



THE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLE

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ABSTRACTS



An Online Edition of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*

A new edition of the complete text of the 'first redaction' of Froissart's third Book of *Chroniques*, based on Besançon Public Library ms 865, begins to appear in Autumn 2005 in Droz's 'Textes Litteraires Français' series (Geneva). The first quarter was published in October 2004, opening the second volume of the «Lettres Gothiques» Froissart. A Sheffield Ph.D student, Valentina Mazzei, is working towards a complete edition of the 'A' version of Book I of the *Chroniques*, using Besançon Public Library ms 864, collated against Stonyhurst College ms 1. The two Besançon manuscripts, plus the Stonyhurst College Froissart, were digitally photographed in their entirety between late 2002 and Summer 2004 by Scriptura Ltd of Oxford. The image datasets have been securely archived at Sheffield. These, together with the textfiles used for the Droz edition of Book III and Mazzei's edition of Book I, form the basis for an electronic edition to be developed between 2006 and 2008 for publication with **hriOnline**. The edition will also incorporate a complete transcription of Besançon ms 865's Book II text, and of Paris BnF ms fr 2663-2664 (Books I-II). This last-mentioned manuscript has recently been identified as a product supervised by Parisian librarius Pierre de Liffol, whose signature on an erased quittance can still be made out on f. 406v of the first volume. Teams of scribes and illuminators appear to have collaborated on this 'set', but also on others including Besançon mss 864-865. For the very first time, a complete, searchable online edition of Books I-III of the *Chroniques* will thus be made available to scholars of Middle French narrative, history, culture, iconography, codicology, palaeography and warfare. The paper explains the context, outlines the challenges, and presents the perceived advantages of such an approach to making the *Chroniques* more widely available.

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Fiction as Rhetoric: A Study on Fernao Lopes' *Cronica de D. Joao I*

Fernao Lopes, 15th century official chronicler of Portugal and author of the three main Portuguese medieval chronicles, is, I think, as much a full historian as a full writer. His *Cronica de D. Joao I* (Chronicle of John I) is, certainly at least from the point of view of style and general composition, his masterpiece. Having done some work on the use he makes of such rhetorical devices as irony, praise through pretensions of deprecation and parody of clerical or patristic texts, I shall now concentrate on the way he treats the character of the hero Nuno Alvares Pereira, based on his almost contemporary biography, playing both with hagiographical and chivalry novel discourse models. I hope to show that pursuit of high rhetorical standards can be the opening through which fiction makes its appearance in the text and, therefore, discuss in what sense it should be called fiction.

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Sverre Bagge (University of Bergen). Session 10a

God's Providence and *Fortuna* in Twelfth-Century Historiography

Medieval historiography contains many examples of success and failure being regarded as respectively God's reward or punishment for human actions. Often, however, the writers run into a dilemma when their heroes fail, particularly the writers of contemporary or near contemporary events who may have celebrated a hero's victory only to discover that the same hero is later faced with defeat. The paper discusses various solutions to this dilemma in the twelfth century in works like William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*, Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder of Charles the Good*, and the anonymous *Vita Heinrici Quarti*. Finally, this problem is related to the contemporary discussion about ordeals which led to their abolishment in 1215.

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Daniel Bagi (University of Pecs, Hungary, Dept. of Medieval History). Session 2a

Cum ira et studio:

Ludwig von Anjou als König von Polen in der Chronik des Johannes de Czarnkow (1370-1382). Eine privatgeschichtlich geprägte Chronik und ihre historische Folgen

Ludwig von Anjou (1342-1382) regierte von 1370-1382 in Krakau als polnischer König. Er hinterliess mehrere Urkunden, und liess auch von seinen Beamten und Stellvertretern (vor allem seiner Mutter, Elisabeth Lokietek) mehrere Dokumente erlassen. Dennoch ist eine andere Quelle von seiner Regierung hinterblieben: die Chronik des ehemaligen Vizekanzlers des Königreichs Polen, Johannes de Czarnkow, der bis 1370 einer der höchsten Würdenträger des Staates war. Da Ludwig ihn vom Hof entliess, schrieb er eine pamfletmässige Chronik (ursprünglich geplant als Teil einer grösseren Synthese über die Geschichte Polens) über die Regierung von Ludwig.

