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ABSTRACTS

Session 1a

Narrative & Memory: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle(s), 937-55

Alaric A Trousdale

Scholars have long recognized that the group of texts commonly referred to as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is not a single account, but a *mélange* of sources composed at different times and at different locations. Scholars have argued over the nature of how individual annals were recorded; the information for certain years can appear as though it was written contemporaneously, while other years' entries can appear as though written with retrospection. Some recent debates have revolved around the question as to whether the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle should be conceived as a series of annals composed and directed by a centralized authority close to the royal court, or a more relaxed and dispersed methods of recording certain years' events.

This paper examines the ASC's annals for the mid tenth-century with these considerations in mind, and seeks to shed new light on the relationships between the recensions. The annals in the ASC for these years illustrate several aspects of the present debate, with evidence of both centralized contemporary composition as well as external (i.e. non-royal) composition from hindsight, suggesting a more plastic interpretation of tenth-century chronicling. The paper also addresses the nature of several conspicuous blank annals. While the ASC in the tenth century was indeed likely the composition of those closest to the king, annals left blank could represent not a loss of material, but a conscious omission on the part of said chroniclers. The paper therefore fits well with the fourth theme of the conference, 'the chronicle and the representation of the past'.

Decennovenal reason and unreason in the C-text of *Annales Cambriae*

Henry Gough Cooper

The Welsh Latin annals, or *Annales Cambriae*, are preserved in manuscripts dating from the early twelfth and the late thirteenth centuries. The earliest text (A) consists of a set of annals that appear to run from about 453 to 954, but set in a 533-year frame that extends from 445 to 977. This frame has been taken to represent the 532-year Great Paschal Cycle plus one year. The chronological apparatus of this chronicle is minimal, with merely each tenth year being noted.

The late thirteenth-century St Davids version of the Welsh Latin chronicle (C) consists of a universal chronicle, derived from a version of Isidore of Seville's chronicle in the 'Etymologies', for the period from the Creation down to the Empire of Heraclius (610-642), followed by a set of annals running from A.D. 677 to 1288. This text has sparse chronological indications, consisting of a few *anno domini* dates and sporadic indications of years in the decennovenal (nineteen-year) cycles. There are twenty-eight decennovenal cycles in the 532-year Great Paschal Cycle, and the chronicle makes both overt and concealed reference to the Great Cycle. This paper will examine both the overt chronological apparatus in the text, and also the evidence for covert use of decennovenal reckoning in both the universal chronicle and the annals proper. The evidence of both the overt and covert chronological apparatus suggests an early thirteenth century date at which the peculiar form of this version of the Welsh Latin chronicle was achieved. The motive for the recasting of the chronicle in a form which is a radical departure from conventional chronology will also be considered.

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What kinds of events were reported by medieval annalists? (England, Ireland, Rus)

Timofey Guimon and Zoya Metlitskaya

The idea of the paper is to study systematically the circle of events which early medieval annalists chose to report. Such study has three main implications. Firstly, it must help us to understand the annals as a kind of text as well as their function in the society. Secondly, such study can throw additional light onto the history of particular texts (the choice of events can differ from chronicler to chronicler, and, certainly, between the ones who described contemporary events and the ones who wrote on distant past). Finally, such study gives an excellent material for comparative studies.

The method of this study includes the following procedures: to divide the annalistic text into 'elementary units' – notes (narrations) on separate events; to

classify such notes into thematic groups; to count the percentage of each group of notes to the total of notes of the chronicle in question; to count the average percentage of each group of notes for all studied chronicles of a particular country; to compare the results. In spite of some difficulties (the division into 'units' is a delicate procedure; it is not always easy to create equal thematic groups for annals of various countries; etc.) the observations made in the study can contribute something to our understanding of the annalistic genre in general and of the national annalistic traditions in particular.

The authors study three early medieval annalistic traditions: Anglo-Saxon (the late 9th – the early 12th centuries, manuscripts A, C, D, and E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), Irish (the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Tigenach* up to the mid-12th century), and Rus (the 11th – the early 14th centuries, the *Laurentian*, the *Hypatian*, and the *First Novgorodian* chronicles). The comparison is undertaken both between different texts within one country and between the annalistic traditions of different countries.

The paper is a part of our joint research project "Medieval annalistic writing: A comparative study (England, Ireland, Rus)", supported by the RGNF (№ 12-01-00328).

Session 1b

Fictionalizing processes in two medieval Iberian chronicles

Filipe Alves Moreira

It is possible to sort medieval Iberian chronicles into three categories, based on the approaches to composition used by their authors. In some chronicles compilation prevails (e.g. Alfonso X's «*Estoria de España*», XIIIth century); in others, authors describe contemporary events and, therefore, rely heavily on witnesses' accounts or their own experience (e.g. «*Crónica de Alfonso XI*», mid-XIVth century); and, finally, some chronicle authors fictionalize. Chronicles belonging to this last category provide an opportunity to analyze how literary and fictional discourse emerges within the historiographical system.

The aim of this paper is to analyze two chronicles whose authors rely heavily on fictionalizing processes: «*Cronica de Castilla*» (Castille, late XIIIth century) and «*Cronica de Portugal de 1419*» (Portugal, early XVth century). Among other things, particular attention will be given to how methods used by their authors are, to some extent, common to those identified by Eugène Vivanti in the evolution of medieval romances of chivalry.

Don Pero Niño as a Reflection of a Multi-Cultural Iberian knight in the fifteenth century

Diane Beeson

This paper is related to the concept of "Chronicle – History or Literature?" In deference to what is normally considered the knight-hero in historiographical texts in

the fifteenth century, some basic clues needed to help unravel the complex patterns found in *El Victorial*, as told by Gutierre Díaz de Games, are discussed to show how readily available historical data has been modified in the historiographical narrative. Much of this data is not only a common source in the re-elaboration of other historiographical narratives previous to the fifteenth century, but also a re-interpretation of the chivalric material in existence at the time of re-counting the adventures of Don Pero Niño in his service to the Trastámara kings.

Examples of varying interpretations of passages from *El Victorial* illustrate the existence of a profusion of contemporary literary and chivalric genres, namely the historiographical narrative and that of books of chivalry, as lived by knights-errant like Pero Niño in imitation of chivalric values. Consequently, a consideration different from the traditional revision outlining the obligatory passage of arms, chivalric models, symbolism and rites is brought to light. As a result, it is seen how *El Victorial* is much more than the classification relegated through previous historiographical analysis and even more of a reflection of the melting – pot of cultures in the Iberian Peninsula than the classic battle cry for the Re-conquest as reflected in contemporary chronicles.

Historical Genres and Political Context in Medieval Catalonia

Jaume Aurell

From the 9th to the 14th century, five historical genres were practiced in medieval Catalonia: annals (10-11th centuries), genealogies (12th century), first-person testimonial narrative (13th century), classical chronicles (13-14th centuries), and political treatises (14th century). These *generic* choices are inextricably bound up with the specific contexts of inscription, the political aspirations at the time, , and a growing awareness of collective identity.

My main interest in this intensive changing genre-landscape is theoretical. Outside the field of creative literature, historians and literary critics have generally been reluctant to acknowledge the existence of historical genres. Nevertheless, I argue that genre theory may provide a valid frame for the interpretation – or, at least, valid expectation (Hans-Robert Jauss), of historical writing, advancing of historical theory and practice, and improving our understanding of the interaction between literary practice and political action. The choice for a specific genre reflects the authors' (or their patrons') decisions about the organization of historical knowledge in ways that satisfy their aesthetic, ideological, social, political, and representational aims. Thus, genres as such are never unbiased, and studying them becomes a useful methodological tool to explore the poetics of culture and power (Stephen Greenblatt). Generic developments reveal social and cultural changes in the audience, and thus confirm Nietzsche's statement that a new need in the present opens a new organ of understanding the past. Genres are rhetorical, determined by conditions established between the author and audience (Ralf Cohen, Northrop Frye, Mijail Bakhtin), and they are relevant since the form is always present, in one or another way, in the content of the stories historians tell (Hayden White, Gabrielle Spiegel). In a word, within historical narratives, they are omnipresent. These ideas are particularly visible in medieval Catalan historiography and its relation to the evolution of a collective identity. My objective is to explore the strategy behind the genre choices made by

medieval Catalan authors, and how these reflect the shifting circumstances in which they worked.

Session 2a

Early tenth-century chronicling in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: rival narratives of Lady Æthelflæd and Edward the Elder

Courtney Konshuh

This paper will compare and contrast how chronicling was carried out at the courts of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, and King Edward the Elder. In the early tenth century, no standard of chronicling had been established in England. The Common Stock entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle had been compiled during King Alfred's reign, and while it was probably hoped that they would become an established tradition, this conclusion was not certain. While the propagandistic aspects of these entries have been looked at, reflexes in the first continuations have not. Later annal entries follow the Common Stock model to some extent, and the main themes include kings' movements, *burh*-building and campaigns. Thematically, the concentration of each set of annals differs, reflecting the ruler's concerns with expanding and consolidating their positions.

This paper proposes to look at the language of power and authority used in these continuations, and what this reveals about the chronicler's motives. The relationship between the Æthelflædian annals (902-924 in Ms C) and the Edwardian annals (900-920 in Ms A) will be explored, as well as possible patronage and intended audience of these texts.

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Fighting Vikings with Words: Revisiting the Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

John Quanrud

For over a century, scholars studying the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's early textual history have started from Charles Plummer's conclusion that the 'first Alfredian compilation' was compiled in the early 890s. This paper considers an alternative to Plummer's interpretation of the evidence, suggesting instead it may be possible to discern an earlier set of annals within the Chronicle, produced c. 878, which antedates the Common Stock archetype and was later used in its production.

Janet Bately first noted a possible break in the Chronicle's late-870s annals in her 1978 paper, 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence'. Significantly, the 'south-western elements' noted by F. M. Stenton, and various distinctive features of 'style and phraseology' observed by R. H. Hodgkin, also conclude at annal 878. It is suggested that these, and other, features originated together in the same text — one dealing primarily with viking conflicts, Egbert's dynasty and the rise of Alfred — produced c. 878, at a time when Alfred is known to have been in south-western Wessex, seeking to mobilize a war-worn population against the viking invaders.

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“Origin and Supplement”: Two Modes of the Historical Writing in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and *The Ecclesiastical History of English People*

Minwoo Yoon

This essay purports to analyze formal aspects and ideological tenor of the most important medieval historical texts in Anglo-Saxon times: *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (ASC)* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of English People (EH)*. Initiated by King Alfred, *ASC*, especially in its early compilations, attempts to involve textual details devoted to commemorating the origin and genealogy of the Wessex dynasty. The entries after Alfred and his immediate successors abandon its terse style, but still focus on the Wessex ideology; the later entries afford to accommodate personal opinions of recorders and, thus, tend to be a longer narrative. *EH*, composed by Venerable Bede, highlights the conversion process of the Anglo-Saxon England into Roman Catholicism. In doing so, *EH* had to meet the twofold hindrance coming from the Germanic pagan background and the Irish-Celtic Catholic faith, both of which were widespread in the Anglo-Saxon England.

According to Hayden White, historical writings cannot be an objective replica of historical facts but an assemblage of factual details on the basis of re-interpretation. In formal aspects, historical texts can be divided into the three categories, "annals," "chronicle," and "history." *ASC* is largely near to the annalistic form; *EH* is a "historia" retaining some elements of "chronicle." In the aspect of ideological tendency, also in White's classification, a historical text is comparable to one of the

four tropes, "metonymy," "synecdoche," "metaphor," and "irony." *EH* most clearly adopts the attitude of "synecdoche" because every each of the individual entries represents the whole idea of the conversion to a Christian unity. In *ASC*, its Alfredian part is directed to the origin and continuity of the Wessex dynasty; but towards its end the entries tend to be a mechanical accumulation of discrete incidents. It is, however, not impossible that the "similitude in difference" can be found among the heterogeneous entries. *ASC* in its entirety is, therefore, compared to the writing of "metaphor."

ASC purports to be oral, which indicates the pursuit of presence and origin in Derridean terms, because it includes the immediacy of lyrical and heroic voice in oral formulaic phrases, attempting to call back the origin of heroic past. In contrast, drawing upon numerous written sources, *EH* provides intertextual and supplementary interpretations for the same events of the pagan past. *EH* includes a genealogy, too; but, opposite to the genealogy for origin in *ASC*, the genealogy of *EH* is open to contingent branching-out, due to the need of relics- and miracle-narratives for unqualified and ever-active dissemination.

Session 2b

Why Another Greek Chronicle?

Patricia Varona Codeso

The aim of this paper is to cast some light on the function of Greek medieval chronicles, in order to improve our interpretative framework on the basis of a contextual approach and to advance in developing an overview of middle-Byzantine historical narrative. I will try to trace from this point of view the evolution of Greek chronicle writing until the middle Byzantine period in reference to two different axes: 1) the construction of an organized and continuous account of history from Creation until the present day; 2) the additional explanation of the most relevant historical events by challenging the current historical discourse. We will see how this approach help us to distinguish between two basic functions of the chronicle: the historical update and the reappraisal of the past. And we will see how a substantial part of the preserved chronicles deals mainly with chronological issues, a need than can be considered as satisfied in the first half of the IX century, and so many are conceived as ideological contributions within a critical period of history that clearly demands a reinterpretation of the past. Furthermore, this analysis can also be founded on compositional issues and on Byzantine perception of the genre.

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Illustrated Chronicles from Late Antiquity

Richard W. Burgess

At previous conferences I have talked about the long history of chronicles going back to the Assyrians and Babylonians. This paper will again demonstrate the long history of another chronicle tradition by describing and illustrating four surviving examples of illustrated chronicles from the fifth and sixth centuries: the *Consularia Berolinensia*, *Golenischevensia*, *Scaligeriana*, and *Marsiburgensia*. All four are examples of consularia, a distinctively Roman form of chronicle that originated in the first century bc and became extremely popular again in the fourth to sixth centuries ad. They dated each year with the names of the two annually appointed consuls and recounted a distinctive selection of imperial succession and success, combined with locally observed meteorological and celestial events. These entries were illustrated with stereotypical pictures that show fascinating parallels among the Greek and Latin examples that survive. Although one of the surviving Latin examples is late and copied with only line drawings, the two early Greek examples preserve coloured pictures. Entries illustrated include deaths, accessions, earthquakes, assassinations, sieges, and promotions. The talk will be illustrated.

