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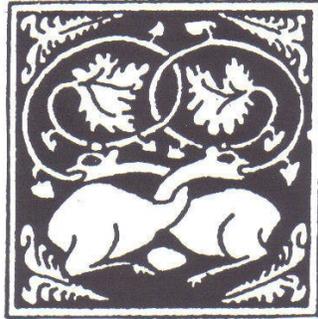
THE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLE

DIE MITTELALTERLICHE CHRONIK

LA CHRONIQUE MÉDIÉVALE

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST, 21 - 25 JULY 2008

ABSTRACTS

Michael Agnew, University of San Diego

Augustine and the Jew: Conversion and History in Pablo de Santa María's *Siete edades del mundo* (*Seven Ages of the World*)

Shlomo Ha-Levi/Pablo de Santa María is one of the most striking and polemical figures in the history of Jewish-Christian relations in fifteenth-century Spain. Born at mid-century in the 1300s into a prosperous family, he excelled in rabbinical studies and quickly rose to a position of importance in his community, earning the title of Grand Rabbi of Burgos, a royal appointment that indicates his importance among Christians as well. His conversion to Christianity in 1390 was understandably controversial and coincided with a terrifying period of in the Peninsula, with the murder of thousands of Jews perpetrated in pogroms the following year. As Pablo de Santa María, he successfully navigated the political worlds of Church and Crown, eventually becoming Bishop of Burgos, tutor to the Crown Prince and *Canciller Mayor* (chief advisor to the king). He was also a respected commentator on Biblical texts.

This paper examines the former rabbi's verse epitome of the history of the world as a conversionary text—specifically as a text that alludes to the paradigm of conversion St. Augustine presents in his *Confessions*, one in which the role of reading and of written texts are paramount. Much has been made of the poem's messianic periodization of history following an Augustinian model of the ages of the world. Nonetheless, the fuller ideological implications of Santa María's adoption of this subject and scheme, given the scant tradition of post-Biblical historiography among medieval Jews, remain unexplored. This paper focuses on several key structural elements to suggest that, more than a flattering mnemonic text for the education of Prince Juan, the chronicle is potentially an "*espejo*" (according to the prologue) of a different sort: a polemical document in the history of Jewish-Christian relations under the Trastámaras, the royal dynasty whose origins in a regicidal civil war in the fourteenth century and whose conclusion with Isabel I (the last monarch of that dynasty to rule in Castile and the one who established the Spanish Inquisition) was marked by constant anti-Semitic strife.

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Marianne Ailes, University of Bristol

Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte* – A Godwitness account of the Third Crusade

Taking the key-word of its title from one chapter of C. Given-Wilson's *Chronicles: the writing of History in Medieval England* ('Godwitness testimony', pp.21-56), this paper will address to what extent the function of Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte* is to testify to men about the deeds of God. Is this text, as suggested in the title of the closely connected *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gest Regis Ricardi*, a 'Deeds of King Richard' or a 'Deeds of God working through King Richard'? The activity of God will be seen through the different signs, prophecies and miracles assigned to Him by the author. 'Godwitness'

also suggests that, as eyewitness means that the eye gives authority to the text, God gives authority to the Godwitness account. The paper will examine the authority claimed by Ambroise for his narrative.

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Peter Ainsworth and Mike Meredith, University of Sheffield

The Online Froissart : prolegomena to an electronic edition

Two years' AHRC funding supports a project at Sheffield and Liverpool Universities to establish a freely accessible interactive scholarly edition of Books I-III of Froissart's *Chronicles* based on a core group of manuscripts produced in early 15th-century Paris. The interface will allow users to explore texts and manuscripts through a combination of context-specific searching, lemmatised indexing, full text and image collation and display of variant readings. Scholarly commentaries are provided on historical and textual aspects of the *Chronicles*, and on art-historical and codicological aspects of the manuscripts. Translations into modern English of selected, extended sections of the *Chronicles* are in preparation. The resource includes:

1. A high-resolution facsimile edition of Books I-III of the *Chronicles* based on Besançon MSS 864-865, Stonyhurst MS 1, Toulouse MS 511, Brussels MS II 88 and MS IV 251 delivered to the scholarly community over the web (***hriOnline*** imprint)
2. Edited and collatable transcriptions of Books I-III derived from these and other witnesses including the base manuscripts of the current standard editions (Paris, BnF MSS f. fr. 6477-6479; Leiden University Library MS VGGF 9-II; Paris, BnF MS f. fr. 2650)
3. Further variant readings, for selected chapters, from other available manuscripts
4. Codicological descriptions, and palaeographical and art-historical analyses of the manuscripts
5. Hotspot-style annotation: clickable areas of the images will call up descriptions of iconographic, codicological and other features
6. Hyperlinks between the transcriptions, images and translations

Combining (for each folio) marked-up searchable text, plus matching full-colour searchable images, the Online Froissart will offer scholars worldwide a freely available online tool for textual, palaeographical and iconographic research on the *Chroniques*. Scholars will be able to conduct detailed, context-specific searches of texts and variants across several manuscripts, engage with images of manuscripts whose originals are held in separate libraries, and explore relationships between texts and images across witnesses. The textual data will be a rich resource for scholars of historiography, narrative, and Middle French language. The images offer rich material for art historians. New translations into modern English provide historians with improved access to sections that are amongst the most important narrative sources for the Hundred Years War period.

Our presentation of the challenges and opportunities afforded by the Online Froissart is designed to introduce a section in which the Associate Director, two postdoctoral members of the team, two graduate research assistants and two PhD students will present papers on aspects of the project selected for relevance to one or more of the five themes chosen for the Belfast conference.

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Teresa Amado, Lisbon University

Time, reality and memory in Portuguese Chronicles

The relation between the present in which the chronicle is written and the past that it records is permeated not only be complex forms of memory that are available to the writer, but also by a discourse that is only partially his 'invention'. The double meaning, linguistic and rhetorical, of this word will be my starting point for a study of how time is represented, valued and used in three fifteenth-century Portuguese chronicles. This will include an analysis of what seems to be an abuse of repeated types of narration and description applied to certain types of events and scenes. From its results I hope to arrive at some understanding of the way in which that kind of repetitions affects time as represented reality and as meaningful idea in the text.

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Diane Beeson

The Purpose of Numerical References in El Victorial

The chronicle about the Count, Don Pero Niño, within a complex inter-generic tradition of the Fifteenth Century, reflects the rich, inter-textual variety in Spain at the time. The Trastamara wars, as well as the Crusades, created a quickly changing political scene which necessitated varying social class exchanges and gave rise to an emerging noble class.

The resulting text is a representation of the mixture of the pre-ceding chivalric narrative and those fictive texts produced by the varied cultures and the melting pot of languages in existence, woven together in an interesting tapestry as Humanism begins to change the concept of chronicles and their narrative structures. Within this fictive "pastiche", in El Victorial, there are specific numbers placed carefully throughout the texts of very different origins. Upon a second reading, one questions the precise reason for using these particular figures represented as facts.

This paper is an attempt to explain the purpose behind a seemingly arbitrary choice of ciphers throughout the inter-textual chivalric narrative of many borrowings. A study of the representation of certain figures taken from known historiographical contexts, as well as in the gloss provided by the author, can hopefully shed some light on not only the reasons behind the structural patterns chosen by the author, but also the way in which Humanism influenced the layout of the fictive narration at this time in Spanish chronicle development.

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Isabel Maria de Barros Dias, Universidade Aberta, Lisboa

The Emperor, the Archbishop and the Saint: one event in several textual forms

Historiography works are known to have absorbed data from a variety of sources such as hagiographies, miracles, epics or legends. This process implies the adjustment of that information to the textual

conventions that allow for the recognition of the entire work as a book of history. On the other hand, historical events, and allegedly historical events, can also be reported in various textual forms.

This paper aims to study one specific legendary event that has been reported in several medieval historiography works: the death of Emperor Julian the Apostate. This widely known episode happened in the Middle East but is reported even in the most western parts of Europe, in Iberian medieval texts of different genre, namely historiography.

The paper will concentrate mainly in three texts of different genre and in diverse languages:

- a *miraculum*, in Latin
- one poem of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, in Galician-Portuguese;
- a passage of the *Estoria de Espanna* in Castilian.

These last two works share the particularity of having been produced in the same *scriptorium* under the patronage and with the probable intervention of King Alfonso X (1221-1284).

The main questions that will be discussed are the following:

- does the story change according to the genre that reports it? If so, how?
- can the changes referred to above tell us anything on the existence or not of a genre awareness?

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Piotr Bering, Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu [Poznan]

Relationen zwischen der Chronistik und dem Theater
oder das geschriebene und das inszenierte Wort

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass verschiedene Sinnsysteme im Mittelalter existierten und zusammenwirkten. Diese These bezieht sich vor allem auf die Literatur. Eine Intermedialität hat tief mittelalterliche Kunstformen geprägt. Die mittelalterliche Chronik bildet eine gemischte literarische Form, in der man die *quasi*–theatralischen (inszenierten) Passagen abgrenzen kann. Die beidseitigen Relationen zwischen geschriebenen und inszenierten Worten befinden sich auf verschiedenen Textniveaus (Stufen). Die oberflächliche Struktur beinhaltet wörtliche Organisation des Textes. Auf dieser Ebene findet man sowohl dynamische fast dramatisierte Darstellungen, als auch Beschreibungen der gesellschaftlichen Rituale und Hofzeremonien, die als *social drama* fungieren.

Die privilegierte Stelle nimmt eine dialogische Form, die obwohl für theatralische Darstellung konstitutiv ist, erscheint sich jedoch sehr oft im chronistischen Text (auch als *oratio recta*). Von diesen Anmerkungen beginnend sollte man auch tiefere Strukturen erforschen. Ihre spezifische Organisation weist nicht selten auf kunstvolle und beabsichtigte Tätigkeiten hin, dank deren möglich ist, den Text *performativ* zu gestalten. Hier auch zählt man die Spuren der Oralität. Eine andere Möglichkeit bietet ein Vergleich des geschriebenen Textes mit außertextlicher Realität und auch mit performativen Künsten an.

Zu weiteren Textanalysen werden sowohl die deutschen als auch die polnischen Chroniken ausgewählt.

