be confirmed: see Armstrong 2000b, 23. The single manuscript to contain Chastelain's portion alone is also the only witness where the piece bears another title: this is Brussels, KBR, MS 7254-63, where the poem is entitled *Les Croniques abregies faites par Jorge l'Aventurier* (*Faictz et Dictz*, Dupire 1936-1939, vol. III, 989).

25   The poem itself bears no more traces of Dutch linguistic influence in this edition than in any other witness. Its editor notes that the Antwerp edition provides the best readings in more than twenty lines: Dupire 1932, 124-125. This suggests that Vorsterman's copy-text was reliable, and that he took seriously the linguistic quality of his French-language production.

26   See Pleij 1998, 312. Meeus 2014, 109. The formulation appears, for example, in the colophon of *Een waracht-tighe historie van broeder Russche* (Antwerp: Adriaen van Berghen, [c. 1520]); this edition is numbered 1091 in Nij-hoff & Kronenberg 1923-1971.

that the *Recollection*'s exhortative legitimation now operates in a different dimension. The opening stanzas gloss the historical episodes for a regional public, as evidence that they live not in exciting *times*, but in an exciting *place*.

The Antwerp *Complaincte*

Printed a generation after the *Recollection*, the *Complaincte de la Terre Saincte* reworks Molinet's *Complainte de Grèce* to take account of new Turkish threats to Christendom. All the speeches in the prose sections are delivered by two new voices: the appeal for help is now delivered by the Holy Land and other regions under Ottoman rule; the Sibylline prophecy is interpreted by *ung procureur fiscal des royalmes et provinces occidentales* (f. B1v) (a prosecutor of the Western kingdoms and provinces), in other words a representative of Emperor Charles V.[27] The prophecy's interpretation is updated to make Charles the current hope of Christendom, but the new glosses lack coherence. Besides representing the Church and the nobility, Mercury and Mars now have more individual referents: *Ou aultrement Mercure ce prince de beau parler nostre sainct pere le Pape, et Mars le plus que renommé nostre sire l'empereur Charles cinquiesme de ce nom* (f. B3r) (Alternatively, Mercury [represents] this prince of fine speech, our holy father the Pope, and Mars our lord, surpassing all renown, Emperor Charles V). But Charles is also symbolized by the lion who, according to the Sibyl, will defeat the dragon: *N'est ce plus oultre ce tresfort aigle leonicque de qui Sebille dict ainsy:* Porro leo fortissimus*? Consequamment ce tresfort lion rugira* (ibid.) (Is he not, moreover, that most mighty leonine eagle mentioned as follows by the Sibyl: '*Porro leo fortissimus*: then the most mighty lion will roar'?). Thus two distinct entities, which each have their own role in the prophecy, have an identical referent in Charles. Confusion is compounded by the obvious mismatch between the Sibyl's lion and the *aigle leonicque* to which Charles is compared. This hybrid beast is admittedly a powerful heraldic image, expressing both Charles's role as Emperor and his descent from the house of Burgundy.[28] As a means of linking Charles to the prophecy, however, it is distinctly tenuous. Hence legitimation undermines itself, as Lyotard suggests it is apt to do. The interpretation does not fit adequately with the prophecy: a gap opens up between the story and its ostensible moral.

However, further textual changes bring a compensatory clarity. Two blocks of verse have been added to the original *Complainte*: five stanzas are inserted into the Holy Land's appeal, and three into the *procureur*'s interpretation of the prophecy. The latter insertion briefly narrates the unsuccessful Turkish siege of Vienna in 1529:

> Devant Vienne, en la Duché d'Austrice,
> A le Grand Turc depuis ung peu de temps

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27   A *procureur fiscal* normally represented the sovereign authority: see, for instance, Schnerb 1999, 247.
28   On the literary use of heraldic imagery in praise of Charles, see Gunn, Grummitt & Cools 2007, 314. Charles's Burgundian affiliations and role as defender of Christendom were often underlined in occasional writing from the region: see Dozo 2005, 123-138. The analysis above draws on and develops that in Armstrong 2000a, 91-92.

> Mis son effort, pensant au sacrifice
> De la loy faulse et plaine de malice
> Mectre Chrestiens dedens la ville estans. (f. B2r)

(Recently the Grand Turk laboured with all his might outside Vienna, in the duchy of Austria, intending to sacrifice its Christian inhabitants according to his false, wicked law.)

One of the stanzas in the earlier insertion is devoted to an even more recent event, the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece held at Tournai in December 1531. The Holy Land apostrophizes Charles V, who had selected Tournai as the venue for the event:

> Dedens Tournay, ta cité magnifique,
> Par ton sçavoir a[s] faictz la diligence
> De ton toyson donner tresautenticque
> En grand amour, comme vray catholicque. (f. A4r)

(In your wisdom and great love you have taken the trouble to bestow your most illustrious fleece in your magnificent city of Tournai, as a true Catholic.[29])

These additions both provide factual information and encourage readers to admire the achievements of Charles and of Vienna's defenders. As such they offer a different model of legitimation: a model that we might call 'incarnational', in which exemplary figures or events are depicted (as in traditional epic poetry). In the reworked *Complaincte* it is this technique, rather than the awkward exegeses of the *procureur fiscal*, that most effectively validates the narrative's ideological meaning.

But the shift from exhortative to incarnational legitimation is not the only issue at stake in the *Complaincte*. The reference to Tournai has a particular significance, for the *Complaincte* was printed for a bookseller in that city. Tournai had a recent past as contested ground: traditionally a French enclave, and often a military and political thorn in the flesh of the surrounding southern Netherlands, it had been occupied by English forces for six years and only passed to imperial rule in 1521.[30] Its integration into the Hapsburg body politic was still fragile: a pro-French coup had been planned in 1527 but thwarted, and not until the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529 did the French crown definitively renounce claims to the city.[31] Indeed, Charles's decision to hold the Chapter of the Golden Fleece in Tournai was partly motivated by the necessity of integrating it into the Empire, securing his authority and defining his image for his relatively new subjects while simultaneously honouring their city.[32] This, then, was the market for the reworked *Complaincte*: a piece that glorifies the Empire, but also reminds its public that Tournai has a significant part to play within that Empire. Tournai and

29 The expression *ton toyson donner* alludes to the admission of twenty-four new members to the Order. These are listed in De Lannoy 2000, 70-71.
30 On Tournai as a French outpost, see Small 2000. The classic study of the English occupation is Cruickshank 1971. The most detailed near-contemporary account of Tournai's absorption within the Empire is Moreau 1975, 108-201.
31 Moreau 1975, 246-256, recounts the 1527 plot. On the Treaty of Cambrai, see Potter 1993, 272-273.
32 De Lannoy 2000, 21-22, 65-67.

Vienna are in fact the only cities to be mentioned in the *Complaincte*, so that a flattering and politically useful connection suggests itself between these eastern and western outposts of empire: the Tournai Chapter celebrates the very ethos of Christian chivalry that had been displayed in defence of Vienna.

It is impossible to establish whether the *Complaincte*'s *remaniement* and publication were some kind of official commission to promote a sense of imperial belonging among Tournai's literati, or whether Jean de la Forge simply spotted a commercial opportunity. Very little is known about La Forge – this edition is one of only two with which he is associated – though he does seem to have occupied a unique position in his city's cultural life. At this point he is the only active bookseller, or at least the only one to have left a documentary trace, in a city that would see no actual printing for another half-century.[33] The *remanieur* himself is an equally shadowy figure: in a short preface he describes himself simply as a lover of literature who worked in various trades during his youth (f. A1v). He gives the misleading impression that he has composed the *Complaincte* on the basis of work by a variety of poets:

> a faict à son semblant comme font les mouches faisant le miel, allant sur plusieurs fleurs, mais font leurs labeurs sur celles qui leur sont propices. Ainsi a faict ledict acteur, empruntant des aulcuns orateurs aulcuns coupletz servantz à son œuvre (f. A1v).

> (He considers himself to have acted like bees making honey, visiting many flowers but doing their work on the suitable ones. This author has composed in the same way, borrowing stanzas that are useful for his work from various orators.)

In fact the work is essentially based on Molinet's composition alone; though the absence of Molinet's name from Martin Lempereur's edition is perhaps understandable in view of its target market.[34] The *remanieur* claims that his undertaking expresses his admiration for a figure who, once again, is identified in the vaguest terms: *pour et à l'honneur d'ung personage pour lequel, se en luy estoit, en plus grande chose se vouldroit employer* (f. A1v) (for and in honour of someone for whom, if he had the ability, he would like to apply himself to greater things). Yet, despite these gaps in our knowledge, it is clear that the *Complaincte* edition is orientated towards a very specific urban public; a public that it interpellates quite differently from Molinet's courtly audience of the 1460s. The *Complainte de Grece* was an example of what Jacques Ellul has called *propagande d'agitation* (agitation propaganda): a discourse that attempts to mobilize people towards achieving a new goal, in this instance the reconquest of Greece.[35] That discourse is still present in the *Complaincte de la Terre Saincte*, but something else is at work; not only in the reference to the Chapter of the Golden Fleece and the implicit affiliation between Tournai and Vienna, but also on the title-page, framed by stock images of saints

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33 For details of Jean de la Forge's activity, and printing and the book trade in Tournai during the sixteenth century, see Rouzet 1975, 117, 120, 265. The other publication associated with La Forge, also printed in Antwerp, dates from over twenty years later: see Desmazières 1882, 20.

34 No friend of Tournai in his lifetime, Molinet had fulminated against the city more than once, and elicited the ire of the Tournai poet Jean Nicolai. See Devaux 1996, 317-320, 467-468; Armstrong 2012, 135-151.

35 Ellul 1962, 84-88.

that reflect traditional forms of piety in a city where Lutheranism had begun to gain followers.[36] The citizens of Tournai are positioned as Charles's subjects, and as loyal Catholics. In Ellul's terms, this is a different kind of propaganda: *propagande d'intégration* (integration propaganda), which builds solidarity among its audience.[37] In short, a joint venture between an Antwerp printer and a Tournai bookseller is performing the work of state formation.

Martin Lempereur's edition of the *Complaincte* is less obviously Netherlandish than Vorsterman's *Recollection*. It is printed in a *bâtarde* type *d'esprit très français* (very French in character), giving the text an appearance with which Tournai's reading public would be thoroughly familiar.[38] Moreover, although cross-cultural exchange informs Lempereur's career – in his relocation to a Dutch-speaking city, his frequent publication of translations, and his production of work in Dutch, French, and English alongside the inevitable Latin – the *Complaincte* is the product of a commercial arrangement between partners who were both native speakers of French.[39] At the same time, the *Complaincte*'s publication draws together two *urban communities* whose principal languages are different; and it does so very visibly, on the title-page and in the colophon: *Imprimé en Anvers par Martin Lempereur, pour Jean de la Forge, demourant à Tournay devant la court de l'evesque* (f. A1r, B4v) (Printed in Antwerp by Martin Lempereur, for Jean de la Forge, whose shop is in Tournai opposite the bishop's court). This publicly advertised relationship underlines what is already apparent from the processes of reworking: the transformation of Molinet's *Complainte* is prompted not just by changing times, but also by changing places. While Vorsterman's reorganized *Recollection* exhibited a generalized affinity with the region, the *Complaincte de la Terre Saincte* has a much more precise and explicit affiliation with a particular city. Not that the text's appeal was restricted to that urban context: it is difficult to imagine that a single city would constitute a large enough market both for the Lempereur/La Forge edition and for the edition that Vorsterman brought out a year later. Indeed, Vorsterman's decision confirms not only that the Antwerp/Tournai joint venture had been commercially successful, but also that potential demand was by no means exhausted: Vorsterman knew a saleable proposition when he saw one. We should, therefore, probably assume that the 1533 *Complaincte* was directed at a broader regional public, quite possibly including Tournai but not at all limited to it; after all, other cities in the southern Netherlands needed to be persuaded that the new addition to the Empire could be relied on.[40] Taking all these factors into consideration, the multilingual context of Martin Lempereur's press is subordinate to more 'site-specific' considerations as an influence on the *Complaincte*'s reworking. But the links between communities, be-

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36   The title-page is reproduced in Picot 1884-1920, vol. IV, 141. The first execution of a Lutheran in Tournai had taken place in 1528: Moreau 1975, 263. Martin Lempereur, the *Complaincte*'s printer, had moderate evangelical sympathies that had prompted him to relocate from Paris to Antwerp: see Gilmont 2004, 117-118.
37   Ellul 1962, 88-93.
38   Gilmont 2004, 117.
39   Gilmont 2004, 119, notes that 52% of Lempereur's production (calculated on the basis of printed sheets rather than titles) was in Latin, as against 27% in French, 11% in Dutch, and 10% in English.
40   On tensions between cities in the region in general, and between Ghent and Tournai in particular, see Gunn, Grummitt & Cools 2007, 209, 315; Moreau 1975, 206-212.

tween Antwerp and Tournai, are not simply contingencies of publishing economics. Rather, the formulations on the title-page and in the colophon take on a thematic value, and complement the other elements through which the *Complaincte* integrates Tournai to its host state.[41]

Conclusions: Masterplots and cultural exchange

The Antwerp editions of the *Recollection* and *Complaincte* raise two larger questions that merit some reflection. The first of these concerns the role played by 'masterplots' in the adaptation of topical literature. Coined by H. Porter Abbott, the term 'masterplot' designates a familiar narrative schema that bears a strong ideological charge, through which a story can tap into its audience's desires or fears.[42] In the *Recollection*, beyond the particular events that Chastelain and Molinet recount, there is very little narrativity: the series of micro-narratives is not bound together in ways that clearly delineate an overall story.[43] The *Complaincte*, however, manifests two structures that might be called masterplots. One is a scenario of oppression, which prompts an appeal to a potential liberator. This remains the same from the *Complainte de Grece* to the *Complaincte de la Terre Saincte*, though some of the roles are filled by different agents: Greece gives way to the Holy Land and other regions, and Philip the Good to Charles V. The second masterplot is a discursive sequence, in which a lament is answered by a consolation. Deriving primarily from Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, this sequence enjoyed widespread currency in medieval literary culture, and was adopted in a wide range of late medieval French narrative poems that responded to the Boethian model.[44] As Molinet's narrative is reshaped, the lament and consolation take on new elements, most obviously in the additional stanzas, but the basic sequence remains intact. It is easy to explain the resilience of such masterplots: they are not only powerful and replicable, but also easily recognizable. Indeed, this is why texts that manifest clear masterplots lend themselves to adaptation; the underlying structures are visible enough for a *remanieur* to see that they can be filled up with new content. Masterplots, then, both signal and facilitate the adaptability of a narrative. Wider-ranging research on the literary and publishing culture of the southern Netherlands in this period might seek to establish which particular plots are most powerful and influential; which are most attractive to scribes, printers, and *remanieurs*; and why.

   The second general question concerns relationships between French- and Dutch-speakers in the region, in particular the exchanges between cultural agents: in the literary field this category includes patrons, translators, and book producers of all kinds, as well as authors. Research into the region's literary history has tended to assume that

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41 Commercial relations between Antwerp and Tournai had also been relevant to the festivities surrounding the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Some of the materials for Charles's ceremonial entry into Tournai had been bought from Antwerp: Moreau 1975, 268, n. 5.

42 Abbott 2008, 24-29, 236.

43 Abbott 2008, 24-25, outlines the notion of narrativity.

44 See Léglu & Milner 2008; Armstrong & Kay 2011, 89-96.

the two languages follow essentially independent paths, with authors drawing on in-fluences from their own language community; addressing a public that lies squarely within that community; and engaging with the parallel tradition only in highly speci-fic ways, for instance when Dutch-language authors translate French texts.[45] Yet if we venture outside a traditional definition of authorship, and consider cultural agents in the broader sense, the cross-linguistic interactions suddenly appear much more fre-quent and diverse. Scholars have begun to undertake valuable work in this field.[46] Simi-larly, modern translation theory has encouraged us to consider the ways in which translation is bound up with ideology and cultural capital.[47] From this perspective, translation from French into Dutch is emphatically not a one-way process. Translators often significantly recast their sources, building on them in assertive ways: thus when Colijn Caillieu composes his *Dal sonder wederkeeren* on the basis of Amé de Mont-gesoie's *Pas de la mort*, he raises the poem to a higher level of formal and narrative complexity by adding an allegorical dream framework and adopting a longer stanzaic form.[48] Cultural activities of this kind suggest that it is useful to consider the southern Netherlands as a 'contact zone', to use a term coined by the postcolonial Hispanist Mary Louise Pratt: a space where cultures interact to generate new expressive pro-ducts, rather than forming discrete linguistically-bounded communities.[49] In the prin-ted *Recollection* and *Complaincte*, it is in ways specific to this contact zone that explicit and implicit ideology are legitimated in new ways. Vorsterman, a primarily Dutch-language printer, takes French-language publishing very seriously and presents French material in ways that are both materially and linguistically influenced by Dutch practices. The Lempereur/La Forge partnership is closely bound up with cross-regio-nal integration, and gives thematic significance to a commercial relationship between Antwerp and Tournai. Textual transformations, then, both reflect and stimulate larger processes of cultural exchange. [50]

Summary

Two works by the prolific Burgundian *rhétoriqueur* Jean Molinet (1435-1507) were published posthumously in Antwerp, by printers whose output covered various lan-guages. Willem Vorsterman printed *La Recollection des Merveilleuses Advenues*, a verse chronicle begun by George Chastelain and continued by Molinet, in c. 1510; Martin Lempereur printed *La Complaincte de la Terre Saincte*, a version of Molinet's *Complainte*

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45   See, for example, Iansen 1971, 85-161; Lemaire 1977; Coigneau 1992, 118-120; Coigneau 1995; Raue 1996, 79-122; Waterschoot 2003.
46   Studies include Oosterman 1999-2000; Coigneau 2003; Spies 2003; Small 2005.
47   See especially Lefevere 1992; Venuti 1995; Sapiro 2008.
48   De Keyser 1936 includes both the French and the Dutch poems. See Armstrong 2015.
49   Pratt 1991.
50   This study derives from research undertaken for the project 'Transcultural Critical Editing: Vernacular Poetry in the Burgundian Netherlands, 1450-1530', supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) [grant number AH/J001481/1].

de Grèce, in 1532 for Jean de la Forge of Tournai. Both editions differ very significantly from other witnesses. This study demonstrates how the editions legitimate the texts' ideological content in new ways in response to changing socio-historical circumstances, and considers the influence of their publishing context on the process of textual transformation. More generally, it reflects on the role of 'masterplots' in the adaptation of topical literature, and on wider processes of Franco–Dutch cultural exchange in the Burgundian Netherlands.

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Codex and Consumption

Adaptation and Lifestyle Aspiration in the Burgundian Fille du comte de Pontieu

Rebecca Dixon

In the decades since the term was coined, scholars have increasingly acknowledged the importance of visual display in the construction of the fifteenth-century Burgundian 'Theatre State'.[1] Following Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, critics have addressed the role of ceremony and ostentatious self-projection in both the political process of state-building and the more personal concern of identity-formation in the Burgundian Netherlands under Duke Philip the Good (1419-1467). Studies have tended to focus on grander-scale events like glorious entries or lavish banquets,[2] while smaller-scale articulations of display have been rarely discussed. One particular gap stands out. Despite Burgundy's buoyant literary scene, the role of book culture in manifesting and fostering luxury has gone largely unacknowledged.[3] In particular, the important part played in this regard by the Burgundian literary genre *par excellence*, the so-called *mise en prose*, has been relatively neglected.[4] Yet these prose reworkings of earlier Francophone texts are essential to an understanding of the function of literary production for this status-oriented court, from perspectives both narrative and material. In the following pages I offer a case-study of this, using the Burgundian *Fille du comte de Pontieu* as it is presented in one manuscript to underline how literary adaptation communicates lifestyle aspiration in the Burgundian Netherlands under Duke Philip the Good.