Foreign Soldiers in Lusignan Cyprus in the Period 1373-1464 according to the Cypriot Chronicles

Nicholas Coureas

In this communication the presence of foreign soldiers, chiefly mercenaries, on the island of Lusignan Cyprus during the final century of Lusignan rule will be examined on the basis of the evidence provided by the following chronicles: the Chronicle of 'Amadi' written in Italian and the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas written in colloquial Cypriot Greek, both extending their historical narrative up to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the Chronicle of George Boustronios, written in colloquial Cypriot Greek, probably in the early sixteenth century and going as far as 1489 and the Chronicle of Florio Bustron, written in Italian later in the sixteenth century and likewise stopping in 1489. The presence and activities of the groups of mercenary soldiers in Cyprus, their relations with the Cypriot crown and other sectors

of Cypriot society, the extent to which the chroniclers portray them in a positive or negative light and their reasons for doing so will be analyzed and discussed. The ultimate demise of the phenomenon of foreign mercenaries in Cyprus on account of the island's annexation by Venice, how a group of former mercenaries tried without success to prevent this annexation while other mercenaries adapted successfully to the change in governance will also be examined, and some comparisons will be made with earlier periods of Lusignan rule, especially the mid/fourteenth century.

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Session 3a

There were two chronicles: Analysis of a narrative constructed upon the "true chronicle" of King Pedro I of Castile.

Covadonga Valdaliso

In the Spanish National Library is preserved a 15th century manuscript, under the signature BN ms 9559, known today as *Estoria amplia refundida hasta 1455*. This manuscript, in which the history of Castile is recounted, since the time of the Visigoths until the reign of King John II, has been studied in detail by Diego Catalán and Manuel Hijano, among others. The main difference between this manuscript and others that preserve a similar narrative is the chapter devoted to the reign of King Peter I. In this chapter the anonymous scribe recorded the synthesis of a narration now lost, which he refers to as "true chronicle":

Segund que más largamente está escrito en la corónica verdadera deste rey don Pedro; porque hay dos corónicas, la una fengida, por se desculpar de los yerros que contra él fueron fechos en Castilla, los quales causaron e principiaron que este rey don Pedro se mostrase tan cruel como en su tiempo fue.

(According to what is more widely written in the true chronicle of this king Peter, because there are two chronicles, one of which intends to forgive the mistakes that were committed against him, causing the King Peter to be cruel as he was in his time).

Based on previous research on this subject, in this paper we will try to investigate the origins of this narrative, and will analyze its structure and content, in order to better

understand through this example how historiographical texts were transmitted in the Middle Ages.

Subversion, Gendered Monarchy and Politics in the Chronicle of Ferdinand IV of Castile

Purificación Martínez

The *Chronicle of Ferdinand IV*, one of what are traditionally known as the *Three Chronicles*, written around 1343 by Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, is the account of a failure. Despite the titanic efforts of his mother, María de Molina, to defend the throne for an infant Ferdinand, the moment he reaches the age of ascension and becomes king on his own, for most of the chronicle and with very few exceptions, Ferdinand fumbles time and again, and proves to be a very unsuccessful and weak monarch.

Much critical attention has been given to how the chronicle depicts the ongoing battle between two models of understanding the relationship between nobility and monarchy. In these studies, emphasis has been given to the ideological aspects of the battle and also to the discursive strategies employed by the chronicler.

The present study approaches these battles from a different perspective, that of gender roles. Availing itself of the growing fields of masculinity and queenship studies, the paper performs a close reading of the private conversations between nobles and queen and nobles and king present in the chronicle. The analysis demonstrates how the nobility tries to change the role of the monarchy in the kingdom by attempting to convince both king and queen to subvert their appropriate gender roles. By a subversive discourse directed toward convincing the queen to break the vow of chastity and toward convincing the king to abandon his kingly duties in favor of personal enjoyment, the nobility attempts to antagonize the feminine and masculine sides of the monarchy in hopes of gaining political and economic power.

Afonso Henriques – narratives of conquests and myth creation

Isabel de Barros Dias

This paper will look into the similarities and differences between two different but relatively close ways of reporting events: chronicles and narratives of celebration of victory that praise the conquest of specific cities. The used corpus will be the following: *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344* (2nd version), on the one side, and, on the other side, the *De expugnatione Scallabis* and the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, two texts that report the taking of two major cities (Santarém and Lisbon) by the first Portuguese king. The question of the contribution of the praises of victories for the construction of a myth of founder King will also be addressed since these narratives can be seen as active parts of this construction.

Session 3b

The first crusade against a Holy Roman Emperor and its impact: the testimony of thirteenth-century Lombard chronicles

Gianluca Raccagni

When historians consider Emperor Frederick II and the crusades, they have mainly focused their attention on his bloodless recovery of Jerusalem while he was under his first papal excommunication. Yet he was also the first Western Emperor to be himself the target of a crusade, but that side of his reign has attracted astonishingly little scholarly attention. There is a huge amount of literature on the conflict between Frederick II and the papacy, but its crusading features and their impact have tended to be neglected, and are often totally overlooked. That is probably still a legacy of the negative attitude that the 'political crusades' have traditionally encountered among scholars. In the last few decades a pluralist approach has gained momentum that does not associate crusades with any particular location and enemy, but for some reason this has tended to bypass how the crusade against Frederick II was perceived and what consequences it may have had in northern Italy, which was probably the main battleground of his conflict with the papacy. This paper aims to start tackling those questions by considering the testimony of the chronicles produced in thirteenth-century Lombardy. It argues that they paid remarkably little attention to that novelty, and when they did pay attention to it they adopted a surprisingly neutral stance, including those produced by clergymen, lay opponent of the emperor and imperial supporters. On the other hand, Lombard chronicles are unwittingly very effective in charting the link between the crusade against Frederick II and the rise of a militant *Pars Ecclesie* that took the form of local factions within the cities as well as that of a regional network.

The anonym Pisan Chronicle of L54 manuscript in the State Archive of Lucca

Andrea Puglia

The aim of this paper is to display the project of the philological edition and the historical comment of the Chronicle, from an anonymous author, contained in the manuscript L54 of Lucca State Archive, and to put it in the context of Pisa and Tuscan chronicles of XIII and XIV centuries. The Chronicle is almost completely unpublished, except for some parts, regarding Pisa's history, that had been published in few studies between 1950 and 1980¹. The poor attention that historians have paid to the critical edition of the L 54 Chronicle is very difficult to understand, because the text gives a lot of information about of Tuscan (and national) history of XII-XIV

¹ P. Silva, *Questioni e ricerche di cronistica pisana*, II, «Archivio muratoriano», 1913, pp. 42-53; O. Banti, *Studio sulla genesi dei testi cronistici pisani del secolo XIV*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo», LXXV (1963), pp. 259-319, now in O. Banti, *Studi di storia e di diplomatica comunale*, Roma: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1983 (Fonti e studi del Corpus membranarum italicarum. Studi e ricerche, XXII), pp. 97-155. Recently some historian dealt with the chronicle: A. Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società e mutamenti delle forme politiche in un comune italiano: il Popolo a Pisa (1220-1330)*, Pisa 2004; P. Crasta, «Li danari del Giudice». *Aspetti politici ed economici del giudicato di Arborea tra XIII e XIV secolo (1241-1335)*, Pisa 2010, pp. 110-115.; E. Stagni, E a Pisa le condussero: *fonti pisane sui saccheggi del 1135 e del 1137 e sulla «Leggenda Amalfitana» delle Pandette Fiorentine (lavori in corso)*, in «Rassegna del centro di cultura e storia amalfitana», 39-40 (2010), pp. 53-110, in part. pp. 68-69.

centuries so that it can be considered of the most relevance in the context of Pisa's chronicles (Chronicle of Ranieri Sardo, Ranieri Granchi's Poem, another anonymous Pisa Chronicle), as the scholars have highlighted². Furthermore L 54 text has many linkages with the major Tuscan Chronicles, as the Florentine chronicle of Giovanni Villani³. For these reasons, this work's main purpose is to perform the philological edition and historical comment of the chronicle, in order to answer to the following questions: is L 54 manuscripts autograph? Who is the author? What is the context in which the chronicle has been produced and received? What is its function? What are its sources and what is its role among Pisa's chronicles? For what Pisa's and Tuscan chronicles L54 chronicle worked as a main source? The regard toward the anonymous Chronicle could be also a chance to draw the attention on L 54 manuscript, that lies in very poor conditions.

The Realm of Sounds in *Nuova cronica* of Giovanni Villani

Zofia Anuszkiewicz

Literature serves an aesthetic purpose, as it is created to delight the reader. It focuses on persons and things, on what exists in the reality. History, on the other hand, helps to comprehend the course of events, by establishing or discovering logical connections between the events from the past; historical writing has no need for aesthetic ornaments, except for those which help to gain the attention of the reader. In that case, however, they can be defined as literary means.

In this framework, I would like to examine the realm of sounds in the *Nuova cronica* of Giovanni Villani (1275-1348), a Florentine chronicler. I will analyse a range of sound related words, which appear in the chronicle; they are as following: *silence*, *screaming*, *crying*, *voice*, *bells*, *trumpets*, etc. Sometimes the chronicler describes sounds (or silence) simply to create more dramatic atmosphere of narration; on other occasions though those sound references are essential to fully understand some historical events.

² Bernardo Maragone, *Annales Pisani*, a cura di M. Lupo Gentile, in «Rerum Italicarum Scriptores», nuova edizione, VI/2, Bologna 1936, pp. 3-74; M. L. Ceccarelli Lemut, *Bernardo Maragone «provisor» e cronista di Pisa nel secolo XII*, in *Legislazione e prassi istituzionale a Pisa (secoli XI-XIII). Una tradizione normativa esemplare*, a cura di G. Rossetti, Napoli 2002, pp. 180-199, now in M. L. Ceccarelli Lemut, *Medioevo pisano. Chiesa, famiglie, territorio*, Pisa 2005, pp. 121-146.; E. Cristiani, *Gli avvenimenti pisani del periodo ugoliniano in una cronaca inedita*, in «Bollettino Storico Pisano», XXVI (1957-1958), pp. 1-104; *Cronica di Pisa*, a cura di C. Iannella, Roma 2005 (Istituto Storico Italiano, Fonti per la storia d'Italia).

³ See F. Ragone, *Le scritture parlate. Qualche ipotesi sulla redazione delle cronache volgari nel trecento dopo l'edizione critica della «Nuova Cronica» di Giovanni Villani*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», CXLIX (1991), pp. 783-810; Eadem, *Il cronista e le sue fonti. Elementi del rapporto con la tradizione cittadina*, in *La memoria e la città, scritture storiche tra medioevo ed età moderna*, a.c. di C. Bastia e M. Bolognani, Bologna 1995, pp. 373-389; Eadem, *Giovanni Villani e i suoi continuatori. La scrittura delle cronache a Firenze nel Trecento*, Roma 1998 (Istituto Storico Italiano, Nuovi studi Storici, 43). Richard Engl, *Geschichte für kommunale Eliten. Die pisaner Annalen des Bernardo Maragone*, «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Arkiven und Bibliotheken», 89 (2009), pp. 63-110.

In the first part of my speech I will list the principal sources of sounds, as they are described in the chronicle: council of war and the battle, rebellion in the city, elections of the *signore* or of sovereigns, trials, urban festivals, natural calamities, liturgical acts. The human voice is quoted by the Florentine chronicler in a range of situations and in several languages. In the second part, I will focus on some particularly suggestive scenes, where the aesthetic effect is obtained due to references to sounds or silence. In order to analyse these passages I will also consider the symbolic connotations pertaining to particular situations.

As far as methodology is concerned, the methods of the theory of literature have to be combined with the methods of historical anthropology, a science which examines the significance of public rituals, that are also expressed by sounds. I will therefore refer to some recent studies of soundscape in literature of different periods and different geographical areas and to historic works which describe the soundscape of late-medieval Italian cities with special focus on Florence.

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Session 3c

Chronicon Aulae regiae – an unsuccessful attempt at establishing an official memorial of the last Přemyslids

Robert Antonín

Despite the distinct shift in the assessment of the literary legacy of the Czech Cistercian chroniclers Ota of Thuringia and Peter of Zittau, which has occurred in recent years mainly thanks to the deepening and refinement of the historical interpretation of their work, the *Chronicon Aulae regiae* remains, considering its

indisputable informational value, a source through which today's historians construct the story of Central European history of the end of the 13th and first third of the 14th centuries [*Chronicon aulea Regiae*, ed. Josef Emler (FRB IV, Praha 1884), 3-337.]. Despite the demonstrated bias and connected with that relativization of the credibility of the testimony of the Cistercians particularly about political events [Die Königsaal-Chronik. Eine Bestandsaufnahme, hg. Stefan Albrecht, (Forschungen zu Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder 1), München 2013], historical science remains dependent on their narrations. It can simply be said that modern Central European historiography built the narration of the chroniclers of *Chronicon Aulæ regiae* into the base of their interpretation. Against that, I endeavour in my paper for a new view of the work of the Zbraslav Cistercians, including two mutually connected considerations. In the first, I focus on the characteristic of the *Chronicon Aulæ regiae* as the result of efforts to create a place of memory for the period of the last Přemyslid kings, particularly Wenceslas II (1283–1305), and along with that also on the forms of the fixation of the collective memory used by the Zbraslav chroniclers; in the second then on answering the question of the success of this attempt based on an analysis of the narrations of the second half of the 14th century.