Das Werk ist keineswegs unbefangen, obwohl es – wie im vorliegenden Referat näher erörtert werden soll – teilweise aufgrund der von Ludwig ausgestellten nicht narrativen Quellen entstand, aber die in ihm aufgestellte "Theorie" über das Wesen der angevinischen Regierung in Polen bis heute die Anschauung von Ludwig als polnischer König bestimmt.

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Isabel de Barros Dias (Universidade Aberta). Session 9a

Exhaustivity and Denegation in XII and XIV Century Iberian Chronicles

This paper will consider a *corpus* of several chronicles of an Iberian textual family which has dominated the peninsular historiography of the XIII and XIV centuries. The first vernacular texts of this family were produced in the *scriptorium* of king Alfonso X of Castile and Leon, particularly his *Estoria de Espanna* of which a number of incomplete versions were written during the 70's and 80's of the XIII century. In later times, various different chronicles derived from these first writings, namely the Portuguese *Cronica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (re-written probably in the 80's of the XIV century).

These texts often manipulate the alphonine heritage, engaging in subtle discussions with its model. Nevertheless, in spite of the differences, they also have much in common. This paper will focus precisely on a highly contradictory but quite widespread procedure: the desire of exhaustivity and the denial of some of the sources used. So, if on the one hand one can verify an

omnivorous ambition to integrate all the evidence in what would be a total sum of knowledge, this centripetal encyclopaedism is contradicted by a refusal (even if rhetorical, therefore in denial, a denegation) of the literary basis that, in practice, it absorbs and fully imitates. The permanent coexistence of attraction and denial of fiction compelled the chroniclers to engage in quite elaborate and subtle rhetorical procedures, some of which will be pointed out and studied in this paper.

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Diane Beeson (British Council Institute for Young Learners). Session 5b

The *Da Vinci Code* and *El Victorial*

The order of the narratives employed in the prose of *El Victorial* is not always evidently logical. However, a closer look may reveal the author's intention behind the writing of the chronicle and consequently a message behind the patterns chosen. Within these specifically- ordered fictive narratives, there are many literary conventions which *El Victorial* has in common with the *Da Vinci Code*. This paper is an attempt to delve into some of the reasons behind the peculiar structural model in the chronicle of Don Pero Nino, and relate these models to recognized patterns already in existence and others which appear later in the *Da Vinci Code*.

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Adrian Bell (ISMA, University of Reading). Session 1b

Medieval Chroniclers as War Correspondents: A case study from the Hundred Years War

Historians sometimes rely on the medieval chronicle to reconstruct and comment on battles and campaigns from the Hundred Years War. But how accurate was such war reporting in the absence of 24 hour news channels and imbedded correspondents?

In the Wonderful Parliament of 1386, the young Richard II's councillors had been dismissed from government, and his Chancellor, de la Pole, had been impeached. They were replaced by a Continual Council headed by the king's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, recently created duke of Gloucester and Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. It was against this background of Appellant supremacy that two military expeditions were launched against France.

The campaigns of 1387 and 1388 are widely covered in the chronicles – including those written by Jean Froissart, Henry Knighton, Thomas Walsingham and the Monk of Westminster. We are also fortunate to be able to investigate the official record, provided by the extensive military administrative documents surviving from these campaigns. These include the indentures of service, full annotated muster rolls, the accounts of the captain – the earl of Arundel, the enrolled accounts and records of the payments made. In addition, we are also able to utilise the legal instruments of letters of protection and powers of attorney, secured by some of the combatants prior to military service.

The survival of rich source material provides a unique opportunity to investigate the claims made in the Chronicles. How far do they follow the official record? Do they provide an accurate account of events - or do they speculate and exaggerate in order to provide a more 'juicy' story? By reconstructing these two campaigns, from the official record, we can put these Chronicles to the test and demonstrate just how far they can be trusted or relied upon when commentating on the Hundred Years War.

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Bente K. Bjornholt (University of Sussex). Session 2b

**Placing pictures on the page:
illustrating the Byzantine chronicle of the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Bib.Nac.vitr.26-2)**

This paper explores the relationship between text and image in the only extant illustrated Byzantine chronicle still in its original Greek language, the History of John Skylitzes now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Bib.Nac.vitr.26-2)). In this paper I will examine the dynamics in the physical and conceptual relationship between text and image in the manuscript. There are 574 images illustrating the narrative episodes of the *Chronicle*. The overall pattern of layout shows the images inserted in the main text at relevant points throughout the 234 folios. However, this is not the case in quire one, which reveals the start of a different layout at the start of production of the manuscript. By examining the evidence from this part of the manuscript the paper will raise issues about the negotiation of text and image in the process of illustrating a narrative text and will discuss the implications of the evidence presented in relation to the *Madrid Skylitzes* in particular and illustrated chronicles in general.