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Keira Borrill, University of Sheffield

A Translator's Froissart: Towards a new translation of the *Chroniques*

This paper will consider the justification for a new translation of Froissart's *Chroniques* as part of the Online Froissart Project. Given the number of translations of Froissart in existence, dating from as early as 1525 (Lord Berners), it would appear that as yet nobody has <u>looked at</u> what it really means to translate Froissart. As a translator trained to consider my work from the perspective of Translation Studies (granted it is still a relatively young discipline), I will present an initial vision of a work in progress, and discuss the significance of a new translation of the *Chroniques*. This will involve exploring/researching? existing translations, and where they have succeeded and failed in terms of the reason they were produced and <u>under what circumstances</u>; a brief consideration of the issues a translator should be aware of when dealing with a text such as the Chroniques, and finally a discussion of the aims of the new translation and where it fits within the Online Froissart Project. What is the new dimension, if any, that this version will bring to the study of Froissart?

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Gaynor Bowman, University of Kent

Re-reading Warkworth

This paper explores the underlying structure of the fifteenth century vernacular chronicle commonly known as 'Warkworth's Chronicle' from Peterhouse, Cambridge, MS. 190. Until recently this chronicle had been contained within the boundaries of historical evidence, possibly because of its historiography and its prose form, and had not been considered as having literary merit. However, in 1999 Matheson published a new edition of the chronicle and in doing so superseded all former understanding of the Peterhouse manuscript as being a unique and possibly unfinished piece of work. Matheson presented evidence that the genitor of the Peterhouse manuscript was located in University of Glasgow, Hunterian

MS.83 and found the footprint of another copy in British Library MS. Harley 3730.[1] From these sources he constructed a composite and more accurate version of the chronicle and made cogent arguments for a revised view of its textual history, authorship and date. Despite this its value as a fully realised narrative and the product of a single author remains unexplored.

This paper argues that the deliberate construction and physical arrangement of the chronicle both suggests and reinforces the underlying considerations of the author on the failure on the reign of Henry VI and presages the causes of the demise of the Plantagenet dynasty. The ending of the chronicle with *a prouerbe & a seyng* both suggests the nature of this narrative and provides the clue to unravelling the text to see it as not just "a record or register of events in chronological order" but as a considered distillation of circumstances and repercussions cleverly contained within a textual puzzle.[2] It is the textual puzzle that is the focus of this paper. The paper will aim to demonstrate that the author selected and arranged his material in a strategic manner to fit around a predetermined structure rather than allowing pure chronology to determine the form of his completed work. In the course of this investigation hitherto unregarded features are revealed as being significant to the fuller interpretation of the author's understanding of the events of which he wrote and how they interacted with his personal moral and philosophical doctrines. These features include signposting within the text, the incorporation of supernatural phenomena and side notes found only within the Hunterian manuscript.

The implications of this paper extend beyond this chronicle to encourage reappraisal of other chronicles to suggest that these too may contain similar sophisticated subtleties that can only enhance appreciation of the genre as it developed in the vernacular.

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Dauvit Broun, University of Glasgow

Creating and maintaining a Year-by-Year Chronicle: the Evidence of the Chronicle of Melrose (London BL Cotton Julius B XIII fos 2-47 + Cotton Faustina IX fos 2-75)

The main purpose of this paper is to show that the life of a contemporary chronicle over a long period can be much more complex than has hitherto been supposed (e.g. by Antonia Gransden in her paper, 'The chronicles of medieval England and Scotland'). A detailed understanding of this issue is obviously necessary if chronicles are to be used effectively as a source. But in most cases (where a chronicle survives only in one or more copies) the techniques of textual criticism can only get us so far in disentangling where and when any particular passage was written. A complete grasp of the text's genesis is impossible to achieve without being able to see where each scribe has added chunks of text or interpolated material. This kind of information is usually only available to a limited extent, because most manuscripts of chronicles are predominantly copies of an earlier chronicle, and as soon as a copy is made, the crucial evidence for layers of scribal activity that went into producing the text is lost.

In one respect the Chronicle of Melrose is like any other, in that it began life in 1173/4 as a copy of one or more earlier chronicles: at this stage it consisted of Hugh of St Victor's chronicle followed by annals from the first year of Our Lord up to the martyrdom of Thomas Becket in 1170. What makes it truly remarkable is that it survives as an original manuscript that has been added to over more than a century by 46 scribes who definitely worked at Melrose. The last annalistic material written at Melrose can be dated to sometime after Easter 1286 and probably before June 1291. Noel Denholm-Young was surely justified to refer to it as 'something of a freak'. Of the chronicle's 119 folios, 57 folios had been added over the previous century. A complete analysis of the palaeographical and codicological evidence (published in the facsimile edition in 2007) means that it is now possible to identify the layers or strata in which text has been entered into the chronicle, either 'lineally', as it were (with one block succeeding another in due chronological order), or by expanding it 'laterally' (by inserting material into existing text: more than a-hundred items have been added into earlier annals). There are about 50 strata overall which

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[1] Matheson M, *Death and Dissent*, Boydell Press 1999

[2] Given-Wilson C, *Chronicles*, London 2004, p.ix

can be placed in a relative chronology with terminal dates, which means that every passage can be placed in context and dated at least approximately.

This paper will use the evidence of the recent facsimile edition (and, on PowerPoint, illustrate this with images from the DVD of the MS) to examine what the Chronicle of Melrose reveals about what systems (if any) were in place for the entry of text into the MS. What emerges is that a remarkable variety of approaches were adopted, not only for updating the text, but also for creating the chronicle in 1173/4. All of these should be considered as possibilities in other chronicles for which the original manuscript no longer survives.

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Elizabeth J. Bryan, Brown University

"The Beeleigh Abbey *Brut* at Dartmouth College: Version and Reception"

A fifteenth-century manuscript of the Middle English prose *Brut* (*MEPB*) that was in the W. A. Foyle private library for much of the twentieth century is now accessible to scholars once again. Hanover, New Hampshire (USA), Dartmouth College, Rauner Library Codex MS 003183 is the former Beeleigh Abbey *Brut* manuscript owned by Foyle. The manuscript was acknowledged but not described in *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle* by Lister Matheson, who knew of its existence from A.I. Doyle. In this paper, I propose to describe the manuscript briefly, with slides (including the very damaged illuminated border at the beginning), and assess its place in the textual corpus of the Middle English prose *Brut*.

When assessed according to Matheson's taxonomies, the *Brut* text in Rauner Library Codex MS 003183 seems closest to the Abbreviated Version of the Middle English prose *Brut*, but its phraseology and syntax seem to have been revised throughout. The text is certainly characterized by the criss-crossing of versions for which the *MEPB* corpus is known. My paper will present one or two representative passages in some detail to justify the taxonomic assignment and call attention to its problems.

The manuscript is also filled with annotations, mostly of the sixteenth century, and it was rebound in the sixteenth century with an added table of contents. My paper will showcase the material signs of Elizabethan readerly interests and priorities in their interpretations of this British history, or English Chronicle.

Among other details, the sixteenth-century table of contents erroneously omits Cadwallader. Since the Cadwallader episode was never present in the Anglo Norman *Brut* but was added to some Middle English *Brut*s, the vagaries of its inclusion are always worthy of note. In this case, an Elizabethan reader failed to understand a scribal miscue.

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Marcus Bull, Damien Kempf and Steven Biddlecombe, University of Bristol

The following three papers flow out of our team involvement in the four-year AHRC-funded research project on Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, as well as Marcus Bull's work on a new edition of the *Gesta Francorum* for OMT. This project aims to revise current scholarly understanding of the historiography of the First Crusade, the interrelationships between different accounts of the crusade, the role of historical texts in the transmission and reception of memories of the crusade, and the manuscript dissemination of crusade histories (An amalgamated bibliography is appended to the abstracts).

α: Damien Kempf, 'Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*: From Chronicle to Travel Guide'
The most widely copied chronicle of the First Crusade was, by far, Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*. Robert was a monk of the prestigious abbey of St-Remi of Reims, and the text, which was written c.1107, consists of a lengthy account of the expedition between its launch at the Council of Clermont in 1095, and the aftermath of the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The magnitude of Robert's popularity requires emphasis: the number of surviving manuscripts (c.100) exceeds those of the other First Crusade histories by a factor of almost ten. This imbalance cannot be the result of the vagaries of source survival; it suggests that Robert's text assumed a cultural significance that transcended its status as simply one crusade narrative among many. Through a careful examination of its manuscript transmission, this paper will highlight the different readings of, and responses to, the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, and suggest that the text was not always copied as a chronicle of the First Crusade. In particular, we will outline the gradual process whereby the text was 'transformed' from a chronicle into a travel book by the end of the Middle Ages.

β: Marcus Bull, 'The Form and Content of the *Gesta Francorum*'
The *Gesta Francorum* has long enjoyed a privileged status amongst scholars of the First Crusade because it purports to contain the unmediated eye-witness observations of a participant in events, while its supposed shortcomings as a piece of literature have been regarded as evidence for its factual reliability. While this perspective has begun to be challenged in recent scholarship, there has, perhaps curiously, been no in-depth study of why the *Gesta* was written, the assumption simply being that the author was moved by the momentous nature of the events of the crusade to record his experiences. But we can learn much more about the text by examining both its structure and its content. What can the structure of the text tell us about the author's design? What narrative strategies inform the text? What does the variety of narrative registers within the text reveal about the intended audience(s)? Does the language of the *Gesta* suggest the possibility that it was intended for oral performance, or drew on oral sources? Not the least interesting facet of the First Crusade was that it 'wrote itself', in the sense that some participants, the author of the *Gesta* among them, were narrativizing the events even as they unfolded. This text, therefore, offers fascinating insights into the dynamics between historiography and lived actuality.

γ: Steven, Biddlecombe, 'Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana*: Adaptation and Originality'
Like Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolomitana,* Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana* (c.1108) substantially drew on the *Gesta Francorum* to effect a retelling of the First Crusade. Like Robert, Baldric was dismissive of his principal source, pointing to its *inurbanitas* and rustic quality. Of the various chroniclers who revised the *Gesta* in the years after the First Crusade, Baldric has perhaps received the

least scholarly attention – unfairly so, for his *Historia* offers much more than stylistic improvements of his source text, and he was both a noted literary figure and a senior ecclesiastic. The aim of this paper is to extend and deepen our understanding of the ways in which Baldric adapted the *Gesta*. How, for example, did he alter the narrative flow by means of compressing or distending the action? What significance attaches to his frequent addition of passages of direct speech, for example with respect to characterization? To what extent did he use classical intertexts to steer the reading of the text? Baldric's text offers a fascinating insight into the tensions that had to be negotiated when a slice of history that was still very 'live' and fresh in people's minds was reworked to accommodate the expectations of sophisticated readers.