In my analysis, I start methodologically from the conceptions presented within the existing European research on the principles and functioning of collective memory. I rely here particularly on the conception of Maurice Halbwachs [Maurice Halbwachs, *Das kollektive Gedächtnis* (Stuttgart: Enke 1967)], according to whom history is born in the moment that the living tradition is dying, hence the moment when the social (collective) memory breaks down or disappears, and at the same time the “society of memory” constituted around the social memories is threatened with a collapse caused by forgetting. Hence, it is necessary to fixate the memory. I draw further stimuli from the subsequent historical and sociological reflection on this problem, which modern historiography has developed oriented within the scientific paradigms understanding memory as culture itself (*Memoria als Kultur*); or at least as one of the basic construction elements of culture [*Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 121, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck 1997)].

Last but not least, I also attempt to apply to the Central European situation the conception of collective memory and connected with that (deliberate) collective forgetting in the work of Pierre Nora [Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1990)], speaking of so-called “places of memory”. Those, as is known, are in his conception as connecting lines precisely between the past and its living memory, which however died (or is dying), and the present creating from living memory of the past through its fixation of the (written) official tradition – i.e. history. Such places are not only physical monuments, localities in the landscape connected with historical events or holidays in the calendar but also books or texts, which like great moments fixate historical (i.e. non-living) memory and the model valid for several subsequent centuries of historiographic work. In my paper, I endeavour to present the *Chronicon Aulæ regiae* precisely under this lens as a work created with the ambition to play the role of firm interpretation of the Central European history of the turn of the 14th century, and the changes of the ruling dynasties occurring at the time in the areas of the medieval empire, Bohemian, Hungarian and Polish kingdoms.

Polishing a Medieval Chronicle: The Author's Proofreading of the Second Book of the *Chronica Aulae regiae*

Anna Pumprová

The *Chronica Aulae regiae*, commenced by Otto of Thuringia, abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Zbraslav, and finalized by Peter of Zittau (d. 1339), his continuator and successor in office, is the most voluminous, significant and mature Latin chronicle of medieval Bohemia. Its textual tradition is scarce; nevertheless, one of the preserved manuscripts containing the second book of the chronicle is an autograph (Cod. Pal. Lat. 950, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome). This codex, mostly written by the hand of Peter of Zittau, retains a number of changes that took place after the text had been formulated and written down. Even though the process of the chronicle's creation thus cannot be observed from its very beginnings, the proofreading stage still provides a considerable amount of information on the author's approach regarding his work. It is this so far neglected aspect of the study of the chronicle which the proposed contribution, related to the preparation of a new edition of the *Chronica Aulae regiae*, aims to present. By means of an analysis of the author's textual modifications, this article attempts to demonstrate what evidence the deletions, insertions and other types of corrections of the original formulations give of the creative work of Peter of Zittau as well as of himself as a literary artist and a human being.

The Hungarians in View of the Poles. Hungarian-Polish Anthology of the Chronicle texts

Ryszard Grzesik, László Veszprémy, László Tapolcai

The aim of our paper is to present the results of a common Polish-Hungarian project to edit the anthology of the Polish high-medieval chronicle texts about Hungary and the Hungarians. The anthology will be published in the Hungarian translation (László Veszprémy translates the texts from Latin into Hungarian) with commentaries by Ryszard Grzesik, translated from Polish by László Tapolcai. Originally, only the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle was provided to publication. This Chronicle, written in Hungary at the turn of 1230s, connected the Hungarian and Polish historical motifs in a story about the origins of Hungary and the Hungarian-Polish friendship. However, the concept of anthology of the chronicles was enlarged. The whole material, apart of the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle, was divided in chronological periods. The first chapter will be devoted to the "prehistory" and early history of common relationship, where we will collect the text devoted to the description of the Pannonian territory, the earliest history of the Pannonian-Polish relationship, the history of contacts in the times of Mieszko I, Bolesław the Brave and St. Stephen, and the Church history. The second chapter will describe the history of next period of intensive contacts until the mid-twelfth century, when the Polish interests to the Hungary diminished. The new intensification of Polish-Hungarian relationship in the 13th and 14th century is the subject of the last chapter. We finish our anthology in the early Anjou-time (14th century), excluding late medieval chronicles: the John of Czarneków's Chronicle and

the Annals written by John Długosz. The John of Czarnków's work needs a new edition in Latin with Polish translation and a separate edition in Hungarian as a whole because of its importance to the Polish-Hungarian relationship. The project, which is waiting for publication, is a good example, that the Hungarian-Polish cooperation is still vivid.

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Session 4a

Reflections around time and eschatology in the chronicle of Adémar de Chabannes

Isis Gradín

The aim of this work is to analyse the temporal and eschatological elements in chapters 16 to 70 of Book III of the chronicle of Adémar de Chabannes in order to see how the narrative of the chronicle and of the reality is constructed there.

We would like to reflect first on the issue of time in the chronicle: how time is conceived of and measured. Secondly, we would look at eschatology in a variety of levels: the end of the world, apocalypse, millennialism, everyday eschatology (wars, famines, epidemics) and marvellous eschatology (miracles, magic elements, fantastic accounts, etc.). By availing ourselves of all these elements we seek to approach the medieval reality and the manner in which chroniclers constructed it.

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The notions of end in the Chronicles of Glaber, Rasis and Chronica Prophetica

Israel Sanmartín

This paper is based on the study of the Chronicles of Raoul Glaber (11th century), The Chronicle of the Moor Rasis (10th century) and the Chronica Prophetica (9th century). The study of these chronicles will provide an opportunity to look at the development of the writing of history in two different geographical realities within the Medieval Western World: the French world and the Iberian Peninsula. We will begin by studying the notion of "end" in Raoul Glaber's Histories. To this end, we will catalogue the different types of "end" we encounter in his Chronicle. We will then proceed in the same way with the Chronica Prophetica and that of the Moor Rasis. Once the different types of "ends" have been identified, the three Chronicles will be compared on the basis on their chronologies and the place where they were written.

The second part of the presentation will deal with how the authors of the three chronicles constructed reality. The starting point for this task will be the cataloguing of the different types of eschatology that were identified in the first part of the paper. Thus, we will see how medieval chroniclers reflected their immediate present and how they mingled the real with the imaginary when constructing their historical accounts.

Lastly, we will make some reflections on the notions of time, geography and historical accounting with a view to providing some ideas that contribute to unveil the complexity of the construction of Medieval Chronicles.

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Session 4b

Martini Poloni Continuatio Coloniensis: A historiographical entity praeter necessitatem

Jacek Soszyński

During the 1860s Wilhelm Arndt, a renowned collaborator of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* visited Warsaw in pursuit of medieval manuscripts with historiographical texts extant in Polish collections. In the Wilanów Library of the Potocki family, he inspected a copy of the so-called Wialnow MS (today: Warsaw, Polish National Library, IV 8052), which he took for another copy of the popular *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* by the thirteenth-century Dominican Martinus Polonus (Oppaviensis). Nevertheless, he noticed that the chronicle had an original ending, not to be found in other copies. Subsequently the codex was borrowed to Berlin, where its final pages were copied. In 1880, Georg Waitz published this extract as another continuation of Martinus Polonus, linking it with Cologne. Ever since it functions as *Martini Continuatio Coloniensis*, and is cited as such in modern historiography.

In fact, the alleged copy of Martinus Polonus' chronicle in the Wilanow MS is not what it purports to be. Comparisons revealed that it actually is a reworking done in Cologne in the 1320s of a reworking, performed on the original Martinus in Paris, several years earlier. In both cases the plagiarism was committed in bad faith, that is assuming that the reader will not notice that the text in his hands is not the original Martinus, and so it be graced by the scholastic authority of the authentic *Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors*. In both cases the plagiarism was committed to political ends. Hence, the *Continuatio Coloniensis* is no continuation of Martinus. It is simply the last fragment of a chronicle, which can be dubbed *Chronica Martiniana Coloniensis*. This lengthy work—obviously effort of an erudite—as to its content, is quite typical for universal chronicles. But, its major goal was promoting a highly politicised agenda, relevant to the defence of German imperial ideology in the face of rising French pretensions. Among others, the author freely used historical and political ideas of the late thirteenth-century German cleric and polemist Alexander of Roes, mixing them with local, Cologne themes, and strongly emphasizing the personage of Charlemagne.

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Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Chronicle* in the early twelfth century: the role of Ekkehard of Aura reconsidered

Thomas J. H. McCarthy

Ekkehard of Aura (d. 1126) is known to historians as the continuator of Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Chronicle* of universal history. Research carried out by Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott between 1956 and 1972 attributed four distinct continuations of Frutolf's *Chronicle* to Ekkehard: these four 'recensions', Schmale and Schmale-Ott argued, were produced between 1106 and 1125, and recast Frutolf's pro-imperial chronicle as a distinctly pro-Gregorian work.

This paper, which grows out of my current work on Frutolf's *Chronicle* and its continuations, questions the theory of the 'four recensions' on textual, palaeographical and historical grounds. It argues that the biography proposed for Ekkehard by Schmale and Schmale-Ott overstates the surviving evidence, that one of the recensions attributed to him by them is entirely fictitious and that his role as a continuator of Frutolf's *Chronicle* is considerably more restricted than the theory of the four recensions suggests. Two themes underlie this paper: first, the importance of textual collation in unravelling the relationship between the twelfth-century continuations of Frutolf's *Chronicle* and, secondly, the relevance of textual study for our understanding of how different chroniclers wrote and rewrote history. The paper thus addresses two of the conference's themes: the form of the chronicle and the chronicle as a representation of the past.

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**La chronique de Memmingen d'Erhard Wintergerst:
histoire et luttes politiques dans une petite ville d'Empire au XV^e siècle**

Dominique Adrian

Dans l'Empire méridional, l'historiographie urbaine est avant tout celle des grandes villes : non seulement les chroniques des grandes villes (Augsbourg, Nuremberg, Strasbourg) sont plus nombreuses, mais elles sont également bien mieux éditées et bien plus étudiées. L'importante chronique de Memmingen placée sous le nom d'Erhard Wintergerst est sans doute le meilleur exemple : conservée par trois manuscrits du XVI^e siècle, cette chronique tire parti des modèles augsbourgeois, sur Meisterlin pour l'ancrage dans un mythe des origines, sur Burkhard Zink pour la forte connotation politique. Cet aspect politique explique sans doute en partie le désintérêt qu'a suscité le texte, qui n'aura pas bénéficié d'une prise en considération par les éditeurs des *Chroniken der deutschen Städte* : le texte était sans doute trop concentré sur les affaires intérieures de la ville pour servir de source factuelle, et la complexité de sa réalisation, avec un noyau originel émanant sans aucun doute d'un bourgeois membre des métiers et plusieurs continuations au moins partiellement écrites par des clercs, ne facilite pas son interprétation – et comme le médecin Christoph Schorer avait fait son miel de cette chronique pour publier son histoire de Memmingen en 1660, la chronique devenait pour ainsi dire inutile même dans la perspective de l'histoire locale.

La présente proposition entend proposer à la fois une présentation de la chronique et de ses différents états et poursuivre la réflexion sur la place de la politique dans l'univers des chroniqueurs urbains : dans un contexte de forte rivalité entre patriciens et métiers culminant dans un important procès au début des années 1470 (ouvert et perdu par les patriciens), quel rôle tient l'histoire de la ville dans la légitimation du pouvoir des métiers que défend l'auteur du texte original, et comment cette relation est-elle reprise par ses continuateurs ? Alors que, dans les modèles chronistiques augsbourgeois, la défense du régime tel qu'il est s'accompagne d'une marginalisation politique et sociale des contestataires, comment la chronique de Memmingen argumente-elle pour défendre au sein d'un régime désuni la légitimité de son camp, face à des patriciens qui justifient leur contestation par les entorses à la tradition politique de la ville ?

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Session 4c

Illumination of Deeds as cultural-historical chronicle (King Solomon’s Deeds)

Eter Edisherashvili

Decorated historical documents represent a very important part of the miniature heritage of Georgia, especially royal deeds. Historical documents issued by Solomon II (1772-1815) the King of Imereti (the western province of Georgia) are distinguished both by quantity and their impressive paintings. These are deeds of donation issued to Jruchi Monastery.

Among Georgian materials that had survived, this is the first time when we have a number of impressively decorated deeds issued by the same monarch and at the same time a name of writer and painter is known. His name is Davit Kartveli (Bejiashvili).

The texts of the documents describe a relation between the donator and the Monastery. The painting partially depicts content of the document and reflects cultural-historical situation of that time. Painting manner and forms show interest and striving for European art, which is caused by cultural processes taking place in Georgian art and political-cultural dialogue with the West and Russia interested in Europe. Political desires of the donator – wish of integration with the West and relations with Russia – are expressed by symbolic hints in the miniatures. In addition, documents of King Solomon give a possibility to discuss different aspects of relationship between the customer and the painter. These documents are important not only for their artistic values, but they are chronicles of the political and social history.

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Combining the Authority of a Chronicler and a Warrior: Nestor-Iskinder and the Shaping of an Anti-Ottoman ‘Pen Name’

Michel De Dobbeleer

Many speculations have been made about the epilogue of Nestor-Iskinder’s Russian *Tale of the Taking of Constantinople (Povest’ o vziatii Tsar’grada turkami*, late 15th cent.). In this short paragraph, the writer of the account of the fatal siege of the

Byzantine capital (1453) reveals himself as being Nestor-Iskander (aka ‘Nestor-Iskander’), an eyewitness who as a child had been abducted by the Sultan’s troops, converted to Islam and Turkicized against his will. During the siege he managed to escape to the side of the Christian defenders, after which he started writing his partially chronicle-, partially diary-like account. For several reasons (which I will briefly explain) the authenticity of this epilogue is doubtful.