La Fille du comte de Pontieu survives in two manuscript witnesses: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5208, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 12572 (subsequently: BnF 12572), of which only the second will concern me here.[5] We must assume that this manuscript dates from some time before 1467 as it features in the inventory of the Burgundian library taken after Philip the Good's death; and though it bears no precise date, or indication of patron or provenance, it is clearly a product of the Lille workshop of the artist known as the Wavrin Master.[6] At 299 mm x 210 mm, it is com-

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1 Blockmans & Prevenier 1983. See also Brown 1999 and Small 2005.
2 See, for example, Brown 2006; Dhanens 1987; Ramakers 2005; and Lafortune-Martel 1984.
3 Important work in this direction has however been done by Wijsman 2010.
4 The classic work on the *mises en prose* as a literary genre remains Doutrepont 1939. See also Colombo Timelli, Ferrari &. Schoysman 2010. On the *mises en prose* and luxury lifestyle aspiration, see Dixon (forthcoming).
5 The Arsenal manuscript contains just three miniatures and reduced versions of the texts. On this codex, see Brunel 1923, xlix-lii; and Quéruel 1997, 8.
6 See Barrois 1830, nos 1279 and 1877. The manuscript contains no arms to indicate the identity of the nobleman who commissioned it, though the internal evidence suggests a connection to the noted bibliophile Jean, bastard of Wavrin, with the manuscript passing into the possession of Philip the Good at some point before 1467. See Naber 1987; and Naber 1990. On the Wavrin Master, see especially Schandel 1997. See also Crone 1969; Gil 2001; and Johan 1999.

parable in size with most books in the *mise en prose* corpus;[7] and like an appreciable number of these books, and all of the Wavrin Master's output, the manuscript is on paper. BnF 12572 contains *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* (f. 123r-165r) as well as two other *mises en prose* with which *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* is made (somewhat tenuously) to dovetail through a creative authorial re-imagining of Burgundian genealogy. These are the *Istoire de Jehan d'Avennes* (f. 1r-123r), and a version of the *Saladin* legend (f. 165r-262r). All three texts are illustrated in the Wavrin Master's characteristic pen-and-wash style, with a total of twenty-seven miniatures of variable sizes within the range 120 mm x 47-93 mm. *Jehan d'Avennes* and *Saladin* contain eighteen and ten miniatures respectively, while *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* has nine.[8]

   The fifteenth-century reworking of *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* is a rare thing among the *mises en prose*: it derives from a thirteenth-century prose, rather than verse, text.[9] It is the story of a marriage, of loss and of reconciliation, the later version explicitly linking these events to the foregoing *Jehan d'Avennes*, and to the *Saladin* text which follows it. Having married the comtesse d'Artois, Jehan d'Avennes produces a son who grows up to father the comte de Pontieu. This count has a daughter who marries one Thibault de Dommart, with whom she fell in love the instant he arrived at her father's court. Thibault and *fille* (the heroine is never named) are happy following their wedding, save in one key respect: they remain childless, even after five years. To atone for whatever wrong is preventing God and/or Mother Nature from looking favourably upon them, Thibault elects to go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella. He intends to make the journey alone but, after receiving her father's blessing, *fille* accompanies him.

   On the way to Santiago they are set upon by a group of brigands. Thibault fights valiantly, and kills three of them. Out of respect for his skill, the men spare him, but, desiring revenge, drag *fille* into the forest and rape her. Once back in Pontieu, having completed the pilgrimage, Thibault and *fille* discuss their trip with the lady's father, ascribing their fate in the forest to another unfortunate couple. But Pontieu eventually wheedles the truth out of his son-in-law. He has his daughter sealed into a barrel he has made for the purpose, and casts her out to sea as punishment. Buffeted by the waves, *fille* is eventually picked up by Christian merchants who take her with them to Almería and the court of the sultan; she and the sultan marry and live reasonably happily. Six years later, the count realizes that he might have acted a little harshly towards his daughter, so he, his son, and Thibault go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Mission accomplished, they arrive in Almería where, after a period of imprisonment, they are reunited with *fille*. They all sail back to Pontieu via Rome; *fille* and Thibault's union is blessed both by the Pope and with two sons. All live happily ever after, even the jilted

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7 For an indication of the content of this corpus, see Doutrepont's comprehensive *bilan* in Doutrepont 1939.
8 See Schandel 1997, vol. II, 151.
9 The source text exists in a short and long redaction, dating from the mid- to late thirteenth century respectively. Both were attested in the Burgundian library at the time of the 1467 inventory. See Barrois 1830, nos 1300 (lost short version) and 1532 (long redaction, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms fr. 12203). Critics have long debated which of the two earlier versions served as the source for the Burgundian *Fille du comte de Pontieu*, with no suggestion of a consensus. Where it is necessary in this chapter to refer to the earlier text, I quote from the long redaction.

sultan and his daughter, who (the fifteenth-century text is unique in informing us) goes on to give birth to the great Saladin.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, it is the rape episode and its consequences that have most preoccupied critics of both the thirteenth-century text and the fifteenth-century *Fille du comte de Pontieu*.[10] Often, however, the Burgundian text is treated not as a meaningful work in its own right, but as a minor adjunct to the chivalric exploits of Jehan d'Avennes in his text, or as a prelude to the 'coming-to-Burgundianness' of Saladin whom it engenders. But there is j more to it than both of these approaches suggest. In this piece, I illustrate the point by focussing solely on *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* as presented in BnF 12572, and by applying to it aspects of Linda Hutcheon's wide-ranging study of adaptation – a study which, importantly, deals with both product and process. In so doing, I suggest ways in which textual and visual transformation in the Burgundian manuscript invite reflection on the role of the whole artefact in shaping identity in this profoundly self-conscious, display-oriented milieu.

The 'multilaminated' phenomenon of adaptation that Hutcheon describes has three parts. Firstly, it views the resultant product as 'a *formal entity* […], an announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works'. Secondly, adaptation is considered as a 'process of creation', involving engagement with and re-imagining of the source, which admits, thirdly, of a 'process of reception' grounded in an intertextual apprehension.[11] In what follows, I look at each aspect of adaptation in turn, examining first the sense in which the *mise en prose* heralds its becoming a product – both a transposed text and a manuscript book – and the processes by which certain themes in the thirteenth-century version are re-imagined in the expanded fifteenth-century text and in the Wavrin Master's watercolours. This allows me, subsequently, to consider the reworked product's courtly reception as an instance of intertextual engagement not with the source as semiotic structure, as in Hutcheon's model, but as a material book forming part of the Burgundian library which houses and mediates luxury.

The status of the *mise en prose* as 'transposition' is consistently advertised in the texts' prologues. But what is especially interesting about this initial acknowledgement of provenance is the way in which it divorces the text from an attestable, tangible source actually present in the ducal library, while continuing to underline that the formal entity has its roots in a prior text. This absolves the Burgundian adaptation of any obligation towards a verifiably faithful rendering of a known story. In so doing, it marks the *mise en prose* as a derivative yet innovative product whose meaning stretches beyond the confines of the reworked text. The opening of *Jehan d'Avennes* (which also serves as a prologue to *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*) underlines how this functions:

> Ainsi comme par adventure, pour passer le temps, je m'estoie naguerez trouvé *en l'estude d'un tres noble seigneur*, garny a planté de *plusieurs biaulx livres* desquels je m'aproçay et en commençay lirre, comme je trouvasse livrez a souhait, je quis finablement tant que je m'arrestay a *ung ancien livre en latin* qui contenoit plusieurs hystoriez; et pour ce qu'il estoit comme mis en nonchalloir, je lisi dedens. Et *entre les aultrez hystoriez, j'en trouvai une* qui pou estoit en usaige, pour laquelle lirre je

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10 See Rieger 1992-1995; Vitz 1997; Virtue 2002.
11 Hutcheon 2006, 7-9. All italics are Hutcheon's own.

eslevay lez yeulz de mon entendement. Et pour ce que je l'ay trouvé digne de grand recomman-
dation […] *deliberai de le translatter.*[12]

(And so as if by chance, and to while away the time, I recently found myself in *the study of a most
noble gentleman* which was lined with *numerous handsome books* which I examined and began to
read. There were so many books that I was spoilt for choice, but eventually I alighted on *an old
book written in Latin* which contained a number of stories; and since it seemed to have fallen out
of favour I looked inside. *Among all the other stories, I found one which was very little known*, which
I began to read with not inconsiderable attention. And since I felt it highly praiseworthy […] *I
elected to translate it*.)

Here, in common with other *mise en prose* prologues,[13] the Burgundian author's nar-
rativizing of his compositional practice underlines the text's status as an adaptation of
a carefully selected work contained in the richly stocked library of a bibliophile, and
one which is derived from a prior work. But that prior work is not the *Dit du Prunier*
(the attested source of *Jehan d'Avennes*), or the thirteenth-century *Fille du comte de
Pontieu*; rather, it is ostensibly 'an old book written in Latin'.[14] Appealing to this (al-
beit fictional) Latin derivation for his text allows the Burgundian author to frame his
reworking with the authority of the past, but not simply the relatively recent French
past of only a few centuries ago as betokened by the actual provenance of his text.
Invoking a distant past speaks, more crucially, to the contemporary courtly taste for
grounding their illustrious future in the appropriation of former Byzantine (Caro-
lingian, Castilian…) glories. The nobleman who commissioned the adaptation would
presumably have no knowledge of the work's source-text, even if it was in his library,
as the language in which it was written would have been incomprehensible to him,[15]
and would certainly not be poring over, comparing and contrasting, the reworked
text and its source. What matters in the adapted product, for its ultimate contempo-
rary receiver, is its status *as an adaptation* – of a work with proclaimed connections to
an authoritative past source, and of one garnered from a luxurious library. What mat-
ters, further, is less absolute fidelity to a given story than the role of this product and
the processes to which it attests in the shaping of a material object, and of a cultural
and social construct.

   In order to produce the formal entity that is the adaptation, of course, the Burgun-
dian author must engage creatively with the actual precursor text and subject it to a
reshaping likely to appeal to his patron; the prologues' framing of the text with the

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12   Quéruel 1997, 41-42. Italics mine.
13   A detailed discussion of the Burgundian authors' prologues, and the set patterns to which they conform, is
largely outside the scope of this chapter. A thorough account of linguistic aspects of the prologue-writers' art in
Burgundy is provided by Brown-Grant 2012, while the practices and formulations adopted in two different com-
positional milieus, surrounding the Wavrin Master and David Aubert (one of the main 'prosificateurs' and transla-
tors at court) respectively, are given in Schandel 1997, vol. I, 186-218; and Straub 1995, 277-310.
14   The Burgundian adaptation's derivation, and consequent translation, from non-French sources is a common
conceit of the prologues: for example, like *Jehan d'Avennes*, *Olivier de Castille* and the *Roman de Florimont* claim to
be translations from Latin; *Gerard de Nevers* and *Paris et Vienne* are ostensibly derived from 'Provençal' (i.e. Occitan?)
texts, while the *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* alleges Italian provenance.
15   The source-text would have been written in Old French, which was current in evolving varieties from the
ninth century to the early fourteenth. By the mid-fifteenth century, Middle French was the language used. See
Huchon 2002.

authority of the past is the most explicit means by which this can be achieved, but the endeavour goes further. While the patron of the reworking would be aware only of the product presented to him, the fifteenth-century author would need to be familiar with the thirteenth-century source, and to make a number of 'behind-the-scenes' decisions related to his treatment of the narrative, in order to arrive at that palatable finished product. Despite the prologues' stated aims to simplify and shorten the source material,[16] these adaptive processes centre in fact on the expansion of the precursor. Re-engagement with an earlier text in this milieu involves carefully selecting elements from that source-text and developing them in a way that would appeal to the new audience, through what Jane Taylor has called 'acculturation': 'a process whereby the socio-culturally unfamiliar is recast in familiar terms, so that the reader can understand systems and phenomena in a source-text corresponding to his own ideologies, preconceptions and behaviour-patterns'.[17]

Taylor's notion implicitly encourages reflection, further, on how thematic concerns in the prior text take on renewed importance in the *mise en prose*. Here, certain themes – notably travel, combat, and the ceremonial – are recast and expanded for the courtly audience; and by their very appropriation, the themes and events narrated in the *mises en prose* assume a significance that exceeds their role in the source. They continue to have value for the work's plot, but the greater importance placed on them bolsters the culture of excess so central to this court. And when thematic accretion in the text is mirrored by a similar investment in the work's illustrative programme and material presentation, we see the 'multilaminated' creative processes of Burgundian scribes and artists in their fullest sense. The adaptation of *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* demonstrates these processes in text and image in a delightfully accessible and typical way. In what follows, I examine thematic re-imagining in the narrative – in the order ceremonial, travel, and combat – before looking at the Wavrin Master's treatment of these three phenomena in his miniatures, in order to show how these means of adaptation ensured a particular reception of the reworked text at court, and allowed it to function intertextually and intermodally with other works in the *mise en prose* corpus.

When I talk of 'the ceremonial' in these reworkings, I refer not only to large-scale articulations of the *fastes de la cour* in the narrative – descriptions of joyous entries, lavish dinners, wedding ceremonies, or funeral processions – but also to the clothes worn to celebrate them and the settings in which they are enacted. While the *mises en prose*'s sources abounded in such episodes, what it is valuable to note here, in respect of the culture of aspiration and ostentatious display in which the Burgundian texts are implicated, is the prose version's particular treatment of familiar-seeming notions. Ceremonial is brought to a reworked version either through expansion of an already-present motif in the source, or through authorial interpretation of the source and a perceived need for an addition. Both of these processes are used in *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*. Returning from their ill-fated pilgrimage to Santiago, Thibault and his wife

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16   See, for example, De Crécy 2002, 14.
17   See Taylor 1998, 183.

are welcomed back with much celebration in a scene which the Burgundian author
has greatly expanded from his thirteenth-century source:

<div style="display: flex;">

Au jour que Thibauld et sa dame revindrent,
ilz trouverent en leur hostel de Dommarc le
conte de Pontieu, le conte de Saint Pol avec
plusieurs barons et chevaliers qui celle par
estoient convenus pour conjoïr et bienvig-
nier Thibauld aiant fait assavoir sa revenue.
Aussy y estoient plenté de damez et damoi-
sellez qui reçurent a grant honneur la dame,
et ainsi tant a l'un comme a l'autre furent fais
et donnés plusieurs salutz et plusieurs rices et
nobles presens.[18]

(On their return, Thibault and his good lady
found the comte de Pontieu and the comte
de Saint Pol in their lodgings, along with
many other lords and knights who had as-
sembled there to fête and to welcome Thi-
bault, whose return had been broadcast.
There were also many ladies and maidens
there who welcomed the lady with much
ceremony; they all greeted one another,
and many lavish and noble gifts were ex-
changed.)

Il revint en sa tiere. Mout fist on grant joie
de lui et de sa dame. Il i fu li quens de Pontiu,
peres de la dame, et i fu li quens de Saint Pol,
ki oncles fu a monseignour Thiebaut. Molt i
ot de boines gens et de vaillans a lor revenue.
La dame fu molt honoree des dames et da-
moisieles.[19]

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As we see, the reworked text develops the episode, in order not simply to ensure that
it occupies much more narrative space – though this is important – but also to per-
mit the inclusion of detail on court etiquette and the requirement for gifting, which
would reflect glory back onto the Duke and his intimates as they read the text.

   Further examples support this, though the homecoming scene is unique in *La Fille
du comte de Pontieu* in presenting the ceremonial without narratorial intervention.
Other episodes, whether expansions of events present in the source or out-and-out
authorial inventions, are accompanied with tags suggesting that they will not be dis-
cussed, the inference being that their inclusion might spoil the flow of the story, as at
the wedding ceremony:

18 Brunel 1923, 86-87. References will hereafter be supplied in parentheses in the body of my text for both ver-
sions of *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*. The fifteenth-century text is on the left, while the thirteenth-century version
appears on the right. Translations are my own.
19 Brunel 1923, 14. I supply the quotations from the source text to underline the greater spatio-narrative, rather
than linguistic, reinvestment in its themes on the part of the Burgundian author; as such, and as the events recounted
in the later excerpt are largely the same, I leave these quotations untranslated.

Si y convindrent le conte de Saint Pol, on-
cle de Thybauld, et plusieurs seigneurs et ba-
rons qui furent moult joyeulz de ce mariage.
Et pour ce que ce seroit trop longue chose a
racompter de descripre les honneurz, pom-
pez, beubancez, dansez et esbatemens qui y
furent fais, je m'en tais et briefment m'en
passe. (p. 73)

(There gathered the comte de Saint Pol, Thi-
bault's uncle, and many other knights and
barons who were overjoyed at this union.
And because it would be too lengthy a pro-
cess to recount a description of the honour-
able events, the pomp and ceremony, the
dances and games that took place there, I
will say nothing of them, and pass over them
in short order.)

Li mariage fu fais. Li quens de Pontiu et li
quens de Saint Pol i furent et maint autre
preudome. A grant joie furent assamblé, et a
grant seigneurie et a grant deduit. (p. 3-4)

Having claimed, however, that his intention was not to engage with such events, in
this and comparable episodes the author proceeds to enumerate the precise nature of
the ceremonial experienced by his characters. In a narrative which recounts events
in a rather prolix way, the *praeteritio* implies that the dances danced or games played
require an account that exceeds the already generous norm, hence encouraging au-
diences to imagine events that in their lavishness push at the limits of the express-
ible. Such creative adaptation, to borrow Hutcheon's terminology, of the source ma-
terial permits the Burgundian author to let his readership see themselves reflected in
the text, imagine themselves as participants in the universe it sketches, in ways high-
lighting and developing the spectacular culture endemic in courtly behaviours. Con-
sumption and aspiration figure in the text, in other words, that eventually serves as
their representative.

The theme of travel in the *mises en prose* in general, and in *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*
in particular, is re-engaged with via adaptive processes similar to those undergone
by the ceremonial: either the Burgundian author expands material already suggested
by the source, or invents episodes based on a creative re-imagining of aspects of that
source. In all the reworked texts, travel offers a way of getting a character from A to
B, an opportunity for adventure and atonement of various kinds, and/or (in a clear
departure from the source-texts) a means by which the author can inject 'Burgun-
dianness' into his text by having a character pass through what appears to be a roll-
call of Duke Philip's territories.[20] In *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*, while elements of
most of these are discernible, it is the penitential function of travel that most preoccu-
pies the author as he expands his text. Even when a journey appears straightforwardly
teleological, as when Thibault and *fille* set out from Pontieu for Santiago, other fac-
tors are in play:

20   The reworked *Gérard de Nevers* offers an excellent example of this. For a discussion, see Lowe 1928, xxv–xxix.

Ilz prindrent congié et, *a brief parler*, au jour qu'ilz avoit prins, se mirent a chemin. Si trespasserent tellement montaignez, champaignez, falloisez, chemins, sentez et sentiers qu'ilz vindrent a deux journees prés de Galice. (p. 77; italics mine)

(They took their leave and, *to cut a long story short*, on the agreed day they set out. They crossed many mountains, fields, cliffs, roads, lanes and tracks, and they came within two day's journey of Galicia.)

Il s'apareillent et murent a grant joie, et vont par lor jornees tant k'il aprocierent de monseignor saint Jakeme a mains de .ij. jornees. (p. 6)

As with ceremonial, travel here is expanded via *praeteritio*: the author wishes to cut down his narrative, ostensibly, but he in fact does the opposite, invoking the many topographical features experienced by the journeying Burgundians, none of which were encountered by the thirteenth-century travellers. Again, this narrative expansion appeals to the particularly Burgundian love of excess and to the articulation of aspiration through one-upmanship, increasing the textual space accorded to an event in the material book while highlighting an episode in the reworked tale and introducing the thematic importance of travel as trial or tribulation. We see this last thematic development in expanded narrative moments in *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* when husband and wife reach a fork in the forest path and – inevitably – choose the wrong one (p. 78), or when Thibault, Pontieu and his son make their pilgrimage to Jerusalem (p. 99); but it receives its most striking treatment in an extensive episode which has no directly comparable scene in the source. When, as a shocking punishment for her role in the rape and its aftermath, the count seals his daughter into a barrel and casts her out to sea, the thirteenth-century version supplies just this information; we hear nothing from *fille* throughout the whole episode. In the prose reworking, however, things are quite different. In a bravura piece of textual expansion occupying some three manuscript folios, the Burgundian author has *fille* lament – in direct speech, and with appeals to God and to personifications – her sorry fate (p. 94-96). Not only does this episode impute a moral charge of the kind discussed by recent scholars to the event in the *mise en prose*,[21] but the author's creative adaptation of the source expands the narratological and hence textual space occupied by the journeys undertaken. And this in turn underlines their importance not only for the narrative and its density, but also for the material book in which they figure, and the court for which it was produced. This will be outlined more fully below.

But it is in his treatment of the theme of combat in *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* that the Burgundian author's re-engagement with his source emerges most strongly, and in ways that underline the ideological importance of strategies of adaptation in this milieu. This largely bears out the evidence of the corpus as a whole, in which combat (whether pitched battles, single combat, crusade, or tournament) figures heavily.

21 See for example Brown-Grant 2008.

Much more so than in the thirteenth-century precursor text, combat is massively pres-ent in the later version of *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*, and receives a treatment that has much in common with, while differing in certain respects from, the adaptation of ceremonial and travel. Most significantly, the author seems to feel no (real or feigned) compunction at describing battles at length, and hence has no need for recourse to the *praeteritio* of the other thematic expansions. Further, only one episode of combat in the entire reworking – Thibault's encounter with the brigands in the forest that oc-casions his wife's rape (p. 78-79) – finds its source in the thirteenth-century text. All the other scenes of combat are invented by the Burgundian author, either wholesale or as a consequence of a tiny event in the source. The fifteenth-century text supple-ments his narrative with accounts of tournament and naval battle against Saracen hor-des to fulfil a particular function: the glorification of Burgundy and the celebration of the rightness of her might.

The political context in which the *mises en prose* were produced was a period of some uncertainly for Philip the Good and his intimates; the signing of the Treaty of Arras in 1435 marked the beginning of a breakdown in relations between Burgun-dy, France, and England, while 1454 saw the Duke making firm, but ultimately abor-ted, plans to go on crusade.[22] Against this backdrop, it is not difficult to imagine how episodes in which Burgundians get the upper hand in combat situations would have been good for courtly morale: far from being merely a *Bumper Book of Battles* for the court, reworkings like *La Fille du comte de Pontieu* would have pleased the Duke, and the other Burgundian bibliophiles who commissioned and consumed such works, for the particular ideological charge they carried. What must surely have appealed in these texts were episodes in which doughty proto-Burgundians (protagonists who, through their behaviour and allegiance to moral or political rectitude, reflect Bur-gundian ideology) fought expeditiously and stamped out threats to their person and to their political integrity; and the adaptation is careful to present these in a doubled sense with Thibault de Dommart. With skilful circularity, Thibault is depicted in tour-naments at the beginning and end of the romance as fighting to ensure both his own personal renown and his worthiness to take *fille* from another man, be it her father or the sultan (p. 121):

> Thybault, qui veult acquerre honneur et qui voit le pere de sa dame estre homme de grant vertu, fiert et rue a dexte et a sensestre, en telle guise que chascun en est emerveillié. (p. 57)

> (Thibault, who wanted to garner honour and who saw that his lady's father was a man of great worth, felled men left and right with such alacrity that everyone was amazed.)