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The Origins of the Latin Chronicle

No one can dispute that the chronicle is the quintessential medieval historical genre. One could easily construct a history of the entire medieval period in Europe using only chronicles (which are often our only source of information). Indeed, one often reads that the chronicle was a medieval invention, an early development from Easter tables. Others note the importance of Jerome and his translation of the *Chronici canones* of Eusebius of Caesarea in the late fourth century. A.-D. von den Brincken, in her now-standard book on the Latin world chronicle, takes the development back to the Greek works of Julius Africanus and Hippolytus in the third century.

The fact is, however, that the origins of the Latin chronicle are two-fold (consularia and chronicles) and go back to the first century BC, the antiquarian fervour of the late Republic, and the attempts by Augustus to publicly commemorate the actions of himself and his family. However, the Latin chronicle had even older antecedents in the Hellenistic Greek Olympiad chronicle, a genre that was itself probably influenced by earlier Assyrian and particularly Babylonian chronicles that extend back at least as far as the nineteenth century BC.

This paper will provide a short historical overview of the development of the chronicle from the Babylonians with particular attention to the genre in Latin from the late Republic to the sixth century. It will become obvious that in so many ways what we tend to think of as being characteristically 'medieval' and 'Christian' about the chronicle are in fact characteristics of the genre that can be traced back thousands of years, as will be demonstrated in a series of introductions, translations, and commentaries relating to the Latin chronicle tradition between the first century BC and the sixth century AD currently being prepared by Michael Kulikowski and me.

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Hendrik Callewier, University of Leuven

Truth and fiction: The Image of the Secular Clergy in the Chronicles of the Low Countries

The Bruges chronicle of Romboud de Doppere asks its readers a rhetorical question about the secular clergy: "Are really all of them arrogant and lecherous whore-hoppers and ravishers of virgins, are all of them guilty of theft and simony?" This is the image which is often found in the late medieval chronicles of the Low Countries. Also such authors as Jan van Boendale or Antonis de Roovere express a very negative opinion of the secular clergy. Their criticisms, however, remain rather vague, and they seldom quote concrete examples. Consequently, one might wonder whether this negative depiction is a true representation of reality, or rather a *topos* which was indiscriminately used by several authors. In this paper, we will first and foremost attempt to establish what image of the secular clergy is to be found in the late medieval chronicles of the Low Countries. Does this image display similarities with the themes in fictional literature, such as the exempla literature or epics (e.g. the curate of Kalenberg, the Canterbury Tales, ...). Are all authors as negative in their views, or do these vary depending on whether the authors are laypersons or clerics? Did their criticism pave the way for reformers such as Luther and Erasmus? Next, we will test the image found in chronicles against the (actual) situation as we find it in non-narrative, archival sources. Do these also paint us a picture of greed and moral decline? Are the concrete examples mentioned by the authors mere coincidences, or are they rather typical for the secular clergy in the late Middle Ages?

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Edward Coleman, University College Dublin

Small World: understanding the Italian context of the 'World History' of Bishop Sicard of Cremona (c.1212)

Bishop Sicard of Cremona (c.1155-1212) was a canon lawyer, hagiographer and liturgist as well as a chronicler. He served as papal legate in Lombardy for Pope Innocent III and attended the imperial courts of the emperors Frederick I Barbarossa and Henry VI as a representative of both the pope and his episcopal city. He also took part in the Fourth Crusade.

Bishop Sicard's chronicle, written towards the end of his life, is usually classified as a world history as it begins with the Creation and derives its narrative structure from the reigns of emperors. However, in the section of the work covering the twelfth century, and particularly the period of Sicard's own lifetime, the focus of attention is primarily on events in northern Italy. The chronicle is especially informative on the turbulent relations between the emperor Frederick I and the Lombard city communes, a topic where the author could draw on direct personal experience.

This paper will consider Bishop Sicard's approach to his historical material, highlight major themes that emerge in the chronicle, and discuss factors that may have influenced his viewpoint. The paper will

engage particularly with the first and second themes of the conference. With regard to *1. Chronicle: history or literature*? it will raise issues concerning genre identification, typology and classification With regard to *2.The function of the chronicle* the Italian context of the paper's title is intended to refer both in the times in which the chronicle was written and the historiographical framework in which it is located.

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Judith Collard, University of Otago

Continuities and Innovations in Matthew Paris's chronicle illustration:
'Self-Portrait with the Virgin Mary' (*Historia Anglorum*, British Library, MS Royal 14 C.VII)

Matthew Paris is probably best known for his ambitious and richly illustrated chronicles. He is regarded as a pivotal figure in the emergence of the illuminated English chronicle because of his active role as both author and artist. He has also been seen as a major figure within studies of English thirteenth-century art.

Amongst the prefatory material that precedes Matthew Paris's *Historia Anglorum* is an impressive full-page image of the Virgin Mary and Christ with, below them, a praying monk. Unusual in its composition and placement, this author portrait highlights several characteristics found within Paris's chronicles, and underlines his knowledge of, and place within the developing traditions of English chronicle illustration. In discussions of this image as an author portrait the unusual composition have been compared to older works, such as the Anglo-Saxon *St Dunstan's Classbook* and Carolingian editions of the works of Hrabanus Maurus. At the same time, its composition also reflects new trends in devotional imagery.

In this paper I intend to explore further the manner in which this illustration and other visual material incorporated into Paris's chronicles draw on the increasing role of imagery and diagrams in twelfth and early thirteenth-century chronicles and scholastic works. Examples of the wide-ranging nature of his imagery include his use of *signa*, genealogical diagrams and maps. It is through such a study that the innovative elements found in his chronicles, that foreshadow developments that occur in later English histories, are more readily identified in his work.

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Nicholas Coureas, Cyprus Research Centre

From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance: Elements of Transition in the Chronicle of George Boustronios

This paper will deal with an early sixteenth century Cypriot chronicler writing in the Cypriot Greek of his period. His chronicle, recounting the civil war which wracked Cyprus in the years 1458-1464, as well as

the Venetian annexation of the island after the death of King James II in 1473 contains conspicuous and diverse elements of transition from the late medieval period to the Renaissance. The transition from one historical period to another makes itself felt in the language of the chronicle, the powers and roles played by the social classes of Cyprus, especially the nobles and the burgesses and artisans of the towns, the role of religion within society and even the types of ship referred to in the chronicle. These various aspects of transition, social, linguistic, religious and nautical form part of the overall transition Cyprus experienced in the period narrated, from a feudal Latin kingdom in which French was the official language to a Venetian protectorate using Italian for official purposes. George Boustronios, although Cypriot, originated as regards family antecedents from the coastal town of Al-Butrun in present-day Lebanon, and so constitutes in person an example of transition in a geographical sense. The fact that he was not only an eyewitness but also a participant to the events he recounts and describes gives his chronicle, heavily relied on by subsequent Cypriot chroniclers, particular value as a historical and linguistic source on the developments and culture of late medieval and early Renaissance Cyprus.

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Francesco Dall'Aglio, Istituto Italiano Per Gli Studi Storici

In the best possible light: the Bulgarian translation of the "Chronicle of Manasses" as a political and national propaganda instrument

After a long period of decadence, the coronation of tsar Ivan Alexandăr in 1331 marked a complete renewal for the kingdom of Bulgaria, not only from a political point of view, but also from a cultural and artistic one.

His reign, which spanned until 1371, was a time of great competition between the Balkan countries, Serbia, Bulgaria and the Byzantine empire, each struggling to become the main power in the peninsula. This fight was not only fought with weapons or treaties, but also with more subtle means. Ivan Alexandăr carefully sponsored those arts that could project the idea of power and serenity that he wanted to show to his neighbours and to his own people: architecture, literature, rhetoric, painting and illumination became the favourite medias of this cultural offensive. Under his patronage was produced such a masterpiece as the so-called "Ivan Alexandăr's Gospel", currently kept in the British Library. Its splendid illuminations portray the king as a pious man, as a patron of the arts, and as a sovereign of great power and wisdom. Here, he is called "Tsar and autocrat of all Bulgarians and Greeks", "a second Constantine" and is portrayed, with all his family, in full garb and regalia, with insignia more imperial than royal. The political aim of this Gospel can be ascertained by the fact that the scribe who copied the Gospel, and who proudly signed it, states openly that the book was so well decorated "for the glory of the kingdom", not for the salvation of the soul.

But the Bulgarian sovereign was not only interested in church books; Ivan Alexandăr also actively sponsored the production and translation of histories, chronicles, genealogies, especially those that could present Bulgaria in a favourable light, stressing its former glory, which he was set to renew, and the antiquity of its history. The most important and successful of these works is the Bulgarian translation of the Chronicle of Manasses, commissioned by the tsar in 1345. The surviving manuscripts are richly illuminated and display a faithful translation of the original Greek text in excellent Bulgarian, according to the new standards set by the Tărnovo rhetorical and grammatical school; but the political meaning of the translation is much more important that the literary one. To the original text were added nineteen paragraphs devoted exclusively to Bulgarian history, especially to Bulgarian victories against the Byzantine empire; the Bulgarian tsars, directly compared to the Byzantine emperors, were always shown as braver, wiser and more pious (to quote just an example, Ivan Asen's achievements are directly, and favourably, compared to those of Alexander the Great). It is evident, from an examination of the ideology that informed this chronicle, that Bulgaria was expected to carry on the legacy of the moribund empire as its legitimate successor, ad that the claims of the Serbian kingdom in this regard were completely void, for lack of prestige and tradition. The Bulgarian capital, Tărnovo, was celebrated as the third Rome, the one

that would endure after the fall of the first and the visible decadence of the second one, an idea that will subsequently become a cornerstone of Russian imperial politics. In this viewpoint, translating and modifying Byzantine material was not an acknowledgement of dependence from a superior model, but the expression of the definitive transition of the dying Byzantine culture, and thus of its power, into the Bulgarian one.

