

BETWEEN STABILITY AND TRANSFORMATION  
*Textual Traditions in the Medieval Netherlands*

Q U E E S T E 23

2016 / 2



TIJDSCHRIFT  
OVER JOURNAL OF  
MIDDELEEUWSE MEDIEVAL  
LETTERKUNDE LITERATURE  
IN DE IN THE LOW  
NEDERLANDEN COUNTRIES

# 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 *medioneerlandicus* be a jack of many trades.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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

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'.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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'.<sup>7</sup> Master Pouwelsz did

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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's 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 hebben 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup> There was a whole series of studies on manuscript illumination, book

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Homeyer 1827.

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> See Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, 435–436 for a description of the genre of *Rechtbücher* (books of law).

<sup>16</sup> Well documented in the recent study of Kümper 2009a; see 22–48 on the nature and intention of books of law.

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

<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> Edition (after the only manuscript copy!) in Smits 1872. Cf. Wolf 2006, 306–307, and Kümper 2009a, 339–344.

<sup>21</sup> '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 Cris-tum 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.<sup>22</sup> 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).<sup>23</sup> This connection means that the added text is not just an appendix, but a *reprise* of the commentary to the opening of the *Sachsenspiegel*, 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’.<sup>24</sup>

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 *gherechtigheit* 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.<sup>25</sup>

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 bevelecken ende wisen hem selven ter hellen ende ten ewigher verdoemnissen’. De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II, 217.

<sup>22</sup> For examples of poetry on corruption in legal practices, see Meder 1991, 292–302. In sermons: Hubrath 2000.

<sup>23</sup> ‘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 spreekt in den ewangelio mit wat rechten of maten daer een yehelyc 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. Verwijns & Verdam et al. 1885–1952, sub *inmeten* and *utemeten*.

<sup>24</sup> De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. II, 2.

<sup>25</sup> 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 Pouwels 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

### 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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

<sup>26</sup> Wolf 2006, 304–305 (with references).

<sup>27</sup> A recent analysis of the *Wapene Martijn* in Reynaert 1996.

<sup>28</sup> Roetert Frederikse 1915, and for *Maskeroen*: Snellaert 1869, 493–538.

<sup>29</sup> Edited in Van de Putte 1839.

<sup>30</sup> Gorissen 1955.

<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 angestlijeste 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.<sup>33</sup>

(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 *scependom*, 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.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> 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.

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

<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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 Schleghtental, a sixteenth-century *Gerichtsschreiber* in Werden.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup>

(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*).<sup>39</sup>

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)

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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup>

(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.<sup>44</sup> 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:

<sup>40</sup> See Schmidt-Wiegand 2003, 445, and Kümper 2009a, 44–48.

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> 'Hem mach zijn herte van anxenen beven / Want scepene en hebben gheen recht bescreven / Van elken vonnesse dat ute gaet'. Blommaert 1841, vol. II, 67.

<sup>43</sup> Eckhardt 1955, 38.

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

(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.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup>

(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.<sup>48</sup>

These biblical references connect the *Sachsenspiegel* with contemporary wisdom literature and the transmission of knowledge.<sup>49</sup> 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-

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.<sup>50</sup> 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 duitsche is ghebracht	[German: Sint diz buch ist vore bracht]
Den luden algemeine. <sup>51</sup>	

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 Cologne, Berlin and The Hague, are closely connected, possibly even written by the same scribe.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup>

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

<sup>50</sup> Kümper 2004, 11–12.

<sup>51</sup> De Geer van Jutphaas 1888, vol. I, 1. Cf. Eckhardt 1955, 39 (for the variants; *duitsche* is only found in the Dutch manuscripts).

<sup>52</sup> 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 Cologne, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, ms Bodmer 61. For Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms Germ. fol. 820, see Becker & Overgaauw 2003, 300–302.