Those who tend to believe its contents think of ‘Nestor’ as the author’s (Bela)Russian birth name, and of ‘Iskander/Iskander’ (close to several Muslim variants of ‘Alexander’) as his Turkicized name. The scholars who do *not* believe what the writer of this epilogue tells about himself, however, have omitted to wonder why the writer could have given himself this in any case curious ‘pen name’, to use a modern term which might shed light on its function. In my view ‘Nestor-Iskander’ may have chosen his double name to combine the authority of two very different (types of) historical persons. ‘Nestor’ may refer to Nestor, the monk and chronicler who is Russia’s most revered (now a Saint) historian and who wrote the *Tale of Bygone Years*, or at least compiled one of its versions (early 11th cent.; his identity is problematic now). In the meantime, the eyewitness – allegedly having *returned* to the Christian side – might also have had the Greek etymology of the name ‘Nestor’ in mind. The second part of the double name, then, ‘Iskander/Iskander’, may allude to the famous ‘Skanderbeg’, Albania’s national hero (real name: Gjergj Kastrioti; ca. 1405-1468), who fought numerous battles against the Ottomans and never lost one. For this reason the Turks called him *Iskender Bey* or ‘Lord Alexander’ (referring to the authority of Alexander the Great).

In my paper I will clarify, on the one hand, how this connection of a chronicler’s and a warrior’s name makes a smart combination with regard to the anti-Ottoman political agenda of the *Tale of the Taking of Constantinople*: avenging the capture of the city and supporting the so-called theory of Moscow as the Third Rome. On the second hand, I will demonstrate – on the basis of the *Tale*’s peculiar textual tradition and Robert Sturges’ (Bakhtinian) observations on the authority-related (/undermining) polyphony of the medieval text – how this (potentially) erudite and authoritative name apparently failed to be very successful in the premodern period, while nowadays (in times when readers hardly accept literary anonymity) ‘Nestor-Iskander’ curiously enough has been lent authority in nationalist and (fervent) orthodox Russian discourses.

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La Chronique de Dalimil, un programme politique en faveur de la noblesse

Eloïse Adde-Vomacka

La *Chronique de Dalimil* est un texte majeur, fondateur, même, de la littérature

tchèque. Premier texte historiographique rédigé en tchèque, il s'agit aussi de la deuxième grande œuvre en langue vernaculaire dans l'histoire de la littérature tchèque.

Riche de 103 chapitres, cette chronique rimée date des années 1309-1315 et s'inscrit donc dans la période très tourmentée de l'interrègne provoqué par l'extinction de la dynastie des Přemyslides à la mort de Venceslas III (4 août 1306) et clos seulement à la fin de l'année 1310 avec l'élection de Jean de Luxembourg comme roi de Bohême. Sur le plan extérieur, le pays était alors dangereusement menacé par les Habsbourg qui souhaitaient profiter du vide de pouvoir pour rattacher les pays tchèques à leur Maison ; à l'intérieur du pays, la population était déchirée entre les divers prétendants étrangers tandis que l'antagonisme entre la population tchèque autochtone et la population allemande installée depuis le grand mouvement de colonisation initié XIIe siècle prenait une signification et une force nouvelles.

Dans ce contexte, la *Chronique dite de Dalimil* propose à ses lecteurs une vision de l'histoire tout à fait novatrice par rapport à la tradition monastique, qui rompt avec l'histoire contemplative comme description de l'accomplissement des plans divins, et nous livre une histoire engagée politiquement, tournée vers l'avenir et revisitant le passé à l'aune des événements politiques du présent. Dans un contexte où la menace allemande est bien réelle, l'auteur entend mobiliser la « nation » tchèque contre l'ennemi en rappelant que la présence allemande en Bohême a toujours été synonyme de malheur pour le pays. Le texte est donc empreint d'un nationalisme et d'une germanophobie extrêmement acérés, tout à fait originaux pour l'époque. Mais ce message haineux masque des intentions plus subtiles : au fil de ce texte, c'est en effet un programme politique réservant la part belle aux représentants de la noblesse qui s'esquisse, l'auteur proposant à son public un véritable modèle de gouvernement au moment où la nouvelle dynastie des Luxembourg s'installe sur le trône de Bohême.

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Session 5a

Faux Pas in the Chronicles: What is a *Pas d'armes*?

Cathy Blunk

Identifying a *pas d'armes* (a type of fifteenth-century tournament) is not an easy task. Several modern scholars of *Jehan de Saintré*, written by Antoine de La Sale in the middle of the fifteenth century, incorrectly refer to Saintré's *pas d'armes* in the plural. Only a few, like Michelle Szkilnik, correctly recognize that only one of Saintré's *faits d'armes* is a *pas* (Szkilnik 71-94). Furthermore, although some medieval chroniclers simply refer to events held at Nancy and Châlons-sur-Marne in 1445 as jousts, historian Sébastien Nadot refers to them as *pas* in his recent book on the *pas d'armes*. Interestingly, further research reveals that a medieval chronicler does as well!

In this presentation (which relates to the theme *Chronicle: history or literature?*), I will use evidence from *Jehan de Saintré*, chronicles, and chivalric biography to show that a textual convention can be recognized in *pas d'armes* accounts. (Szkilnik stops short of investigating this point, and it does not seem to be Nadot's concern.) Particularly informative manuscript evidence from *Jehan de Saintré* will support this assertion. Even though this work is not a chronicle, La Sale knew how to compose heraldic documents to which chroniclers seemed to refer when composing their accounts of such events (Emerson 212-213). I will then look closely at the accounts of the events in Nancy and Châlons-sur-Marne to see if attention to this textual convention can help us determine whether these events were indeed *pas d'armes*. Why should we know what a *pas d'armes* is? Throughout my presentation, I will offer examples that show how an awareness of this convention can inform the work of scholars of literature, history, and art history.

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I Who Write These Words: The Networked Chronicle

Leah Shopkow

Sometime in 1220 or slightly thereafter, William of Andres, the abbot of the small Franco-Flemish monastery of Andres, began to write his chronicle of his abbey's history. He began with the discovery of the bones of the patron saint, Ste Rotrude, and provided a cartulary-chronicle, detailing the acquisitions (and losses) of property experienced by his abbey until 1207. At this point in the narrative, which up until that point had been third-person or first-person plural, William broke into the first person singular to relate how he master-minded his abbey's struggles to free itself from its mother-house, the venerable Poitevin house of Charroux, at the court of Innocent III and won. His narrative then returned to the third person, continuing until just before William's death in 1234.

Singular as this narrative is, there is another almost exactly like it, written just a few years before: Thomas of Marlborough's *Chronicle of Evesham*. In that narrative as well, Thomas inserts a first-person singular account of his pursuit of his monastery's case against their bishop for jurisdiction over the Vale of Evesham, a battled carried out in the court of Innocent III, into a history of the monastery.

It seems unlikely that these two works were entirely unrelated, and indeed, this paper argues that they were not. Both men were very likely present at the same place in 1220, at the translation of St. Thomas Becket, although they may well have met at other times. In 1220, however, Thomas of Marlborough had already completed his work on the Evesham chronicle, so if there is influence, Thomas influenced William and not vice-versa. Such influence, however, cannot have been direct, that is, William reading the *Chronicle of Evesham*, as the two chronicles do not appear to share language either in the sections dealing with the legal cases or in other parts of the text. Furthermore, if William knew Thomas, he cannot have known him terribly well. However, the two men belonged to the same intellectual circle, which revolved around Stephen Langton. Using sociological interaction and network theory, I suggest that this network connected William to Thomas through their common relationship; that Thomas, as closer to the center of the circle than William was positioned to transmit his historical approach to William, and that it is this relationship, along with quite similar experiences and other mutual acquaintances, that allowed Thomas to influence William's work.

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Les sources de la *Chronique dite des Cordeliers*

Per Förnégård

La *Chronique dite des Cordeliers*, qui retrace l'histoire à partir de la Création du monde jusqu'en 1431, nous est parvenue dans un manuscrit unique, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de France. C'est une œuvre bourguignonne rédigée par un anonyme d'origine wallonne. Pour l'histoire avant le XIV^e siècle, la chronique possède un caractère annalistique ; le récit est développé surtout à partir des Valois. Comme source historique, l'ouvrage est intéressant pour l'histoire du XV^e siècle : il livre en effet des détails originaux qui ont trait à la Flandre ainsi qu'à Bertrand du Guesclin et Jeanne d'Arc. Ce sont ces passages qui ont intéressé le nombre limité de chercheurs qui se sont penchés sur le texte. Hormis une édition très partielle, publiée par L. Douët d'Arcq (1862) et qui ne couvre que les années 1400-1422, la chronique demeure inédite.

Dans cette communication, j'examinerai la partie du texte antérieure au XV^e siècle, et avant tout celle qui relate l'histoire des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Pour cette période, l'anonyme recopie mot à mot des textes historiques composés par ses prédécesseurs. Soucieux de conter les événements chronologiquement, il emploie l'enchevêtrement comme méthode de compilation. J'identifierai les sources employées par l'anonyme et étudierai en détail sa méthode de compilation, que je rapprocherai de celles d'autres compilations historiques de la même époque.

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Session 5b

John Selden and Michael Drayton: Reading Medieval Chronicles in the Early Seventeenth Century

Sjoerd Levelt

Medieval historiographical sources were eagerly read, studied, edited, published, re-written, continued and used as sources of information and inspiration in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England. The medieval past had become a contentious subject of discussion following the publication of Polydore Virgil's *Anglica Historia* (first ed. 1534, revised and expanded ed. 1546), with authors continuously redefining their position towards the medieval past and the medieval sources. *Hollinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577, revised ed. 1587), John Stow's *Annales or a Generale Chronicle of England* (1580), and William Camden's *Britannia* (1586, successively expanded in editions to 1607) are only the most famous products of the vibrant historical culture of the late sixteenth century, in the early seventeenth century followed by Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (1605). These works formed the inspiration for many lesser known texts of the early seventeenth century, such as John Clapham's *Historie of Great Britannie* (1606), Anthony Munday's *Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of Times* (1611), and Samuel Daniel's *Historie of England* (1612). In this context, Michael Drayton published the first part of his chorographical poem *Poly-Olbion* (1612), to which a 'learned gentleman, my friend' John Selden – anonymously – added a prose commentary. In this paper, I shall place Drayton's and Selden's approaches to the medieval historical tradition in this wider context, with particular reference to Selden's knowledge and use of medieval chronicles.

Published History. Printed Chronicles in the Early Sixteenth Century

Pia Eckhart

Printed historical works did not flourish in the German-speaking book market. Studies show that chronicles constituted only a very small part of the production of incunabula. At the same time publications of contemporary social and political events on broadsheets and smaller booklets were manufactured and sold in large numbers. While scholars agree on the importance of such printed reports as available sources of information for chroniclers, surprisingly little research has been done on the printed chronicles themselves – especially as far as the German-speaking market of the 16th century is concerned. Research on printed chronicles for the English market in comparison seems to be rather more advanced and therefore a promising counterpart

for analysis. The paper thus will seek to address some fundamental questions about historical writing after the establishment of printing. Based on analysis of German-speaking prints, it will investigate the publication of (contemporary) chronicles during the first half of the 16th century quantitatively: Did the number of printed chronicles increase compared to the production of incunabula, and therefore, did printed chronicles become more attractive to the reader of printed books? If the publication of monographic historical works was still financially rather risky, what kind of book met the necessary requirements? This leads to the qualitative analysis of the editing and presentation of historical knowledge for printing, in terms of organisation of contents, language and layout. Authors and publishers of the 16th century combined historical writing with different subjects, such as ethnographic and geographic descriptions. They made the most of the technical possibilities of the printing press, including the use of woodcuts, varied indices or graphic representations such as timetables and charts. They obviously must have been aware of the importance of the choice of language, the target costs and the intended audience of their book. The aim of the paper will be to understand more about the potential qualities of historical writing in print. This paper will question whether the demands of the market led to changes in content and style, or indeed to the transformation of genres, and the extent to which handwritten and printed chronicles interacted and influenced each other. The paper relates to the main themes „Chronicle: history or literature?“ and „The form of the chronicle“.

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An underestimated witness of historical culture. Remarks on some medieval commentaries and glosses to historical writings.

Jakub Kujawiński

Historical writings are believed to have rarely been commented during the Middle Ages. Elaborate commentaries to chronicles, indeed, are pretty rare (see Trevet on Titus Livius, or Jan of Dąbrówka on Vincent of Cracow), but less systematic glosses can be found on the margins of many manuscript copies. The glosses to ancient historians are the only ones which have attracted attention of the scholarship till now. This is why the real dimensions of the phenomenon cannot be estimated, until a global survey of medieval manuscripts of historical contents is conducted. A survey of a group of copies of both ancient and medieval historians, produced in Italy and

France in the High and Late Middle Ages, however, has ensured me about the relevance of this practice, while a closer investigation of some of those manuscripts has revealed variety of ways a historical text was read. Unsurprisingly some of annotations emphasized literary dimension of a chronicle which made it useful in grammatical and rhetorical education. The aim of my paper, however, is to discuss those comments which focused on different aspects of the past reality as represented in a commented text. Medieval annotators willingly used an account on past events to establish a moral teaching, but they may also have been interested in the account itself. It was often compared with other records on the same events, it was also enriched with new details or amplified with explanation of names, technical terms or concepts. Briefly, some commentaries tend towards a new historiographical work, some others reveal topics or procedures that could be called antiquarian. Thus, pre-modern commentaries and glosses to historical writings may be considered a place where historiography and antiquarian research met, before early-modern erudition offered more numerous opportunities for the two branches to converge. Consequently, the glosses on chronicles appear a promising field to investigate the early attempts to establish methods of historical research.

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Session 6a

Piety, Brotherhood and Power: The Role and Significance of Emotions in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*

Stephen Spencer

In recent years the history of medieval emotions has been established as a valid and worthwhile field of enquiry. This has owed in large part to a string of studies which have not only convincingly refuted the traditionalist opinions of scholars who characterised the Middle Ages as a period of emotional turmoil and volatility, but have also drawn attention to the social, political and religious functions of medieval passions. Unsurprisingly, this interest in the history of emotions has, at times,

extended into the popular field of crusader studies. In her monograph *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance 1095-1216*, the most detailed survey of an emotion in a crusading context to date, Susanna Throop demonstrated that vengeance became an increasingly prominent component of crusade ideology throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most considerations of the emotional rhetoric of crusading have, however, focused on a single sentiment, and there has not yet been an analysis of the ways in which a broader spectrum of emotions operated in an individual crusade narrative.