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Michel De Dobbeleer, Ghent University, Belgium

'Monographic' historiography.
Aristotelian precepts, Bakhtinian observations and a Byzantino-Slavic case study

Thirty years ago the renowned Byzantinist, Herbert Hunger, wrote: "Man wird also gut tun, die Scheidung von Historiographie und Chronographie in der byzantinischen Literatur nur *cum grano salis* zu verstehen" (1978: 254; his italics). Stating this, Hunger had the distinction by his famous predecessor Karl Krumbacher (1897: 219-407) in mind, who divided between the chronicle genre and the – call it: less annalistic – 'historiographic' genre. Hunger justified this criticism by his observations, among other things, that the 'more serious' Byzantine pieces of historiography *no less* than the intuitively with innocent, rather ignorant clerics associated chronicle genre, dealt with meteorological signs, prophecies and other 'unscientific' matters.

In studying Byzantine historiography and its Slavic legacy one nonetheless feels the need to make a classification in the range of more or less literary texts that intend to evoke and / or explain the past, a feeling most probably shared by those who study West or North European historical texts. Hunger may be, and in fact he *is*, right in criticising Krumbacher, the latter's dichotomy is anyhow very useful as a starting point for my distinction between (rather) chronographic and what I would like to call 'monographic' historiography: historiograpic narratives treating a coherent historical unit. Such a division could be overevident and perhaps not new, of vital importance here is that I want to base it on Aristotle's prescription of unity in epics (*Poetics* XXIII, 59a17 ff.; cf. Heath 1989) and confront it with Mikhail Bakhtin's (in fact too general) observations in his influential essay *Epic and Novel* (1941).

By means of a set of Aristotelian parameters, apart from unity, also magnitude, order, probability and the amazing, I want to probe the epic proportions of monographic historiography. If this kind of historical writing is more epic than its less unified, more chronographic counterpart, then Bakhtin's considerations on the monologic epic, with its teleological plot, should be applicable to it. Whether this implies that the less unified historiographic works consequently function as rather dialogic, polyphonic entities (as in Bakhtin's concept of the novel), will be demonstrated by the comparison of two historiographic texts largely dealing with the same event, the Ottoman siege and capture of Constantinople (1453): (1) Nestor-Iskander's Byelorussian *Tale of Constantinople* (1470s), a rather monographic eyewitness report on the city's fall, and (2) the more chronographic (novelistic?) Late Byzantine Greek *Chronicle* (late 1470s) by George Sphrantzes, 'secretary' of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XI. Both present, for the most part, the same historical persons and a strong belief in the Christian God, but anyway attribute sometimes slightly different motives and still more divergent plots to them.

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Sarah de Haas, Trinity College, Oxford

History and Belief: The Audience of the Middle English Prose *Brut*

Despite being one of the largest groups of extant manuscripts, the Middle English *Brut* Chronicles are one of the least studied. Other than Lister Matheson's *The Prose Brut: the development of a Middle English Chronicle*, and the work done by the members of the Imagining History Project at Queen's University Belfast, the *Brut* Chronicles have for the most part been relegated to background information. I am quite interested in why this should be. Is it the sheer volume of the work? Or is it because once *Brut* Chronicles had fallen out of favor as history, few scholars wanted to take them up as literature? F. W. D. Brie says, in his introduction to his E.E.T.S. edition, that, "As literature, the Chronicle is as worthless – except a few inserted poems – as a medieval Chronicle can be." This begs the question of what, exactly, we define as literature and what we define as history. Certainly the first part of the *Brut* Chronicles, based largely on Geoffrey of Monmouth, cannot be seen as historically accurate. The later additions, many of which are derived from the London Chronicles, possess more of a sense of verity, but are still anonymous, and, as Antonia Grandsen has noted, "a number were written up in their present form at one sitting, so to speak, in 1461 or soon after; they emphasize the Yorkist claim throughout, and end on a note of triumph with ascension of Edward IV, which had clearly provided an incentive for their composition." Despite historical inaccuracy, and despite Brie's dismissal of their literary value, the Brut Chronicles were hugely popular and widely read. The stories contained in their folios influenced some of the greatest English writers, including Shakespeare and Milton. The *Brut* Chronicles actually do have a great deal of literary value, both as sources for some of the more accepted, post-medieval 'literature', and in of themselves. The narratives recounted in the *Brut* Chronicles are fashioned to capture cultural imagination, aligning British history with something more intangible than factual information about a stable past. The past is unstable in these texts, and therefore the concept of fact that is based on citation of sources and on the authority of an *auctore* is useless to the project of constructing national identity that the Chronicles are engaged in.

We are left with the question, then, of where authority is located in the *Brut* Chronicles, and of what that authority is working for. If a reader of the narratives is not expected to take them literally or accept them wholly as factual, then what relationship does the text ask for? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine both the audience of the *Brut* Chronicles and to analyze its intended effect on that audience.

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Anthoullis A. Demosthenous, University of Athens

'There will be blood': Art and Propaganda in Nicetas Choniates' *Historia*

Nicetas Choniates was born around 1155 and at the age of nine his family sent him to Constantinople where he followed a career in Byzantine Court. Among his writings the most renowned one is his "Historia" or "Chronike Diegeses". It narrates the facts of the period between 1118 and 1206. Choniates sketches the dark portrait of the Emperor Andronicos I Komnenos (1183-1185) underlying the use of intimidation in everyday life by this monarch. His reference in a fresco from the church of "Forty Martyrs" is indicative. This painting depicted a Byzantine farmer holding a sickle in front of the neck of a young noble man. The watchers who observe this fresco were trembling from fear since the figure with the sickle had the face of Andronicos.

The question, in order to understand this allegory is rather simple. The young figure symbolizes a certain group of people to whom the Emperor addressed with a strict warning. States' terrorism held by Andronicos' regime was based on the propaganda of reminding the penalty of death to those who were scheming to oppose the Emperor or even to those who didn't followed his will. The case of functionaries is the most enlightening. Andronicos started an ambitious reform in the area of administration and bureaucracy. Over the 12th century all the functionaries and especially tax-collectors, exercised their duties in a cruel way that made provincial population hate Byzantine government. Choniates informs us that the Emperor instructed the functionaries: "you will either cease to be unjust or cease to exist". Nicetas Choniates was also a tax-collector during this period. He belonged in a certain group of functionaries who faced the wrath of Andronicos. This left him a psychological trauma. Despite his efforts to be objective, the Historiographer is clearly biased.

Comparing the policy of Alexios I with that of his successors Ioannis, Manuel and Andronicos it is easy to see that there are no substantial differences at least in the style of management and the measures that all four took in order to establish their power and authority. As many Byzantinists noticed, their initials summarize the main axis of their policy. United one after the other with chronological order, the names Alexios, Ioannis, Manuel and Andronicos form the Greek word AIMA, which means blood. However, the first three had the historiographers by their side to support them and presenting their atrocities as victories over the Evil. On the contrary, Andonicos was presented as a demon because he went against the interests of the scholars and the men of Court who twisted his work. The scene in the "Forty Martyrs" church may be connected with the victory of the Emperor against the heretics. Archaeological and historical data show clearly that Byzantines knew that kind faces may be a disguise of the Evil. Iconography, during Komnenian era, adopted new scenes, like that of Melismos, in order to confirm the conclusions of the numerous ecclesiastical Synods that took place in the 12th century. It was not only the Church under attack it was the whole Byzantine political system that was ready to collapse under the pressure of the heretic teachings that undermined the political and social "status quo" and of course the Emperor himself.

With certainty we can say that Andronicos wanted to intimidate and spread panic in order to achieve obedience and discipline on behalf of his subjects, but the scene in the wall of the "Forty Martyrs" was rather related to the anti-heretic propaganda of the Emperor. Andronicos was not a pious monarch but he wanted to declare in every opportunity his mighty nature.

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David N. Dumville, University of Aberdeen

Genre and Function in Mediaeval Irish Chronicles

Irish chronicles – whether in Irish, Latin, or both, whether colonial or native in origin – are for the most part resolutely annalistic in form. A small but important group of substantial texts ('The Annals of Clonmacnoise', *Cocad Gaedel re Gallaib*, 'Fragmentary Annals of Ireland', *Mionannala*), probably all

dating in origin from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, breaks free from the traditional constraints of the annalistic chronicle to interact shamelessly with other genres, notably saga and hagiography. Some limited aspects of these works have been discussed at previous meetings of this conference. On this occasion, it is proposed to examine the generic interactions and to place them both within the more general history of the mediaeval chronicle and in the context of the appearance in Irish annalistic chronicles of heroic narratives of twelfth- and thirteenth-century overkings. Finally, the opportunity will be taken to announce the identification of a previously unpublished version of the fifteenth-century Irish chronicle known as 'The Annals of Ulster'.

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Dan Embree

The St Andrews Chronicle: Notes to Boece's *Historia*

The chronicle Don Kennedy and I have titled the *St Andrews Chronicle* and are publishing as one of our short prose Scottish chronicles is a damaged fragment of a summary Scots translation of the early books of the highly suspect *Historia Gentis Scotorum* of Hector Boece.

The *St Andrews* translator-editor has made so radical a reduction of his original that it amounts to a set of notes. And it is perhaps as a set of notes that the *St Andrews Chronicle* is best read -- as a selection of what struck one reader of Boece as worthy of remembrance. This chronicle tells us more about the history of Scotland the reader read than about the history the writer wrote.

The *St Andrews* translator is surprisingly uninterested in the legendary Greek-Egyptian origins of the Scots – the story of the Greek prince Gathelos and his wife, the Egyptian princess Scota, fleeing west from Egypt just as the Israelites are escaping east, wandering through parts of North Africa before settling in Spain, and then sending their children on to conquer and settle Ireland and later Scotland.

Boece's treatment of the Picts, as the traditional hostile in-laws of the Scots, is also edited into inconsequence by the *St Andrews* chronicler.

The *St Andrews* translation may have been undertaken as a purely personal exercise. We have no indication that the translator contemplated an audience beyond himself. In any case, the text offers us a small insight into popular taste. The translator understands perfectly well the basis of Boece's appeal – sex and violence.

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Uta Goerlitz, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich

**Sovereigns and Saints: Figures of Cultural Integration
in Latin and German Chronicles of the High and Late Middle Ages**

The sovereign and the saint were two prominent figures of cultural integration in the Middle Ages. Both models play a significant role in medieval literature and especially in chronicles. However, the two figures refer to quite different types of cultural integration and thus were usually represented through different patterns of narration. Nevertheless, the two narrative patterns are not infrequently combined with each other. It is precisely this latter type of representation which will be examined by the papers in this session. The topic of the session is related to a collaborative research project entitled "Heroes and Saints. Figures

of Cultural Integration in Medieval Courtly Literature" („Helden und Heilige. Aporien und Paradoxien kultureller Integrationsfiguren in der Adelsliteratur zwischen 1150 und 1300"), which is situated at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, and forms part of a larger collaborative research network, the so-called DFG Priority Programme 1173 "Integration and Disintegration of Civilizations in the European Middle Ages" („Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter"), coordinated by the Universities of Berlin (Humboldt-University) and Heidelberg and funded by the German Research Foundation („Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [DFG]" (cf. URL http://www. spp1173.uni-hd.de/english/mainpage.html).