<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.*)<sup>55</sup>

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.*)<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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*.<sup>58</sup> 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

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*.<sup>59</sup> These thoughts on a direct relationship between the two texts can be taken one step further by looking 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 transmission.<sup>60</sup> Two of these additional chapters feature an abridged version of the *Landrecht* and *Lehnrecht* of the *Sachsenspiegel* that is based on the Dutch text in the manuscripts associated with Albert of Bavaria.<sup>61</sup> 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 sassien*.<sup>62</sup> The accompanying miniature shows both emperors, but especially interesting is the rewriting of the prologue to emphasize the imperial involvement:

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

(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 Charlemagne and Constantine, 'wise and mighty kings, who had knowledge of the law'.<sup>64</sup>

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 Warnar 2012.

61 This short *Sachsenspiegel* is discussed in Wasserschleben 1881, 131–151. The Dutch origins of the abridged version 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 dūghe*) indicates the Dutch origins, because the variant *goeme* appears only in the Dutch version: 'So wie hem rechtes versteit / 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'. Wasserschleben 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*.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup>

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*.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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*.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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-

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 (Was-serschleben 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 inveniatur 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.<sup>71</sup> 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?

#### *Address of the author:*

Universiteit Leiden  
 Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen  
 P.N. van Eykhof 3  
 NL-2311 BV Leiden

### Bibliography

- Aalbers, J. et al., *Heren van stand. Van Wassenae 1200-2000. Achthonderd jaar Nederlandse adelsgeschiedenis*. Zoetermeer: Protocol, 2000.
- Becker, P.J. & E. Overgaauw (eds), *Aderlass und Seelentrost. Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Spiegel Berliner Handschriften und Inkunabeln*. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2003.
- Blommaert, Ph. (ed.), *Oudvlaemsche gedichten der XIIIe, XIIIe en XIVe eeuwen II*. Ghent: L. Hebbelynck, 1841.
- Bray, J. & R. Evans, 'Introduction: What is Textual Culture?', in: *Textual Cultures* 2 (2007), 1-8.
- Daniëls, L.M. (ed.), *Dirc van Delfts Tafel van den kersten gelove I-IV*. Antwerp etc.: Neerlandia, 1937-1939.
- Defoer, H.L.M. et al., *The Golden Age of Manuscript Painting*. Stuttgart & Zürich: Belser, 1989.
- De Geer van Juthaas, B.J.L. (ed.), *De Saksenspiegel in Nederland I-II*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1888.

<sup>71</sup> 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.