As well as fighting to feather his own nest, though, Thibault reveals himself capable of weighing in to defend another man's name and political interests:

> Et ainsi le duc de Clocestre obtint la victoire dez trois journees du tournoy moiennant la bonne aide du conte de Ponthieu et principalement du gentil chevalier Thibauld. (p. 66; see also p. 123)

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22   On these two events in Philip's career, see Vaughan 2002, 98-126 and 334-372 respectively.

(And so the Duke of Gloucester was declared the winner of the three days of the tournament, through the good offices of the comte de Pontieu and especially the good knight Thibault.)

The greater narrative investment in combat reflects contemporary political concerns, in particular the abortive plan to embark on a crusade to Constantinople against Saracen threat; and the consequent increase in the space it occupies in the manuscript further attests to the importance of ideological issues of consumption and lifestyle aspiration mediated by the book. But this is only part of the story.

In order more fully to appreciate the role of adaptation as a creative, re-imaginative process – and hence to apprehend its importance for courtly identity – we need to ally the altered linguistic codes employed by the Burgundian author with the particular visual codes in the Wavrin Master's interpretation of the story in BnF 12572's illustrative programme. As Hutcheon suggests, being 'shown' a story by visual means is not the same as being told it: while verbal and non-verbal communicative methods partake of some of the same narrative strategies, it is undeniable that the telling and the showing modes have their own particularities.[23] This is why I deal with textual and visual adaptation separately in the *mises en prose*. It is vital to acknowledge the specificity of the miniatures in a manuscript, their role as images and adaptations in their own right, rather than seeing them simply as adjuncts to or renderings of the text they illustrate. This is especially important when dealing with the Wavrin Master's artistic output. Unlike the more 'traditional' productions of court artists such as Loyset Liédet, the Lille artist's work, with its schematic treatment of figures and fittings, flora and fauna, appears almost wilfully anti-mimetic; but because of this, it elicits much closer deciphering from the viewer and takes on a meaning in excess of the few lines that create it. As does the narrative they accompany, the Wavrin Master's images provide a creative re-imagining of a source-text, in this instance the reworked version rather than its source, which comments on and helps shape courtly values.

At first glance, the simplicity of these watercolours seems to run counter to the Burgundian aspirational project: surely a court circle wishing to see itself reflected in the codex would want gold leaf and acanthus, saturated colour and identifiable trappings? What could the Wavrin Master possibly offer with these little sketches? To understand his work, though, we need to think differently about the creative process of adaptation practised by the artist, and the value of the distinct visual codes he employs. Borrowing the notion of modality from social semiotics, and the idea of 'abstract modality' from Theo van Leeuwen, allows us a way into this.[24] Visual modality is concerned not with the absolute representational truth of an image, but rather with the semiotic resources used in its expression; and the degree of modality – arrived at through a consideration of expressive means such as colour saturation and range, or quality of the line – depends on the visual truth desired. Images like the Wavrin Master's miniatures assume an 'abstract modality' because they mediate truth in a schematic way. Using the example of images with reduced articulation in children's books,

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23 Hutcheon 2006, 23-24.
24 See Van Leeuwen 2005, 165-171.

van Leeuwen underlines how pared-down illustrations which represent a general pattern have a greater modality because they express the specificity of what they purport to represent. So in the Wavrin Master's output, a lack of detail, of colour saturation or of background articulation in the miniatures invoke the essential truth of the scene they contain and the context they mediate. Their mediation of perceptual information through abstract modality and its specific visual coding is akin to the narrative tropes of *praeteritio* and expansion or invention deployed in the textual reworking; like the author before him, the Wavrin Master deploys details with a heightened semiotic density in adapting aspects of a story for a new Burgundian audience with particular tastes and aspirations. In his re-imagining of *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*, the artist does this by refiguring in his nine miniatures those same thematic concerns – ceremonial, travel, and combat – as seen in the text in ways that foster courtly ideologies as mediated by the story. And in so doing, he points forward, through intertextuality and intermodality, to a broader significance of the manuscript book.

Ceremonial is featured in four miniatures in BnF 12572's version of *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*, all invoking in the Wavrin Master's minimalist, abstract style the *fastes de la cour*, notably through the depiction of court etiquette and sartorial norms in interviews between noblemen and ladies (f. 123r and 131v), and in dealings with Saracen sultans (f. 155v). It is, however, especially strongly encoded in the image on f. 141r (Figure 1), showing the meeting between Thibault de Dommart and the comte de Pontieu on the younger man's return from Santiago. The Wavrin Master's reinterpretation of the textual episode displays typical reduced articulation in the representation of the characters, rendering their facial expressions through simple but highly meaningful lines, and employs his familiar limited watercolour palette to paint their clothing and furniture. As noted above, far from rendering the image drab or insignificant, these aspects of abstract modality call attention more strongly to luxurious ceremonial trappings. The interior is reduced to a canopied divan, but its bright red contrasts starkly with the colourless background; it draws the eye, and so calls the viewer's imagination via a visual *praeteritio* to the sort of lavish interior common in Burgundian circles and in which 'real' interviews of this kind would take place. Similarly, the clothes worn by the noblemen in this grouping appear at first to be a far cry from the luxurious garb
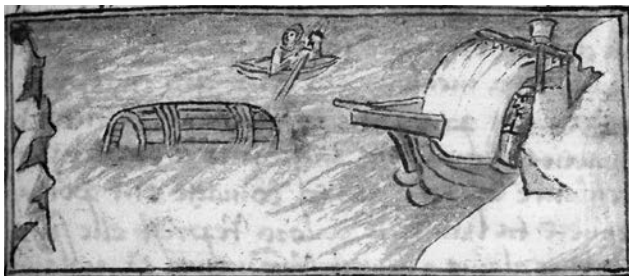
depicted in the work of a Liédet or a Vrelant;[25] but look further and we realize that
in their rendering of certain details – the puffed leg-of-mutton sleeves, the deep sable
trim of the gowns – lies a heightened awareness of those lavish outfits which the Wa-
vrin Master makes his audience imagine bigger, better, dearer, softer than anything
available in reality. Finally, the image further corroborates and mediates the role of
ceremonial in Burgundian aspirational practice: its composition, featuring a central
noble figure and kneeling subordinate, invokes intertextually the lavish presentation
miniatures found elsewhere in the corpus.[26]

Though it appears explicitly in just two illustrations in BnF 12572 (f. 144r and 163v),
the theme of travel as adapted by the Wavrin Master offers similar points of reference
linking the diegetic space of the narrative and the miniature with aspects of Burgun-
dian ideology. Figure 2, showing *fille*'s tribulations on the high seas, is the strongest ar-
ticulation of this. The image responds to the textual expansion of travel and reaffirms
its significance in the codex as a test or trial. While indicating the means by which *fille*
got out to sea (the boat on the right), the Wavrin Master centralizes and magnifies the
barrel, creatively engaging as he does so with the narrative amplification of this episode
through the lengthy lament the heroine issues from inside the cask. The apparently
insignificant detail of the little oarsman at the top of the miniature is made meaning-
ful through the artist's rendering of his facial expression: in just a couple of strokes
his consternation is suggested, providing a visual echo of the shock experienced by
the reader of the adapted version at the harshness of *fille*'s punishment. Further, the
artistic skill with which the Wavrin Master evokes the maritime scene – the craggy
rocks, the choppy sea, the strong wind caught in the boat's sail – offers an intertex-
tual reference point between this codex and others by his hand in which, through a
similar process of abstract modality, he depicts seascapes in ways not seen in any other
contemporary artist.[27]

25   On these artists, mentioned as examples of more 'traditional' or mimetic Burgundian court art, see Hans-Col-
las & Schandel 2009, vol. I; Kren & McKendrick 2003; and Bousmanne 1997.
26   Only one such presentation miniature is found in the Wavrin Master's output, on the mutilated first folio of
the *Roman de Buscalus* (Paris, BnF, ms fr. 9343-44); they are more common in the work of artists such as Liédet.
On this see Stroo 1994.
27   See especially the *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, ms fr. 12566, f. 7r, 187r, and 188v.

Just as combat was given a narrative repurposing that brought thematic concerns into line with political imperatives, so the Wavrin Master's adaptation of the theme in BnF 12572 refocuses attention on these notions in complementary ways. Of the three miniatures explicitly depicting combat in the manuscript, none shows a tournament scene, despite the textual expansion granted to this area. In his adaptation of the work, the Wavrin Master chooses to illustrate aspects of battle concerned with the moral or the ideological, whether on a personal level in Thibault's tussle with the brigands (f. 135v) or with wider political import in the naval (f. 148v) or pitched (f. 159r) battles with the Saracens. The artist selects aspects of the author's expanded theme and subjects them to a treatment that again (re-)engages creatively with issues of Burgundian might and right. As Figure 3 shows, the Wavrin Master's combat scenes are unashamed evocations of excess – the ranks of soldiers, the bright trappings of battle, the violence of wounding. Seemingly contrary to his pared-down miniatures featuring ceremonial or travel, these images are a mass of overlapping limbs and crossed weapons; and there is initially so much visual noise in the rendering that it is difficult to process it into an ordered whole. But, once again, look more closely and familiar aspects of the Wavrin Master's style – the reduced articulation of the abstract modality he deploys – emerge and permit interpretation. Via the strong lines of the lances, the eye is drawn to the centre of the scene, where in a skilful *mise en abyme* two men fight in single combat, and to the top where two gold-coloured figures enact the ideology of this textual moment as adapted by the Wavrin Master. These two figures play out the battle between right and wrong, Burgundian and Saracen: the one point of real detail, the shining gold Saracen helmet, gives it away. Through a visual refocusing of the verbal codes of the *mise en prose*, through the dazzling and explicatory accretion of figures, the artist reappropriates his source to ensure that his codex speaks adequately and appealingly to its audience.

What we have seen, then, is how adaptation in the *mise en prose* produces a formal entity (the reworked text in book form), and how it functions as a creative process in complementary ways in both text and image. But, in the model developed by Hutcheon as outlined above, adaptation is also a process of reception; and this is what allows the *mise en prose* to become greater than the sum of its parts (the reworked text, illustrative programme, and the material codex). In Hutcheon's thinking, the reception

of an adaptation depends on the intertextual relationship between the re-imagined text and the work from which it is adapted; where the *mises en prose* are concerned, what matters is an intertextual (and intermodal) dialogue, but in a different direction and on a larger scale. The process here is focused less on the thirteenth-century source-text and its relationship to the adaptation than on the interaction between text and image; their respective semiotisation of events in the reworking, and the connections between these and the socio-historical context of the material codex that houses them. Episodes in text and image speak to one another, and to the book which contains them, as the articulation of Burgundian wealth; further, content and container here dialogue with others in the *mise en prose* corpus; and these in turn speak to the vast acquisitive project that is the rich ducal library which houses them. Only by viewing Burgundian adaptation in text and image as a multilaminated process resulting in a tangible, valuable product – the book as *objet d'art* in its own right – can we begin to understand fully the role of literary production in articulating consumption patterns and lifestyle aspiration at this most palimpsestic of courts.

Summary

The fifteenth-century Burgundian *mises en prose* have not always enjoyed the best press. As recastings of earlier Francophone sources, they have been traditionally, and dismissively, seen by critics as insipid examples of intralingual translation. More recent scholars have countered this unfavourable view, examining more closely the passage from verse to prose, and suggesting ways in which adaptation of the earlier narrative functions as cultural appropriation – 'acculturation' –, for the new Burgundian audience. But in this literary genre, and in this courtly milieu, such transformation goes further. Those studies which have looked at its cultural importance in the *mises en prose* do so on a purely textual level, without accounting for the investment in lavish material production evinced by the works' manuscript presentation, and without accounting for the narrative preoccupation with certain types of episode at the Burgundian court under Philip the Good. Using the Paris manuscript of *La Fille du Comte de Ponthieu* (BnF, MS fr. 12572; before 1468) as a limit case, this chapter aims to redress the balance. Focussing on scenes of travel, combat and ceremony in both text and paratext, I show how the transformed prose work invests more heavily in such episodes than does its source, revealing an ideology of conspicuous consumption. Further, these scenes' importance for the plot is subsidiary to their role in underlying the customary excess with which Burgundy conceived and expressed this distinctive ideology. Textual transformation in *Fille* provides the narrative articulation of lifestyle aspirations encoded in the book's physical presentation as consumable luxury object.

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Layered Text Formation in Urban Chronicles
The Case of an Early Modern Manuscript from Mechelen

Bram Caers

Around 1500, an anonymous author wrote an extensive history of the city of Mechelen. As often happens with chronicles, this one was heavily altered in later years. Throughout the following centuries, later readers and continua-tors copied the text material freely, adapting, adding and deleting passages. This has resulted in a very diffuse array of manuscript versions and redactions. This paper will concentrate on one manuscript with a Mechelen chronicle text – Mechelen, Stadsarchief, ms EE VI 1 – which shows traces of intense usage by at least two contributors.[1] This manuscript is a striking case because it contains not only the 'basic' chronicle text, but also the draft versions of two reworked versions by different authors, all with-in one codex. It provides a unique insight into the various ways in which early modern readers could deal with existing text material, and hints at an evolving attitude towards chronicle texts during the sixteenth century. The aim of this article is to disentangle the text formation within this manuscript using principles borrowed from *New* or *Material Philology* on the one hand, and from modern genetic criticism on the other. First, I introduce the chronicle text within its historical context. Second, I analyse the extant manuscripts and the relations between them, which will clarify the position of EEVI 1 within the broader chronicle tradition. Third, I discuss the methodology I used to analyse the manuscript. This will finally lead to a clear view of the evolution of this codex over the course of the sixteenth century.

Historical context

The chronicle discussed in this paper dates from around 1500, and as such is among the earliest examples of urban historiography in the Low Countries.[2] Apparently, the end of the fifteenth century provided the right conditions for the genre of urban historiography to take root. Aspects of Mechelen's late medieval history reveal why this is so.

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1 The first contributor has remained anonymous, but must have been active in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The second contributor, a Mechelen chaplain named Gerardus Bernaerts, worked on the manuscript mainly in the 1570s. Manuscript Mechelen, Stadsarchief, ms EE VI 1 is a paper octavo manuscript with a parchment cover. It comprises 76 folios and a large number of added scraps of paper, either bound or added loosely between folios. Although a detailed codicological analysis could be revealing in terms of historical context and formation process of ms EE VI 1, it would lead too far within this paper to study the codicological aspects in detail.
2 See the overview in Van Lith-Droogleever Fortuijn et al. 1997, xxix-xxxii, which, however thorough, omits the Mechelen chronicle. For a recent state of affairs including new examples of urban historiography and new research approaches, compare Caers, Demets & Van Gassen [2017].

The city of Mechelen formed a separate enclave within the duchy of Brabant. It was initially divided into two halves, one ruled by the prince-bishop of Liège, the other by the Berthout family. With the prince-bishop too far away to exercise any real power over the city, the Berthouts came to be seen as sole lords of Mechelen. Even when the Berthout lineage died out in 1331, the city continued to be associated with the Berthout rule. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Flanders, Brabant and Guelders quarrelled over the city of Mechelen. After a relatively short period under Brabantine rule, the Flemish count definitively acquired the city in 1357. It would remain under Flemish, and later under Burgundian rule. Despite this eventful political history, the city's inhabitants seem to have continually perceived themselves as a separate and sovereign entity, which at some points was simply tied to a larger body such as Brabant or Flanders.

It is not at all surprising that Mechelen was the subject of so many squabbles between the surrounding regions. In fact, the city was a prosperous centre for linen production in the fifteenth century, and from the early fourteenth century onwards it held – or at least claimed – the staple rights for everyday commodities such as salt, oats and fish. In practice, this meant that grain transported between Antwerp and Brussels or Louvain first had to be offloaded in Mechelen to be offered for sale at the local markets. From a strategic point of view, Mechelen controlled the waterways between the main cities of Brabant and levied tolls from Brabantine merchants.[3] In this way, the city constantly irritated the Brabantine duke, who wanted to remove this obstacle for inland trade. Since the fourteenth century, the counts of Flanders had tried to control Mechelen to stem trade from the Antwerp port which, from the fourteenth century onwards, was increasingly in competition with the Flemish ports.

In 1474, the Burgundian duke Charles the Bold established the central institutions for his rule of the Low Countries in Mechelen. The minor city on the Dijle was upgraded to a capital of sorts, and this change brought hitherto unseen prosperity to the city. When in later years Burgundian-Habsburg rulers held court in Mechelen (Margaret of York, 1477-1503; Margaret of Austria, 1507-1530), diplomats and politicians flocked to the city and had palaces and city houses built, of which the cityscape still testifies today. This made for an upsurge in the luxury goods market, and increased Mechelen's prestige to an international scale.[4]

It may not be coincidental that it is precisely in the end of the fifteenth century that the genre of the urban chronicle took root in Mechelen. Could it be that, with the city rising to an international level of prestige, chroniclers felt a need to develop a historiographical tradition devoted solely to the city? The contents of the chronicle, then, seem to show that at least part of the intention was to justify Mechelen's independence from Brabant, and to justify its staple rights and its economic role in the region.

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3 Mechelen operated a toll chain on the river Zenne near Heffen, to tax and control trade between the Brabantine cities. This chain is one of the central objects of quarrels between Mechelen and the Brabantine cities, and figures as such throughout most of the chronicle's fifteenth century. In the middle of the sixteenth century, a new canal between Brussels and the river Rupel ended this situation. Of course, the canal was highly contested by Mechelen. See for example Deligne 2003, 185-186, and compare Caers [2017].

4 Historical overview taken from various sources: Avonds 1977-1983, vol. II, 452-582; Van Uytven 1991; Laenen 1934. See their references for further literature on specific topics. For the courts, see Eichberger 2005.

Manuscript Mechelen, Stadsarchief, ms EE VI 1 and the urban chronicle
tradition in Mechelen

The urban historiography of Mechelen has not been studied in a systematic way un-
til now. In 1954, J. Verbeemen studied various chronicles in an attempt to shed light
on Mechelen's earliest history.[5] He distinguished two text traditions, *A* and *B*.[6] *A* pro-
vides a lengthy chronological narrative of Mechelen's history from the early Middle
Ages up to 1477, the death of Charles the Bold. A possible title, taken from the earliest
manuscript, is *Die cronike van die scone ende heerlijke stadt van Mechelen*.[7] The *B* text, on
the other hand, holds a less extensive history of the city and concentrates – at least in
the earlier history of Mechelen – more on the anecdotic history of place names. Re-
markably, the *B* text comprises a late-sixteenth-century compilation of texts written
by known authors from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. Both text traditions
have come down to us in a series of manuscripts dating from the early sixteenth (*A*)
or the early seventeenth (*B*) up to the twentieth century. The manuscripts containing
the chronicle texts are – at least in most cases – not exact copies of an existing text,
but provide versions that have been heavily altered or expanded. This is not uncom-
mon with late medieval chronicles and their early modern manuscript copies, but
the fact that some of the manuscripts are the 'autographs' of continuators or altering
scribes makes the Mechelen chronicle material an interesting case for research into
late medieval and early modern authorship.[8] This paper deals exclusively with the *A*
text tradition, and notably with one peculiar manuscript which represents the *A* text.

Within the wider manuscript tradition of the *A* text, the sixteenth-century ma-
nuscript Mechelen, Stadsarchief, ms EE VI 1 occupies a unique position. Apart from
being the oldest text witness of the *A* text, it is also a highly peculiar manuscript, be-
cause it was produced by two contributors in separate phases. In a first stage, which
can be dated in the first part of the sixteenth century, an anonymous scribe copied the
basic *A* text from an unknown exemplar. In a second stage, possibly this same scribe
added further text on separate scraps of paper and continued the text up to 1510. In
a third stage, roughly to be dated in the 1560s and 1570s, the manuscript was intensi-
vely altered and reworked by Gerardus Bernaerts, chaplain in the parish of Saint-John
in Mechelen. The result is a manuscript in which every single folio is filled not only
with the normal layout of text, but with a very large number of interlinear and mar-
ginal notes, and additions on added scraps of paper.

Verbeemen has argued that most, if not all, of the extant manuscripts stem from a
now-lost manuscript, which was kept in the convent of Canons Regular Ter Nood
Gods in Tongeren.[9] If the EE VI 1 manuscript was indeed copied directly from the

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5 Verbeemen 1954.

6 I have recently attempted a brief characterisation of both texts. For the *A* text, see Caers 2011a, ID 2149. For
the *B* text, see Caers 2011b, ID 2150.

7 Translated title: *The chronicle of the beautiful and seigneurial city of Mechelen*.

8 As it is not at all uncommon for copyists of chronicle material to add certain events to the narrative, one could
wonder whether such small additions make their copies autographs. In this paper, the term 'autograph' is used be-
cause both contributors produced larger text bodies (continuations or added chapters) in their own hand.