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Francesca Braida (EHESS, Paris). Session 5a

Le travail de memoire: la Cronica de Dino Compagni

La Cronica de Dino Compagni élucide le travail de mémoire de soi et de la mémoire historique des événements qui ont eu lieu à Florence au début du 1300. Ce texte permet d'approcher l'écriture de l'histoire selon l'approche subjectiviste et privilégié du témoin oculaire mais qui se réclame de l'impartialité et de la justice divine.

Les descriptions des portraits des personnages sont pages de littérature qui restent gravée dans la mémoire pour leur force évocatrice. On analysera donc les notions de témoin oculaire, de mémoire, la relation entre littérature et histoire ainsi que l'impact visuel que l'art a donné à cette époque et qui résultent de grande importance pour la compréhension de ce texte et de sa vision autoriale de la reconstruction du passé.

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Cristian Bratu (New York University). Session 10b

L'esthétique des chroniqueurs de la 4^e croisade et l'épistème gothico-scolastique

Au XII^e siècle, Geoffrey de Vinsauf affirmait dans sa *Poetria Nova* que l'écriture d'un poème exigeait autant d'attention que la construction d'une maison, et que le poète devait, à l'instar d'un architecte, mesurer l'espace poétique de ses créations avec la règle de son coeur. Mais si les poètes parlent la langue des architectes, quelle langue parlent les architectes eux-mêmes? Vers 1240, à quasiment un siècle d'écart de Geoffroy de Vinsauf, l'architecte Villard de Honnecourt écrira dans son fameux *Album* qu'il a conçu le plan d'une cathédrale après d'intenses discussions avec Pierre de Corbie. L'expression utilisée par Honnecourt pour décrire ces conversations avec son collègue est *inter se disputando*, une expression qui appartient en propre au vocabulaire de la philosophie scolastique.

A mi-distance entre l'époque de Vinsauf d'un côté et l'époque de Honnecourt et de Pierre de Corbie de l'autre côté, nous retrouvons au début du XIII^e siècle Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Robert de Clari et Henri de Valenciennes, les principaux chroniqueurs de la 4^e croisade. Dans cet environnement médiéval défini par la synthèse – volontaire ou involontaire – des différents domaines du savoir, il est donc légitime de nous demander quels rapports entretiennent ces chroniques de croisade avec la culture de l'époque.

A notre avis, ces trois versions de *La Conquete de Constantinople* s'inscrivent dans une *epistèmè* dont Erwin Panofsky avait déjà pressenti les contours, sans pour autant les développer dans un système, et que nous avons appelée *l'epistèmè gothico-scholastique*. Cette *epistèmè* se définit par une série de tendances qui se manifestent dans plusieurs domaines culturels, y compris dans les chroniques que nous nous sommes proposés d'analyser:

1) *un principe de linéarité* (qui se manifeste à travers la narration chronologique et les phrases longues et enchainées dans les chroniques, la ligne droite en architecture et l'énumération suffisante en philosophie);

2) *un principe de répétitivité* (les passages similaires et les mots-clés dans les chroniques, les lignes droites et les motifs décoratifs en architecture, les points principaux de l'argumentation en philosophie);

3) *un principe de sous-division interne* (les chapitres, les paragraphes, les phrases et les propositions en littérature, les lignes droites et les motifs décoratifs en architecture, les arguments et les ouvrages scolastiques en philosophie);

4) *un principe de synthèse des contraires* (échoué dans les chroniques pour la première et la deuxième partie des récits de Villehardouin, mais réussi en architecture – l'extérieur et l'intérieur des cathédrales, le haut et le bas, etc. – et aussi en philosophie).