- Deschamps, J., *Middel nederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken*. 2nd edition; Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Doboz, Maria, *The Saxon Mirror: A "Sachsenspiegel" of the Fourteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Eckhardt, K.A. (ed.), *Sachsenspiegel. Landrecht*. 2nd edition; Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1955.
- Fruin, J.A. (ed.), *Jan Matthijssen: Het rechtsboek van den Briel beschreven in vijf tractaten*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1880.
- Gerritsen, W.P., 'Geschiedverhaal of schetskaart. Overwegingen bij Knuvelders *Handboek*, deel 1, vijfde druk', in: *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 68 (1975), 89-109.
- Gorissen, P., 'Costuimen van het Brugse Vrije. Fragment van een recensie in proza', in: *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor de Uitgave der Oude Wetten en Verordeningen van België* 18 (1955), 509-517.
- Groesbeek, J.W., *Middeleeuwse kastelen van Noord-Holland, hun bewoners en bewogen geschiedenis*. Rijswijk: Elmar, 1981.
- Gumbert, J.P., 'Différentiation graphique dans des textes complexes: deux cas', in: *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMLXXIX*. Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1979, 383-388.
- Gumbert, J.P., *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas. Catalogue paléographique des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date II: Les manuscrits d'origine néerlandaise (XIVe-XVIe siècles) et supplément au tome premier*. Leiden etc.: Brill, 1988.
- Hegman, W.E., 'De Gentse handschriften van de *Dietsche doctrinale*', in: *Spiegel der letteren* 24 (1982), 1-39.
- Homeyer, C.G. (ed.), *Des Sachsenspiegels erster Theil oder das Sächsische Landrecht. Nach der Berliner Handschrift v.J. 1369*. Berlin: Dümmler, 1827 (reprints 1835 and 1861).
- Hubrath, M., 'Keeping the judge in mind: representations of justice in late medieval sermons', in: *The Medieval History Journal* 3 (2000), 91-102.
- Hüffer, M., *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der abdij Rijnsburg*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1951.
- Janse, A., *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late Middeleeuwen*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2001.
- Jonckbloet, W.J.A. (ed.), *Die dietsche doctrinale, leerdicht van den jare 1345; toegekend aan Jan Deckers*. The Hague: Schinkel, 1842.
- Kannowski, B., *Die Umgestaltung des Sachsenspiegelrechts durch die Buch'sche Glosse*. Hannover: Hahn, 2007.
- Kaufmann, F.-M. (ed.), *Glossen zum Sachsenspiegel-Landrecht I-III. Buch'sche Glosse*. Hannover: Hahn, 2002.
- Kinable, D., *Facetten van Boendale. Literair-historische verkenningen van Jans teesteyte en de Lekenspiegel*. Leiden: Dimensie, 1997.
- Kisch, G., 'Über Reimvorreden deutscher Rechtsbücher', in: G. Kisch (ed.), *Forschungen zur Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980, 13-35.
- Kümper, H. (ed.), *Sachsenspiegel. Eine Bibliographie – mit einer Einleitung zu Überlieferung, Wirkung und Forschung*. Nordhausen: Bautz, 2004.
- Kümper, H., 'Miniaturen und Bilder in Sachsenspiegelhandschriften abseits der Codices picturati', in: *Concilium mediæ aevi* 9 (2006), 103-130.
- Kümper (2009a), H., *Sachsenrecht. Studien zur Geschichte des sächsischen Landrechts im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2009.
- Kümper (2009b), H., 'Der Duisburger Sachsenspiegel aus dem Jahre 1385. Ein ostfälisches Rechtsbuch in Westfalen', in: *Duisburger Forschungen* 56 (2009), 7-26.
- Lie, O.S.H., 'What is Truth? The Verse-Prose Debate in Medieval Dutch Literature', in: *Queeste* 1 (1994), 34-65.
- McGinn, B., *The Flowering of Mysticism. Men and Women in the New Mysticism – 1200-1350*. New York: Crossroad, 1998.
- Meder, Th., *Sprookspreker in Holland. Leven en werk van Willem van Hildegarsberch (ca. 1400)*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1991.