9 Verbeemen 1954, 16-26. Research has shown that the stemma by Verbeemen 1954, 26 is not infallible. It seems

Tongeren text witness, it is impossible to say whether this was done before or after the latter was taken from Mechelen to the convent in Tongeren.[10] At any rate, the chronicle text in EE VI 1 seems to align closely with the 'standard', which can be distilled from the comparison with other manuscripts copied from the Tongeren version. The variation, it appears, lies in the subsequent layers of alterations on extra scraps of paper, in the margins, between the lines and in the continuations.

Methodology

When in a 1990 issue of *Speculum* Stephen Nichols and others coined the 'New' Philology as an alternative to author-based views on medieval textual culture, they echoed views that had been resonating for some time.[11] There is of course Cerquiglini's controversial *Éloge de la variante* of 1989, which dealt with similar issues and functions in the 1990 *Speculum* issue as a kind of sounding board for the new philology.[12] But Nichols et al. took insufficient account of earlier scholarship, most notably of the German 'Überlieferungsgeschichtliche methode', which had been – under various guises and through various voices – propagating a return to manuscript study as early as the 1970s.[13] In Middle Dutch studies as well, the 1980s and 1990s saw increasing attention to the historical context of a text, rather than its intrinsic literary quality.[14] Unsurprisingly, reactions to 'New' Philology have not only criticised its methodological vagueness, but have also questioned its predominant epithet, which led to Nichols' more neutral denotation of a 'Material' Philology in 1997.[15]

For the specific case put forward in this paper, the notion that manuscript versions can reveal their historical context is of vital importance. On the other hand, a good understanding of the auctorial text is needed to judge the subsequent variants.[16] For

true that all manuscripts stem from the Tongeren one, but some may have been copied from each other, a possibility which Verbeemen seems not to have taken into account enough.

10 It is highly unclear under which circumstances the lost exemplar travelled to Tongeren. Possibly, it was taken there by one of four inhabitants of Mechelen that entered the Tongeren convent between 1479 and 1526 (Tongeren Obituary: Tongeren, Stadsarchief, MS Regulieren 4). One could think of Petrus De Wilde and Nicholas Coesaerts, who were both affiliated with a convent in Tienen, but their involvement must remain hypothetical. An added argument, however, may be a passage in MS EE VI 1 (f. 75r), where a more than average attention is devoted to the city of Tienen (albeit not to the convent). For a detailed discussion of the ties with Tongeren, see Caers [2017].

11 *Speculum* 65 (1990), issue 1. The term 'New Philology' already appears in *Romanic Review* 79 (1988), issue 1, also edited by Nichols.

12 Cerquiglini 1989.

13 See the introduction and further literature in Williams-Krapp 2000. On German scholarship preceding New Philology: Bennewitz 1997; Tervooren's preface to the same *Sonderheft* of *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*: Tervooren & Wenzel 1997; Schnell 1997. The 'New' Philology also partly echoes Paul Zumthor's notion of 'mouvance', see Zumthor 1972.

14 The earliest example of this evolution is Pleij 1979. See also Pleij 1989. As a reaction to this cultural trend, researchers pleaded for a more systematic study of miscellanies: Hogenelst & Van Anrooij 1991. A lucid analysis of the place of Middle Dutch studies among other philologies, is provided by Gerritsen 2000.

15 Busby 1993, notably the contribution by W.D. Paden therein; Nichols 1997 and other contributions in this issue of *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*. Very critical is Ménard 1997.

16 Bein 2002, 90-91; Bein 1999, 316-320; and even Nichols 2006, 77-102. For the opposite view see Bumke 1997, 112-114.

want of a ready-made methodology provided by Material Philology, I need to borrow specific research tools from other research traditions. Manuscript EE VI 1, containing not one, but several versions of the same text integrated into one codex, bears striking resemblance to subsequent draft manuscripts of modern authors, prior to their fixation by the printing press. Because it shows the text in a fluid, evolving state, it is interesting to approach this manuscript using the principles proposed by *critique génétique*. This movement in textual criticism of mainly modern literature has shifted the attention from the literary text as a finished product, to the subsequent auctorial versions showing the development of the text.[17] Incompatible as these author-based notions may seem to the Material Philology central to this volume, they nevertheless share with it a focus on the preserved manuscript stages rather than on an ideal (re)construction of the text.[18] In 1997, Nichols already pointed at the similarities between *Material Philology* and *critique génétique*, but at the same time emphasised the differences between both schools. To construct his argument, he pointed to the emergence of the printing press in early modern times, which could give to text a sort of 'definitive' status, whereas in manuscript culture mutation was always possible.[19] Broadly stated, *critique génétique* focuses on variation *before* the author releases his work to a public of readers, and *New Philology* studies variation *after* this moment of 'publication' by the author (and even discards the author as a whole). While I agree with Nichols' recognition of a dichotomy between medieval and modern textual criticism, I believe the insights of modern *critique génétique* can still be useful in some cases for the study of medieval manuscripts, when these are so similar to draft manuscripts produced by (early) modern authors. In a way, this means studying text variants as autographs of the subsequent readers, who each altered the text to their own benefit. EE VI 1, then, can be viewed as a compilation of autograph versions of the same text, added in separate layers by different authors. The methodology needed for the study of EE VI 1 should comprise both New Philology's theoretical insistence on manuscript variation, and the practical methods of the *critique génétique*, with its focus on alteration and diachronic development of text material.

The fact that the methods of the *critique génétique* have not been broadly adopted in the study of the medieval manuscript is due to the scarcity of autographic manuscripts. As is commonly known, very few autographs have come down to us, and some of these do not show the text in a stage of development, but in a finished stage in the hand of the author.[20] Very recently, Astrid Houthuys – dealing with a comparable case

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17   See in French: Contat, Ferrer & De Biasi 1998, 7-10; in English: Deppman, Ferrer & Groden 2004; in German: Zeller & Martens 1998; in Dutch: Van Hulle 2007.

18   For example in the recent study of the text genesis of Willem Elsschot's preface to *Tsjip*, scholars have produced a digital edition in which the text can be followed through various stages of development. Willem Elsschot was a Flemish author (1882-1960) of poetry and prose renowned for his fluent style of Dutch. His preface to *Tsjip*, 'Achter de schermen' (behind the scenes) has been digitally edited in De Bruijn et al 2007. The CD-ROM is also included in Van Hulle 2007. As early as 1989, Cerquiglini noted that digital editing would be the only way to do justice to text variance: Cerquiglini 1989, 113.

19   Nichols 1997, 11-12.

20   Astrid Houthuys has provided a preliminary list of Middle Dutch autographs: Houthuys 2009, CD-ROM appendix 1. The amount of variation found in EE VI 1 is no usual occurrence in medieval manuscript study, and even in sixteenth-century manuscripts, it is a rather rare example, at least to my knowledge. Much work is still to

of an autographic manuscript containing the continuation of the *Brabantsche Yeesten* – drew up a model for the study of autographs, shedding light on different phases of text genesis.[21] Applying this model to the various text layers in manuscript EE VI 1 allows for a better characterisation of their auctorial status. The aim is now to separate subsequent layers of text formation, and eventually to place them in their historical context. This will lead to a more nuanced view of the evolution of the text in EE VI 1 over time.

Layered structure of EE VI 1 – the scribe as continuator?

Mechelen, Stadsarchief, ms EE VI 1 is a complex manuscript because of its layered nature. We can discern three layers of text, executed in two distinctly different hands. In the following, I will separate the layers of alteration and examine them in accordance with their respective historical contexts.

Comparison with other extant manuscripts shows that the basic auctorial version of *Die cronike* probably ceased at the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. EE VI 1, however, contains a lengthy continuation, relating events in continuous narrative up to 1507, and in shorter notes up to 1510. Verbeemen concludes that the scribe of EE VI 1 must have copied a manuscript, in which the author had continued his chronicle up to 1507.[22] His arguments however, seem haphazardly formulated. For example, he considers the agreement in layout between the earlier parts and the part 1477-1507 (e.g. the use of rubrics and heraldic elements) as definite evidence for his hypothesis that the text was written by the same author.[23] But this argument does not sufficiently rule out the possibility of a continuator who wanted the text to follow neatly the lines set out by the existing material; or perhaps a scribe chose to give the two distinct text bodies a uniform appearance. Verbeemen's assumptions give rise to two important questions. Was it indeed someone other than the author who should be held responsible for the continuation up to 1510 (1507)? And if so, can this person be identified as the scribe?

To gain better insight into the matter, I compared the themes of the continuation on one hand, and those of the 'basic' chronicle text on the other. It turns out that especially in the choice of subject matter, there is a rather clear-cut distinction between the chronicle text material up to 1477 (sample 1450-1477) and the continuation up to 1510. The quarter century between 1450 and 1477 appears to be greatly dominated by a jubilee in 1450 and its aftermath. In that year, Pope Nicholas V granted Mechelen the extraordinary privilege that its churches were temporarily bound to those in Rome, allowing visitors the same indulgences and remissions of sins. This drew thousands of pilgrims to the city and, as the chronicle duly states, brought so much money to the city coffers that large-scale construction works were initiated shortly after on

be done in studying manuscript culture after the emergence of the printing press. See for example Woudhuysen 1996, 27-174; or Moser 2007.

21   Houthuys 2009, 58-63.

22   Verbeemen 1954, 22-25.

23   Verbeemen 1954, 24. Note that Verbeemen uses 'stijl' (style) to refer to the layout of the manuscript.

churches, chapels and public buildings.[24] This papal privilege was repeated in the years after 1450, on some occasions after intervention of the city magistrate: in 1456 for example, the city sent Jan de Leeuw to Rome to plead its case and convince the new pope, Calixtus III, to re-issue the privilege. The chronicle goes on to state that this was necessary because work on chapels and churches was not finished.[25] In 1456 and the years after, however, attendance decreased: *tot deser gratien quam vele volx van alderhande natien, maer niet soo vele als int dierste.*[26] The jubilee privilege lasted up to 1466-1467, but dominates the chronicle text only up to 1459, when a new narrative thread is introduced. Under the year 1452, the chronicle notes that the Turks had conquered Constantinople and were advancing into the Balkans. In 1459, then, Calixtus III called all Christian nations to a crusade against the Muslim invaders. According to the chronicle, Philip the Good, who reigned over Mechelen and the Burgundian territories at the time, was appointed *capiteyn* over the crusader forces, but had to back out of the campaign because he feared that the French, with whom he had been at war for some time, would take advantage of his absence to conquer some of his lands. He then sent his bastard son Anthony to take over command, but when the latter arrived in Venice, it turned out that he was not held in high enough esteem to command so large a force of Christian troops. Due to this disrespect to Anthony and general lack of money, the crusade was cancelled, and the troops returned home, as the chronicle states, in poverty and shame. Although this narrative does not entirely follow the actual course of history, it does show that the interest of the chronicler remains in religious spheres. After having recounted the jubilee, he moves on to the crusades and the defence of faith. Of course, this is no great surprise, since the subsequent popes' benevolence to large-scale indulgences can partly be explained by their financial needs in the war against the Turks.[27]

In the 1460s, the focus shifts to the political. Much attention is paid to the subsequent revolts of the city of Liège against its prince-bishop. Philip the Good is followed as he rights the wrongs, not only on three subsequent occasions in Liège, but also in the city of Dinant, which he burnt to the ground in 1466.[28] This narrative is continued into the reign of Charles the Bold (1467 onwards, after the death of Philip the Good). According to the chronicle, he pillaged several minor cities in the lands of Liège. The focus on Liège is neatly tied to the next narrative by a seemingly unimportant detail. When Charles victoriously enters the city of Liège in 1468, he finds *brieven van muijterije* (letters of mutiny), which tie the French king to the Liège rebellion. This allows for the introduction of Charles' campaign against French cities, both in the north and in the Lorraine region, where he died during the siege of Nancy in 1477.

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24 Van Uytven 1991, 76. Compare very recently Caers & Verhoeven 2016.
25 Note that the tower of Saint Rumbold's, even now dominant over Mechelen's skyline, was for the greater part financed with the revenue of the subsequent jubilees.
26 Mechelen, Stadsarchief, ms EE VI 1, 63v. Translation: To this grace came many people of various nations, but not so many as before.
27 A large part of the revenue of these huge indulgence events flowed straight to the Holy See. See Caspers 2006.
28 Remarkably, the chronicle does not mention that this campaign in fact was led by Charles the Bold, who would replace his father as duke of Burgundy in 1467. For an introduction to the Burgundian quarrels with Liège, see Lejeune 1977-1983, vol. IV, 247-70, notably 264 onwards.

Of course, these narratives are at some points interrupted by minor events that show other interests. These include events related closely to urban life, but are mostly religious or political.[29] The question is now whether a similar pattern of interest can be detected in the continuation (1477-1510).

As far as politics go, there seems to be no interruption between the two parts. The continuator meticulously describes the problematic succession of Charles the Bold, when the Burgundian Empire stood under great duress under the reign of his daughter Mary. Only a few years after having married Maximilian of Austria, she died in a horseback riding accident in 1482. The main character in the narrative then becomes Maximilian, both in his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor (1486), as in his campaigns to return peace and stability to the Burgundian territories. Remarkable in this part of the continuation is the emphasis on Mechelen's loyalty to its ruler. When Flemish cities such as Ghent and Bruges revolted against the duke in the 1480s, the continuator notes that Brussels and Louvain joined the rebellion, while Antwerp, Lier and Mechelen remained loyal to Maximilian.[30] The relations with the Brabantine cities are mentioned again in 1507, when the continuator proudly states that Mechelen was the first city to send help to the Brabantine city of Tienen, which was under siege by Guelders. This perspective of loyalty to the city's rulers is in fact continuously present, not only in the political narrative of the Burgundian-Habsburg lineage, but also in other narratives. Compared to the basic chronicle text up to 1477, the continuation devotes considerable attention to the activities of the Burgundian dukes within Mechelen. The continuator exploits the opportunity to describe the lush ornaments and decorations erected when the city of Mechelen paid homage to new dukes. The same goes for the funeral of Philip the Fair in 1507, which seems to have been described for its splendour rather than for its sombreness. The only religious event is a sort of urban festival organised on the occasion of the opening of Saint Rumbold's reliquary in 1479. The continuation describes how the relics were shown to throngs of pilgrims, and how the wounds in Rumbold's skull could still be seen.

Another notable difference between the continuation and the basic text is a peculiar insistence on natural disasters and similar events. In 1489, Mechelen suffered a plague epidemic, which, according to the chronicle, killed twenty thousand people. This was followed shortly after by a smallpox epidemic in 1493, which allegedly had been brought along by crusaders returning from Milan. 1497 and 1498 are noted for their fires, first in the Franciscan convent, and then in the tower of Saint Rumbold's church, which caused the church bells to melt. Other events include harsh winters (1490, 1503), an earthquake (1504) and a comet (1506).

The break in usage of themes between the basic chronicle text and the continuation is significant enough to support the hypothesis that the two were written by different authors. While the earlier part focuses on great political and religious narratives,

29 Urban life: shooting tournaments. Religious: children's crusade, miracles by Saint Gummarus, consecration of the new bishop of Tournai. Political: Great meeting of all vassals of the German Emperor in Trier and troubles along the French border.
30 Possibly, this continuous stress on loyalty was a way to reinstate Mechelen as the ideal capital of Burgundy. After the death of Charles the Bold, the Burgundian institutions left Mechelen, only to return in 1504.

the later part provides a series of unrelated events against the backdrop of the Burgundian lineage and its actions within Mechelen, and – with Mechelen's support – abroad. What remains to be seen is whether it is indeed the scribe who is to be held responsible for the continuation, or an independent author whose text was copied by the scribe.

As previously mentioned, the scribe added numerous notes, sometimes in the margins or between the lines, and occasionally on added scraps of paper. To determine whether the scribe was indeed the continuator, I compared the themes of these added notes with those in the continuation. A first clue is the number and chronological dispersion of the extra notes throughout the chronicle text. It is remarkable that the scribe, while having copied the entire text up to 1477, seems to have added most of his extra notes nearing the end of the chronicle text and in the continuation. With only one exception, all notes are clustered in the period from 1475 onwards. Although it could be argued that the scribe chose to alter only recent history, I believe the clustering of his notes also testifies to his involvement in the creative process of producing a continuation.[31] The fact that most of them surround the continuation points toward the fact that the scribe took over the main chronicle text from an existing exemplar, but was the creative author of the continuation.

From a thematic point of view, the added notes (17 in total) show three distinct patterns: an urban focus (7), a focus on the Burgundian dukes (7), and regular mentions of natural disasters (3). The urban focus appears in notes about the urban associations within Mechelen, such as the *buyldraegers* (transport guild), the *wevers* (weavers) and the *scutters* (shooting guilds). The first are shown in a negative light, when they protested against the decision of the *schout* to let Brabantine merchants pass without tolls at the Heffen toll chain. The *buyldraeger* rebels chased out the culprit and pillaged his house. Charles the Bold was furious, but spared the city after having exiled the heads of the guild.[32] The weavers, then, are mentioned in 1491, when they experienced difficulty exercising their trade due to the harsh winter. The shooting guilds are favourably described in their efforts at the siege of Neuss (1474-1475).[33] Other distinctly urban notes include taxes on beer and wine (1474), the new double-headed eagle on the Parliament building (1477), a fire near the gunpowder depot in the Zandpoort, miraculously ending without casualties (1485), and the wine from Leuven which was of such high quality in 1504 that it was sold to the highest bidder on Mechelen's great market square.[34] A more extensive addition seems to have been copied from the city accounts: it lists acquisitions of public buildings by the city, construction works, and

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31 The exception is a cryptic poem, possibly describing the first continuator, added on a loose piece of paper between f. 59v and 60r (round about the events dating from the 1430s). It was probably put in at random, since it does not have any relation with the chronicle content.

32 The fact that this uprising is mentioned at all, is not without significance. See Caers 2014b.

33 Charles the Bold went to war in the aid of Ruprecht von der Pfalz, who had trouble firmly vesting his authority in his bishopric. The siege of Neuss held an important place in the later historiography and urban identity of Mechelen, since the Mechelen troops, and notably the shooting guilds, played an exemplary role in the conflict. This memorial culture is discussed extensively in Caers 2013.

34 The reference to the incident near the gunpowder depot may or may not imply that the scribe was still alive in 1546, when a stroke of lightning caused the Zandpoort to explode, destroying a third of the city. Possibly, this note was included as a type of foreshadowing of the events of 1546.

financial rewards obtained from the duke for (military) services offered. Also, it notes that the Mechelen merchants were to be allowed to trade toll-free in all of the Burgundian lands, except the Flemish port of Grevelingen (Gravelines).

Trivial and unrelated as these additions are, they show a pattern that is very much urban, and they imply that the scribe had access to the city records. There are also notes that pertain more to the political sphere. These deal mostly with births or deaths in the ducal family (1476, 1478, 1479, 1506), or with homage rituals (1476, 1507). In fact, the only religious note might also fit in with this pattern, since it provides a further description of the opening of Saint Rumbold's reliquary in 1479 and states that this ritual took place in the presence of both Mary of Burgundy and Margaret of York. A final note to be mentioned aligns with the previously described insistence on natural disasters: in 1505, there was such a wild and unexpected growth of cornflowers around Mechelen that they had to be rooted out and processed into hay.

Looking at the dominant themes in the continuation, and the patterns in the additions, there seems to be enough evidence to argue that the scribe can indeed be identified as the continuator. Both share an interest in urban events and show a distinct loyalty towards the Burgundian-Habsburg rulers. The interest in natural disasters, while less pronounced in the scribal additions, may be a shared aspect as well. Also, there is the fact that most, if not all of the additions are clustered in the period from 1475 onwards, more or less around the end of the basic chronicle text (1477). What remains puzzling, however, is the fact that the continuation as well as the basic chronicle text show an abundance of scribal abbreviations. First, I assumed that this shows that the scribe copied the chronicle text rather quickly. Along this line of thought, the continuation could also be said to have been copied from an exemplar. However, in the added notes as well as the integral folios, the scribe shows an inclination to use many abbreviations; we may conclude that he was using no more and no fewer than usual. Possibly, the quick hand only means that it was the scribe's intention to copy this text into a neat version when his continuation was finished. Alternatively, it could imply that he intended this copy for his own use, or that he was used to writing in short style owing to his daily activities, possibly in an administrative function. However, all interpretations must remain hypothetical.

Although the conclusions remain uncertain without a more quantitative (stylometric?) analysis of the basic chronicle text, the continuation and the additions, the above thematic analysis supports two hypotheses: first, it shows that the continuation was not written by the same author as the basic chronicle text. Second, it adds a considerable textual basis to the assumption that the scribe may indeed be identified with the continuator.