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Dauvit Broun (Glasgow University). Session 3b

Editing a Chronicle Written over Many Stages by Many Scribes: The Challenge of the Chronicle of Melrose

The Chronicle of Melrose survives as an original manuscript (Cotton Julius B. XIII fols 2-47 and Cotton Faustina B. IX fols 2-75) which was updated and altered in Melrose (in the Scottish Borders) in more than forty stages from its creation in 1173/4 up to the 1290s. Fifty-seven scribes can be identified. This affords a remarkably detailed insight into how the text grew, but it is very difficult indeed to represent this on the printed page according to modern editorial conventions. This paper will endeavour to explore this challenge, and to explain some of the solutions that are being attempted in the new edition to be published by the Scottish History Society.

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*Pedro Alexandro de Sacadura Chambal (Institute of Medieval History at Universidade Nova de Lisboa).
Session 9a*

Medieval Representations of Trojan Times: The Gallician version of the *Cronica Troyana de Afonso XL*

In France, during the twelfth-century, several poetic works started to be written in the vernacular, which originated different cycles under common themes. One of them, known as the *Roman Antique*, enjoyed particular success; the prose versions written in the thirteenth-century became a vast group of romances, whose popularity lasted throughout the middle ages. The works in question dealt with themes taken out of classical antiquity, either through biographies of historical characters and the traditions related to them, or through the adventures of mythological heroes told in the classical epics. Following the models transmitted by classical authors – considered 'authorities' – medieval authors recreated a past where history and fiction blended, representing the ancient world according to contemporary reality and literary taste. This way an imaginary perspective of antiquity arose, where the themes inherited by classical authors were

treated under the influence of courtly literature, bringing out elements of medieval epic and courtly love, therefore being adapted to medieval taste.

Among these classical themes, the war of Troy enjoyed the most success, the works telling about the adventures and the battles of ancient heroes, from the foundation of the city to the return of the Greeks after its destruction. In the origin of the so-called *Trojan Cycle* we find the *Roman de Troie*, written in the 12th century by Benoit de Saint Maure, a clerk supposed to have attended Henry II's Anglo-Norman court. Benoit's work was translated into several European languages, and in the following century prose versions followed, having met ample success in the Christian medieval west.

In the Iberian Peninsula too Trojan legends became known from ancient sources and the medieval ones already produced, and there appeared versions of the *Roman de Troie* and similar ones, in Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan and Galician-Portuguese. In this last language we know the *Historia Troyana* and the *Cronica Troyana*, the latter written in Galicia during the 14th century from the Castilian Afonso XI version in prose of Benoit's *Roman de Troie*. Through the analysis of this last chronicle we intend to discuss how the medieval recreation of the Trojan legend (taken as veritable) took place, and how Classical past was understood. In this sense, we intend to establish the relation between medieval reality and fiction and the tradition inherited from the classical authors, and also to analyse the problematics of the historical conscience of medieval authors, who built the past from the ideal models of feudal and chivalric society.

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Godfried Croenen (University of Liverpool). Session 4a

Segmentation and textual organisation of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*

The total word count of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* amounts to more than 1,300,000 words, without taking into account the variant versions of Book I. In the surviving medieval manuscripts containing the whole work the *Chroniques* usually occupy four of five large folio volumes. The sheer size of this text presented a number of problems to the author, his medieval readers, and those commissioned to produce manuscripts of the *Chroniques*. In this paper I will consider the difficulties in terms of segmentation, organisation and access of a substantial text and look at the different means to address them, in particular the division of the text into chapters, parts and books, and the rubrication of these segments. In analysing the different traditions established by the scribes and rubricators, I will concentrate on the manuscripts of Book I of the *Chroniques*.

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Kathleen Daly (The Open University). Session 3a

A chronicle by any other name? The *Abrege des croniques de France* of Noel de Fribois, the *Registre delphinal* of Mathieu Thomassin, and Late Medieval French Historiography

The continuing importance of St Denis of the French crown was affirmed in 1437 by the first undisputed appointment of an official chronicler of the crown, Jean Chartier, and its fame as an historiographical centre, by the visit of two envoys from the Catalan *remensas* to consult the chronicler in 1445. But by the end of the Hundred Years War, Charles VII and his son the dauphin Louis II (the future Louis XI) could draw on other sources and centres for a view of the past conducive to their needs. This paper will explore the terminology, and compare and contrast the content and intention, of the *Abrege des croniques de France*, presented to Charles VII by his counsellor and former notary and secretary, Noel de Fribois, in 1459, and the *Registre delphinal* by the delphinal counsellor Mathieu Thomassin, at the command of Louis II, from 1456. Did these two well-educated officer-historians have a precise notion of the genres

with which, and in which, they were working? Were title and terminology intended to confer authority and verisimilitude on the texts that they created? What was the relationship between their works and the chronicle traditions of St Denis?