This paper, therefore, explores the role and significance of emotions in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, long recognised as one of the most detailed and colourful histories of the First Crusade and events in the Latin East. It analyses the evaluations the author made about emotions – the sentiments he expected crusaders to possess or to reject – and the ways in which such terms functioned in his history. Rather than treating the emotion words in isolation, it will be argued that emotions can be seen to communicate and to interact with a number of key themes in Albert's text, three of which will be discussed here: crusader piety, Christian brotherhood, and power. Further, an analysis of emotions in the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, it will be contended, attests to the value of treating crusade narratives as cultural and literary artefacts, rather than straightforward records of events.

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The Representation of Violence in the Latin Narratives of the First Crusade

Thomas Asbridge

In the last fifty years there has been a wealth of scholarly research into the history of the crusades and, within this field, a considerable body of material specifically exploring crusading warfare has been published. In general, modern crusader studies' historiography is coloured by a tacit assumption that violence perpetrated within the context of a crusade was a breed apart from violence enacted in a normative context – that crusader violence was more brutal, extreme and uncontrolled. Some scholars have briefly questioned this notion, including John France (1994) and Malcolm Barber (2001), but a thorough examination of the issue has yet to be completed.

This paper seeks to shed new light on this question by reconsidering the representation of violence in the Latin narratives of the First Crusade. It explores the

vocabulary, imagery and scriptural allusions employed by Latin chroniclers and narrative historians to describe acts of violence perpetrated during this expedition. Similarities and differences in the language of depiction are identified and assessed, and the approaches apparent in these 'crusade' texts are compared to those found in a broader range of contemporary Latin chronicles and narratives.

"De civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et caelestis": foundation narratives and the epic portrayal of the First Crusade

Carol Sweetenham

This paper focuses on one of the puzzles of First Crusade historiography: why was there such a strong emphasis on Antioch in narratives of a Crusade whose explicit goal was Jerusalem, and why did this emphasis last into the fourteenth century? The answer lies, the paper suggests, in the very different roles of the two cities in Crusader ideology. The status of Jerusalem as Heavenly City was clear: the legitimacy of Outremer was beyond question. By contrast Antioch came with few spiritual connotations but a strong political impetus both religious and secular. In a sense the First Crusade became the foundation myth of a frontier state constantly defending its legitimacy against Byzantium. This myth was enduring enough still to have value in the fourteenth century long after the demise of the Latin kingdom.

Session 6b

Reviewing chronicle-writing in Spain: two manuscripts from Suso

Rodrigo Furtado

In Medieval Iberia, after Isidore's acclaimed *Chronicle*, it seems that no one felt sufficiently confident to start a new chronicle from scratch, combining in time and space the history of mankind from its most distant beginning to the present days. In fact, lack of originality or lack of literary talent are sometimes considered key characteristics of Iberian historiography after Isidore. Perhaps, Spanish people didn't like history, or they didn't know how to write it, or they simply preferred to spend time and resources on other issues. However, even if I'm willing to consider some of these ideas, I think it is not true that Spanish historians (or whatever you want to call them) were not really interested in universal chronicles anymore. Of course, we know some 8th century Mozarabic 'chronicles' intending to complete Isidore's works (DÍAZ 386; DÍAZ 397). They aren't really 'universal chronicles', but they are rooted in the traditional chronicle writing process of always adding and updating information of previous texts (and we can find this system already in Jerome's translation). In this paper, I do not intent to review this well-known system, but I want to provide new information about a kind of alternative 'universal chronicle', of which those Mozarabic texts are also part, as well as their Christian correlatives, the anonymous texts of the so-called Asturian Chronicles (DÍAZ 514; DÍAZ 519-524). I will argue that these texts were born as part of a Spanish compilatory tradition rooted in the Visigothic world and later developed in Mozarabic Spain. I will concentrate my analysis in two manuscripts most probably copied in Suso, San Millán de la Cogolla,

Rioja, in the 9th-10th centuries: the lost ‘Soriensis’ manuscript and the Madrid, *Aem. RAH* 39, Part II, ff. 245vb-258ra. Both these compilations prove that in Spain, shortly before the year 1000, there was a genuine interest by an useful, easily readable and particularly simple to access kind of ‘universal history’, cherished by a few literate monks of a distant, small but rather dynamic monastery.

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Constructing continuity in time and space: Geopolitical identities and forms of history writing in medieval Spanish prose chronicles

Kim Bergqvist

History writing took many forms and developed into various different genres during the Middle Ages. It proliferated in the Iberian Peninsula during the high and late medieval period, where it increasingly came to incorporate epic and legendary material. Castilian historiography is often characterised as being marked by remarkably scientific criteria during the Alfonsine period (Alfonso X r. 1252-84), after which the rigidity of the principles by which chronicles were produced came gradually to lessen and the principle of ‘history as entertainment’ came to be privileged over that of ‘history as record’ (Ward 2011). The Alfonsine historiographical project has also been shown to be inextricably bound up with the overall politico-cultural ventures and imperial aspirations of the Learned King.

The theoretical writing on the chronotope (literally time-space) by Michail Bakhtin has shown how different conceptions of time and space and particular configurations of these can be defining characteristics of certain genre. It is my opinion that such theories can be used more extensively to investigate the political ambitions inherent in medieval Iberian history writing, and how these were linked to a confluence of ideas of geographical political entities (spatial), conceptions of history (temporal), and questions of identity (proto-national and sociopolitical). I wish to demonstrate how the political ideas and identities of the élites changed and were changed by the ever-changing forms of history writing in the context of thirteenth and fourteenth century

Iberia. The expected reception by different audiences of these historical texts, the function in society of the chronicles, is relevant to this analysis.

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The AHRC Estoria De Espana Project

Aengus Ward

The *Estoria de Espanna* is an extensive thirteenth-century history of Spain composed under the direction of Alfonso X of Castile and Leon (reigned 1252-1284). It runs from the origins of Spain to the death of Alfonso's father Fernando III in 1252.

This project, led by Dr Aengus Ward (University of Birmingham), aims to create a virtual space for the *Estoria de Espanna* with the long-term aim of producing an electronic edition of this important chronicle.

We are using software developed at the University of Saskatchewan, specifically, through Textual Communities to create transcriptions, collations and editions of the text. All the transcriptions and edited texts will be held at the University of Birmingham.

Session 6c

Using an Example : Denis Sauvage, Philippe de Commines and the 'Vieil Exemple'

Catherine Emerson

When Denis Sauvage, ‘historiographe du roi’, one-time translator, and editor, writes to introduce his edition of the history of Philippe de Commines, he faces a significant challenge. Commines is not an unknown author, and his history has already been published twice. Furthermore, Sauvage seeks to change the way readers approach the text and, crucially, to change the title from the *Chronique* by which the first two editions had been known. Without rejecting these editions entirely, Sauvage argues that previous readings are flawed and refers to an additional source, an ‘Exemplaire’ or ‘Vieil Exemplaire’, against which he has amended his text. Attempts at identifying this manuscript source have proved unsuccessful. This paper examines instead how Sauvage exploits the ‘Exemplaire’ as a corrective to other potential readings. Taking passages where Sauvage calls on its authority, this paper reads Sauvage’s text against surviving manuscripts and earlier print witnesses to demonstrate the extent to which this elusive source has been influential in shaping our current understanding of Commines’s text, but also the way it has served as a rhetorical support for Sauvage’s editorial decisions.

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Le connecteur *car* (ou *enim/nam*) dans la prose historique

Anders Bengtsson

Quel était le statut de *car* en ancien et en moyen français ? Élucider son rôle dans les textes médiévaux n’est pas chose aisée. Le fait que *car* pouvait être syntaxiquement confondu avec d’autres connecteurs en ancien français tel que *et*, *si*, *ensi*, *or* et *lors* a pu amener les auteurs à le considérer comme un connecteur introduisant des principales. Mais *car* avait aussi un autre rôle, à savoir comme marque de signalisation dans les textes mis en prose. Le connecteur compte ainsi parmi les

composants primordiaux pour faire de la prose, ce qui contribue à un nombre très élevé d'occurrences, dans textes de la prose.

Chez Commynes, *car* semble avoir eu un rôle particulier: Soutet et Thomasset ont montré la prédominance de *car* chez lui (1984: 36) ; l'expression de la causalité y est ainsi très forte. Selon Buridant, 60% des cas des *car* introduisent une justification (1986: 179). Nos propres recherches corroborent ces chiffres (Bengtsson 2012: 136). Même si Commynes a composé son texte de manière plus ou moins spontanée, l'influence latine paraît grande.

Ainsi, nous nous proposons dans cette communication d'établir une comparaison entre Commynes et des chroniques antérieures: celles de Froissart en français et celle de Knighton en anglais, composées à peu près à la même époque. La fréquence de *car* (ou de son équivalent en latin) est-elle la même dans ces textes? Est-ce la forme de la chronique, c'est-à-dire la prose, qui favorise l'emploi de ce connecteur, explicitant et justifiant les faits? Ou Commynes fait-il bande à part?

The Vetus Collectio manuscripta Ecclesiae Nannetensis and the Lost Chronicles of Brittany

Louise Stephens

In the early eighteen century a Breton historian, Dom Guy Alexis Lobineau, published a history of Brittany along with a companion volume of over a thousand pages containing his sources or "preuves." About four decades later another historian, Dom Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice, followed suit with three volumes of sources for his own two-volume history. Among the many documents preserved in these monumental collections are Breton chronicles written in Latin, in particular the *Chronicon Britannicum*, the *Chroniques annaulx*, and the *Chronicon Namnetense*, for which the source is identified by both historians as an old handwritten collection from the Cathedral of Nantes. The entries for these chronicles in the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* all state that this collection is no longer extant, a belief that goes back at least to 1896 when René Merlet published an edition of the *Chronicon Namnetense*. In fact, however, this collection still exists in the Archives départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine in Rennes as part of a bequest by the Breton historian Arthur de la Borderie and has been chiefly known as the source of the controversial *Legenda Sancti Goeznovei*. A preliminary comparison of the printed texts with digital images of the manuscript, which was produced in the latter part of the fifteenth century, reveals that these eighteenth-century editions are not simple copies of chronicles but should rather be seen as the product of two stages of selection and editing, first by the manuscript compilers themselves, and second by the Maurists. Indeed even the *Vetus Collectio manuscripta Ecclesiae Nannetensis* may not provide a full picture of these chronicles as it is itself a collection of notes and excerpts. Thus I hope to show that this manuscript possesses immense value not only for the sources it contains and for its potential to change the way these medieval Breton chronicles are understood, but above all for its role in shaping the writing of medieval Breton history from the time of its compilation in the fifteenth century up until the present day.

Session 7a

Once and Future History: Galfridian Borrowings in a St Albans Chronicle Fragment

Christopher Berard

Over sixty years ago, Laura Keeler noted in her monograph *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers* (1946) that the St Albans monk behind the so-called ‘*Annales Angliæ et Scotiæ*, 1292-1300’ (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D. vi, f. 156r-176v) used King Arthur’s coronation feast in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1137) as the template for his coverage of Edward I’s marriage to Princess Margaret of France at Canterbury (10 September 1299). The chronicler preserved much of Geoffrey’s original wording and syntax, but changed the name of the king from ‘Arturus’ to ‘Edwardus’. Recently, I identified additional instances of analogous textual repurposing from the *Historia* in the *Annales*, principally in the chronicle fragment’s treatment of King Edward’s victorious campaign of 1296 and the Scottish revolt of 1297. This paper aims to determine why the monk saw fit to take a page from Geoffrey when relating contemporary events. Consideration will be given to the codicological details of the manuscript as well as the sources of information about contemporary events that the monk had at his disposal. Comparisons will be drawn between his usage of the Galfridian material and the English crown’s own use of this legendary history as ‘secular typology’. The correspondence between the *Annales*’ contrived entries and alternative descriptions of the same events will also be explored. My topic engages with several of the major themes of this year’s conference, including the typologies of chronicles, the literature/historiographical convention of ‘derivative textuality’ and the function of the chronicle in early fourteenth-century society. I welcome the opportunity to discuss the possible reception of this fascinating chronicle fragment, in particular whether the borrowings were likely to have been detected by a contemporary audience and, if so, how they would have been received.

The Roman de Rou and the Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie: Plantagenet literary patronage towards propagandist creation of a common lineage between Britain and Normandy (1160s-1170s)

Johann Battaglini

Following the period called the Anarchy, Henry II Plantagenet capitalized the throne of England after defeating King Stephen in A.D 1154. However, being William the Conqueror’s great grandson, he was perceived as the invader, and therefore needed evidence of his legitimacy as heir to the throne of England. In the Middle Ages, the chronicle had one purpose: the recording of important events towards political ends, including the lives of nobles, monarchs and even the history of a whole country (i.e. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). The chronicle’s main goal was to recount ancestries from present dynasties in order to glorify and assert their position as ruling power. The literary genre of the chronicle is based on one quintessential point: the *translatio imperii*.

As a popular concept that transferred power from monarchs of the same country, *imperii* signifies an idea of political power and legitimacy. Compared to its archrival France, England sought to prove its superior claim to cultural and political legitimacy by asserting its direct lineage from the glory that was Rome. During the Middle Ages, people thought that this power had been translated from Greece to Rome, and then from Rome to Europe. Equally for France, kings regarded Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Emperor of 800, as the national ancestor partly because he represented political legitimacy. The Norman kings of England, like Henry II, did not like being considered the vassal of the King of France. Therefore, Henry II used the *translatio imperii* to show how political legitimacy had been "translated" from the matter of Rome not only to the French, but also to England. Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine formed a centripetal literary sphere that attracted virtually any chronicler wishing to make a living at the royal court. As a result, Henry II successfully established common ancestry between Normandy and Britain. The *translatio imperii* gave Henry total legitimacy over Britain, and over King Arthur as the official ancestor of the Plantagenet dynasty.