Papers:

1. Uta Goerlitz, München, 'Problems of Interpreting the Figure of Charles the Great in the Early Middle High German *Kaiserchronik*'
The figure of Charles the Great within the *Kaiserchronik* (the first rhyme-chronicle in the German vernacular) is traditionally interpreted by literary historians as that of an emperor who is decidedly depicted as a "German" national king. In my paper I would like to demonstrate that this interpretation is based on premises which on a closer look at the narration of the chronicle prove to be wrong and which have hitherto obscured the saintly traits of the figure.

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2. Andreas Hammer, Göttingen, 'Hagiography and Historiography: King Henry II and Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg'
Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg and Emperor Henry II are both sovereigns who were canonized in the Middle Ages. This paper concentrates on German vernacular chronicles based on hagiographical and historiographical texts written in Latin, in which Ulrich of Augsburg and Henry II play a prominent role. It thereby aims at studying interferences between hagiographical and historiographical modes of writing chronicles in medieval Germany.

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3. Annette Seitz, Heidelberg: 'Godfrey of Bouillon on the eve of his transfiguration: The stylization of a God-chosen ruler in universal chronicles of the 12th and 13th century'
Godfrey of Bouillon, who was the first Christian ruler in Jerusalem after the conquest of the city by the crusaders in 1099, became soon more than just a secular sovereign. His legendary refusal to wear a crown where Christ wore thorns was only one aspect of his beginning transfiguration. While his stylization in the *Chansons de Geste* and his incorporation in the *Nine Worthies* have been thoroughly researched, my paper would like to focus on the patterns of his stylization in high medieval universal chronicles.

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Ryszard Grzesik, Polska Akademia Nauk, Posnan

Foreign elements of the Polish medieval historical tradition

Polish historical tradition was noted first of all by Gallus Anonymus. It was Gniezno (Great-Polish) tradition about the origin of the state. Almost 100 years later this model was changed by Vincent Kadłubek, who enlarged it with the extensive legendary history, connected to Cracow. In this way, he proved the place of Cracow as a cradle and a centre of a state, and the independency of Poland in relation to other countries (especially Germany). The chronicles repeated the Kadłubek's variant of history, while the annals in the narrative introduction preferred rather the model of Gallus Anonymus. We find, however, in some annals, chronicles and in the *Vitae sancti Stanislai*, some facts unknown to both first Polish chroniclers. There are the story of Adelheid, the sister of Mieszko I and wife of Géza of Hungary, the story of the Hungarian mission of St. Adalbert and the Polish-Hungarian rivalry for the crown. The *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* and the famous *Chronicon imperatorum pontificumque* of Martinus Polonus (Opaviensis) were their sources. I will concentrate mainly on the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle, which represented the alternative variant of the Hungarian history. I will try to show that some facts of this Chronicle had the Polish roots, although they were written in Hungary, on the court of Coloman and his Polish wife, Salomea by somebody from her circle. The stories about Adelheid, the sins of the Poles and the subordination of Carantania by a Polish ruler belonged to them. The last one thread directs our attention back to Vincent Kadłubek, according to whom the organizer of the Polish state originated from Carinthia, as well. The consciousness of the Polish-Carinthian relationship had to preserve in Poland of the turn of the 11th and 12th century. However, the genesis of such opinion is impossible to define.

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Michael Hicks, University of Winchester

'Cracking Identity: Three English Chroniclers 1450-70'

This paper focuses on three of the best chronicles of the Wars of the Roses called Benet's, Gregory's and the English Chronicler. Despite their titles, each is anonymous. Internal evidence however reveals a great deal about the chroniclers themselves - each, for instance, was a secular clerk living in London - and about how they compiled their histories. This talk explores the potential of internal evidence. It also demonstrates why this matters and what difference such knowledge makes to the historical understanding and use of their testimony.

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Alice Jorgensen, Trinity College, Dublin

Reading for Identity in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS F

The recent monograph by Alice Sheppard (*Families of the King*, 2005*)* has focused attention once more on the construction of national identity in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, considered as a continuing tradition reflected in the various manuscripts. My paper will look at a little-studied Chronicle version, that of London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. viii, known as MS F, for the peculiar angle that it affords upon questions of both national and personal identity. F is unusually securely dated and localised: it was compiled and written c. 1100 at Christ Church, Canterbury. The compiler revised and translated the Old English annals to produce a bilingual Latin-English epitome. Thus, though it has been little esteemed as a historical source for the events it records, being a late and derivative version, F is of special interest as a document of engagement with the Anglo-Saxon past after the Norman Conquest. Moreover, Peter Baker convincingly argues that the compiler who assembled the material, the translator who produced the Latin entries, and the scribe who wrote the text were the same person (*MS F*, 2000, pp. lxii-lxviii).

Since the F-scribe was making an epitome, the revisions to the annals are mostly omissions. In the section dealing with the reign of Æthelred, he frequently omits statements making generalisations or evaluative comments about the suffering of the English or the incompetence of the leadership. The effect is to produce a sense of greater detachment than is found in the source annals; the F-chronicle does less to construct a 'we' who endure the events recounted. While this is not surprising given F's greater distance in time from those events, the changes can often be explained on purely stylistic and mechanical grounds as a product of stripping the annals down to their essential information. Intriguingly, however, the Latin versions of the annals sometimes put back elements omitted from the English. The relationship between the Latin and the English cannot simply be seen as a version for Anglo-Normans and a version for English-speakers; rather, they are two subtly different slants on the same material put together by the same multilingual individual.

The evidence of F is fascinating but needs to be treated with caution. The F-scribe was not consistent in his approach. Finally, if it is hard to detect strong themes in F's version of history, the very inconsistency of the revision shows us the complexity of one individual's engagement with the past.

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Edward Donald Kennedy, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Antiquity of Scottish Civilization: King Lists and Genealogical Chronicles

Although there are king-lists of Scottish kings dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that were designed to show unbroken lines of descent, emphasis on the antiquity of the Scottish line began in the late thirteenth century when England's Edward I tried to gain power over Scotland and continued through the sixteenth century, and the king-lists continued to be copied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Allthough the structure of many Scottish chronicles focused on the unbroken line of descent of the kings of Scotland, at times this emphasis was lost with longer, more digressive chronicles that began to appear after Fordun's *Cronica gentis Scotorum*. Such genealogical evidence was important in Scotland, particularly since in the late Middle Ages the leaders of the nation lived in fear of England's claim that it should have hegemony over Scotland because through much of Scotland's history, the English claimed, the kings of Scotland had paid homage to the kings of England. Thus in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries some abbreviated chronicles were written (*Nomina omnium regum Scotorum*, *Brevis cronica*, the *St. Andrews Chronicle*) with almost each paragraph focusing on the reign of a king, and they thus served as king-lists/genealogical chronicles that showed the antiquity and independence of the Scottish nation. There were other attempts to keep the king-lists alive: the 1527 edition of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* is prefaced by a detailed "Scotorum Regum Catalogus" as well as a simple list of all of the Scottish kings from antiquity; the latter is also included in the printed edition of Bellenden's translation of Boece's chronicle. Moreover, the detailed table of contents of both versions of Bellenden's translation would also have functioned as a king-list. Thus although long chronicles of Scottish history became popular, some must have believed that the king-list, whether modified as a genealogical chronicle

with paragraphs devoted to each king or presented simply as a list of kings, remained essential so that Scots could have easy and quick access to evidence that they lived in a nation that had been independent (the chroniclers claimed) for almost 2000 years.

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Erik Kooper, University of Utrecht

Kings British or Anglo-Saxon – What's the Difference?

In the course of the thirteenth century we see a gradual development of nationalism in England. At the end of that the first chronicle in English appeared, by Robert of Gloucester, soon to be followed by numerous others, such as those by Thomas Castleford, Robert Mannyng, or the Prose *Brut*, or John Hardyng's *Chronicle*.

Although historiography is not, properly speaking, a fictional genre, the author does present his audience with a narrative, for which he selects his material from a large amount of data, and for the presentation of which he chooses a style and a stance all his own.

In this paper I want to look at the way in which English chroniclers present the historical events of the British (i.e. Celtic) past and see how this presentation compares to that of the kings of their own people, i.e. the Anglo-Saxons. I will do this on the basis of the accounts of a few kings from both periods.

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Michael Kulikowski, University of Tennessee-Knoxville

Revisiting the Late Antique Chronicle Tradition: Historiography and Historical Reconstructions

The paper I propose complements that of my collaborator Richard Burgess, who has likewise proposed a paper, on the "Origins of the Latin Chronicle", for the Fifth Annual Chronicle conference. The late antique Latin chronicles were edited by Theodor Mommsen in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica in the 1890s, and surprisingly little textual work has been done on them since; on the contrary, Mommsen's editions have been used without much regard for the warnings he gives about textual transmission in his introductions and apparatus criticus. The work of presenting a complete English translation and commentary of the late antique chronicle tradition, on which Burgess and I are engaged, has raised a large number of problems about the balance of the textual/editorial, the philological, and the historical in the commentary; the level of explanation necessary to make highly technical questions of transmission simultaneously comprehensible and useable for non-specialists; and the extent to which the generic question of chronicles in relation to contemporary Greek and Latin history need to be considered.

Perhaps most important, however, is the question on which this paper will focus: the re-examination of technical questions of transmission raises important doubts about how chronicles reflect reality – what their historiographical purpose is, generically or individually – and about how we use chronicles to reconstruct past reality. Some events or explanations that seem to be widely grounded in chronicle evidence are revealed to rest upon very slender attestation; others that seem to have only a tenuous historical basis emerge as better founded than previously believed. I will present three brief examples that illustrate how our historical reconstruction changes meaningfully if we understand the implications of the

textual transmission of chronicle evidence: the 'Varronian' date of Rome's foundation; the date and circumstances of the fifth-century Rhine crossing by Alans, Vandals and Sueves; and the date and circumstances of the assassination of the Visigothic king Theoderic II. Each of these questions is problematical, each has an orthodox answer, and each is put on a new footing if the textual transmission and the historigraphical approach of individual chronicles is taken into account. Taken together, they illustrate the necessity of bringing a sound textual foundation to the use of chronicles in reconstructing fifth-century history.