Layered structure of EE VI 1 – Gerardus Bernaerts

The third layer of alteration, added by Gerardus Bernaerts, is easy to separate from the initial text. Gerardus' hand differs significantly from that of the first continuator, and the colour of ink he used is slightly lighter as well. Also, the first continuator entered

most additions on separate scraps of paper, whereas Gerardus actively noted additions between the lines and in the margins as well. He gives his name in an ownership mark in the parchment cover of the manuscript: *Gerardus bernaert presbyter, capellaen van S. Jans binnen Mechelen*. Apart from the information given here, I have been unable to gather much more knowledge about his life and context. His wide array of sources, both in Latin and in the vernacular, proves that he must have been well-educated. It is probably no far stretch to identify him with the mention of a *Gerardus Bernardus Mechliniensis*, who enrolled in Louvain University in 1558 and graduated as *magister artium* in 1561.[35] Less evident are the mentions of members of the Bernaerts family in Mechelen sources. A tax list of 1544 shows that many members of the Bernaerts family were active in the butcher's guild, and in the second half of the sixteenth century, a Jan Bernaerts sat on the city magistrate on several occasions.[36] Whether or not we should see Gerardus among these circles is difficult to determine.[37] In the face of this lack of archival data, we will have to form our image of Gerardus Bernaerts through his contributions to the EE VI manuscript alone.[38]

Because of the sheer number of Bernaerts' additions, it is not possible within this essay to discuss them all at length. Instead, I have singled out examples of additions and alterations for discussion. Bernaerts contributed to the genesis of MS EE VI 1 in three ways: by adding, altering and deleting. Within the additions, I separate those in the back of the manuscript from those within the existing text. In what follows, I draw some examples to the fore which will provide the reader with a good idea of how exactly Gerardus Bernaerts went about drastically changing the basic chronicle text.[39]

While the scribal additions show that the scribe's primary goal was to *continue* the chronicle text, Bernaerts' additions in the back of the manuscript seem not to be the makings of a second continuation. It would appear that Bernaerts simply used the empty space to note down quotes from various sources in print and manuscript. Although there is no obvious intention to produce a continuous narrative, there are some themes that return throughout the additions. Bernaerts seems to be interested in the lineage of the Burgundian-Habsburg rulers, and presents this against the backdrop of the religious troubles of the sixteenth century. On several occasions, Bernaerts provides brief descriptions of Protestants being incarcerated or burnt for their faith. A case in which both focuses align is that of the Danish king Christian II, who in

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35 Wils, Reusens & Schillings 1903-1967, vol. IV, 575. The archives of Saint John's parish also hold a document which mentions Gerardus as collector of the parish income. The document is unfortunately undated: Mechelen, Archives of the Archbishopric, Varia Sint-Jans. Reusens 1867, vol. IV, 232-54. Mention of Gerardus Bernaerts on 244.
36 Marnef 1987, 130, 312, and 353. This *Jan* is not to be mistaken with another *Jan Bernaerts* of Mechelen (1568-1601), historian and theologian, at some point active in the Burgundian Great Council. See *Biographie nationale* 1866-1985, vol. I, 274.
37 Another clue may be the two descendants of the Bernaerts family (Jan and Gielis) living within the parish of Saint John's (where Gerardus Bernaerts had his chaplaincy) in 1544. The streets where the butchers lived (*Eerste* and *Tweede Vleeschhouwerstraet*) fell under Saint Rumbold's parish. However, I am not aware whether it was common to hold a chaplaincy in one's own parish.
38 I have found no record of Bernaerts' death, while these have been preserved for all parishes *intra muros* from 1519 onwards. This may imply that Bernaerts died during the Calvinist rule of Mechelen (1580-1585), when the records were briefly interrupted. Also, the final year that is mentioned anywhere in his own hand is 1580. Of course, it remains possible that Bernaerts did not die in Mechelen.
39 A more extensive discussion of his alterations is in press: Caers 2017.

the 1520s was in exile in the Netherlands and resided mostly in the city of Lier, near Mechelen.[40] In 1514, Christian had married Isabella of Habsburg, daughter of Maximilian of Austria, who plays a prominent role in the scribal continuation. Christian, as it turns out, sympathised with Protestantism, and maintained a Protestant retinue. It is known that Margaret of Austria, who governed the Netherlands for Charles V in these times, was greatly disturbed by Christian's openly-practiced Protestant faith.[41] Even members of his retinue made no secret of their refutation of Catholicism. Hans Michelsen, for example, had ordered the Antwerp print of a Danish translation of the New Testament, and Willem van Zwolle had been seen singing Protestant songs and preaching against Catholicism.[42] Four members of Christian's retinue were arrested, but released shortly thereafter, upon the plea of Christian II. But when Willem van Zwolle was confronted with theologians from Louvain, his answers to their questions were found heretical, and Willem was led before the Great Council of Mechelen in 1529, convicted and sentenced to be burnt at the stake.[43]

Directly following the scribal continuation, Gerardus Bernaerts briefly mentions this event. After noting that Willem was a heretic who engaged in debate with *alle geleerden vant lande*, he states that Willem, just before being burnt, spoke the words *Arbeyt is soons weert*, possibly echoing one of his songs.[44] The theme of religious strife returns throughout the fragmentary 'continuation' of Gerardus Bernaerts. There are loose facts such as the execution of two brothers in the presence of their mother (f. 75), four Protestants who broke out of prison with the help of their wives (f. 77v), and intriguing mentions of miracles performed by Luther and Calvin (f. 78★1v).[45] These are followed by careful source references to Laurentius Surius' *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum ab anno salutis 1500 usque in annum 1567*, published in Cologne in 1567. Bernaerts' short references to supposed miracles turn out to be, in Surius' text, substantial refutations of their Protestant ideas and alleged miracles.[46] In fact, f. 78★1v,

40 Van der Haeghen et al. 1890, 633-638. Residence in Lier on 634. See also Cramer & Pijper 1911, vol. VIII, 141-176. The question is also briefly touched by IJssel de Schepper 1870, 182-184.

41 Christian welcomed Protestant preachers at his court and attended Protestant preachings in Antwerp. Cramer & Pijper 1911, 142. A letter of Margeret to Charles V of 7 July 1528 concerning this topic has been preserved and is quoted in Van der Haeghen 1890, 635. Another letter by Margaret, to Christian, is cited in IJssel de Schepper 1870, 183.

42 Most extensive on both is Cramer & Pijper 1911, 142-143. Michelsen (also Mikkelsen, Michielsen), was exchequer at the court of Christian, whereas Willem held the largely ceremonial function of quartermaster.

43 Cramer & Pijper 1911, 142-147.

44 MS EE VI 1, f. 75v. Transl. 'all the country's scholars' and 'labour is the son's virtue'. If we interpret *arbeyt* as the pain endured in torture (Verdam 1981, 43), there might be an echo of these last words in one of Willem's songs. He states there 'Kleiner straff sind sie nicht werd' about the Louvain doctors. This song was printed by protestant Johannes Bugenhagen in Wittenberg in 1530, along with the questions of the Louvain theologians and the answers formulated by Willem. This pamphlet seems not to have been the source used by Gerardus Bernaerts. A complete edition with scholarly introduction can be found in Cramer & Pijper 1911, 141-176.

45 The asterisk ★ is used to refer to added scraps of paper, bound into the manuscripts or unbound and added between folios.

46 This *Commentarius* is a continuation of earlier work by Nauclerus. After a brief flirt with Lutheranism, Surius became a militant supporter of the catholic faith. Most of his life in the Cologne Carthusian convent was devoted to the translation of religious texts such as Ruusbroec and Tauler. A brief discussion of Surius in Vacant & Mangenot 1939, vol. XIV, 2842-2850. Most extensive, however, is a doctoral dissertation by Chaix 1981. On Surius' *Commentarius* notably vol. I, 365-73. It mentions two prints of the *Commentarius* in Louvain (1566, 1567). Possibly Bernaerts used one of these, since the two Cologne prints I reviewed (1567 and 1569) do not correspond
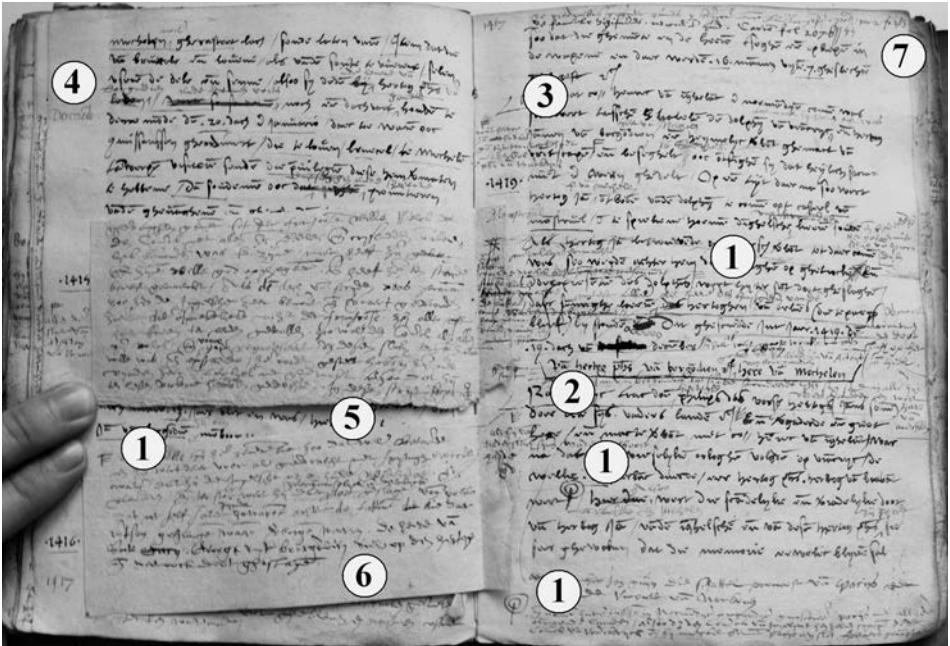
Fig. 1   Mechelen, Stadsarchief, MS EE VI 1, f. 55v–56r.

which is an extra piece of paper bound between folios 78 and 79, seems to have func-
tioned as a type of notepad during Bernaerts' reading of Surius; all references are to
the *Commentarius brevis*, which is simply called 'Surius', along with folio numbers and
chapter titles.

While Bernaerts seems to have used the blank space at the end of EE VI 1 simply to
collect notes that could be interesting for the chronicle, he shows an entirely different
attitude *within* the main text body of the chronicle. Here, he emerges as a reworker,
remolding the existing chronicle by adding, altering and deleting passages. In a way,
he appropriated the text by altering it, such that it became his own. Any random fo-
lio will amply demonstrate Bernaerts' methods of alteration, but the example of fo-
lios 55v and 56r shows several aspects of Bernaerts' working method in a single place.
Here he noted extra passages in the margins and referred back to the point in the text
where they should be added by using corresponding symbols (1). When two passages
were too far apart, he connected them with a thin line (2). We see not only marginal,
but also interlinear additions (3), and while he does not often delete passages, we do
see some traces of this here (4). Notable are the bound-in scraps of paper with extra
notes (5), which on some occasions were expanded later (6). Here also, Bernaerts re-
ferred to works mentioned in his bibliography (7).

with the folio numbers provided by Bernaerts. The fact that some versions of the *Commentarius* were printed along
with their anteceding chronicle by Nauclerus, might explain the different folio numbers. Perhaps Bernaerts used
a complete edition of both texts.

It is time to return to the methodological approach introduced in the beginning of this essay. I argued that for manuscripts showing a complex formation process with different layers of expansion and alteration, the principles of the *critique génétique* might prove useful. As mentioned before, Astrid Houthuys has combined the insights of modern genetic criticism into a model that is more suitable for the study of medieval manuscripts.[47] While her model does not cover all issues with EE VI 1, being a manuscript by several 'authors', it does provide some useful concepts. The 'scribe', to whom we can now more suitably refer as the continuator, seems to be in what Houthuys calls the 'sketching phase'. His continuation shows many of the signs associated with this phase: reasonably tidily written, but often with added passages on separate scraps of paper. Gerardus Bernaerts, on the other hand, has added text material, which can be categorised in different phases. The 'continuation' in his hand is very much an example of the author in his 'gathering phase'. Bernaerts browsed various works of science and literature, and copied material that could be useful for his project. In the main text body then, his contributions align more with what Houthuys calls the 'raw text phase'. He orders items according to a certain logic (chronology). When he alters and deletes passages written by the original compiler or the scribe, he is in the 'rework phase': although the material is not his, he appropriates it by leaving his traces on every line. In this way, the Mechelen chronicle manuscript EE VI 1 provides a valuable example of authors-at-work in different stages of the writing process. It may also show us a great deal about various types of authorship. While the first continuator has left most of the basic chronicle text untarnished and restricted himself to writing a continuation, Gerardus Bernaerts went further, meddling with the existing text to such an extent that a fair copy of his reworked chronicle version could hardly be called the same *text* as the one he started off with. We see three distinctly different authors at work: the initial author of the *A* text could be called a 'commentator', compiling text from various sources and expanding upon this material; a continuator who was mainly focused on continuing the existing text; and a reworker who wanted to appropriate the entire text and provide a final result which would have been strikingly different from the starting text.

Postscript

The article printed here is an extensive version of a lecture presented at a conference in 2010. My research into the Mechelen urban historiography has continued over the years, and some of the insights in this article can be nuanced or expanded five years later. The main addition to be made here is that I have formulated a hypothesis as to the identity of both the initial author(s) of the *A* chronicle and of the scribe/continuator of Mechelen, Stadsarchief, MS EE VI 1. In my doctoral thesis, I argue that the chronicle

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47   Houthuys 2009, 59-62. A similar typology of autograph phases, although specifically designed for modern literature, in De Biasi 1998, 31-60, typology on 36. For the convenience of the reader, I translated her terms for the auctorial phases: *kladfase* (sketching phase), *ruwbouwfase* (raw text phase), *vergaarfase* (gathering phase), and *herwerkingsfase* (rework phase).

was written by a Jan de Wilde, and that the manuscript was initiated (and the chronicle continued) by a Jan van Hanswijck († 1565?), who was in charge of taxing wine for the city of Mechelen in the first half of the sixteenth century. For further reading on the case presented here, see Caers 2014a.

Summary

As a rule, chronicles are never finished. Chronicle texts were continued, expanded and altered, and are in this way the very essence of text variation. Chroniclers could and did mould existing text material, altering historical narratives to better fit into their present needs and those of their intended audience(s). The chronicle material from Mechelen is no exception to this rule. This paper focuses on a sixteenth-century manuscript in which a fifteenth-century chronicle text, the 'Cronike van die scone ende heerlijke stadt van Mechelen', has been continued and heavily altered by two contributors. The manuscript seems to have functioned for both as a type of 'work in progress', and is the autograph of their alterations and additions. The aim of this essay is to disentangle the complex text formation process within this manuscript. Doing so provides an improved insight into early modern authorship.

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The Scribe as Partisan
Local Markers in Regional Chronicles

Antheun Janse

Once upon a time, the study of medieval historiography was clear and simple. There were authors writing texts on the one hand, and there were manuscripts in which these texts had been preserved on the other. In the eyes of most scholars, manuscripts were only physical bodies in which the immortal soul of the author and his text were kept. These days have long passed. It has now become commonplace in medieval studies to consider medieval texts as dynamic entities: no bronze statues, but living organisms that can grow, shrink and change color.

This seems to hold particularly true for historiographical texts. In general, chronicles tend to change because history is a continuing story. Medieval scribes often took the liberty of continuing their source-text with an account of events that were still in the future when the author of the example-text had been writing. History also changes because it is a never-ending discussion. Research will increase our knowledge, and new insights and ideals will change our views on the past. Some medieval scribes, therefore, did not hesitate to modify the texts they were copying by inserting their own stories and opinions. Sometimes they even adapted the main message of their example-text when political circumstances or the intended readership had changed. In this respect, they did not fundamentally differ from the authors themselves. Autograph manuscripts as well as later copies demonstrate that some authors kept editing, rewriting and revising their own works. The fourteenth-century chronicler from Hainault, Jean Froissart, provides the best-known example. The textual tradition of his main work, the *Chroniques* (Chronicles), includes several manuscripts that present different versions of the text, for which the author himself is responsible.[1]

In modern editions, both the author's revisions and the scribal changes are now receiving more attention than they have in the past.[2] In the case of Froissart's *Chroniques*, the nineteenth-century editions of the 'standard text' are now being replaced by editions of all the major manuscripts; together, they represent successive stages of the text and thereby offer insight in the advancing knowledge and changing views of the author as well as in the reception by later readers. Thanks to the opportunities offered by the internet, it is much easier and cheaper now to publish different manuscripts in integral, synoptic editions. *The online Froissart* can serve as a perfect example to show

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1 See for example Diller 1970.
2 This is also true for texts that have only survived in one manuscript, see for example Brown & Harrison 2007. They made the archeology of the manuscript's development the basis for their edition, which they call a 'stratigraphic edition'. Brown & Harrison 2007, 29.

these new possibilities.[3] A smaller-scaled but still admirable example from the Low Countries is the edition of the so-called *Rhyme Chronicle of Holland* by Jan Burgers, which combines a printed synoptic text edition with a website presenting pictures and transcriptions of all manuscripts and fragments.[4]

This focus on manuscripts and textual transformations of chronicles has proven to be fruitful in many respects.[5] Burgers, for example, was able to interpret the production of a new version of Melis Stoke's *Rhyme Chronicle of Holland* as a result of the author's deliberate attempt to adapt his text to a new political reality.[6] A similar political adjustment has already been shown with respect to several versions of Froissart's *Chroniques*.[7] Froissart seems to have personally supervised the distribution of his texts, which were copied for a particular target audience and sometimes carefully 'personalized'.[8] Authors in general were eager to meet the expectations of their intended readers both when writing the primary text, and when preparing copies for a specific secondary audience. In a next stage, scribes adopted a similar practice when copying texts for later users or for themselves. They left their marks not only in their handwriting and, incidentally, in a colophon, but also in textual alterations and additions. These – mostly minor and usually neglected – adaptations are important indicators, which can be helpful in establishing the reception and dissemination of a text. Besides the traditionally well-studied data on early ownership and codicological and palaeographical details betraying the manuscript's provenance, textual variation too can shed light on the (re)use and function of historiographical texts. Even slight adaptations and minor additions could reveal the interesting story of an old text attaining new readers.

In this article, I present an example of this process by discussing the textual tradition of the so-called *Goudse kroniekje* (*'Little' Gouda Chronicle*), a fifteenth-century chronicle of Holland, printed in 1478 by Gerard Leeu in the town of Gouda in Holland, and subsequently reprinted in Leiden and Delft in the 1480s.[9] I argue that the study of the manuscripts related to this printed text will reveal not only the liveliness of the regional chronicle in Holland, but also its local embeddedness.

The name *Goudse kroniekje*, which our chronicle received only in the seventeenth century, is a misleading one.[10] The text should be regarded as a chronicle of the county of Holland, and definitely not as a town chronicle of Gouda. In fact, the town of Gouda does not play a remarkable role in its contents. As the prologue explicitly states,

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3 Website: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/index.jsp. The last paper edition to my knowledge: Ainsworth 2007. See also Ainsworth 2006 and Ainsworth 2008.

4 Burgers 2004; website: http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Rijmkroniek (accessed August 1, 2011).

5 For a summary on this development in the field of Middle Dutch literature, see Van Anrooij 2005.

6 Burgers 1999.

7 Diller 1972; Diller 1981.

8 Croenen 2009.

9 *Chronike of Historie van Hollant, van Zeelant ende Vriesland ende van den sticht van Utrecht*, see *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC), http://istc.bl.uk, nrs ic00484800 (Gouda, Gerard Leeu, 30 Sept. 1478); ic00484810 (Leiden, [Heynricus Heynrici], 9 July 1483); ic00484820 (Delft, Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer, between 14 Feb. 1483 and 25 Mar. 1486). On Gerard Leeu as a printer, see Heijting 1999; Klein 2003.

10 *Het oude Goutsche chronycxken van Hollandt, Zeelandt, Vrieslandt en Utrecht door de heer Petrus Scriverius, op nieus oversien en verbetert als mede met een byvoeghsel en toet-steen vermeerdert met der graven afbeeldinge in 't kooper verciert.* Amsterdam, 1663.

the chronicle aims at telling the story of Holland, explaining how the county was first discovered and inhabited, and how the founders of the first towns gave them their names.[11] It presents stories about the origins of several towns, including Leiden, Haarlem, and Delft, but the text remains silent on the origins of Gouda. In the chronicle as a whole, Gouda is mentioned only twice.

Yet, Gouda is more important in the chronicle than has been assumed. The text printed by Leeu must have been based on a manuscript written in the town of Gouda. This fact becomes apparent only when one takes into consideration the rich and complicated textual tradition of the chronicle. In fact, the printed edition of 1478 represents a final stage of a text that had already had a very lively history during the preceding decades. In these years, several authors and scribes had added to the 'original' chronicle, which must have been written somewhere in the 1430s or 1440s. Moreover, some manuscripts represent a 'local' version in the sense that minor variants reveal a certain local interest and knowledge. This means that, although the chronicle was written by an anonymous author for an equally anonymous audience, the textual tradition enables us to say much more on the use and function of the chronicle than a mere analysis of the 'standard text' would have made possible.

At first glance, the *Gouda Chronicle* is a rather unimpressive text. It is relatively brief: only 40.000 words, not even a quarter of the *Alder excellentste cronyke van Brabant* printed in Antwerp in 1498.[12] Moreover, most information is commonplace and well known from other sources, or mythical and clearly based on historical misunderstandings. The author asserts himself in a few paragraphs, but, unfortunately, these passages lack any consistency. The author's profile, thus, remains very unclear. Paradoxically, in recent decades scholars have appreciated only those paragraphs that were most unreliable from a traditional historical point of view. When the chronicle is mentioned in recent scholarship, it is almost exclusively in the context of myths of origin and of fantastic stories about the distant past.[13]

However, reading the *Gouda Chronicle* from a textual tradition suddenly reveals a rich source of historical culture in the urban society of Holland during the fifteenth century. There are three incunabula and sixteen manuscripts extant today, dating from between 1463 and 1597 (see Table 1). The relationships between these manuscripts, however, suggest that in the second half of the fifteenth century, there must have been dozens more in circulation. Only a small proportion has survived. Apart from the four manuscripts that were copied directly – and slavishly – from the printed version, the other manuscripts contain numerous major and minor differences, revealing a lively interaction of scribe and text. These differences help us to reconstruct the development of the text, which appears to have grown in several phases. Furthermore, it enables us to say something about the scribes and their relation to the text.