This paper will underline the important relationship between chronicle and literary patronage. With the exemplum of Henry II, the chronicle of the dukes of Normandy must be politically oriented. It should fulfill its task in favoring its patron and drawing a positive picture of his ancestry. This paper will exemplify Wace's and Benoît de Saint-Maure's tasks in providing a satisfactory work as royal chronicler. While Wace took hold of Henry II's by translating in Norman French Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Benoît distinguished himself by his poem *The Romance of Troy*. However, none met Henry II's expectations. More a historian than a chronicler, Wace copied existing written sources and fabricated present events without removing passages that could have offended the royal couple. Alternatively, Benoît was careful to omit those passages and did his best to magnify Henry II's ancestry to meet expectations. Yet, he was never able to complete his work due to his demise in A.D. 1173. Although Henry II legitimated, due to an orchestration of the past, his political positions, and his way of governing territories on both sides of the Channel, one may wonder whether a chronicle does not become distorted when it emerges from literary patronage. If a nobleman, a clergyman or a monarch agrees to pay a certain sum of money in reward for written work, then this very work should invariably be oriented to please its sponsor. As Henry II's literary patronage exemplifies, chronicles tend to serve Arthurian political propaganda, rather than a mere objective account of a historical past.

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Kings, Myths and Ancestry: A Fifteenth-century Genealogy

Maree Shirota

Myth, history and ancestry merge together on the Canterbury Roll (University of Canterbury, New Zealand, MS 1), a fifteenth-century royal genealogical roll. The manuscript roll traces the origins of the rulers of England from Noah to Henry V, which was later modified to include Edward IV. The pseudo-historical lineage includes Aeneas and King Arthur as ancestors of the late medieval kings of England. The layout and format of the genealogical chronicle combines visual aspects, such as diagrams and drawings, with the Latin text to produce a genealogical history of English kings. The significance of the royal pedigrees for the Houses of Lancaster and York (for their respective claims to the throne) meant that genealogical rolls from this period formed an important part of political propaganda. Hereditary right was a frequently utilized argument for legitimizing a claim to the crown, and genealogical chronicles are clear examples of this. Concepts of ancestry and inheritance were closely linked to such manuscripts, and can provide a fascinating perspective on ideas of succession and dynasty. However, this chronicle roll also depicts a grand narrative of the English and Britons, by tracing their descent from myth, such as biblical figures and the Trojan refugees, to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman invaders. Using Canterbury MS 1, this paper will examine the construction of ancestry, inheritance, and sense of identity in the fifteenth-century. By analysing the literary and visual elements of the manuscript, this paper will explore the manuscript's relation to issues about shaping identity and origin myths within the historical and political context of later medieval England.

Session 7b

New stories in early history: history and identity in the historiography of the Low Countries under Burgundian rule

Jenine de Vries

The growing influence of the Burgundians is often said to have left its mark in the development of history writing in the fifteenth-century Low Countries. In the last decades attention has been given primarily to the unification within the Burgundian realm and the homogeneity in the lands gathered under the Burgundian duke and their historiography. However, the fifteenth century also clearly shows an increase in regional chronicles in the Low Countries. Paradoxically, this can also be connected to the intensification of the Burgundian sphere of influence. Holland, Flanders and the surrounding counties saw the need to emphasise their own history and authority.

One way to achieve this was to create and incorporate in the historical tradition an impressive origin of the county in question and its inhabitants. Chronicles of Holland, for example, start to show a development from historiography about Holland's dynasty towards history writing on the county of Holland itself from the publication of the *Gouds Kroniekje* around 1440. The people of Holland were given their own origin, instead of being discussed together with other people in the Low Countries; they are given Trojan origin myths and are said to descend from the Slavs

who lived in those lands even before Roman times. Similarly, in Flanders, the foresters legends were used in history writing to prove an illustrious ancestry and legitimacy for the unity of the county. Foundation stories of local towns receive a lot of attention as well.

Late fifteenth-century regional chronicles from the Low Countries show us that the people of Holland, Flanders and other lands did consider themselves to belong to a specific identifiable group of people and that they identified strongly with the county they were living in, more than with the wider concept of the Burgundian realm. I will show that Holland, Flanders and other lands in the Low Countries are portrayed in historiography as independent entities, not relying on their prince to have a history, identity and authority and that foundation myths and origin legends were an important factor in this depiction.

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The changing function of Mechelen chronicle material in the long sixteenth century

Bram Caers

This paper focuses on three unique sixteenth-century manuscripts containing independent adaptations of the same fifteenth-century urban chronicle of Mechelen (present-day Belgium): *Die cronike van die scone ende heerlijke stadt van Mechelen*. The manuscripts in question present highly altered or expanded redactions of the same source text, which were never copied into later manuscripts. In this paper, I will look at the changing function and historical context of Mechelen chronicle material,

first at the time of writing in the late fifteenth century, and then throughout the sixteenth century. The focus will mainly be on the structuring principles, the content and the function or intended audience of the various chronicle versions.

Fifteenth-century chronicle

The basic Mechelen chronicle was written in the end of the fifteenth century by the otherwise unknown Jan de Wilde, who based his text firmly on Brabantine historiography, leaving out unnecessary information and expanding on Mechelen issues using alternative sources such as hagiographies and city accounts. The resulting text is one of the rare examples of urban historiography in the Low Countries, and its occurrence precisely in Mechelen poses interesting questions. Possibly, Mechelen's somewhat unique status as a sort of 'city-state' within the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands is responsible for its peculiar historiography.

Sixteenth-century manuscripts

The first manuscript is kept in the Mechelen city archives (EE VI 1) and provides a highly illegible draft version in which two authors were at work. Its messy state raises questions as to what may have been the intention of the authors: were they planning to produce a neat copy at some point? Or was this a type of notebook with historiographical facts, drawn from various other sources?

The second manuscript, now kept in The Hague (71 G 30), is a rather neat copy of a chronicle version which greatly expands on the late fifteenth-century original. Previous research has led to the identification of its maker, a Mechelen alderman and mayor named Jan van Wachtendonck. There are no clues in his manuscript which point in the direction of an intended audience. Neither are there traces of usage (other than his own notes). It will be the historical context of Jan van Wachtendonck that may provide some clues as to the historical usage of this manuscript.

The third chronicle manuscript under discussion (SAM, RAA Mechelen 62) is a curious fragmentary copy of the original chronicle, presenting only a selection of specific occurrences. Its place in a larger manuscript including membership lists of the Weaver's Guild, will lead to assumptions on its historical usage.

The fact that sixteenth-century authors modified, rewrote or ignored part of a fifteenth-century chronicle is telling of the way this historiographic material continued to stir emotions, even a century after date. Comparing the sixteenth-century manuscripts to each other as well as to the fifteenth-century auctorial text, this paper hopes to show the changing function of historiography in late medieval and early modern Mechelen.

Late Medieval Regional Chronicles in Multi-Text Collections: a Comparative Approach to the Production of the Burgundian Low Countries (1384-1530)

Dirk Schoenaers

In his review of Sjoerd Levelt's study of the chronicles of Jan van Naaldwijk, Bram Caers (University of Antwerp) has pointed out that in spite of the relatively high number of recent qualitative case studies as regards to Dutch vernacular

historiography, a broader diachronic survey of the genre in the Low Countries remains a desideratum. An important contribution to such a survey might start from the late medieval and early modern writing of history in the Burgundian Netherlands. Indeed, the number of regional chronicles composed and/or copied in the fifteenth century bears witness to the immense popularity of the genre in this particular area of Western Europe. Additionally, it seems as though the gradual incorporation into the Burgundian personal union has left its mark on the production of regional historiography and the way in which chronicles were read. Interesting comparative approaches might include the way in which earlier thirteenth and fourteenth chronicles were adapted in later fifteenth-century copies to better suit their new context, the company regional chronicles keep in extant manuscripts and the influence of the introduction of ‘foreign’ texts into the historiographical landscape (e.g. through translation and selection of sources).

In this paper I intend to foreground similarities and differences in the manuscript and print contexts of a number of regional chronicles, which have proven to have been successful in the fifteenth century. Although this approach has not yet been applied on a larger scale to (prose) historiography, Keith Busby’s study of Medieval French verse narrative has proven the potential of similar readings in context. My discussion will focus on the historiography of the Dutch-speaking regions of Flanders, Brabant and Holland, but a later, more comprehensive project might also take into account the production in the francophone regions of Artois, Hainault, Namur and Luxemburg. Selected texts will certainly include, but not necessarily be limited to, the Dutch and Latin versions of Johannes de Beka’s chronicle of Holland and Utrecht, the Gouda Chronicle, Jan van Boendale’s *Brabantsche yeesten*, various versions of *Flandria generosa*, the late fifteenth-century *Excellente cronike van Vlaenderen* and the fourteenth-century French *Chroniques de Flandres*. This corpus of texts should allow for a number of interesting comparative approaches, possibly revealing diachronic evolutions, regional differences, and finally also con- and divergences between texts written in the same area but in a different language.

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Session 7c

Standpoints: Late Medieval World Chronicles between temporal and spatial access

Nadine Holzmeier

Worldchronicles occupy a specific position inside the general category „chronicle“. They have defined an own standpoint in a changing world by connecting temporal/historical knowledge with geographic/spatial knowledge. Simultaneously worldchronicles outlined this standpoint (beside the historical view) also on a

contemporary level as they gave with their specific kind of strategic focus and depiction always a current „political“ relatedness as well.

In the centre stage of this paper are the characteristics of Late Medieval worldchronicles as a historical source and the inherent recognitional possibilities, especially the two following aspects:

1. The dealing with a growing world. On the shift from the High- to the Late Middle Ages range and worldview have changed dramatically. Contingent through the crusades, wider trading activity and strengthened mission have extended the reference framework. From an „European“ perspective, new acteurs entered the „stage“ and forced them to expose with different territorial and religious views and interests. The question is which role Late Medieval Worldchronicles could have played in the integration of these factors in the existing episteme?
2. As a part of the so called „spatial turn“ the space became an important category of analysis also in history, this was and is fruitfull and nessesary. Nevertheless it could be especially in the reflection of changes and upheavals crucial to connect time and space as theoretic and analytical tools. Which possibilitys for this could lay in the work with Worldchronicles?

Aspects of time in Old Swedish rhyme chronicles

Margaretha Nordquist

Mid-fifteenth century Sweden saw an increased production of historical works in the vernacular, not least in the form of rhyme chronicles. The subject matter of the chronicles was both the recent past, and the distant, mythological origins of the realm and its people. The origin of the realm and its people was the subject of both *Lilla rimkrönikan* (the minor rhyme chronicle) and a prose chronicle, *Prosaiska krönikan*. Both these chronicles ascribe a proud Gothicist past to the Swedes in a tradition that gained increasing importance in this period.

The productive years of the mid-fifteenth century are very much linked to the ideological needs of the Swedish king Karl Knutsson (Bonde), who had to explain and legitimize his own claims to power as an aristocratic newcomer on the Swedish throne. He attempted to secure his own position at the throne in an era of continuous power struggles within the aristocratic elite and the broader political context of the personal union between the Nordic kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden that involved Danish kings' claims to the Swedish throne. In addition to the personal legitimizing needs of King Karl Knutsson, the historiography of the fifteenth century can also be linked to the political unrest in connection with the revolt against, and later dethronement of King Erik in 1439 (the Engelbrekt uprising). The political upheavals created the basis of a new focus on the realm as a mobilizing and legitimizing entity.

In this paper, I will mainly concentrate on some of the chronicles written in the mid fifteenth century and examine them with time as a point of departure. Time, seen as both chronology and sequence (the succession of rulers and the translation of power) is an essential aspect in the study of how history serves political ends, involving the interlocking of different temporal representations – of the past, the present and of the future. Medieval history writing is characterized by somewhat contradictory aspects of time: while chronology and the fixing of events firmly in time functions as a basic structuring principle for the writing of history, there is also a tendency to ascribe events in the past timeless meanings as directly related to contemporary political situations. By studying aspects of time in Old Swedish rhyme chronicles, the representation of the past in relation to the political context of fifteenth-century Sweden will be illuminated.

How to stage an Arcanum. Chronicle Manuscripts between Secrecy and Public in the 16th Century

Marco Tomaszewski

In 1553, the council of Basel confiscated two books: a manuscript of a compiled world chronicle and an armorial. Both were in possession of Augustin Schnitt, who inherited them from his father Konrad. Konrad Schnitt, artist and heraldist, drafted these books in the 1530s. In order to answer the question why the council confiscated these books many years after their formation, former research focused on the content of the books, which was seen as secret lore. Of course, historical knowledge as knowledge of power often was treated as secret lore in the middle ages and the beginning Early Modern Period. The decision about access to historical knowledge was part of municipal “information policy”, which depended on certain contexts and events (Huntebrinker 2009). Governmental knowledge was the core of policy and treated as arcana (Hölscher 1979).

But considering its communicative and social function, it becomes evident that secrecy also can establish identity and distinction – even if there is no secret (Hahn 2002). Thus, the paper suggests to interpret the confiscation as staging of an arcanum in order to maintain authority. So, separate from their content, chronicles played an important communicative role in society. They staged exclusivity and status of their owners and were staged themselves for the same purpose. Similar forms of staging of historiographical media can be observed in the case of the so called Schilling chronicle in Bern or the historiographical painting of the Murten battle in Fribourg (Schmid 2009). Many town chronicles actually survived in *family books* containing historiography, notes about the family, coats of arms, etc. These books were controlled by the patriarch and often contented explicit commandments of secrecy. However, these books provable were read and copied outside the family and that is why these commandments could be also interpreted as staging of secrets (Tomaszewski 2013).

Therefore, using the concept of “staging”, the paper aims to examine the role of chronicle manuscripts as media of communication in 16th century cities between the poles of secrecy and public.

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Session 8a

Edward I's Temper: Anger and its (Mis)representations in the Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough and the Fineshade Chronicle

Hannah Kilpatrick

In one infamous incident near the end of Edward I's reign the king is said to have assaulted his heir, both verbally and physically, upon being asked to ennoble the young man's favourite, Piers Gaveston. This anecdote has been invoked by every modern biographer of all three men, even making its way into popular media: it would not be an exaggeration to say that it has become fundamental to our characterisation of Edward I's personality and his relationship with his son. The two chronicles which are our only source for the incident describe the ageing king as tearing out his son's hair or flinging him to the ground and kicking him in a fit of violent temper. Or do they?