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Sjoerd Levelt, The Warburg Institute

A chronicler and his books: Jan van Naaldwijk's first *Chronicle of Holland*

As translator of a life of Arthur, and author of chronicles of England and Utrecht, as well as two different chronicles of Holland, Jan van Naaldwijk could potentially have been remembered as a central figure among the early sixteenth-century authors of vernacular historical texts in the Dutch Low Countries. As things stand, however, only his two chronicles of Holland were preserved, in their autograph manuscripts. They never enjoyed a wide readership, and today remain virtually unknown.

This paper will present a study of the first of these chronicles, with particular focus on Jan's treatment of his sources. The historiography of the county of Holland had been based on a limited number of texts, most prominently Jan Beke's *Chronographia*. Jan van Naaldwijk significantly widened his scope, and took information for his chronicle from more than thirty sources, ranging from historical sources such as Robert Gaguin's *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* and the chronicles of Jean Froissart; travel accounts such as that of Johannes Witte de Hese; narrative collections like the *Gesta Romanorum* and Poggio's *Facetiae*. Finally, Jan included anecdotes from his own experience, and his personal situation influenced his opinions about the history of Holland.

While firmly rooted in the historiographical traditions of the Middle Ages, Jan actively sought a connection with the new intellectual movement of the humanists. Thus, his chronicle is located at several crossroads: between amateurism and professionalism; medieval and humanist approaches to history; manuscript and print; Latin and vernacular. This paper will present the results of the first extensive study of this fascinating work in its historiographical context.

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Valentina Mazzei, University of Sheffield

Pride Comes Before a Fall:
Froissart's Cautionary Tale of the Siege of Purnon in Besançon Municipal Library ms. 864

The siege of Purnon in 1369 saw Edward III's son-in-law the earl of Pembroke trapped in a Templars' house with a small English contingent, whilst the French forces gathering outside had taken possession of his booty and were determined to take revenge for the pillaging they had suffered at English hands. Besançon Municipal Library MS 864 is unique amongst early fifteenth-century Parisian manuscripts of Book I of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* in that it dedicates a miniature to this minor siege with relatively unimportant consequences on a military level. In this paper the relationship between text and image is explored, with close attention paid to the reasons behind the visual inclusion of this scene – in an iconographic cycle recently deemed "anglophile" – which portrays the English at their most vulnerable. The events of the siege of Purnon form the stage on which the dynamics of the very personal relationship between the main protagonists of Froissart's account are enacted: the young and inexperienced earl of Pembroke whose pride has put him in his predicament, and the charismatic and older seneschal Sir John Chandos, who reluctantly comes to his rescue. Despite the textual variations across Froissart's different redactions of this episode and the possibly scribal or editorial manipulations of the text in MS 864, the siege of Purnon can be construed as a cautionary tale which, in this particular manuscript, is considered worthy of being commemorated with the aid of a purposely designed miniature.

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D. P. Mc Carthy, Trinity College Dublin

'The representation of time in the Irish Annals from Adam to AD 1616'

The Irish Annals comprise a group of ten substantial chronicles which between them span the interval from Adam to AD 1616. While the surviving manuscripts range in date only from the late eleventh to the mid-seventeenth centuries, the compilation processes behind these survivals extend in time from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries. As may be expected over such a long period the Annalists' representation of time did not remain constant, but rather it evolved slowly from prototypes originating in Late Antiquity up to forms cognate with our modern usages. This paper will review this evolution commencing with the hallmark of the early Annalists, the singular 'Kł' representing 'Kalendae Ianuarii', through Imperial regnal, Anno Mundi, ferial, epactal, Anno Domini and Irish regnal-canon series. These representations will be illustrated from the appropriate manuscripts, and their relationship to the reality of time identified.

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Zoya Metlitskaya, Institute of Scholarly Information on Humanities Moscow

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Anglo-Saxonists of 19-century

One of the main features of medieval chronicles is that they (unlike romances for example) pretend to tell the historical truth. Moreover, in many cases they are the only source of historical facts (unfitted as they may be). In the last decades a lot of researches have been carried out to reveal the means by which medieval chroniclers and annalists transformed original texts and evidence in accordance with their intentions and biases. But let's see what we, modern historians, do with the materials which had been handed to us.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle along with Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica" is the main (and for some periods – the only) source for our knowledge of early English history. It is clear that its pattern, its accents and omissions influenced most of later narratives of Anglo-Saxon history and thus have formed to a

considerable degree our reception of Anglo-Saxon past. But, as I am going to demonstrate, there is contrary influence. The reception of the Chronicle by modern scholars was affected by their personal conceptions of what Anglo-Saxon past should be and what Chronicle's narrative should tell.

To prove my case I have compared three nineteenth-century editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, namely, the editions of J. Ingram (1823), B. Thorpe (1861) and Ch. Plummer (1892, based on the publication of J. Earle(1865)). Modern historians (unlike their medieval colleagues) couldn't compile or transform the text they were publishing. Nevertheless, they were using other tools to change the accents, to emphasize certain fragments or details of the original text (and, accordingly, certain historical events or facts) and neglecting the others. I think that editor's commentaries were crucially important for this, so in my research much attention had been paid to them. I have also taken into account such features as the presentation of the extended manuscripts, some peculiarities of translation, editor's attitudes to the Chronicle expressed in introduction, etc. As my analysis revealed, each of the editors had created his own historical narrative in accordance with his views and preferences, which rooted in historiographical, literary and social background of epoch, but also in his personal experience. So, J. Ingram with his fiery love to his country and his liberal romanticism had told the story of the heyday and the downfall of the great Anglo-Saxon language, culture and the greater Anglo-Saxon liberty. B. Thorpe, linguist, who had studied for many years Old Norse language and literature, had treated the Chronicle in "all-Germanic" context, trying to neglect almost completely bitter experience of Vikings invasions. Ch. Plummer, great historian and humble man, had denied the extremities of his recent forerunners and turned (maybe unconsciously) to the attitudes of another great scholar, Bede the Venerable.

I also suppose that some continuity (more or less hidden) can be traced between the different attitudes of first editors (not only the three I spoke about) of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and of some of its recent editors and editions. Maybe we can speak about different traditions in the reception and presentation of the Chronicle? In conclusion, let's do not hurry to charge medieval annalists or modern historians for their biases. All various "images" of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Anglo-Saxon history are biased and incomplete, but at the same time all of them are true, since each of them reveals some aspects of the whole great pattern.

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Anna Michalek-Simińska, Uniwersytet Szczeciński

Propositions de communication:
La mort et sa représentation d'après les chroniques polonaises des XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles

Les XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles sont au centre de notre étude, car ils ont engendré une transformation du monde politique et culturel qui a eu de fortes incidences sur la mentalité des sociétés d'Europe Centrale. Ces changements dans la mentalité s'expriment dans les descriptions de la mort. La comparaison concerne les chroniques polonaises telles que „Chronique de Jean de Czarnków" (XIVᵉ s.) et „Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae" de Jean Długosz (XVᵉ s.). Ces desux sources narratives, separrés par cent ans, contiennent les différentes façons des descriptions de la mort. Il importe de présenter le modèle de la mort du roi, du clergé, de la bourgeoisie et de la noblesse. Il s'agit de souligner les changement dans ces présentations. D'autre problème c'est la question de l'écoulement du temps et au même temps la nécessité d'assurer la continuité. Tout d'abord cette situation se révélait au moment de la mort du souverain. La

question qui se posait alors était la suivante: dans quel sens la nature de pouvoir royal et sa réception étaient transformées dans la réalité et dans le niveau idéologique.

L'objectif de ce travail consiste à établir une typologie de la mort d'une manière générale, en tant que phénomène complexe, et, d'une façon plus précise, en tant que conséquence de la mort du monarque et les changements de la société que cette mort avait provoqués.

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Rafal Simiński, Uniwersytet Szczeciński

Raumvorstellungen in den mittelalterlichen Chroniken Livlands

Der Aufsatz setzt sich zum Ziel den Raum als Faktor zu zeigen, der Wahrnehmung der Welt vom Menschen bildet. Die Auffassung von Raum war von der sozialen Herkunft des Menschen, seinen Beruf, seiner Bildung und seiner persönlichen geistigen Veranlagung abhängig. Im Raum erblickte man verschiedene Erscheinungen, materielle und immaterielle, die sich schwer erklären ließen und im Mittelalter überwiegend Furcht oder Hoffnung weckten. Der Analyse werden die folgenden Chroniken unterzogen: Chronik Heinrichs von Lettland, Livländische Reimchronik, Bartholomäus Hoeneke's und Hermanns von Wartberge. Diese Chroniken entstanden im Milieu der deutschen Eroberer und Kolonisten, die auf dem baltischen Boden als Vertreter der bestimmten kulturellen Werte des lateinischen Mittelalters angesehen werden konnten. Livland war im Mittelalter ein Land, das seine Identität an der Grenze zwischen verschieden, d. h. heidnischen, russisch-orthodoxen und lateinisch- abendländischen Kulturen gestaltete. Das trug zur Entstehung eines spezifischen Grenzbewusstseins bei. Im Aufsatz werden die folgenden Probleme berücksichtigt: geographischer Horizont der Chronisten, ihre Vorstellung des Landes, Bestimmung ihrer Lage in der Welt, sowohl in Bezug auf Innen und Außen, Art und Weise der Raumwahrnehmung und die Faktoren, die sie stimuliert haben, und Raumbewertung, vor allem als ein Verhältnis des Menschen zur Natur und Umwelt des Landes verstanden.

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Hartley Miller, University of Liverpool

'Speak my lingo!'

Froissart's *Chronicles* exist in a wide variety of foreign language translations, but the early manuscripts

exhibit an equal variety of Middle French dialectal differences. What can this tell us about the relationship between the Chronicles and its medieval francophone readers? Is a manuscript in 'Picard' more accessible to a Picard reader than a manuscript in 'Francien'?

    Who or what is at the source of this dialectal variation? This section of the panel will introduce some of the ways in which the Online Froissart can be used for detailed socio-linguistic and historical-linguistic studies, based on the ongoing comparative analysis involved in the transcription of these manuscripts.