11 'In welke hystorie bescreven is hoe die landen eerst begrepen ende bewoent worden, ende wie si waren die die steden eerst begrepen ende betymmerden ende hoe elc stede eerst hoer name ghecreghen heeft ende hoe dat lant beheert wort …', *Chronike*, f. a2r.

12 See on this text Tigelaar 2006; Tigelaar 2010.

13 See e.g. Tilmans 1989; Bejczy 1992; Keesman 2007; Levelt 2011, 51-58. In his note 181 on page 56 Levelt suggests that the author expressed some doubts 'as to the reliability of sources', but the passage he refers to is clearly and literally borrowed from Melis Stoke's *Rhyme Chronicle*.

Table 1 The manuscripts of the so-called *Goudse kroniekje* (*Gouda Chronicle*)

Siglum	Manuscript	Date	Origin (when known)
A	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 136d	1463	Haarlem
B	Dordrecht, Erfgoedcentrum DiEP, Stadsarchieven, Grafelijke tijd, MS inv. 652	c. 1464	Dordrecht
C	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1179	1467	Haamstede
D	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 71 J 41	c. 1460-1480	
E	The Hague, Museum Meermanno, MS 10 E 10	c. 1540	
F	Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, MS R.88	c. 1475	
G	Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1564	c. 1475	
H	Leeuwarden, Tresoar, MS PBF hs. 466	c. 1600	[copy of a 15th-C. manuscript, which was preserved in Rotterdam]
I	Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1563	c. 1475 / c. 1490	
K	Utrecht, UB, MS 1180	1483	Haarlem
L	London, British Library, MS Cotton Vesp. D.IX	c. 1490	
M	The Hague, KB, MS 75 H 34	early 16th C.	copy of print
N	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS Cod. 588	early 16th C.	copy of print
O	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 6075	early 16th C.	copy of print
P	Leiden, UB, MS Periz. Qu. 44	1597	copy of print
W	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Guelf. 114.2, f. 199r-207r (only second continuation)	c. 1480	Noordwijk?

In an analysis of the sixteen manuscripts in which (a part of) the text has been pre-served, a few major developments stand out clearly. First, the chronological window has changed over time. Whereas the three prints and three of the manuscripts (I, K, L)[14] start with the destruction of Troy and end their story with Mary of Burgundy's marriage to Maximilian of Austria in 1477, four manuscripts cover the Burgundian period only to the siege of Deventer in 1456 (D, F, G, H), while four others expire already with the death of Jacqueline of Bavaria in 1436 (A, B, C, E). It is easy to ex-plain these differences. Originally, there must have been a short chronicle written

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14 Not counting the manuscripts M, N, O and P, which are copied straight from the printed edition.

shortly after Jacqueline of Bavaria's reign (say, around 1440). In 1456, a scribe decided to continue the story up to his own times. This addition was copied in some manuscripts. Shortly after Charles the Bold's death in 1477, a second continuation was added which covered the period between 1456 and 1477.[15] This was the text published by Leeu in 1478.

As I have argued elsewhere, the description of Holland's history before the coming of the first count Dirk in the ninth century was not part of the original chronicle either.[16] Although the early history from the fall of Troy to the first count is included in (almost) all manuscripts and prints, there must have been an original text that lacked this story. This is suggested by some manuscripts that have traces of a prologue, which apparently was part of a shorter text. This basic text was in fact a short history of the counts of Holland, from Dirk I to the advent of the Burgundians in the 1430s.

This means that the text printed by Gerard Leeu in 1478 was the result of at least three successive additions: a.) the addition of a previous history before the reign of the first count, transforming a dynastic history into a history of a territory; b.) a first continuation covering the years 1436 to 1456; c.) a second continuation describing the years 1456-1477 (see table 2 below). There is no evidence that these additions were carried out by one and the same author. In fact, clear difference in style and focus confirm that the stages III and IV were not written by the main author, who was responsible for stage II (and I?).

Table 2 The chronicle with its prologue and continuations

I	II		III	IV
Destruction of Troy	Dirk I, Count of Holland (9th C.)	– Jacqueline of Bavaria's death (1436)	– Siege of Deventer (1456)	– Maximilian of Austria (1477)
Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d				
Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1564				
Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1563				
Print by Gerard Leeu, Gouda 1478				

Apart from the variation caused by dissimilar chronological windows, other differences between manuscripts arose when authors or editors decided to tell the same story in different words. An important intervention, in this respect, was the incorporation of parts of the early fourteenth-century *Rhyme Chronicle of Holland* by Melis Stoke, the edition of which I mentioned above. In four manuscripts of the *Gouda Chronicle* (G, H, I and L) the comital history from the eleventh to the early fourteenth century has been elaborated by the insertion of *Rhyme Chronicle*-fragments, transformed in prose.

15 Also copied separately as a continuation of an extended *Nederlandse Beke* manuscript, see manuscript W in Table 1.
16 Janse 2001, 142-147.

Presumably, a single author/editor, working independently from each of the continuators, executed these changes. A similar but less conspicuous editing phase can be discerned in some manuscripts (B, D, F) that basically reproduced the 'original' text, but only in a slightly different form. Several stories were abridged, others extended and elaborated with additional details, whereas many other passages were only rephrased without adding or deleting information.

Given the endemic party struggles in the history of Holland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not surprising that these adaptations can be explained as the result of competing political views. From the middle of the fourteenth century, political society in Holland was dominated by the struggle between the Hooks (*Hoeken*) and the Cod (*Kabeljauwen*). These two parties, consisting of both noblemen and urban population, were formed around 1350 to favour one of the two competing claimants for the comital power in Holland. From that time onwards, party strife broke out regularly, particularly in times of succession, when comital power was weak. During periods of relative peace, however, the networks of both parties kept determining the political dynamics. From the 1350s until the last decades of the fifteenth century, almost all political conflicts could be – and actually were! – regarded as manifestations of the Hooks–Cod antagonism.[17]

It is clear that some passages of the earliest version of the *Gouda Chronicle* warmly support the Hookish party. The story about the origin of the parties is, at least, told from a partisan point of view. It relates that Countess Margareth, who was married to the German Emperor Louis of Bavaria and had ruled the country wisely (i.e. together with the Hooks) for some years, decided to delegate her power to her son, on the condition that William should pay her a large amount of money. If he did not pay, he would return his authority to his mother. Although William could not pay, or, at least, refused to do so, the Cod party nevertheless decided to accept him as their lord, no matter how illegal this was. They promised to help him, even with violence, if necessary. When the Hooks complained about this *coup d'état* to Margareth, she tried to reel her son back to obedience. William, however, did not listen to her. What followed was a fierce and bloody battle, which was won, ultimately, by William and the Cod party.[18]

This brief account, which emphasizes the illegal character of William's power, certainly represents the Hookish point of view. Remarkably enough, neither editors nor scribes felt the need to change this. Not a single manuscript contains a more Cod view on this episode in the history of Holland. The Hookish version is maintained in all manuscripts and printed versions. This is surprising, particularly when one realises that the Cod party had the upper hand during the Burgundian period. This means either that all editors and scribes were hardened members of the Hook party, or that they were not bothered by the partisanship in the chronicle and simply adhered to its text. The first option is the least plausible. In fact, it seems highly unlikely that manuscripts of the *Gouda Chronicle* circulated only among Hooks. Moreover, the 'Hookish

17   In general: Blockmans 2006, 67-68; for a study of the party networks in the last decades of the 15th century, see Ter Braake 2009.
18   Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 136d, f. 57r–59r. The source for this passage was even more Hookish, see The Hague, Museum Meermanno, MS 10 D 37, f. 14r–v.

text' was printed by Leeu, a commercial publisher who could not afford to take the risk of printing a text that would only attract partisan purchasers. We have, therefore, to conclude that the chronicle's partisanship – not to remain unnoticed by attentive readers – did not encourage scribes to intervene and produce a text purged of Hookish views.

This does not mean, however, that the textual tradition is altogether void of any intervention made for political reasons. Interpreting these interventions, though, is a tough job. The story of countess Ada could serve as an example of the difficulties one meets in this respect. Ada was the only daughter of Count Dirk VII, who died in 1203. In fifteenth-century Holland her story had a clear political relevance, first of all because Ada was seen as a kind of prefiguration of Jacqueline of Bavaria, the only child of William VI, who died in 1417. If Ada were accepted as a lawful successor to her father, this would corroborate the legality of female inheritance in general and of Jacqueline's claims to power in particular. And indeed, comital officials actually referred to the story of Ada in the political conflict on Jacqueline's succession to legitimize her position as a countess.[19] In that respect, it is remarkable that the chronicle's oldest version is somewhat ambivalent on Ada's rights. The text does not so much discuss her claims to succession, but rather her husband's. This husband was Count Louis of Loon, whom she had married, as the text states, 'on her mother's advice and without her uncle's consent'.[20] According to the author, Louis had no rights to claim the comital power in Holland. In the following fragment, the text is very explicit on that:

> Louis, Count of Loon, came to Holland with an armed force and wanted to be accepted as lawful successor after Dirk's death. And he claimed that the country had come in his possession by his marriage to Ada, Dirk's daughter. He visited all the towns of Holland in order to be installed as the new count, but the noble lords of Holland refused to receive him. They did not want to be ruled by a foreign lord who could not legally claim the succession in Holland. *They have always kept to this carefully, but currently it is far from it.*[21] (*emphasis* mine)

This final phrase is an explicit reference to the political situation of the author's own times, but as such, it is difficult to interpret. In the 1420s, the most obvious parallel to Louis of Loon would have been Jacqueline's third husband Humphrey of Gloucester, the English duke who had made some efforts to lay his hands on the county of Holland by military means, waging a short but bloody war against Philip of Burgundy.[22] After Jacqueline's death, the remark could also have been directed against the Burgundian duke, who had incorporated the county of Holland in 1433, but who could still be seen, just like Louis of Loon, as a foreign lord whose legal rights in Holland were

19   Janse 2009, 40-41; Blockmans & Prevenier 1999, 86-91.
20   Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 33r: '… bider moeders rade ende buten hoir oems wille …'.
21   Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 35r: 'Lodewijc, graef van Loen, is mit groter macht in Hollant ghecomen. Ende woudet an vaten voir recht, na dat graef Dirc doot was. Ende seide dat hi dat lant behilict had met sine wive Ada, graef Dircs dochter van Hollant, na des vaders doot. Ende hi voer in allen steden van Hollant ende had ontfanghen gheweest. Mer die Hollantsche heren en woudens niet ontfanghen. Ende en wouden niet gheregiert wesen van enen vreemden heer die Hollant niet en bestont. Dat si oec altoes wel ghehouden. Mer tijs nu verre vandaen.'
22   Vaughan 2002, 35 ff.

disputable.[23] This problem has been noticed by an editor, who explicitly counted Ada among the legitimate counts of Holland, and, thus, endorsed the theory of female inheritance in Holland, while at the same time rejecting her husband as a foreign usurper. The editor added some details to the story, which made it politically and legally 'correct' (additions *in italics*):

> Ada, Count Dirk's daughter, kept Holland, Zeeland and Friesland after her father's death, but *since she was still very young*, she married Count Louis of Loon, on her mother's advice and without her uncle's consent. Ada *was still very young and died in her minority. And when she died, Count Louis was staying in the land of Loon. As soon as he heard the news about his wife Ada's death, he went with an armed force to Holland, claiming that they should receive him as lawful overlord, since the county rightfully belonged to him because of his marriage. But they told him that his wife, Ada, had died when she was still in her minority, so he could not legally claim the succession to Holland.* They did not want to be ruled by a foreign lord who could not legally claim the succession in Holland. They have always kept to this carefully, but currently it is far from it. *May God change it for the better.*[24]

On the one hand, by implying that Louis would have been accepted as a count if only his wife would have reached the full legal age, he clearly sustains to the principle of female inheritance. If this copy was made during the reign of Charles the Bold (1467-1477) or the period of political crisis that started after his death, this view could be regarded as a pro-Burgundian voice, supporting the succession of Charles' daughter Mary of Burgundy (1477-1482). On the other hand, the author seems to strengthen the complaint on foreign usurpers by adding a prayer for political change. After 1482 this could allude to the situation in which several political communities severely disputed the political claims of Mary's husband, Maximilian of Habsburg.[25] In that case, the passage could be interpreted as an expression of anti-Habsburgian sentiments.

Given these uncertainties and the relative scarcity of explicit political comments like the one mentioned above, it seems fair to conclude, again, that editors and scribes copying the *Gouda Chronicle* did not regularly adapt this text to their political views, nor did they make clear statements relevant to the political situations of their own times. This reluctance is even more obvious when compared to the scribes' apparent enthusiasm in adding details that reveal local patriotism. To this type of textual variants I turn now.

Apart from the layers in the text for which different authors or editors were responsible, there are a lot of minor differences between the manuscripts, resulting from the much smaller and less conspicuous interventions of scribes.[26] Some of these differences are the result of the well-known scribal idiosyncrasies: errors, linguistic or orthographic diversity, individual stylistic or idiomatic preferences, or the perceived need to explain words or situations that might be hard for the intended readers to understand. These differences are fairly general in late medieval textual traditions and their significance is self-evident. There is, however, another kind of variation, which can be very

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23 On the legality of his succession rights, see Stein 2010a.
24 Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, ms R.88, f. 25v-26r.
25 Blockmans 2006, 111, 114; Blockmans & Prevenier 1999, 196 ff; Haemers 2009.
26 I'm fully aware of the elusiveness of these terms in the context of medieval manuscript studies. In my view, the difference is primarily a matter of scale.

informative about the person of the scribe. Some manuscripts contain idiosyncrasies that I would categorise as 'local markers': textual interventions that more or less consciously betray the local origin of an editor or scribe. These markers are particularly valuable in the textual tradition of regional chronicles. Whereas many histories of a specific territory or the deeds of a princely dynasty were born at court or originally were patronized by princes and noblemen, in the course of time copies were made and new versions were produced in towns. These texts were written by urban scribes or by their private owners from the urban patriciate themselves. Sometimes, the colophon or information on early ownership reveals the urban origin of these manuscripts, but in some other cases, the texts contain one or more local markers that help us to decide on the place of origin.

An interpolation or variant can be defined as a local marker if it
– has only local significance or interest, *or*
– must have been based on a local source, *or*
– presents the town or village in a favourable light.

To give an example from the Dutch historiography of the fourteenth century: local markers can be found in the so-called *Nederlandse Beke*, a very important, late fourteenth-century Middle Dutch chronicle of the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht. This text was to a large part based on the Latin chronicle by Johannes de Beke from the middle of the fourteenth century. Johannes de Beke is commonly identified as a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Egmond in Holland, but his translator and continuator from around 1400 must have lived in the town of Utrecht. That becomes clear, among other things, by the insertion of a charter given to the town of Utrecht and by added details on church buildings in the same city.[27]

Local markers also appear in the *Gouda Chronicle*. In all manuscripts and printed versions, the town of Delft plays a remarkable role. The chronicle explains the origin of the town, gives information on the granting of privileges, and provides remarkable and unique details on the siege of Delft in 1359, which were clearly aimed at justifying the city's behaviour. The chronicle has also a story about the military contribution of Delft to the count of Holland's campaign against the Frisians in 1398. In that story, the count of Holland seems to explicitly express his preference for the town of Delft over other towns. According to the story, Count Albert of Bavaria said that he would prefer to lose half of the county of Holland rather than to lose the people of Delft. Not surprisingly, the chronicle explains, this made the other towns jealous.[28] As these stories are included in all manuscripts and prints, it seems not too bold to conclude that the original version of the *Gouda Chronicle*, or the main source on which this chronicle was built, was written by an author from Delft, or at least by an author using a source from that town.[29]

Apart from these details from Delft, several manuscripts contain local details from

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27   Janse 2006. One manuscript seems to have been written in The Hague, according to the local markers in the continuation, see Janse 2003.

28   See in Leeu's printed edition *Chronike*, f. d2r (town's founding), f. f4v (privileges), f. k5v (rioting in Delft in 1350), f. k8v–f. l1v (siege of Delft 1359), f. l4r (Delft's raid in Frisia 1398).

29   For more details, see Janse 2001.

other towns, which seem to have been added by individual scribes. The most obvious example is found in the oldest manuscript, Leiden, UL, ms BPL 136d, which was written, according to the colophon, in 1463 by a certain Steffen Hendrikszoen. Although this version preserves the Delft accent of the text, some new local markers were added, all pointing to the town of Haarlem. First of all, an interpolated story in the very brief account tells of Count William I's participation in the Fifth Crusade. Steffen Hendrikszoen also added a detailed account of the military contribution of the people of Haarlem, who are said to have played a crucial role in the capture of Damiate in Egypt in 1219. This must have been a popular story in Haarlem in the fifteenth century, and continued to be so up to the seventeenth, as is clear from a painting by the Haarlem painter Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen of about 1625.[30] According to Steffen Hendrikszoen, the town of Haarlem was honoured by the emperor who gave the Haarlemmers a new coat of arms, showing an upright sword in a blood-red background, surrounded by four stars that were believed to have been given by the four patriarchs.[31]

This heraldic story is the longest and most explicit local marker in this manuscript. A second is a single sentence interpolated in the story about the reign of William II, the count that was elected Roman King in 1248. After copying a passage stating that King William had given the town of Delft its city charter and upgraded its buildings, Steffen Hendrikszoen could not resist the temptation to note that this king had a special relationship with Haarlem as well: 'And he resided in Haarlem frequently and his court in Haarlem was where nowadays the Dominican convent is.'[32]

A similar local pride is obvious from the interpolation of only two words in the story of 1303, when the Flemish had occupied the county of Holland in the aftermath of the Battle of the Golden Spurs at Courtrai.[33] Steffen Hendrikszoen is the only one who mentions the people of Haarlem among those who assisted Witte van Haamstede, bastard son of Florent V, who successfully drove back the Flemish troops. Whereas all manuscripts tell us that Witte van Haamstede arrived in Haarlem in 1303, where he was joined by the people of Kennemerland, Waterland and Frisia, Steffen Hendrikszoen explicitly mentions the people of Haarlem among them. If not for the much larger addition of Haarlem braveries during the crusade, we would hardly have noticed this interpolation. But now that we know that Steffen Hendrikszoen is a scribe who is proud of his townsmen performing military deeds, we can regard his mentioning of Haarlem in the campaign of 1303 as a similar expression of civic pride.

These kind of small interpolations, glorifying the feats of arms of an urban militia, appear in other manuscripts as well.[34] I will discuss just a few of them. All manu-

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30   Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. See Frijhoff 2006; Van Moolenbroek 2011.
31   Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 36v-37r.
32   Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 42r: 'Dese coninc Willem gaf die stede van Delf haer hantvesten. Ende oeck so verbeterde hi zeer die stede van Delf. Ende zijn woenstat was veel tijt te Haerlem ende zijn hof was te Haerlem daer nu dat Jacopinen cloester staet.'
33   On the political context Sabbe 1951; Verbruggen & DeVries 2002.
34   See also a marginal note in Dordrecht, Erfgoedcentrum DiEP, Stadsarchieven, Grafelijke tijd, MS inv. 652, f. 184v, where the main text says that the peope from Dordrecht ended a siege of Haarlem by the duke of Brabant: 'Nota die weldaet ende bijstant van die van Dordrecht haeren heer gedaen in zijnre absencien.'

scripts describe the siege of Schoonhoven in 1425, when the partisans of Jacqueline of Bavaria held the town while it was besieged by the other towns of Holland. The manuscripts all provide us with some details: the siege lasted for thirteen weeks; the people of Schoonhoven organised several raids during which they destroyed the land and killed and ransomed their adversaries; they were particularly successful against Rotterdam, so that they even captured the city banner of Rotterdam and took many prisoners from that town. In the end, the towns of Holland decided to lift the siege and to return home.[35] Some manuscripts, however, provide more details. First, a scribe added the name of the nobleman who led the town's defence, and the names of those whom he captured when he took the castle. Afterwards, one of these prisoners (Albrecht Beyling) was buried alive outside the city. This crime was committed by 'some of the people who encamped there, whose names I will not mention.'[36] The scribe also added details about the raid on Rotterdam. Some Rotterdam ships were taken from the harbour and brought to Schoonhoven. When townspeople of Rotterdam and Dordrecht tried to intervene, they were defeated in a battle near Schoonhoven. The banner of Rotterdam was taken and their sheriff and many other citizens were killed. The besieging army decided to lift the siege and return home, but they could only do so safely after the count of Cleves had negotiated a truce. This truce lasted for six weeks.[37]

   Do these details on the siege of Schoonhoven provide a sufficient reason to suppose an intervention by a scribe from Schoonhoven? In other words, are these details to be considered as local markers? First, they are not necessarily based on a local source from the town itself. Many towns and noblemen from different parts of Holland contributed to the besieging army, while people from outside Schoonhoven participated in the defence. The interpolations, however, certainly served a Schoonhoven interest. They present the townspeople of Schoonhoven in a favourable light, thereby clearly showing a certain civic pride. In that respect, I regard the addition as a local marker. This is confirmed by a further reference to Schoonhoven, later in the same manuscript. Whereas the most common versions, including the print by Gerard Leeu and

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35 See Janse 2009, 236-240.