I will offer a close reading that reconsiders both witnesses in the light of medieval rhetorical and visual tropes of anger across a variety of genres. I will argue that, firstly, there has been a basic misreading of the Latin in both instances, resulting in a universal misinterpretation of Edward I's behaviour as more violent than the chroniclers intended. Secondly, I contend that modern perception of medieval emotion as excessive and uncontrollable (in the tradition of Norbert Elias and Marc Bloch) has coloured our understanding of the scene, and perhaps contributed to that initial misreading. I suggest that, far from functioning as purely literal report of savage passion unmoderated by social norms, these and similar chronicle scenes employ a rich tradition of cultural discourses to subtle and precise purpose in their depiction of royal anger.

A Dangerous Thing: Abbot Whethamstede as War Correspondent

Dan Embree

Eye-witness sources for medieval battles are rare enough to be precious – or at least rare enough to seem precious. An undoubted but perhaps overvalued eye-witness to the first battle of St Albans, in May 1455, was John Whethamstede, abbot of St Albans, whom modern historians often cite with approbation, praising his close observation and knowledge of the ground. A modern military historian makes “little doubt that he stationed himself on the top of the great Abbey gateway . . . from which he could follow almost every detail” The authors of the latest monograph on the two battles of St Albans quote the abbot’s description of the carnage as evidence of the violence of the battle. But whatever the abbot might have seen on the ground, what he reports is straight out of a book; what he sees is always conditioned by what he has read. His instincts are not for history, but for literature – or at any rate, not for the historical reportage practiced by most fifteenth-century chroniclers, but for the imaginative and morally instructive essays of the first-century historians whose company the abbot prefers to keep. The abbot remains an important historical source for understanding how events were perceived at a little distance. But he tells us little about what happened that May day at St Albans.

The Historian and his Critics Reconsidered

Justin Lake

The topos of anticipated criticism, in which the author refers to the expectation that his work will be attacked by envious detractors or malicious critics, is a familiar one in medieval historiography. In a classic study, Helmut Beumann examined references to criticism among early medieval authors and concluded that these should not be dismissed as empty formulae, but evaluated within the literary and cultural context in which they appeared. Beumann’s approach to the problem of the ‘reference to reality’ (*Wirklichkeitsbezug*) of the topos of criticism informs the approach taken in this paper. Drawing on a detailed survey of prologues, dedicatory epistles, and other authorial statements found in histories and hagiographical works, this paper will examine how the topos of criticism shifted in response to cultural conditions, manifesting itself in different ways at certain times and place. Topics to be considered include anxiety about criticism for re-using the words of others (answered differently in the prologues of Richer of Saint-Rémi and Aimoin of Fleury), the critique of novelty (manifested in Einhard, Liudprand of Cremona, and Adalbold of Utrecht, among others), and the enumeration of sources as a ‘shield’ against detractors among fourteenth-century English chroniclers. The working thesis is that while in each case the ‘critics’ alluded to by the author may be hypothetical, their criticisms provide important insight into the changing conditions of historical writing in the Middle Ages.

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Session 8b

Gawain, Perceval and Didrik van Bern. Constructions of Myth and Reality in Erik's Chronicle

Thomas Småberg

In *Erik's Chronicle (EC)*, a Swedish rhyme chronicle from the early fourteenth century the anonymous author writes a history of the then ruling royal dynasty in Sweden. It is a very important historical work, since it is the only such chronicle written in Sweden from this time. In the chronicle we meet important events and historical actors that shaped the political narratives at the time. Primarily, it is the new courtly setting that is of interest for this paper. The Swedish aristocracy and the royal court were expressing a new ideology at this period, that of courtly and chivalric ideals. *Erik's chronicle* is instrumental in expressing these ideal for the Swedish audience. The construction of the past, both historical events, rituals, symbols and character descriptions, is of importance in the construction of the new ideals for the Swedish aristocracy. The chronicler uses western European literary narratives, such as the inclusion of Arthurian knights, to convey role models for behavior. Relevant is the fact that rhyme chronicles were essentially determined by their present. They were written in a socio-cultural context that determined how the past was portrayed. Erik's chronicle was written to glorify the royal dynasty during a period when a boy-king sat on the Swedish throne. This fact colors our perception of the events portrayed in the chronicle.

In EC, there are no years, merely references to saint's days, relative time periods such as "...three years after..." and so on. Time therefore is essentially undetermined. Instead, the chronicler makes use of relative chronology (that is, events seem to be described chronologically), mythical time, and a religious-moralistic approach where events are mirrored references to biblical themes. Equally undetermined is the concept of space associated with time. Several important social spaces are constructed in EC through association with a mythical or perceived "historical" past. The purpose of this paper is to analyze and discuss how the chronicler makes use of time and space in the construction of courtly ideals through the use of earlier events, characters, place, rituals, and symbols.

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Fact and fiction, text and context. The representation of mythological and historical actors in the Middle-Dutch “Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen” tradition

Lisa Demets, Jan Dumolyn, Johan Oosterman

The different surviving manuscript versions of the most important fifteenth-century Flemish chronicle tradition, the ‘Excellente Cronicke van Vlaenderen’, show a process of *réécriture* (rewriting) reflecting specific ideological discursive and narrative strategies that can be linked to the socio-political and cultural constellations in late medieval Flanders. Civic narratives, such as this chronicle tradition, do not give us an ‘objective’ realm of the city-perspective, free of textual and narrative obstacles. However they do offer us a portrait of different social urban experiences, some of them reflecting more urban values, other ones being more supportive of the politics of the Burgundian dukes. These texts are often anonymous. Such is the case for many parts of this chronicles: only a few authors/scribes reveal themselves (or are being revealed). Nevertheless is it clear that they are embedded in urban life and in that way they display different political and cultural sympathies, reflecting the social complexity of the multi-layered late medieval Flemish urban life.

A new approach towards this research topic in the latest decennia does not limit the focus on the representation of the contemporary historiography in these vernacular city-embedded chronicles, but includes an equal attention for the rewriting practice concerning their own (mythological) history. This paper will search for traces of fifteenth century ideologies in the founding myths of the county of Flanders included in the different manuscripts of the ‘Excellente Cronicke van Vlaenderen’. In particular the ‘invention’ of the *forestiers* (i.c. the first mythological ‘rulers’ of Flanders before the counts) and the representation of the first counts of Flanders will get full attention.

This will be combined with an analysis of the gender-approaches towards the Flemish princesses, female rulers and their ‘foreign’ consorts in the chronicles. An important question is whether they are functioning as a ‘mirror’ for the late fifteenth century dynastic crisis after the death of Charles the Bold, the succession of Mary of Burgundy and the tumultuous government of Maximilian of Habsburg after her death.

Session 9

“Venit iudeus portans literas”: Jewish Types in *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*”

Adrienne Williams Boyarin

The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond opens with Bury St Edmunds' indebtedness to Jewish moneylenders and a related domestic intimacy with the local Jewish community: Jews, Jocelin reports, "went everywhere through the monastery, wandering by the altars... [T]heir wives and children took refuge in our pittancery" (10). As Jewish debt and people proliferate in the early part of the *Chronicle*, so too do the "cartae" (charters, bonds), "literae" (documents, letters), and "sigilla" (seals) that Jocelin associates with them: the "iudeus portans literas" (Jew carrying documents) appears eleven times in the first five printed pages alone. It is clear that Jocelin carefully crafts his narrative to exploit such (Christianized) Jewish symbols. It is also clear that these opening scenes and symbols are importantly and structurally related to Jocelin's later characterization of Abbot Samson as holy and heroic, as several recent studies have shown (e.g., Lampert-Weissig, Widner, Bale on multiple occasions). What no one has argued, however—and what I will argue in this paper—is that Jocelin also uses his *Chronicle* to construct a Jewish identity for Samson. He evokes Samson's biblical namesake almost immediately upon introducing him, so that we must always read two Samsons in this text: Abbot Samson and the biblical Samson, the righteous Old Testament Israelite who is the narrative counter-balance to the "Jew with documents" that Abbot Samson so aggressively opposes. By means of typological turnaround, that is, Abbot Samson becomes the Jewish hero who kills the Philistines, while the monastery's Jews become the Philistines who torment and threaten to blind (eye-shutting and figurative blindness are also recurrent here). As is the nature of typology and opposition, however, Samson also resembles what he opposes. He looks like the "real" Bury Jews that Jocelin so carefully describes: he hoards documents and seals as he takes up his abbacy (38), and, "when it was a matter of money... [he] rarely remitted" (34). Samson's resemblance even appears to be physical: I will show that Jocelin's famous description of Samson's face and body, often praised as a moment of uncharacteristic medieval realism, in fact costumes Samson as a Jew and closely matches other medieval caricatures. Reading for such oppositions and resemblances will trouble the notion of Jewish presence and absence in the Bury *Chronicle* (and in Bury) considerably.

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Reminiscences of the Reich: Continuities or alterations of English historiographers with past and present of the Holy Roman Empire

Isabelle Chwalka

History or better historiography is always influenced by the author’s present. The interesting point is how and how much the past is determined by the present of the scribe, to whom – especially in the Middle Ages – the past appeared almost modern. Therefore the past was supposed to offer approaches for the present.

However, in my lecture I will not speak about the handling of English twelfth century historiographers (e.g. Orderic Vitalis, John of Worcester, Roger de Howden, Walter Map, Henry of Huntingdon) of their own past, but rather about their exposure to foreign German history. What is mentioned about the Empire in the twelfth century and how are these reports compared to entries in the world chronicles in former centuries? What does this mean about the concepts of the past of the scribes and their perception of the “Reich” and how is this linked to the Anglo-Norman and Angevin England? This shall enable us to receive a new perspective of the role and importance of these two countries for each other.

“A Wall against the Enemy”: Quotation, Audience and Hidden Meaning in Thomas Walsingham’s *Chronica Maiora*

Chris Linsley

This paper aims to consider an area little investigated by current scholarship of medieval chronicles, namely the potential depth and intricacies of meaning operating behind chroniclers’ use of biblical and other quotation. By investigating the use of quotation in the chronicles of Thomas Walsingham (c.1340-1421) this paper hopes to demonstrate that, while also functioning as simple tools of justification for expressed opinion and neat phrases for effect, quotations in chronicles could function to veil layers of meaning intended for a specific audience from other potential readers. A detailed analysis of a particular example from 1379 will reveal criticism of the soldier John Clerk’s conduct hidden behind seemingly innocuous biblical quotation. This veiled meaning was likely to be appreciated by only a small circle of the chronicle’s potential audience, thus hiding such criticism from a patron of the Abbey of St Albans. This process of locating hidden meaning can then be related to wider questions regarding the intended audience of medieval chronicles and in particular the specific concerns of late medieval English chroniclers that their work could fall into secular hands and become a dangerous liability.

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Session 10a

Salvation History and the History of England in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B VII)

Andrea Worm

The twelfth century saw an unparalleled systematisation of knowledge, characterised by an increasing use of visual concepts. The rise of a genealogical and diagrammatic mode for the visualisation of complex information also affected the way in which history was represented. Peter of Poitiers (c. 1130–1205) was first in conceiving history in diagrammatic form in his *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*. In its original form, the *Compendium Historiae* was designed as a survey of biblical history, but soon the historical lines were expanded into the history of the present day.

A little known English manuscript in London (British Library, Cotton Faustina B VII) from the early thirteenth-century is of extraordinary importance for the genre of genealogically structured history diagrams. It is not only the first securely datable example of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae*, but at the same time the first example in which the timeline goes beyond biblical history.

This paper will explore how historical data and genealogical information were organised on the page, and how the past and present were interpreted in the process of visualisation, and how they were linked.

Capital Investment, or why do scribes add large initials to their text?

Erik Kooper

In an article published in *The Medieval Chronicle* 8 (2013: 43-74) I concluded that all manuscripts of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* share a programme of large initials, which therefore in all probability goes back to the author. But in manuscripts of both the long and the short versions of the text (each represented by at least 7 manuscripts) we see that the scribes have frequently added extra capitals, but not always at the same places.

In my paper I will examine such scribal additions in a number of manuscripts and make an attempt to find out what their purpose was for doing so.

St. Ursula of the *Bruts*: Chronicles, Hagiography, Geography, and the Visual Arts

Elizabeth J. Bryan

From the twelfth-century Variant Version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* through the *Prose Brut* texts of the fifteenth century, a purported historical figure named Ursula, daughter of Cornwall and intended bride of Conan Meriodoc, invited comparison and sometimes continuity with the hagiographic figure of St. Ursula. The parallel historical and hagiographic textual traditions of Ursula sometimes swelled with fervor at the same time, notably in the mid-twelfth century when Wace and Elizabeth of Schönau both elaborated Ursula's character and cult, whereas sometimes historians, in particular Laȝamon around 1200, consciously distanced the historical figure from the saint. By the later fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, devotion to the saint was generating remarkable visual art. Ursula was also represented in visual art in a few *Prose Brut* manuscripts in the fifteenth century, and this paper will examine how textual and artistic representations of Ursula negotiated with each other in these history manuscripts, in relation to contemporary hagiographical interactions of word and image.

The overarching concern of this paper is the question of what relations exist between hagiography and history from 1100 to 1500 with regard to Ursula. The paper will take up art historian Scott B. Montgomery's idea that a corporate or group identity (the 11,000 virgins rather than the individual saint Ursula) becomes central to artistic representations of hagiographical Ursula, and it will test that theory against the *Prose Brut* manuscripts. Contrasting claims of Ursula's geographical provenance is another important issue. One consistent difference of detail between the hagiography and the history texts is that "Britannia" is interpreted to mean different places (Brittany in the saints' lives and ancient Celtic Britain in the *Brut* histories), and visual representations in the hagiographies and the histories use differing heraldic attributes for Ursula in part to register her affiliations with Britain, Brittany, or Cologne. Finally, the paper will address the expectation that images of Ursula would be expected to work differently on devotional readers and on readers of history. To what extent, if at all, did illustrations of Ursula in illustrated *Prose Brut* manuscripts invite devotion? The answers bear on the larger question of how images functioned in the genre of history.