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<p style="text-align:center">Richard J. Moll, University of Western Ontario</p>

<h3 style="text-align:center">The Chaucerian Origins of John Hardyng's Unfortunate Arthur</h3>

John Hardyng was a soldier, spy and chronicler whose lengthy account of British history survives in two versions from the mid-fifteenth century. Hardyng's sources for British history include the standard historical works (Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, etc.), but he was also an avid reader of romance and Chaucerian texts. It has long been known that Hardyng borrowed extensively from *Troilus and Criseyde*, but the purpose of these borrowings has as yet gone unexplored.

    This paper will argue that Hardyng did not look to Chaucer simply for bits of description with which to decorate his Arthurian story (his image of Guinevere, for example, is largely drawn from Chaucer's Criseyde). Rather, Chaucer provided Hardyng with a vision of history more complex than the standard Brut narrative. In particular, the *Troilus* gave Hardyng an analysis of the role of Fortune within the historical process. Hardyng's own version of the Troy story is brief, but the *Troilus* was used extensively throughout his account of King Arthur. The *Chronicle*'s Arthurian narrative, therefore, becomes a site within which Hardyng can discuss Boethian themes as they are articulated by Chaucer.

    Hardyng thus provides us with a fifteenth century layman's reaction to Chaucer's text and ideas. Hardyng is unusual in that he is not a "literary man", but he turned to chronicle writing for purely personal political reasons. He is also, however, typical of the fifteenth century reading public. He is obviously literate, but is has no formal rhetorical training. Hardyng may know Boethian concepts of Fortune, but his understanding is limited by the second-hand nature of his knowledge and his limited educational background. His application of Boethian philosophy within the *Chronicle* reveals the extent to which sophisticated philosophical arguments had penetrated one English reader's understanding.

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<p style="text-align:center">Katariina Närä, University of Sheffield</p>

<h3 style="text-align:center">'Tout ce que il appartenoit a une noble et haulte dame':
Representations of Aristocratic Female Characters in Jean Froissart's Chroniques Book IV</h3>

Froissart uses various narrative devices to provide a commentary on his recording of the past; historical figures as he represents them often voice his preoccupations with the events unfolding under his dictation. Froissart communicates criticism of contemporary society through characters featuring in his narrative, a device which, one could argue, is the most typical of his ways of expressing an opinion. This paper explores three closely associated female characters from the French aristocracy: the duchesses of Burgundy, Berry and Orléans as portrayed in Book IV, together with their actions and motivations. I argue that the representation of two of them reflects the policies of their respective husbands and the power struggle within the royal family, whereas the youngest is portrayed more symbolically as the ideal aristocratic lady and as an antitype to the unflattering portrait given of her husband. In his portrayal of these women, Froissart juxtaposes the ideals of chivalric society and his vision of its necessary virtues and morals with the reality: disillusionment with the world as he saw it in these later years and with its social,

<p style="text-align:center">27</p>

political and moral values. This juxtaposition also echoes earlier medieval views of women as types of the Virgin Mary or of Eve.

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The Text(s) and the Patron(s) of the Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes: A Few Observations

The Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes (CBA) is a prose historical compilation in French composed around 1280, which recounts the history of the world from the Creation to 1278. It is the first complete universal chronicle written in Old French. Compiled under the patronage of Baldwin of Avesnes, son of Margaret, countess of Flanders and Hainault, this text seems to have enjoyed a fair amount of success in the medieval period (around 40 copies are extant for the original text). All this would lead one to expect that this work would have been extensively studied.

However, despite having received important scholarly attention during the 19th century, the *CBA* was almost consigned to oblivion during the 20th century, when only some particular sections were given consideration (Flutre, Ruhe, Warlop and, recently, Croenen, Jung). Apart from these important contributions, our knowledge of the *CBA* remains superficial. Groundbreaking works such as those of Guenée and Spiegel merely mention the *CBA*, repeating Flutre's observations. The only real studies of the text (Meyer-Zimmermann and Gillette Labory's fiches at the IRHT) are still unpublished.

In this paper, I will present some of the results of my research into the *CBA*. First I will look at the development of the text. Whereas previous scholars have always stated that there were two redactions of the *CBA*, I will make the case for the existence of a third (earlier) redaction. One of the distinctive features of this redaction is a number of passages regarding the history of England. The second part of my paper will deal with the patronage of the *CBA*. Here I will argue that not only Baldwin of Avesnes, but also his wife Felicity of Coucy, had a part in the process of composition of the CBA, as can be seen particularly in the sections with genealogies.

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When was a king not a king? Royal genealogical chronicles and diagrams in medieval France

This paper considers a series of genealogical diagrams or trees of kings of France, produced in France from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, and usually placed alongside a genealogical chronicle. It explores the relationship between the text and the diagrams, and examines how judgement of individual kings' legitimacy was expressed, implicitly or explicitly, in the figures accompanying the chronicles. The use of graphical devices such as diagrams or trees enabled their authors to complement or even go beyond what was written in the chronicles, and to reinforce their message. The example of Hugues Capet – usurper or legitimate king? – is considered throughout, with references to other kings whose legitimacy was in doubt.

The diagrams and chronicles discussed include the eleventh-century royal genealogies that were placed at the end of the annals of the monastery of Saint-Aubin in Angers; the genealogical tree that appears in a manuscript of the *Karolinus* by Gilles de Paris; the universal chronicle, the *Compilatio librorum historialum totius biblie*, produced by Giovanni da Udine (Johannes de Utino) using the *Compendium* by Pierre de Poitiers as a model; an abridged translation into French of this chronicle by Jean Miélot, scribe and translator to the Dukes of Burgundy; an anonymous universal chronicle, possibly based on Giovanni's version, which contains *A tous nobles*, a popular fifteenth-century chronicle of the kings of France; the *Abbreviatio figuralis historie* by Girardus de Arvernia; the diagrams contained within the *Vie et miracles de saint Denis* by Yves de Saint-Denis; and the *Arbor genealogie* by Bernard Gui. Mention is also made of genealogical figures which were appended to chronicles or treatises as an aide-mémoire to the reader.

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Visualising Royal Authority: John Hardyng's use of Lydgate's 'King Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London 21 February 1432'

This paper explores the remarkable, but hitherto unidentified, use of one of John Lydgate's occasional poems in the first version of John Hardyng's verse *Chronicle*. Written to celebrate Henry VI's spectacular entry into the English capital after his coronation in Paris as dual monarch of England and France, Lydgate's verses on 'King Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London 21 February 1432' were twenty-five years old when Hardyng completed and presented the first version of his *Chronicle* to Henry VI in 1457. By focussing on those sections of the *Chronicle* where Hardyng has appropriated extracts from Lydgate's poem, and by placing each of the authors' works in their historical context, this paper seeks to address why Hardyng might have turned to Lydgate's work for inspiration when composing his history of Britain, and what his use of this unusual source reveals about the overall function of the *Chronicle* as Hardyng may have perceived it.

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Le Prétexte Généalogique dans *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*

La Gran conquista de Ultramar est née d'un travail de traduction et compilation qui a à son origine l'œuvre de Guillaume de Tyr *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, traduite en français et poursuivie par des continuateurs qui ont fait de l'ensemble l'*Eracles*. C'est celui-ci qui fait l'objet, vers la fin du XIIIᵉ, d'une traduction à la cour de Castille, texte hybride où le récit historique côtoie des épisodes plutôt romanesques, grâce à l'interpolation de matériaux de provenance diverse. Parmi eux, les emprunts épiques occupent une place privilégiée et leur intégration se justifie soit par la recherche d'un surplus informatif, soit par le souhait d'un apport généalogique, qui concerne finalement des personnages aussi différents que Godefroid de Bouillon, protagoniste historique de la croisade, dont la présence est nucléaire dans le récit, et Foucher de Chartres, figure secondaire, provisoirement investie de protagonisme, dont un ancêtre, personnage secondaire lui aussi dans la geste de Charlemagne, est pourtant suivi dans le moindre trait de sa participation dans les aventures du futur empereur et de sa mère. Les statuts nettement différents des héros qui les suscitent accordent pourtant aux interpolations respectives un fondement concret, dans le premier cas, celui de Godefroid, tandis qu'ils en font, dans le second cas, celui de Foucher, un simple prétexte. Ce trait me semble – et c'est ce que j'essaierai de montrer dans ma communication – jouer en faveur du caractère tout à fait original de l'interpolation, dans la *Gran conquista*, d'éléments appartenant à la légende carolingienne, justifiée pour des raisons idéologiques, tel que l'a suggéré, avec des fondements solides, Gómez Redondo.

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"Scoti a Scota": Varying Uses of the Scota Legend in Chronicles

The tale of Scota, the Egyptian princess who, along with her husband and followers, colonized Scotland and gave it her name, features in a variety of chronicles from the ninth century to the end of the Middle Ages (and beyond). The narrative shows many similarities with other foundation traditions, such as the central eponymous figure, the origin in the Classical world, and the heroic qualities and deeds of the protagonist. Like other medieval texts, this one was adapted as it spanned centuries and languages, serving as a fluid resource for chroniclers and their respective rhetorical aims.

The Scota tradition has attracted a certain amount of attention from scholars in the past, who have focused on the significance of her Egyptian background, the antiquity of her lineage, and the parallels between her narrative and that of Brutus, the eponymous founder of Britain. Others have noted the appearance of the foundation tale of Albina in the early fourteenth century and have posited that this matriarchal narrative may have functioned as a response to the use of the Scota tale by the Scottish during the Great Cause. However, little scholarly attention has been paid to depictions of Scota's behaviour and how this may validate her as a national hero when viewed in conjunction with or opposition to Brutus and Albina. In this paper, I will address this deficiency with the aim of opening avenues for further dialogue about this facet of the chronicle tradition. This paper will tie in with two main themes of the conference: chronicles as history or literature, as well as the chronicle and the 'reality' of the past.

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Exegetical method and the chroniclers of twelfth-century England

This paper examines the influence of exegetical method on the ways in which chroniclers of twelfth-century England recorded and interpreted the past.

Few people think of William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh or Robert of Torigni as anything but historians, but each of them also wrote biblical commentaries. Other writers, such as Ailred of Rievaulx, primarily known for their theological works, wrote history. All chroniclers of medieval England, to a greater or lesser degree, had a knowledge of the Bible and its interpretation. This paper examines the influence of exegetical method on chroniclers of twelfth-century England, and how an appreciation of this method might deepen our understanding of these works, and the historical writing of the period.