- Nichols, S., 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), 1-10.
- Oosterman, J.B., *In daz Niderlant gezoget. De periferie in het centrum: het Maas-Rijngebied als speelveld voor filologen*. Inaugural address Radboud University Nijmegen; Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2007.
- Proske-van Heerdt, D., 'The Dirc van Delft-style: Structure and Chronology', in: K. van der Horst & J.-C. Klamt (eds), *Masters and Miniatures: Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands (Utrecht, 10-13 December 1989)*. Doornspijk: DAVACO, 1991, 245-254.
- Reynaert, J., 'Gespreksvorm, rolverdeling en personages in de "Martijns"', in: *Queeste* 3 (1996), 179-90.
- Reynaert, J., 'Boendale of "Antwerpse School"? Over het auteurschap van *Melibeus* en *Dietsche doctrinale*', in: W. van Anrooij et al. (eds), *Al t' Antwerpen in de stad. Jan van Boendale en de literaire cultuur van zijn tijd*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2002, 127-157.
- Roefs, V.J.G., *De Egmondse abtenkroniek van Iohannes a Leydis O. Carm.* Sittard: Alberts, 1942.
- Ruh, K., 'Überlieferungsgeschichte mittelalterlicher Texte als methodischer Ansatz zu einer erweiternden Konzeption von Literaturgeschichte', in: K. Ruh (ed.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung. Beiträge der Würzburger Forschergruppe zur Methode und Auswertung*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985, 262-272.
- Roetert Frederikse, J.A. (ed.), *Jan van den Berghe: Dat kaetspel ghememorizeert*. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1915.
- Schmidt-Wiegand, R., 'Der Sachsenspiegel. Überlieferungs- und Editionsprobleme', in: R. Schmidt-Wiegand & D. Hüpper (eds), *Der Sachsenspiegel als Buch*. Frankfurt etc.: Lang, 1991, 19-56.
- Schmidt-Wiegand, R., 'Reimvorreden deutscher Rechtsbücher', in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 10 (1998), 311-326.
- Schmidt-Wiegand, R., 'Rechtsbücher als Ausdruck pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit. Eine Bilanz', in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 37 (2003), 435-475.
- Schnitzler, N., 'Picturing the Law – Introductory Remarks on the Medieval Iconography of Judgement and Punishment', in: *The Medieval History Journal* 3 (2000), 1-15.
- Smits, J.J., 'De Spiegel van Sassen of zoogenaamde Hollandsche Sachsenspiegel. Volgens het eenigst bekende handschrift', in: *Nieuwe Bijdragen voor Regtsgeleerdheid en Wetgeving* 22 (1872), 5-72 and 170-237.
- Snellaert F.A. (ed.), *Nederlandsche gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw van Jan van Boendale, Hein van Aken e.a.*. Brussels: Hayez, 1869.
- Stroo, C. & R. van Dooren, "'Wat hemlieden toebehoort die vonnesse wijzen zullen". Bouts' werk voor het Leuvense stadhuis in een ruimer perspectief', in: M. Smeyers (ed.), *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), een Vlaams primitief te Leuven*. Leuven: Peeters, 1998, 137-151.
- Suringar, W.H.D. (ed.), *Die bouc van seden. Een Middelnederlandsch zedekundig leerdicht*. Leiden: Brill, 1891.
- Van Anrooij, W., 'Recht en rechtvaardigheid binnen de Antwerpse School', in: J. Reynaert et al. (eds), *Wat is wijsheid? Lekenethiek in de Middelnederlandse letterkunde*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1994, 149-163.
- Van Anrooij, W., *Handschriften als spiegel van de middeleeuwse tekstcultuur*. Inaugural address 16 December 2005 Leiden University; Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2006.
- Van de Putte, F., 'Lois anciennes de Bruges', in: *Annales de la Société d'émulation pour l'histoire et les antiquités de la Flandre occidentale* 1 (1839), 211-272.
- Van Driel, J.M., 'Verheven vorm. Middelnederlands proza tot circa 1300', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 126 (2010), 1-19.
- Van Herwaarden, J., 'Dat Scaecspel: a profane-ethical exploration', in: *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 309-337.
- Van Leeuwen, J., "'Een tafereel van ons Heeren oordeel". De functie en de betekenis van een Laatste Oordeelvoorstelling in een middeleeuwse raadzaal', in: M. Smeyers (ed.), *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), een Vlaams primitief te Leuven*. Leuven: Peeters, 1998, 153-164.
- Van Oostrom, F.P., *Court and Culture. Dutch Literature, 1350-1450*. Berkeley etc.: University of California Press, 1992.