36 In the nineteenth century, this became a famous story in a national context, see Jensen 2008, 98-100, 149-150.

37 Vienna, HHSA, MS R.88, f. 54v-55r: 'Ende bij consent van vrou Margriet van Bourgongen, soe wort gesent Florijs van Kijffhooc mit die Hoocx pertie bynnen Schoenhoven. Ende sij belagen tslot dair op lach als casteleyn Willem van Colster ende Allairt Beyling mit vijftich gesellen. Ende si hildent omtrent zes weken. Ende sij gavent op behouden hair lijff ende guet, sonder alleen Allairt Beyling [f. 55r] most dair gevangen bliven. Want hij wort dair na heymelic bij nacht bedolven buyten Scoenhoven levens lijffs op een molenwerff van enigen die dair lagen, die welc ic niet nomen en wil. Int jair ons Heren M CCCC ende XXV so wort Scoenhoven belegen in die vasten. Ende dair lagen voir die gemeen steden van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vrieslant mit die joncheer van Gaesbeeck sonder Zericzee, Goude, Oudewater ende den Briel. Dese saten stil ende onderwondens hem niet. Ende dit beleg duerde XXIIII weken, bynnen welc belec die van Schoenhoven menige stoute reys deden. Ende voeren op een tijt uut Scoenhoven tot Rotterdam in die haven ende namen die scepen dair uut ende voerdense die Lecke op. Ende die van Dordrecht ende die van Rotterdam volgede him luyden na tot voir Schoenhoven toe. Ende dat heer datter voir lach quam oec te samen om jegens die Hoecx. Dair began een starc strijt. Ende die van Rotterdam verloren hair bannyer mit sommige van haren poorteren mit haren scout, die worden verslagen ende gevangen. Ende die steden van Hollant mit die ander die voir Schoenhoven lagen en wisten niet in wat manieren dat sij van daen comen souden ongescent. Ende ontboden hartoech Odulff van Cleeff dat hij comen woude ende dadingen een bestant, dat wesen soude tusschen die heeren die in Schoenhoven lagen ende die gemeente die dair voir lagen, alsoe dat geschiede zes weken lanck.'

others, tell us very briefly that Jacqueline of Bavaria escaped from Ghent in 1425 and arrived in Gouda, the two manuscripts that have the elaborated version on the siege of Schoonhoven state that the countess arrived in *Schoonhoven*, 'where she was kindly received by her friends'.[38] In my view, these few sentences in a text of about 40.000 words indicate that by a scribe from Schoonhoven – or at least by a scribe having close connections to that town – copied a text of the *Gouda Chronicle* .

The final local marker I discuss is the one that, in my view, anchors the *Gouda Chronicle* to Gouda. The text printed by Gerard Leeu in Gouda 1478, as well as three manuscripts,[39] all contain a short story about a successful military campaign by the people from Gouda in the village of Alphen aan den Rijn in 1425:

> In the year of our Lord 1425, the people of Gouda left the city with all armed men. They came to Alphen, where the armies of Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam were encamped. The people of Gouda launched a surprise attack and killed many adversaries. They managed to capture the banners of Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. And this happened on Monday after Eleven Thousand Virgins day.[40]

This story most certainly contributed to the local civic pride in Gouda. It is not very likely that a scribe from Leiden, Haarlem or Amsterdam would have wanted to add this episode, which did not put them in a favourable light. Moreover, although the story of this siege was also transmitted by a continuation to the *Nederlandse Beke*, I do not think that it was copied from that source. The *Beke Continuation* does not provide the date on which the battle was fought, whereas the *Gouda Chronicle* does (22 October 1425).[41] Furthermore, the printed edition, together with the three manuscripts that contain this story about the battle of Alphen, are the only texts that also add another detail that is lacking in all other texts. When the anonymous author gives a brief account of a second battle near Alphen in 1426, only the print and the related manuscripts mention the exact location where the two parties joined battle: the sluice of Gouda.[42] This leads to the assumption that the print has been based on a manuscript copy from Gouda. This is, of course, hardly surprising: why should Gerard Leeu have searched for a copy elsewhere in Holland, when there was one available around the corner?

Not all of these local markers are about military deeds. In the manuscripts that contain the second continuation covering the reign of Charles the Bold, we find an example of a non-military local marker. All manuscripts pay some attention to the English King Edward IV's stay in Holland in 1470. In that year, Edward had to flee his

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38 Vienna, HHSA, MS R.88, f. 55v: 'Ende sij quam bynnen Scoenhoven, dair sij vriendelic ontfangen wort van hair vrienden.'

39 Or seven, if we include the copies of the printed version.

40 *Chronike*, f. m3v-m4r: 'Int jaer ons Heren dusent vier hondert ende XXV soe toghen die vander Goude uut mit al hoer macht ende quamen tot Alfen. Daer die van Leiden, van Haerlem, van Aemsterdam laghen mit veel volcs. Daer hem die vander Goude onversienlic over vielen, soe dat si daer veel volcs verslaghen ende wonnen drie bannyeren, als Leiden, Haerlem ende Aemsterdam. Ende dit was des manendaechs nader Elf dusent Maechden dach.'

41 Which is correctly, see Vaughan 2002, 40-42.

42 *Chronike*, f. m4r: '... aen die Goude sluus'.

country. He arrived in Texel, in the northern part of Holland, where the Burgundian governor, Louis de Gruuthuse, kindly welcomed him, accompanied him to The Hague and brought him to his palace in Bruges.[43] There is only one manuscript in which this royal journey is elaborated:

> On Saint-Victor's day, he [King Edward] passed through the town of Haarlem. He spent the night in Jan van Noordwijk's house in Noordwijk, where he was well received by Jan van Noordwijk himself and by the good village. The next day, he attended mass in Saint Jerome's chapel, where he offered a golden coin to the saint. From there, he continued his travels, passing through Leiden, to The Hague, where he stayed until Christmas.[44]

There is no doubt that this addition can be considered as a local marker. The information on the king's stay in Noordwijk has only local significance, it is probably based on a local source, and, finally, it presents the village of Noordwijk and the noble lord Jan van Noordwijk in a favourable light.[45]

This does not necessarily mean, though, that the manuscript in which we find these words was written in Noordwijk or by a scribe having close connections to the lord of Noordwijk. The problem is that the scribal additions that we consider to be local markers are not treated as such by later scribes. As the example from Delft reveals, local markers inserted by a scribe from one town are simply copied by scribes from another town. We can only be certain that there must have been a manuscript written by someone who had close connections to Noordwijk and/or to its lord.

To sum up, there seems to be enough evidence to assume a widespread reception of the text of the *Gouda Chronicle* in different towns in Holland. I conclude that some scribes did not hesitate to add details from their local perspective. It is clear that they were particularly eager to do so when these details contributed to the glory of their town or village.

This conclusion has some implications beyond the field of the transmission and transformation of texts. As noticed already, most of the local markers discussed above refer to feats of might. At first glance, this may not seem very striking in a chronicle full of wars, battles and skirmishes, but, in fact, it is remarkable, because the focus in these small interpolations is on the *urban* militia. We are very familiar with pride of historic feats of arms in circles of princes and noblemen, who formed part of a culture of chivalry and still held the virtue of *prouesse* in high esteem. National communities also commemorated victories in the past, as the annual commemorations of various famous battles testify.[46] But evidence for the role of warfare in the self-consciousness of the urban elite is much less well known, especially in the northern Low Countries, where urban chronicles are almost entirely lacking during the middle ages.

Finally, if we define a town chronicle as a history of events and deeds of urban com-

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43 Obermann & Schoorl 1981; Huizinga 1949.
44 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, ms Cod. Gulef. 114.2, f. 203v–204r.
45 In the *Divisiekroniek*, printed in Leiden in 1517, Edward's passing through Noordwijk is only briefly mentioned, see *Die Cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* (Leiden, Jan Seversz, 1517), f. 328r.
46 See e.g. Allmand 1988, 138 ff.

munities written for the honour and benefit of communal leaders,[47] the county of Holland in the fifteenth century has only one example from the late 1490s, not surprisingly concerning the town of Haarlem. It is a brief and clumsy excerpt from a Latin chronicle of the counts of Holland, written by the Haarlem Carmelite Johannes a Leydis, extended with some local details.[48] The only other town in Holland that can claim to have a medieval historiography of its own is Gorinchem, but this chronicle from around 1480 focuses on the noble family Van Arkel, who were also lords of Gorinchem.[49] When compared to other parts of Europe such as Northern Italy and the German Empire, but also to the Southern Low Countries where we find urban historiography in various forms,[50] the evidence in Holland is strikingly meagre.[51] However, the textual tradition of regional chronicles such as the so-called *Little Gouda Chronicle* show, that we should not allow ourselves to be misled by this scarcity. Within the context of the history of the principality, which remained the main focus of historiography in Holland in the fifteenth century, there was enough space for expressing local self-consciousness. Or, to put it differently, the local markers that can be found in manuscripts of regional chronicles betray the existence of a civic pride, especially when it comes to military actions performed by fellow citizens in the past. This civic pride is well known from the interurban rivalry in the form of the shooting competitions in the Low Countries, organized for members of the shooting guilds, the archers and crossbowmen that usually formed the backbone of the town's militia.[52] I hope to have sufficiently demonstrated that this pride had a historical dimension as well, even in areas where a 'real' urban historiography is lacking.

Samenvatting

In dit artikel worden de overgeleverde handschriften van het *Goudse kroniekje* onderzocht. Deze kroniek werd in 1478 gedrukt door Gerard Leeu in Gouda en werd daarna verspreid in zowel handschrift als druk. Hoewel de naam anders suggereert, is deze kroniek geen stadskroniek, maar beschrijft hij de geschiedenis van het graafschap Holland. De aanvullingen die in sommige handschriften zijn geschreven, geven aanwijzingen (*local markers*) over de plaats van ontstaan van die aanvullingen. Hieruit wordt geconcludeerd dat het *Goudse kroniekje* een grote verspreiding kende.

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47 Schmid 2010, 1432.

48 Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Stadsbestuur van Haarlem, Registers met afschriften van keuren en privileges, MS inv. nr. 928 (formerly: MS Rood 21), f. 32r-39r: 'Van den gesten ende daden der inwonachtiger burgers vander stede van Haerlem'.

49 Bruch 1931.

50 Van Bruaene 1998. Vasina 2002 mentions the *Annales Gandenses* (p. 343-344) and the *Annales Cameracenses* (p. 348-349). In France the urban historiography has not flourished because of the dominance of the monarchical history, see Kümmel 1984, 225-226.

51 On the lack of urban historiography in Holland, see Burgers 2008 (http://dare.uva.nl/document/2/61062).

52 See for example Arnade 1996, 65-94; Stein 2010b, 52-57.

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Naar aanleiding van … / Apropos of …

Wigamur für Komparatisten. Zur Neuedition des _Wigamur_ von Joseph M. Sullivan

Holger Kahle

Mit Bezug auf: Joseph M. Sullivan (Hg.), _Wigamur. Edited and translated by Joseph M. Sullivan_. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015 (German Romance Volume VI). 376 S., isbn 978–1–84384–418–1, Preis: £75,–.

Der anonym überlieferte _Wigamur_ ist der wohl am wenigsten erforschte deutsche Artusroman. Er erzählt die Geschichte eines geraubten Königssohnes, der abseits der Gesellschaft zunächst bei einem wilden Weib und anschließend bei einem Meerwunder aufwächst. Er kehrt in die Gesellschaft zurück, rettet einen Adler, der sein Begleiter wird, woraufhin der Ritter über diverse Aventiuren zum Mitglied des Artushofes aufsteigt und schließlich in einem Gerichtskampf auf seinen Vater trifft, eine höfische Dame heiratet, das Erbe seines Vaters antritt und die Dynastie fortführt.

Der Roman ist in der (annähernd) vollständigen Handschrift W (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, ms Cod. Guelf. 51.2. Aug. 4°; 5974 Verse) vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts sowie den zwei Fragmenten M (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms Cgm 5249/28; 4. Viertel 13. Jh.; 1495 Verse) und S (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms Cod. Ser. Nov. 4433; Mitte 14. Jh.; 617 Verse) überliefert und lässt sich nur sehr ungenau auf eine Zeitperiode zwischen 1210 und 1270 datieren.[1]

Dass Joseph M. Sullivan mit dem nun erschienenen Band bereits die vierte Edition des _Wigamur_ vorlegt, mag angesichts der erst 2009 veröffentlichten Ausgabe von Nathanael Busch zu-

nächst verwundern, erklärt sich allerdings relativ schnell. Busch hatte sich für eine normalisierte Edition entschieden und sich damit all jene Probleme aufgeladen, die mit der Rückübersetzung des Lautstandes des 15. Jahrhunderts auf den des 13. Jahrhunderts einhergehen.[2] Sullivan entschied sich deshalb, einen Text herzustellen, der Orthographie, Sprache und Schreibweise der Handschriften weitgehend reproduziert (S. xxiii) und damit eher dem Anspruch der New Philology folgt. Danielle Buschinger hatte mit der synoptischen Abbildung von W, M und S bereits eine solche Edition geliefert, doch konnte diese sich aufgrund ihrer 'mangelhaften methodischen Sorgfalt der Texteinrichtung, die die Lektüre dieses an sich schon unklaren Textes noch kompliziert', nicht durchsetzen.[3]

Sullivan hat sich deshalb für eine Neuedition

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1 Zu Buschs Versuch einer genaueren Datierung auf die Periode zwischen 1240 und 1270 vgl. Nathanael Busch (Hg.), _Wigamur. Kritische Edition – Übersetzung – Kommentar_. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009, 1-2.

2 Vgl. Florian Kragl, 'Höfische Romane in späten Papierhandschriften. Zur ‚Wigamur'-Edition von Nathanael Busch', in: _Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur_ 134 (2012), 89-98, hier 94: 'Wer den W-Text in der Edition von Busch liest, wird sich von Vers zu Vers aufs Neue über die eigentümliche Form dieses Textes wundern, wird stolpern über holprige Verse und grausame Reime und zugleich die graphematische Glätte bestaunen.' Nichtsdestotrotz kommt Kragl zu dem Schluss: 'Busch hat diese fehlende Ausgabe des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht nachgereicht. Aber er ist ihr so nahe gekommen, wie man ihr heute kommen darf' (S. 97). Sullivan selbst verweist nicht auf Kragls Rezension.

3 Danielle Buschinger (Hg.), _Wigamur. Edité avec Introduction et Index_. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1987 (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 320). Siehe hierzu die Rezension von Gerhard Wolf, 'Wigamur (Hg. Danielle Buschinger)', in: _Arbitrium. Zeitschrift für Rezensionen zur germanistischen Literaturwissenschaft_ 7 (1989), 148-152, hier 152. Wolf kritisiert darüber hinaus das mitunter inkonsistente Vorgehen bei der Normalisierung der Schriftzeichen (S. 149), den Umgang mit Getrennt- bzw. Zusammenschreibungen (S. 150), diverse Transkriptionsfehler (S. 150), die mangelnden Kennzeichnungen im Textapparat (S. 150) sowie die Interpunktion, die er in einem diplomatischen Abdruck für '_a priori_ fragwürdig' hält (S. 151).

entschieden, 'that attempts to reflect the language and orthography of MS [manuscript, Anm. HK] W to the maximum extent possible while simultaneously providing a text that is accessible to both seasoned scholars and students new to medieval literary and language studies' (S. xxiii). Abbreviaturen werden aufgelöst, Interpunktion, Großschreibung und Paragrafierung werden modernen englischen Standards angepasst – nicht ohne den wichtigen Hinweis, dass eine Interpunktion in der Leithandschrift W nicht vorliegt. Normalisierungen der Orthographie werden sparsam eingesetzt: *i* und *j* werden zu *i*, *u* und *v* zu *u*, die unterschiedlichen *s*-Formen der Handschrift werden zu *s* normalisiert, lediglich das *ß* bleibt erhalten. Außerdem verzichtet Sullivan auf die Normalisierungen der vielen Varianten zu *i* und *j*: *ÿ, ẏ* und *y* bleiben ebenso erhalten wie die verschiedenen Schreibungen langer Vokale (*ā, ä,* und *a*). Diphthonge werden nicht aufgelöst, sondern wie in der Handschrift durch Superskript dargestellt (*u̇*). Insgesamt wird jedoch nicht deutlich, warum Sullivan einige Schreibvarianten normalisiert und andere nicht. Grammatikalische Fehler (z.B. V. 3380), unklare Stellen in W und Textverlust – etwa im Falle der großen Lücke nach Vers 1099 – werden mithilfe von M und S bereinigt bzw. ergänzt; im Falle von unklaren Stellen wird die Sprache an W angepasst, im Falle eines Textverlusts werden M und S handschriftengetreu wiedergegen (S. xxiii). Derartige Eingriffe werden mit Kursivdruck und Asterisken im mittelhochdeutschen Text gekennzeichnet und in einem überaus detailreichen Anhang (S. 274-328) mit Rückgriff auf die Handschriften und/oder vorherige Editoren erklärt. Ein Stellenkommentar unter dem Fließtext ist nicht vorhanden. Die geringe Anzahl von Fehlern ist erfreulich. Mithilfe von Wolfs Rezension und Buschs Ausgabe werden die Fehler der Buschinger-Edition korrigiert, auf mögliche Alternativen der Lesart wird hingewiesen (vgl. etwa Anmerkungen zu V. 1758, 1960). Einzelne Fehler schleichen sich dennoch ein bzw. Transkriptionsvarianten werden nicht genannt – etwa (mit Buschinger) V. 2728/3058 *frünig* gegen Wolf *frümig* und Busch *vrümic*.[4] Dies trübt den im Großen und Ganzen sehr ordent-

lichen Gesamteindruck jedoch nicht.

Asterisken in der englischsprachigen Übersetzung, die den mittelhochdeutschen Text synoptisch begleitet und sich mitunter an der Übersetzung Buschs orientiert (S. ix f.), verweisen auf Verständnishilfen bzw. alternative Übersetzungen (z.B. V. 1345, 2054, 4808-4809), literatur- und kulturgeschichtliche Erklärungen (z.B. V. 864-866, 2056, 4613) sowie zentrale Interpretamente (z.B. V. 112, 1304, 1493), die ebenfalls im Anhang näher erklärt werden. Der eigentliche Textteil kommt in seinem Layout deshalb übersichtlich daher: Die Handschriftenüberschriften werden in Kapitälchen geschrieben, der Rest des Textes folgt in abgesetzten Versen. Die Verszählung folgt den Konventionen der früheren *Wigamur*-Editionen, sodass die Textergänzungen aus M nach Vers 1099, die auf der Seite der englischen Übersetzung kurz in Kursivdruck erklärt wird, mit Superskript gezählt werden (V. 1099[2]-1099[93]). Besonders erfreulich ist die Angabe der Blattzählung nach W, die bei Busch schmerzlich vermisst wurde.[5] Dieser Schritt zu einer pragmatischen Leseedition ist vor allem durch das von Sullivan avisierte Publikum zu erklären:

> [I]t is expected that this volume will be consulted primarily by individuals who are not native speakers of German […] Also in view of the fact that many readers of this volume will be non-Germanists, I have endeavoured in the Notes section to discuss important details from *Wigamur* not just within the narrow context of medieval German literature, but rather within the larger frameworks of the European traditions of medieval Arthurian narrative and the *Fair Unknown* romance. (S. xxvi)

Den Stellenapparat deshalb in den Anhang zu verschieben, ist im Hinblick auf die komparatistisch interessierte Leserschaft sinnvoll. Auch zeigen sich die Asterisken im Übersetzungstext damit als hilfreiche Ergänzung, wird dadurch doch sofort deutlich, an welcher Stelle ein Blick in den Anhang lohnenswert ist.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Zielgruppendefinition erklärt sich dann auch die Schwerpunktsetzung der Einleitung. Nach kurzer Einführung in die Geschichte des Textes, die Erwähnung des Ritters Wigamur bei anderen Autoren und

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4   Ebenso V. 1664 *gefrünt* statt *gefrünnt* (vgl. Wolf 1989, 150).