The paper will examine first how arguments from biblical exegesis are incorporated into the works of such writers, and examples of original attempts at Biblical exegesis within the form of the chronicle. But more pervasive than the direct use of biblical exegesis are the patterns of thought and association which a familiarity with exegetical method inbued in chroniclers. The chronicles of William of Malmesbury and William of Newburgh, in particular, can be shown to reflect this method in the way they juxtapose the narration of political history with ostensibly unrelated anecdote and reflection. In doing so they reveal an understanding of the recent past which is closer to contemporary attitudes towards Biblical history than one might expect. This analysis casts new light on both the works in question and the events which they describe, and on the broader theme of historical writing in twelfth-century England.

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A Chronicle of Kartli, an XI century Georgian text and the Byzantine *Synopsis historiarum* by John Scylitzes: common points and differences

Matiane Kartlisa (*matiane qarTlisa Chronicle of Kartli*) by an anonymous author is a first-rate source narrating Georgian history of the 8th-11th centuries. It tells of the political unification of Georgia. In addition, it contains important evidence on Georgia's neighboring countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan and on North-Caucasian tribes. Much space is devoted to questions on Byzantine-Georgian relations. The chronicle under discussion is a work of clearly defined historical genre. His broad education allows the author to make bold use of old Georgian and non-Georgian sources and to present historical events as comprehensively as possible. The *Chronicle of Kartli*, if not the whole text, at least the last part, was written in 1073. Of course, it is impossible to assume that a chronicle which covers such a long period

(from the 8th to the 11th century), was written in one year. Probably, the anonymous writer of the text wrote it gradually. He stopped writing in 1073, most likely because he passed away.

John Scylitzes, a well-known Byzantine historian, the author of the *Synopsis historiarum* covers the period of the years 811–1057. In his history he drew on the work of others for the early part and then largely relied on sources no longer extant and on contemporary oral tradition.

Since both authors (John Scylitzes and the Georgian anonymous writer) cover almost the same period in their Chronicles sharing the same genre and methodology, it is a great challenge to compare them. In some points, especially describing events of the XI century, they discuss the same points relating to the relations between Byzantium and Georgia. In this context it is of great importance to investigate a possibility of their using a common source. The structure and literary means (affinity and differences) of both will also be a subject of my paper. Another goal will be to see a chronicle as a genre in both cases, as well as how they were influenced by needs of both the Byzantine and Georgian ruling class, its ideology and society in the XI century.

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William of Malmesbury's "Polyhistor": history, chronicle, literature or what?

This paper seeks to establish the motive behind the compilation of the little studied Polyhistor of William of Malmesbury, whose other historical writings have been subjected to much critical attention this century and last. The Polyhistor is an extraordinary collection but its rationale is difficult to establish and it reveals both defective and very partisan contemporary philological interests. I believe that it is important to establish exactly what the Polyhistor was, why it was written, what it's shortcomings are, and then to reflect on how conclusions in this regard help us establish a better understanding of the relationship between 'main theme' and 'digression' in William's major historical effort, the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum'.

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'alles lepperey, smaicherey und lüge'? Die Ästhetik und Funktionalität der Anachronismen und Sagenmotive in der Bayerischen Chronik Ulrich Füetrers

Als *lepperey, smaicherey* und *lüge* bezeichnete Aventin Ulrich Füetrers *Bayerische Chronik*, entstanden zwischen 1478 und 1481 durch *gepot und begeren* Albrechts IV. von Bayern-München. Sie reiht sich in die im 15. Jahrhundert verstärkt aufkommende Gattung der volkssprachlichen Landeschroniken ein. Die

Herrscherhäuser wollten ihr dynastisches Selbstbewusstsein, ihre lange Tradition und vergangene Großtaten schriftlich fixiert und historisch legitimiert wissen. Auch Ulrich Füetrers *Bayerische Chronik* ist in einem solchen Kontext zu lesen.

In dieser *hystory* sind Geschichte und Literatur miteinander verflochten, wodurch zeitliche und kausale Unstimmigkeiten entstehen. Die Genealogie der bayerischen Fürsten wird aus dem in den Weltchroniken üblichen heilsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang gelöst und in einen fabelhaften Kontext umgesetzt (z.B. Verwandtschaft mit der Gralsfamilie).

Am Beispiel der Empörergestalten Ernestus und Heinrich wird gezeigt, dass Füetrer ästhetische Mechanismen wie Anachronismen, Überschreitungen der semantischen Räume, Vermischung von poetischen Quellen mit geschichtlichen Begebenheiten einsetzt, um seinem Auftraggeber und dessen Geschlecht geschichtsübergreifende Legitimierung zu geben und den Bayern eine größere politische Bedeutung als der kaiserlichen Zentralgewalt zu bescheinigen. Dieser Gedanke ist bereits am Anfang der Chronik sichtbar: Als Pompeius den Orient eroberte und alles der römischen Herrschaft unterwarf, widersetzte sich ihm einzig und allein der tapfere armenische Fürst Bavarus, der *in anererbter furstlicher freyait und aigenschaft* den bayerischen Fürstenstamm begründete.

Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen der Partikular- und Zentralgewalt und die Überlegenheit der bayerischen Fürsten zeigt Füetrer am Motiv des beim Kaiser *in groß ungnad* gefallenen, unschuldigen bayerischen Herzog. Ernestus (der sagenhafte Herzog Ernst) und Heinrich (der Löwe) sind im Mittelalter auch als Protagonisten populärer, strukturell ähnlicher Heimkehrersagen mit wunderlicher Orientfahrt präsent. Der *edel unschuldig fürst* Ernestus wird durch die Intrige des *ungetriuwen pfaltzgraf* beim Kaiser diskreditiert. Nachdem Ernestus seinen Kontrahenten erschlägt, der feige Kaiser *im in ain capellen entloff* und er die wunderlichen Abenteuer im Orient besteht (nur durch Überschreitung der semantischen Räume möglich), erlangt er wieder die *huld* des Kaisers und *seine erb* – deutlich ist hier der Kontrast zwischen dem schwachen Kaiser und dem tapferen Ernestus. *Durch was ursach* Heinrich der Löwe in Ungnade beim König Friedrich I. fällt, *ist nicht wissend*. Entmachtet wird er aber auf Grund seiner *widersässigkait* und Nichterscheinen bei *ainem gemainen hof* des Kaisers (dass an diesem Hoftag Heinrichs Absetzung beschlossen wurde, berichtet Füetrer natürlich nicht). Als Heinrich mit seinem *gross volk* dem König nach Italien folgt, fällt der König vor ihm *auf die knie*. Diese Versöhnungsszene markiert die höchste Überlegenheit der bayerischen Partikulargewalt.

Indem Füetrer sogar eine genealogische Verbindung zwischen den beiden Figuren herstellt, um Ernestus historisch zu legitimieren (er ist Sohn des *hertzog in Bayren, Hainrich von Prawnsweigk*, des Gründers von München – eine Reminiszenz an den historischen Heinrich den Löwen, der bei Füetrer allerdings erst zweihundert Jahre später auftaucht), verbindet er bewusst zwei große Helden, die das gesamte bayerische Fürstengeschlecht aufwerten, ihn in einen mythischen Zusammenhang stellen und auch geschichtsübergreifend legitimieren.

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<div align="center">* * *</div>

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<div align="center">**Yellow Plagues in Sixth-Century Ireland**</div>

The main surviving witnesses (the *Annals of Inisfallen*, the *Annals of Tigernach*, the *Annals of Ulster*) to the hypothetical 'Chronicle of Ireland' (composed c.911), or its even earlier ancestor the 'Iona Chronicle' (composed c.740), record the occurrence of two great epidemics in mid-sixth century Ireland. The first which occurred c.545 is described as the *bléfed,* apparently meaning 'yellow appearance', while the second which ocurred c.551 is described as the meaning the *buide Conaill* 'yellowness of Conall'. While it has occasionally been accepted that the dating proves that one or both of these epidemics was really

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identifiable with the so-called Justinianic plague, that is, bubonic plague, no explanation has been offered as to why the Irish sources alone should describe the victims of this epidemic by the colour yellow. Hence some commentators have favoured the identification of this plague as smallpox or some other disease which caused jaundice. Yet this still does not explain why the Irish alone should have been affected by this particular epidemic, with the possible exception of their Welsh neighbours. The answer lies complicated textual history of the surviving Irish annals. The most plausible explanation is that, in their earliest form, the brief notices describing these epidemics had originally referred to a *mortalitas* or *pestis pluvia* 'a rain-plague' in accordance with the early medieval belief that rain caused disease. However, subsequent copyists misread the adjective *pluvia* 'rainy' and transcribed it as *flava* 'yellow'. The best explanation as to why the two epidemics of c.545 and c.551 were then given separate names is that different copyists and/or translators made this mistake in each case.

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The Layout of Time in Medieval World Chronicles

Around 1200, Peter of Poitiers, chancellor at the university of Paris, compiled a synopsis of Biblical history from the creation to the time of the apostles, mostly entitled *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*. Its innovative diagramatic layout made it immensely useful as a mnemonic device that made the complexity of Biblical history visually accessible. Moreover, in contrast to a historical narrative, this structure allowed for the expansion of the time covered and the information provided, but also for the adaption of the model for different contexts: World chronicles up to the Early Modern Era follow this layout, the most famous example being *Liber Chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel. The reason for the enormous impact of this kind of layout of history lies in its flexibility. Moreover, its quality to present dates in a lucid way had a great impact for the development of visualizing time as a sequence not only of events but of data. The relevance of the concept for chronography becomes most apparent in the *Fasciculus Temporum*, first printed in 1474. This chronicle was first in introducing the retrograde incarnation era and indeed played a most important role for its fast dissemination, since it was one of the most often printed books in the Early Modern Period.

However, the phenomenon of diagramatic world chronicles, *historiograms* as one could call them, has been long neglected both by historians and art-historians. By art-historians: because there is not enough "art" (i.e. images), by historians: because there is not enough "history" (i.e. genuine information). But they were more widely disseminated than any other type of chronicle and therefore shaped the medieval view of chronology more than any other medium.

This paper will examine how time is represented and encapsulated in the visual layout of these world chronicles in text, image and digram. The focus will be the relationship between historiography and chronography.

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