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Session 10b

Power of Language, Language of Power: Reading Pintoin and Froissart

Katariina Nara

The fourteenth century was one of the most violent and eventful centuries in the history of Western Europe, due in no small part to the series of hostilities and warfare known commonly as the Hundred Years' War. Two important historiographical sources for this period, Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* and the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* by Michel Pintoin, offer us interesting insights not only to the events unfolding in the international arena between the two European superstates, England and France, but also to the political power struggles plaguing the court of the mad King Charles VI of France. More interestingly, however, these two works represent two different chronicle traditions, monastic versus secular, official versus unofficial, as well as using a different language medium. In the background of war and political conflict, the two languages of power in medieval France, i.e. French, Froissart's language of choice, and Latin, the natural medium for Pintoin's monastic chronicle, were undergoing a silent power struggle of their own, one to remain and one to become the language of king and government in France. The aim of this paper is to examine these two chronicles, juxtaposing their representations of historical events in France with particular attention to authorial decisions and practices, and how these reflect some of the changes that were taking place in the fourteenth century French society.

United or Separate?: The Problematic Relationship Between Prologue and Narrative in French Medieval Chronicles

Christian Bratu

Two years ago, in the paper I presented at the last conference of the Medieval Chronicle Society in Pécs (Hungary), I discussed chronicle prologues (and epilogues) as the first and foremost *loci auctoris* in medieval chronicles. My colleague Sjoerd Levelt was right to point out at that time that these textual *loci*, as important as they may be in the overall economy of the text, should not be disjoined from the rest of the chronicle. In this presentation, I should like to discuss the often problematic relationship between prologue (and epilogue) and the rest of the text (which is more often than not the narrative part) in medieval chronicles. For the sake of brevity, I shall limit my presentation to a few French and Anglo-Norman chronicles and histories.

In many cases, there is quite obviously a fundamental disconnect in the tone and style of the prologue (and epilogue) on the one hand and the actual narrative on the other. Naturally, discrepancies between these two subcomponents of the text are understandable to a certain extent, given that prologues are generally introductory or prefatory—sometimes analytical—in nature, whereas the rest of the text is

quintessentially narrative. In some cases, however, discrepancies seem to go far beyond the rules of genre. Often, readers have the distinct feeling that the prologue may have been—and in some cases it actually was—written by another person. For instance, in the texts of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert de Clari, and other chroniclers, writers refer to themselves in the third person in the epilogue, which could be the result of a (contemporary or later) scribal intervention in the narrative. In other cases, however, the epilogue is more closely integrated into the text. The prologues in Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis* and Froissart's *Chroniques* are very much first-person texts, just like other passages in the narrative (which, of course, does not preclude other types of discrepancies).

In my presentation, I shall also look at various textual elements (such as authorial tone and self-reference, authorial relationship with his audience/readership, the use of verbal tenses, the presence of verbal versus nominal/non-verbal constructions, similarities and discrepancies in the general approach to historical events and characters) that can help us better grasp the various degrees of integration of prologues (and epilogues) within the wider frame of the text.

History and *chanson de geste* in several French chronicles around 1400

Pierre Courroux

Around the end of the fourteenth century, several French verse chronicles tried to revive an old model dating from the twelfth century, which blended the historiographic model with the form of the *chanson de geste*. They often called their works a *geste* or a *chançon*, as the *Geste de Liège*, by Jean d'Outremeuse, the *Geste des ducs Philippe et Jean de Bourgogne*, the *Chanson de Bertrand Du Guesclin*. I would like to provide some thoughts about these works and a few others (Attila written by Nicolo de Casola, the *Life of the Black Prince* by the Herlad Chandos, the *Geste des Bretons en Italie* by Guillaume de la Penne). I will firstly investigate the re-writing of history in these works : I will highlight that they idealised the truth and often forgot the fairness claimed by many prose chronicles, to build a narrative that is in accordance with their aim (the heroes and the villains must be more clearly opposed in an epic-inspired narrative). But the real question is: were they more inventive towards the historical facts than other chronicles written at the same time? We will see that this is not obvious. To understand better the ideas of these authors, we will have to shift our questioning to the generic problem. Were these works, using epic stanzas and epic mood, fully perceived as historical works? Were the words *geste* or *chançon* used in a generic sense? To answer this second question, I will compare these histories to prose chronicles closely related to them at the same time (e. g. Jean d'Outremeuse wrote simultaneously his *Geste de Liège* and a prose chronicle, the *Myreur des histors*). We will see that the epic claims are never fully opposed to historical truth. Therefore, I will try to define a sub-genre of the medieval chronicle, the epic history, where the epic spirit grasps a historical core and layout; this sub-genre, deliberately archaic and using ancient forms, soon proved to be a dead end but can be linked with the works of David Aubert in the middle of the fifteenth century, who did exactly the opposite process: the latter wrote in a historical form an epic material.

Session 11a

History, Hagiography, Romance... A Middle English Prose *Brut*'s Layered Portrayal of Athelstan

Lisa M. Ruch

Athelstan's reputation and accomplishments as the king credited with being the first to rule over all of England led to his being celebrated in the Middle Ages in art, coinage, romance, travel narratives, and chronicles. In the prose *Brut* tradition, his depiction is, for the most part, focused on his military accomplishments, with little elaboration. However, the abbreviated Middle English prose *Brut* in Edinburgh University Library MS 184 is unusual in its blending of narrative elements from historical accounts, hagiography, and romance to portray Athelstan as an English hero, and in its telling its fifteenth-century audience where they could still see physical relics of Athelstan's reign in their own day, giving them the opportunity to be vicariously connected to the storied history of their nation. This paper will trace the sources this *Brut*'s compiler most likely drew from, and will consider what implications this may have for our understanding of this particular manuscript and of the evolution and adaptation of *Brut* chronicles in the late Middle Ages.

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Textual *mouvance* and the foundation of Britain in the Oldest Anglo-Norman Prose *Brut* (to 1272)

Victoria Shirley

Concentrating on the story of Brutus of Troy and the foundation of Britain, this paper will address the relationship between the Oldest Anglo-Norman Prose *Brut* (to 1272) and its 'source' texts, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* and its vernacular translation, Wace's *Roman de Brut*.

This paper focuses on how the story of Brutus changes from Geoffrey's extensive biographical account of Britain's founding hero in the *Historia*, to a highly condensed historical *exemplum* in the *Brut*. It examines how cultural and linguistic *translatio* in the *Brut* affects the authority of Geoffrey's 'original' version (which is never cited in the Anglo-Norman text), before considering the implications of the reorganisation of the narrative structure of the foundation and division of Britain. The discussion seeks to demonstrate the effects of translation and transmission on the nature of textual authority and the ideological function of this popular, and frequently reproduced, story of 'British' origins which was used to support the Anglocentric desire for insular unity.

This paper relates to two of the primary themes of the conference, namely the function of the chronicle (2) and the form of the chronicle (3).

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**'Be whiche trewes he fasly and ownetreuly, by cawelaciones, loste and disqwatt':
the political idiolect of late medieval English chronicles**

Joanna Bellis

To the prose Brut chronicle belongs the twin distinction of being arguably the most popular secular text in England in the later Middle Ages, and the most seriously neglected by modern editors and critics. It survives in almost two hundred manuscripts, second only to the Wycliffite Bible: Tamar S. Drukker speculates that ‘anyone in England in the fifteenth century who owned more than a single volume, had a copy of the prose Brut’. However, it still suffers from verdicts such as that of its 1906 editor Friedrich W. Brie, that ‘as literature, the Chronicle is as worthless [...] as a mediaeval Chronicle possibly can be’. Although recent critical efforts have been rehabilitating the Brut, its exceptional textual complexity and reputation for slight literary merit mean that it remains ‘the most seriously neglected of the texts produced in medieval England’ (William Marx and Raluca Radulescu).

This is in stark contrast to the self-aggrandising ambition with which the Brut and other late medieval English chronicles asserted their own centrality, authority and permanence. Tags such as ‘as chronycles dyd tell’, ‘as the chronicle can openly discriue’, ‘as I finde write in the chronicler’, which ubiquitously punctuate medieval historiography, attest to the genre’s self-representation as the source and faithful archive of historical truth.

This paper contends that more thoughtful critical analysis of late-medieval English chronicles pays dividends. A number of reappraisals (Lee Patterson, Mary-Rose McLaren) have noted the existence of a shared generic style, although none has systematically considered its constituents and motives. The particular circumstances in which the chronicles were accretively composed, continuations following continuations, militated towards a unique textual situation. The Brut was written collectively, not authored individually, and its successive continuators and copyists responded self-consciously to its snowballing, self-compounding generic idiolect. Chronicles were highly political texts, not only hubristically invested in their status as the permanent record of their times, but deeply embedded in the cultural and political discourses of those times, adopting the lexis of statutes and proclamations, and osmotically incorporating other historiographical texts and documents into its prose.

My analysis will consider the employment of a detectably narrowed, self-conscious political diction in the Brut, the London annals and later fifteenth-century partisan accounts, specifically in their narrations of the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses. It follows the ‘Texts as events’ school of thought articulated by the modern historian J.G. Pocock and developed by the medievalist literary scholars Jenni Nuttall and Paul Strohm, which investigates the presence of ‘illocutions... existing for the purposes of political thought’: ‘vocabularies’, ‘rhetorics’, ‘institutional languages’. It ponders the possibilities of reading the chronicles’ formulaic and generic style not as unconscious, derivative, repetitive or redundant, but as a deliberate, constructed ‘institutional language’. It argues for a discernible, mimetic effort to marry form and content: an ambition not just passively to relate, but permanently to record and crystallise, the political events of their times.

This paper addresses themes 3 and 4 of this conference: ‘the form of the chronicle’, and ‘the chronicle and the representation of the past’. Its methodology is situated on the threshold between literary and historical studies. Due largely to traditional

delineations of text-types and the kinds of discourse they employ and analysis they repay, the disciplinary habit of not admitting literary sophistication in jingoistic propaganda, or stylistic intentionality in 'derivative' or 'worthless' texts, the political and textual strategies of these self-conscious attempts to 'write history' have been missed.

Session 11b

Chronicling the Peace: The English in French Thought after the 1259 Treaty of Paris

Chris Jones

In 1259, the French king Louis IX established a settlement with the English ruler Henry III that drew to a close the long period of hostilities that had erupted between Plantagenets and Capetians following the confiscation of Normandy in 1204. In the three decades that followed, Anglo-French relations were, if not always cordial, at least devoid of open hostilities. This period of peace has, however, tended to be overshadowed by the conflict that began over Gascony in 1293 and that eventually blossomed in the mid-fourteenth century into the Hundred Years War. The period after 1259 is also notable for the wide range of chronicles that were produced in northern France. Alongside regional successes such as the vernacular *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims and the Latin universal history of the Sens chronicler Geoffroi of Courlon, these were the years that saw the earliest version of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* produced alongside the works of the Parisian chroniclers William of Nangis and John of Saint-Victor. The focus of this paper is on the place the English occupied in these French chronicles in both the often overlooked period when the two kingdoms were at peace and in the immediate aftermath of renewed hostilities.

The paper will highlight the different factors that informed the thought of those chroniclers who wrote and compiled their works in the 'inter war' years and in the decades that followed. In doing so it will illustrate the way in which contemporary political attitudes, regional differences and the nature of Capetian power shaped the writing of history. Prior to the 1290s, the Plantagenet kings certainly had a role to play on the pages of French chronicles, but notably it was not primarily that of the Capetian kings' key military opponents. An interest was taken in contemporary English affairs, particularly by the chroniclers of the abbey of Saint-Denis, for two reasons: the first was that Henry III, notable for his less than competent approach to warfare in general and to dealing with the English barons in particular, offered an excellent opportunity to draw a contrast with the saintly qualities and good government of Louis IX. Secondly, the imperial candidature of Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, offered an opportunity to demonstrate that the Capetians, as a dynasty, enjoyed particular divine favour. The paper will conclude by suggesting that the renewed hostilities in the 1290s radically changed perceptions of the English in France, to the extent that it led several chroniclers to make significant revisions to the place the English occupied in their accounts, and in certain cases to re-write their historical role entirely.

Fashioning Memory: The Place of Elazer Ha-Levi's Chronicle in the Medieval Jewish World

Shamma A. Boyarin

My paper focuses on the *Sefer Hazichronot* (Book of Memory), a unique Ashkenazi compilation made by Elazer Ha-Levi in the early fourteenth century, now held at Oxford (Bodleian MS Heb. d. 11). Until recently, scholars had considered the codex a miscellany of texts copied by Elazer as they fell into his hands, possibly because he was a merchant who bought and sold texts. Eli Yassif, however, has convincingly argued that the first section of the *Sefer Hazichronot* is a cohesive work, a clever pastiche of texts that form a chronicle of sorts, a coherent historical narrative that begins with creation and ends with the time of the Messiah (48-61). That is, Elazar took extant materials, some of them historical (including portions of two earlier Hebrew chronicles), some of them not historical (for example, texts dealing with the formation of the foetus in the womb), and he wove them together into his own narrative. Yassif argues that Elazer was influenced by the appearance of universal chronicles in German Christian writing of the time (45), but, in Yassif's opinion, this careful work of weaving texts together pertains only to the first third of the codex—so that all texts that come after this codicological unit are afterthoughts in relation to an initially coherent project. I will argue that this view problematically disregards Elazar's own explicit statement that the whole book is a coherent: in a prologue in his own hand, he commands his sons, "Do not divide it amongst yourselves, cutting it into two or three so that each one of you has a share of it; rather, whomever it falls to in his portion, he will have it to himself, in one volume, the way it is." My paper will therefore build on Yassif's argument that we must view the first part of the book as a chronicle, but it will also explore multiple ways of understanding Elazar's compiled "chronicle" as part of the whole book. I will look specifically at the interaction of historical and non-historical materials within and outside the chronicle section, and I will suggest that this book holds a special place in both Jewish and Christian historiography.

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