- Verdam, J., *Die spiegel der sonden II*. Leiden: Brill, 1901.
- Verwijs E., & J. Verdam et al., *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek*. The Hague: 1885-1952.
- Wackers, P., *Terug naar de bron*. Inaugural address 26 April 2002 Utrecht University; Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2002.
- Warnar, G. 'Het boek als bundel. Willem de Vreese en de studie van de Nederlandse letterkunde in de handschriftencultuur van de late Middeleeuwen', in: P. Hofstijzer et al. (eds), *Bronnen van Kennis. Wetenschap, kunst en cultuur in de collecties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek*. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006, 221-229.
- Warnar, G., 'Men of Letters. Medieval Dutch Literature and Learning', in: M.J.F.M. Hoenen, L. Cesalli & N. Germann (eds), *University, Council, City. Intellectual Culture on the Rhine (1300-1550)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, 221-246.
- Warnar (2008a), G., 'A Middle Dutch Homiliary and the Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta', in: A.M.W. van As-Vijvers, J.M.M. Hermans & G. Huisman (eds), *Manuscript Studies in the Low Countries. Proceedings of the 'Groninger Codicologendagen' in Friesland, 2002*. Groningen: Forsten, 2008, 319-330.
- Warnar (2008b), G., 'Leringhen inden boeken. De tekst en de drager in de Nederlandse literatuur van de veertiende eeuw', in: *Spiegel der letteren* 50 (2008), 155-171.
- Warnar, G., 'Het dubbele paspoort van de Middelnederlandse letterkunde', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 125 (2009), 201-205.
- Warnar, G., 'The discovery of the dialogue in Dutch medieval literature. A discourse for meditation and disputation', in: K. Enenkel & W. Melion (eds), *Meditatio – Refashioning the Self. Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 69-88.
- Warnar, G., 'The Dominican, the Duke and the Book. The Authority of the Written Word in Dirc van Delft's Tafel vanden kersten gelove (ca. 1400)', in: C. Brusati, K. Enenkel & W. Melion (eds), *The Authority of the Word. Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2012, 49-74.
- Wasserschleben, H., 'Mittheilungen über ein in dem Cod. Nr. 2667 der großherzoglichen Hofbibliothek zu Darmstadt enthaltenes, für die Rechts- und Kunstgeschichte interessantes Werk', in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 2 (1881), 131-151.
- Westgeest, H., *De natuur in beeld: Middeleeuwse mensen, dieren, planten en stenen in de geïllustreerde handschriften van Jacob van Maerlants 'Der naturen bloeme'*. Unpublished Ph-dissertation Leiden University; Leiden, 2006.
- Willebrands, A., 'De vrouwenpriorij Aula Dei in Friesland', in: *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 5 (1954), 77-91.
- Wolf, J., 'Volkssprachliches Rechtsschrifttum im Rhein-Maas-Raum', in: H. Tervooren et al. (eds), *Van der Masen tot op den Rijn. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Literatur im Raum von Rhein und Maas*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2006, 299-308.

## Inhoud/Contents

RENÉE GABRIEL	Introduction <i>Between Stability and Transformation. Textual Traditions in the Medieval Netherlands</i>	61
STEPHEN G. NICHOLS	Mutable Stability, a Medieval Paradox <i>The Case of Le Roman de la Rose</i>	71
GEERT WARNAR	The Books of Pieter Pouwelsz <i>Literature, Law and Late Medieval Textual Culture in the Low Countries</i>	104
ADRIAN ARMSTRONG	'Imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers' <i>Antwerp Editions of Jean Molinet's Poetry</i>	123
REBECCA DIXON	Codex and Consumption <i>Adaptation and Lifestyle Aspiration in the Burgundian Fille du comte de Pontieu</i>	138
BRAM CAERS	Layered Text Formation in Urban Chronicles <i>The Case of an Early Modern Manuscript from Mechelen</i>	154
ANTHEUN JANSE	The Scribe as Partisan <i>Local Markers in Regional Chronicles</i>	171
HOLGER KAHLE	Naar aanleiding van .../Apropos of ... Wigamur für Komparatisten. Zur Neuedition des Wigamur von Joseph M. Sullivan <i>Wigamur. Edited and translated by Joseph M. Sullivan</i> JOSEPH M. SULLIVAN (Hg.)	188
CHARLES-LOUIS MORAND MÉTIVIER	Une mise en émotion de l'analyse arthurienne: approches protéiformes <i>Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature. Body, Mind, Voice</i> FRANK BRANDSMA, CAROLYNE LARRINGTON & CORINNE SAUNDERS (réd.)	192

Afbeelding voorzijde: London, British Library,  
MS Royal 18 E III, f. 24