Drawing on the author's experience of editing both texts, this paper will address three of the key themes of the conference: form, function, and the reconstruction of the past. It will also consider the extent to which the appearance of works such as those studied in this paper indicate the gradual decline of St Denis as the principal foyer of royal historiography, associated with the accession of Louis XI, or whether works such as these reinforced rather than undermined its supremacy.

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Chiara de Caprio (University Federico II of Naples). Session Ib

How war made chroniclers out of common people. Historical function and textual shape of fifteenth century Neapolitan chronicles

During the XVth century, in the tottering Aragonian Kingdom of Naples, whereas humanistic circles redefined the ideas of text and authorship, low classes produced a significant number of almost neglected chronicles with a strong textual fluidity and a dynamic textual nature.

In this paper I will argue that these chronicles are useful tools for a better understanding of Italian fifteenth century culture as they reveal the presence and the *longue duree* of a medieval approach to texts during the Humanistic period. Moreover, I will consider these chronicles in a wider perspective, taking account of the traumatic event of French invasion and the following war between France and Spain for the control of Neapolitan Kingdom.

I will assume that neapolitan chronicles witness the need of *textualisation* and written records by new emerging social categories, far from the humanistic climate, who did not focus on the conceptual distinction between copying and rewriting. The fluidity of these texts needs to be considered as due not only to the 'oral memory', but also to a more complex interaction among writing processes, material shape of codex (for instance, page lay out), interferences between the new text and old sources. Furthermore the syntactic and textual organisation of the chronicles were strongly influenced by notarial and chancery writing practices. In this perspective I will support that manuscripts can be considered – as Cesare Segre suggested – as a *diasistema* where each material document conceals the tension among different previous texts, different writing and reading practices, different ways of considering the text.

Finally, I will point out to the historical and social function of these chronicles in relation to the French invasion at the end of XVth century, indicating that chronicles flourished spontaneously among low class as a way of achieving a better understanding of political and social changes. A close reading of these texts shows that all chroniclers attempted to reach the roots of the political crisis of the Neapolitan Kingdom searching among the oldest documentation. Chroniclers seemed to pay a peculiar attention to

old sources in order to build up a strong and glorious neapolitan identity with whom to face the disgregation and the uncertainty of their own present times.

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Kelly DeVries (Loyola College Maryland). Session 4a

Froissart and the *Herce He Rode In On*: Archery in the *Chroniques*

No military historical term has confused medieval historians more than Jean Froissart's *herce* (or *erce* in some manuscripts). Appearing first in his descriptions of longbow archery formations at Crecy and later elsewhere, modern historians have continued to wonder exactly what the author of the *Chroniques*, and he alone, meant by the term. Froissart uses the word in a technical way, thus giving these modern historians the puzzle of its definition, and since 1895 different theories as to what it means has found its way onto the pages of scholarly articles and books. Is it correct to translate the word in a strictly agricultural context as 'harrow,' as has frequently been done? And, if so, what does Froissart mean when using a 'harrow' to describe the ordering of archers? Is it a large-scale description of units of archers interspersed among units of men-at-arms; or is it a smaller-scale description of the formation of archers within their own unit, and that these units were not then interspersed within but placed on the flanks of the men-at-arms? The issue yet again has arisen in a recent book on Crecy, by Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston (Boydell and Brewer, 2005), with an assertion that what Froissart described there was the large-scale formation of archers interspersed between other infantry and dismounted cavalry troops, despite its seeming contradiction with more contemporary sources.

This paper will ascertain the utility, and validity, of Froissart's description of longbow archery at Crecy. It will first retrace the modern historiographical arguments about the *herce* since 1895 and then

suggest a solution to the problem, based on Froissart's discussion of military engagements and military technology elsewhere in the *Chroniques*.