5   Vgl. Kragl 2012, 93.

den Verweis auf das geringe Forschungsinteresse am Ritter mit dem Adler, beginnt Sullivan mit einer kurzen literaturgeschichtlichen Einordnung ('Dating, Authorship and Influences'). Seine Handschriftenbeschreibungen fallen dabei sehr kurz aus. Zwar verweist er auf die Vorarbeiten Buschs (S. xiii, Anm. 6), doch wäre eine genauere Beschreibung gerade vor dem Hintergrund seines theoretischen Anspruchs an die Edition (Stichwort: Manuskriptverbundenheit) zwingend erforderlich gewesen. Dass die genaue Beschreibung daher den Blick in Buschs Edition verlangt, gibt dieser sonst so gelungenen Edition an dieser – aber auch an anderer Stelle (s.u.) – leider den Anschein eines Supplements. Die sprachliche und zeitliche Einordnung reproduziert die wenige sprach- und literaturgeschichtliche Forschung, die es bisher zum *Wigamur* gibt. Die kurzen Anmerkungen zu den bisherigen Editionen, die auch Johann Gustav Büschings Edition von 1808 berücksichtigt, macht frühzeitig deutlich, warum eine Neuedition des Textes so wichtig ist und bringt ihn in aller Konsequenz zu der Gretchenfrage der mediävistischen Editionswissenschaft: Normalisierung oder nicht? Die Argumente bleiben auch bei Sullivan die gleichen: Für eine Normalisierung spreche, dass nur mit dieser Methode der potenziellen künstlerischen Leistung des Originals nahezukommen sei, der Text den Studierenden zugänglicher werde und sich nicht zuletzt in Deutschland eine Forschungstradition durchgesetzt habe, die normalisierte Versionen bevorzuge. Gegen eine Normalisierung spreche vor allem, dass ein künstlicher Text hergestellt werde, der so vielleicht nie existiert habe und dem Forscher den zeitgenössischen Kontext der Überlieferung vorenthalte, der die Werke als 'living, evolving works of art' (S. xv) präsentiere. Seine Entscheidung für eine nicht normalisierte Edition ist deshalb zweckmäßig, hat doch Nathanael Busch eine sehr gute normalisierte Ausgabe vorgelegt, wohingegen Buschingers Ausgabe deutlich kritisiert wurde. Dieser Pragmatismus mindert aber in keiner Weise die sehr gute editorische Arbeit, die Sullivan hier geleistet hat.

Die bisherigen Interpretationsansätze der *Wigamur*-Forschung werden im Anschluss auf gut vier Seiten (S. xv–xxii) zusammengefasst. Auf der Grundlage einschlägiger Forschungsbeiträge von

Ebenbauer, Martin, Classen und Meyer sowie der bisher unpublizierten MA-Arbeit seines Schülers John W. Love (vgl. S. x), ordnet Sullivan den *Wigamur* in den Stoffkreis des *Bel Inconnu* ein.[6] Dabei kommt er zu dem Schluss, dass es sich bei diesem Text um die 'most completely realized *Fair Unknown* romance of the European Middle Ages' (S. xviii) handele, deren Schwerpunkte auf einem elaborierten *reht*-Diskurs – im Sinne eines (ethisch) richtigen, aber auch rechtmäßigen Handelns –, dem Votum für dynastisches Denken gegen das Leistungsprinzip sowie der Behandlung von Besitzstreitigkeiten bzw. Raub – sowohl von Ländereien, als auch von Kindern – liege. Dabei falle vor allem die Vielschichtigkeit der Figuren auf, da selbst den Antagonisten positive Merkmale zugeschrieben werden (Lespias Fürsorge für Wigamur) und *vice versa* positive Charaktere negativ konnotiert werden (Paltriots Krieg gegen Atroglas). Auch bei der Rekapitulation der Forschung zeigt sich wieder, dass Sullivan vor allem ein komparatistisch interessiertes Publikum erwartet, vergleicht er den *Wigamur* doch mit anderen europäischen Texten, die das *Bel Inconnu*-Motiv bedienen. Entsprechend zielt auch die dem Stellenkommentar nachgestellte Bibliographie (S. 329-337)[7] auf den gesamteuropäischen Vergleich

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6 Alfred Ebenbauer, 'Wigamur und die Familie, in: Friedrich Wolfzettel (Hg.), *Artusrittertum im späten Mittelalter. Ethos und Ideologie. Vorträge des Symposiums der Deutschen Sektion der Internationalen Artusgesellschaft vom 10. bis 13. November 1983 im Schloß Rauischholzhausen (Univ. Gießen)*. Gießen: Schmitz, 1984, 28-46 (Ebenbauer wird konsequent als ‚Ebenauer' falsch geschrieben); Ann G. Martin, 'The concept of *reht* in *Wigamur*', in: *Colloquia Germanica* 20 (1987), 1-14; Albrecht Classen, 'Der komische Held Wigamur – Ironie oder Parodie? Strukturelle und thematische Untersuchungen zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Artusroman', in: *Euphorion* 87 (1993), 200-224; Matthias Meyer, 'Das defizitäre Wunder. Die Feenjugend des Helden', in: Friedrich Wolfzettel (Hg.), *Das Wunderbare in der arthurischen Literatur. Probleme und Perspektiven*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003, 95-112; John W. Love, *New Perspectives on* Wigamur *and Other Romances of the* Fair Unknown *Tradition*. Unpublizierte MA-Arbeit, University of Oklahoma, 2013. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass diese Arbeit, die sich hauptsächlich mit dem Raub im *Wigamur* beschäftigt, zeitnah veröffentlicht wird und nicht in den Untiefen der Archive der Universität in Vergessenheit gerät.
7 Neben der konsequenten Falschschreibung von

der *Bel Inconnu*-Tradition sowie die kulturhistorische Bedeutung des Artusromans ab und gibt bei einigen Werken in Klammern eine Kurzbeschreibung des jeweiligen Inhalts wieder. Diese sehr hilfreichen Beschreibungen hätten gerne zahlreicher sein dürfen. Sullivan beschließt seine Edition mit einem Register der Namen und Orte (S. 338-348). Diese werden in der Schreibweise der englischen Übersetzung mit kurzer Erklärung und Versangabe verzeichnet.

Nicht abgedruckt wird der Illustrationszyklus der Handschrift W,[8] Sullivan verweist allerdings auf den Abdruck bei Busch (S. xxv, Anm. 1) sowie den Kommentar bei Henderson,[9] woran sich erneut den Supplement-Charakter der Edition offenbart. Gerade im Hinblick auf das kulturhistorisch-komparatistische Publikum wäre ein Abdruck des Illustrationszyklus jedoch wichtig gewesen, geben doch die Text-Bild-Beziehungen interessante Einblicke in die zeitgenössische Textrezeption und Lesesteuerung. Ebenso wird der komparatistische Ansatz unterlaufen, wenn Sullivan nur *en passant* die Erwähnungen des Ritters Wigamur in anderen deutschen Erzähltexten angibt (S. xi, Anm. 1) und die von Busch herausgestellten teils wörtlichen Übernahmen aus Gottfrieds *Tristan*, dem *Wunderer* aus dem Stoffkreis der Dietrichepik und Peter Suchenwirts *Die schöne Abenteuer* zwar in einer Fußnote in der Einleitung erwähnt (S. xiii, Anm. 7), dort aber keine Verse angibt, sodass man gezwungen ist, entweder bei Busch nachzuschauen oder mühsam den Stellenkommentar nach den entsprechenden Stellen zu durchforsten.

Sullivan hat mit seiner *Wigamur*-Edition die Lücke geschlossen, die Nathanael Buschs Edition offenließ. Er gibt einen gelungenen Text heraus, der Danielle Buschingers Edition ersetzen dürfte und jenen 'companion' (S. xxv) zu Buschs Edition bietet, den er von vornherein geplant hatte. Größere Unabhängigkeit hätte er allerdings durch die Beigabe des Bildzyklus erreichen können.

Der wohl größte Mehrwert der Edition liegt jedoch in der englischsprachigen Übersetzung. Sie ist sehr gut lesbar und weitgehend fehlerfrei. Die Fehler, die Gerhard Wolf bei Buschs Edition bemängelt hatte,[10] hat Sullivan fast alle bereinigt, einzig Vorzeitigkeit gibt er nicht durch Benutzung des *Past Perfect* wieder (z.B. V. 114, 2586, 5565). Doch trotz dieses kleinen Mangels wird der *Wigamur* damit in angemessener Form einem nicht deutschsprachigen Publikum zugänglich gemacht und für komparatistische Analysen im gesamteuropäischen Kontext geöffnet. Dafür ist neben Joseph M. Sullivan auch den Herausgebern der Serie 'German Romances' aus der Reihe 'Arthurian Archives' zu danken.

Für die *Wigamur*-Forschung insgesamt bietet die Edition eine hervorragende Möglichkeit, den Text in seiner historischen (Spät-)Form zu rezipieren. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass die Dichte der editorischen Veröffentlichungen zum *Wigamur* mit der dritten Edition innerhalb von 28 Jahren nun auch endlich zu einer intensiveren Behandlung des Textes im Forschungsdiskurs führt. Aufgrund seiner anregenden *enfance*-Erzählung, seinen vielschichtigen Charakteren, den komischen Momenten und seiner Vielzahl unterschiedlicher Diskurse (*reht*, Dynastie usw.) hat der Text dies verdient!

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Ebenbauers Namen schleichen sich auch weitere Fehler in die Literaturangaben ein. So wird Meyers Aufsatz mit 'Das defitzäre [sic] Wunder. Die Feejugend [sic] des Helden' oder das Trierer Wörterbuch als 'Mittelhochdeutscher [sic] Wörterbuch im Verbund' angegeben (S. 335, 337).

8 Lediglich das Titelbild des Buchdeckels ist dem Zyklus entnommen. Es zeigt die Vermählung Wigamurs (begleitet vom Adler) und Dulciflurs unter den Augen des Königs Atroglas. Vgl. Busch 2009, S. 274, Bild 55.

9 Ingeborg Henderson, 'Illustrationsprogramm und Text der Wolfenbütteler *Wigamur*-Handschrift', in: Winder McConnell (Hg.), *In hôhem prîse. A Festschrift in Honor of Ernst S. Dick, Presented on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday, April 7, 1989*. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989, 163-189.

10 Gerhard Wolf, 'Rezension: Wigamur. Kritische Edition – Übersetzung – Kommentar. hg. v. Nathanael Busch, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York 2009, 344 Seiten', in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 131 (2012), 126-131, hier 129-131.

Une mise en émotion de l'analyse arthurienne: approches protéiformes

Charles-Louis Morand Métivier

Frank Brandsma, Carolyne Larrington & Corinne Saunders (réd.), *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature. Body, Mind, Voice.* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015 (Arthurian Studies LXXXIII), 210 p., isbn 978–1–84384–421–1, prix: $ 99,–.

La littérature arthurienne pourrait être considérée, sans doute à juste titre, comme l'une des composantes de littérature médiévale qui a été la plus analysée, étudiée, et disséquée par la communauté académique mondiale, et ce depuis de très nombreuses décennies. Force est de constater que ces œuvres, connues par le grand public par des éditions de vulgarisation et remises au gout du jour par les récentes vagues de productions télévisuelles et cinématographiques dans la lignée du vertigineux succès de la série *Game of Thrones*, font partie du canon littéraire de l'époque. Il serait, en effet, bien difficile d'imaginer une étude des littératures nationales sans évoquer ou analyser des œuvres telles celles de Chrétien de Troyes, *Sir Gawain and the green knight*, *La Morte Arthur*, parmi tant d'autres. En effet, ces œuvres sont présentes, sous une forme ou une autre, dans nombreuses littératures nationales médiévales.

C'est parce que ces œuvres sont incontournables qu'elles ont été analysées et étudiées abondamment, au point qu'il serait impossible d'en fournir une bibliographie succincte et exhaustive. Cependant, les éditeurs de ce volume ont réussi à produire une œuvre de grande qualité, en partant d'un postulat peu utilisé lors de l'analyse arthurienne, à savoir une analyse des textes et thèmes sous le prisme des émotions et de leur représentation. Sous l'impulsion d'auteurs tels Barbara Rosenwein, Piroska Nagy et Damien Boquet, l'application à des thèmes médiévaux des récentes théories sur l'histoire des émotions a permis d'analyser ces textes sous un jour nouveau. Dès l'introduction de l'œuvre, les éditeurs mettent en avant leur approche en expliquant que les œuvres arthuriennes, dès leurs premières apparitions, étaient naturellement versées dans les émotions qu'elles pouvaient et devaient produire: 'as early as Ælred of Rielvaux, stories about King Arthut were closely associated with emotional responses in their audience' (p. 8).

L'étude des émotions telle qu'elle est présentée dans les différentes contributions de ce volume se focalise sur les différents éléments propagateurs de l'émotion, non seulement dans leur construction (éléments linguistiques, choix des mots, etc.) mais également dans la façon dont ces émotions sont mises en emphases et relayées au cœur même de la relation entre narration et histoire. De ce fait, le recueil est composé de deux parties, 'Thinking about Emotions in Arthurian Legends', qui étudie la façon dont le fait émotionnel est pensé et mise en avant dans le cycle arthurien, et 'Bodies, Minds and Voices : Investigating Emotion in Arthurian Texts', qui se focalise sur la corporalité de certaines émotions telles qu'elles sont présentes dans ces œuvres.

La première partie du recueil est composée de trois articles. Jane Gilbert se focalise sur la façon dont la magie est utilisée, dans le Lancelot en prose, comme l'élément principal qui porte et dissémine l'émotion. En se basant sur les théories de l'émotion telles que Sartre les a développées dans son *Esquisse d'une théorie des émotions*, elle défend l'idée que la magie et les émotions sont mutuellement déconstruites; elles sont ainsi mises en emphase afin de servir à une reconstruction du présent dans lequel la présence de l'autre est mise en emphase. Corinne Saunders, quant à elle, s'intéresse à la façon dont l'esprit, le corps et l'affect supportent une idée de la psychologie au Moyen-âge, et la façon dont ceci se reflète dans les romans médiévaux. À travers une analyse de la relation entre corps et psyché à la période médiévale, à travers la théorie des humeurs, elle démontre l'interconnexion entre ces entités, et leur présence dans des œuvres cruciales de la période médiévale, tels *Sir Lanfal, Le Chevalier au lion, La Morte d'Arthur*, ou *Ywain and Gawain*. Malgré leurs grandes différences, ils se reposent tous sur une relation entre corps et esprit, et la façon dont le fait émotionnel repose sur une relation cognitive entre ces deux composantes. Finalement, Andrew Lynch postule qu'il est difficile de formuler de façon claire et directe le rôle d'une émotion, en se focalisant sur *Brut*, Thomas Chestre's *Sir Launfal*, et *La Morte Arthur*. Dans le cycle arthurien, les émotions ne sont

jamais neutres et sans implication, étant don-
né que Lynch souligne la dimension politique
de telles œuvres. Les régimes ou communautés
émotionnels (pour reprendre les mots de Bar-
bara Rosenwein) qui sont mis en avant dans ces
œuvres par le biais d'un canevas où émotions et
politique sont étroitement liées – au point d'en
devenir indissociables – sont des entités puis-
santes qui remettent en question les idées pré-
conçues sur pouvoir et gouvernance.

Le premier article de la deuxième partie est
à mettre au crédit de Anatole Pierre Fuksas qui,
dans le *Chevalier de la charrette*, propose une lec-
ture de l'expression de *ire* et *peor*. En partant du
postulat que la lecture et la compréhension du
fait émotionnel ne peuvent se concevoir qu'en
comprenant comment ces émotions ont été
reçues et par quel biais elles ont été 'conçues', il
souligne l'importance de se rappeler du fait que
les émotions changent de portée ou de valeur
selon les individus qui les ressentent ou qui les
conçoivent. Ainsi, *ire* et *peor* sont particulière-
ment marquées stylistiquement et culturelle-
ment par le personnage qui les ressent, mais éga-
lement par les conditions dont elles sont vécues.
La somatisation de ces émotions se traduit par
des stratifications par classe de pouvoir des per-
sonnages. Anne Baden Daintree étudie la façon
dont 'deuil' et 'parenté' sont construits dans *La
Morte Arthur*, et particulièrement la façon dont
la personnalité émotionnelle du roi se construit
à travers l'expression d'émotions normalement
privées via la personnalité publique du roi, en
gardant cependant un très haut niveau d'intimi-
té, principalement afin de pleurer la mort d'un
proche bien aimé (dans le cas d'Arthur, celle de
Gauvain), dans une célébration de l'affliction qui
n'est pas avilissante et amoindrissante, mais qui,
au contraire, replace la tristesse du deuil comme
une composante de la personnalité du guerrier.

Raluca Radulescu, dans la même veine, ex-
plore les émotions extrêmes dans les œuvres
arthuriennes de Malory. Elle propose qu'elles
soient un outil primordial à considérer si l'on
veut comprendre les implications politiques de
l'époque et de ces œuvres. Les émotions privées
sont souvent l'occasion de scènes de pleurs et de
tristesse extravagantes, qui ne sont toutefois pas
présentes dans un contexte public. Radulescu es-

time cependant que, dans le passage ou Arthur
ramène Guinevère auprès d'Arthur, l'expression
des sentiments est perçue comme une transgres-
sion ou manipulation des codes émotionnels de
l'époque, définie comme une 'strategic social in-
telligence' (p. 121). Carolyne Larrington propose
l'étude du deuil de Gauvain, entre cognition et
affect, dans *Diu Crône*, et quelques écrits français
sur ce mythe. Elle s'intéresse sur la mise en place
de la fausse mort du héros, et principalement sur
la réaction que celle-ci pouvait engendrer sur le
public médiéval. Le topos de la fausse mort, bien
connu de la littérature médiévale, permettait au
public de cette mort – qu'il soit dans l'œuvre
ou dans son lectorat ou son auditoire – d'être
confronté à la mort du héros, et à toutes les ré-
actions affectives qu'une telle nouvelle pouvait
apporter, pour ensuite être rassuré lors de son re-
tour, tout en ayant eu un 'avant-goût' de l'hor-
reur affective que la 'vraie' mort de Gauvain ap-
porterait.

Frank Brandsma s'interroge, à travers une ri-
goureuse analyse de ses occurrences dans les
œuvres arthuriennes néerlandaises, sur la portée
émotionnelle de l'exclamation 'Ay', et par cela,
d'une façon plus générale, sur l'interaction entre
émotions et exclamations. Bien que celle-ci soit
principalement liée à des notions de tristesse, elle
est également liée à d'autres émotions, et est uti-
lisée par un large spectre de personnages, y com-
pris le public, marquant ainsi la grande versatilité
d'une expression que l'on aurait pu penser insi-
gnifiante. Finalement, Sif Rikhardsdottir effec-
tue une analyse comparée entre *Yvain* de Chré-
tien de Troyes et *Laxdoela saga*. Elle explique que,
malgré le côté étonnant qu'une telle comparai-
son pourrait avoir, elle permet néanmoins de
mettre en relief la traductibilité de la représenta-
tion émotionnelle à travers différentes cultures et
différents horizons linguistiques. La postface de
cet ouvrage est signée par Helen Cooper.

L'érudition de cette œuvre est évidente, et met
en avant les recherches poussées menées par les
auteurs. Ce qui est particulièrement intéressant à
remarquer, c'est non seulement l'interdisciplina-
rité de ces essais, mais également les différentes
approches de la recherche sur les émotions et
l'affect. Quiconque a lu les œuvres du cycle ar-
thurien qui sont analysées dans ce volume sera

irrémédiablement stupéfait par les nouveaux pa-
radigmes mis en avant dans les recherches pré-
sentées, ce qui poussera les lecteurs à redécouvrir
des œuvres pourtant mille fois lues et étudiées.
Cet ouvrage apparaît donc comme une réfé-
rence, qui mérite d'être lue par toute personne
travaillant sur ces sujets.

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Queeste. Tijdschrift over middeleeuwse letterkunde in de Nederlanden

Queeste is een internationaal en meertalig tijdschrift op het gebied van de middeleeuwse letterkunde in de Nederlanden (tot 1600). Het wil recht doen aan de meertaligheid van deze regio door niet enkel aandacht te besteden aan Nederlandstalige literatuur, maar ook ruimte te bieden voor de bestudering van teksten in het Frans, Duits, Engels of Latijn. Ook teksten die niet tot de literaire canon worden gerekend, kunnen in het tijdschrift aan bod komen. De beoordeling van de inzendingen gebeurt via *double-blind peer review*.

Queeste. Journal of Medieval Literature in the Low Countries

Queeste is an international, multi-lingual, peer-reviewed journal in the area of medieval literature in the Low Countries (to 1600). The journal reflects the multi-lingual nature of this region by providing a forum for research results on literature in Dutch as well as in a variety of other languages, such as French, German, English and Latin. The journal's definition of 'literature' is inclusive rather than exclusive and studies on non-canonical texts are welcome.

Queeste. Revue de la littérature médiévale dans les anciens Pays-Bas

Queeste est une revue internationale multilingue consacrée à l'étude de la littérature médiévale dans les anciens Pays-Bas (jusqu'en 1600). Pour refléter la situation multilingue de ces régions, *Queeste* accueille aussi bien les contributions qui étudient la littérature en langue néerlandaise que les études de la littérature française, allemande, anglaise ou latine. La revue réserve également une place à l'étude de textes qui n'appartiennent pas au canon de la littérature médiévale. Tout article est soumis à l'avis de lecteurs (*double-blind peer review*).

Queeste. Zeitschrift für die Literatur des Mittelalters in den Niederlanden

Queeste ist eine internationale und mehrsprachige Zeitschrift für den Bereich der niederländischen Literatur des Mittelalters (bis etwa 1600). Sie möchte der Mehrsprachigkeit dieses Gebietes gerecht werden, indem nicht nur die Erforschung niederländischsprachiger Werke berücksichtigt werden soll, sondern auch Studien zur französischen, deutschen, englischen oder lateinischen Literatur Platz geboten wird. Auch Texte, die nicht zum literarischen Kanon gezählt werden, können in der Zeitschrift beleuchtet werden. Die Beurteilung der eingesandten Beiträge geschieht durch einen *double-blind peer review*.

⟶ www.queeste.verloren.nl

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