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Veronique Duché-Gavet and Fabienne Hontabat (Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour). Session 7a

Bonne souvenance de toutes choses passées (the Voyage en Béarn of Froissart)

Situé vers le début du livre III des *Chroniques*, le «Voyage en Béarn» occupe près de douze chapitres. Jean Froissart y raconte son séjour à la cour de Gaston de Foix, destiné à recueillir des informations sur les guerres passées d'Aquitaine et sur les guerres présentes de Castille et du Portugal. Nous nous proposons de montrer comment s'effectue la reconstitution du passé dans le «Voyage en Béarn». Si, d'après M. Zink, les *Chroniques* «combine[nt] au temps de l'histoire un temps proprement poétique», le chroniqueur est cependant pleinement conscient des enjeux de l'Histoire.

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David Dumville (University of Aberdeen). Session 6b

Breton Latin Chronicling in the central Middle Ages

This is a largely unexplored subject. Some fragments survive from the carolingian period. In the tenth century Regino of Pruem used a now lost chronicle of Breton origin. The eleventh century sees a highly interesting fragment of Breton chronicling preserved in an archaising manuscript from Angers, while a source of the fourteenth-century French-language Chronicle of Nantes seems to derive from a highly politicised anti-Norman eleventh-century Breton source (which was itself related to the Angers-fragment). A chronicle of contested (but Breton) origin survives in abstract in a twelfth-century manuscript (from Mont Saint-Michel) with which Robert of Torigni had some connexion.

These examples serve to show both the tenuous survival-pattern of Breton record from the central Middle Ages and the connexions of Breton with Norman, French, and German chronicling. We can also see a progression from the more tautly annalistic style of chronicling to the more narrative, colourful, and overtly political styles, which is also a feature of the development of central mediaeval chronicling in the other Celtic-speaking countries.

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Graeme Dunphy (Regensburg). Session 5b

On the Function of the Disputation in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Middle High German *Kaiserchronik* and elsewhere

In a number of historical and biographical works of the Middle Ages we find formal theological disputations which are presented in dialogue form. Typically these represent a conflict between what the writer sees as correct belief and error. These dramatic moments epitomise narratologically what were usually far more complex and protracted historical controversies. This in itself is an interesting historiographical technique. However, this paper will focus mainly on the location of such disputations at key points in the structure of a work, which places both relevant theological content and the experience of the triumph of Christian truth at the centre of the self-understanding of the text. This will be explored with reference to the three disputations in the Middle High German *Kaiserchronik* (the Fathers versus Simon

Magus and the Jews), in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (the English versus the Celtic Church), and in the legend of Catherine of Alexandria (the martyr versus the tyrant).

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Nicholas Evans (School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies). Session 6b

The Use of World Histories in Early Medieval Gaelic Chronicles

It has long been established that many events from sources outside Ireland, such as the chronicles of Bede, Isidore, Marcellinus, as well as *Liber Pontificalis*, were included by Gaelic chroniclers in their sets of annals during the early medieval period. However, these studies have rarely considered how these additions related to the record of Irish events. In this paper the function of these additions will be explored, in order to shed light on how the depiction of the past was altered and how Gaelic chronicles were expected to be used by their readers. Attempts to answer such questions are still in their infancy, because of the difficulties in reconstructing the contents of the Gaelic chronicles in the early medieval period from manuscripts of the late medieval and early modern periods, but once the developmental stages of the annals are identified, analysis of their significance is possible.

It will be argued that World History chronicles were incorporated into Gaelic chronicles in two main stages. The first stage, in the eighth or ninth centuries, involved the combining of Papal and Imperial entries from a number of sources with events which described the conversion of Ireland to Christianity. The intention of this was to support the claims of Armagh to ecclesiastical supremacy in Ireland through its founder, Saint Patrick. The second stage, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, involved the alteration of the previous scheme, and the introduction of lengthy extracts going back to creation derived from Bede's *Chronica Maiora* and other chronicles. By including a coherent sequence of provincial kings and high-kings of Ireland parallel to other world kingships back into ancient history, the depiction of Irish history was schematised to fit perceptions of contemporary Irish history. However, the use of these external sources had little effect on how Irish events were written, which indicates that the significance of these changes should not be overstated, given the other potential purposes served by the Irish chronicles.

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Olle Perm (Stockholm University). Session 8a

S. Birgitta in the late medieval Chronicle tradition in Sweden

I intend to discuss S. Birgitta's influence on late medieval historical writing in Sweden. In particular I'm going to address the way in which her revelations affected the historical interpretations of Magnus Eriksson and his government and the paradigmatic change that Olaus Petri brought about in the early 16th century: from reliance on church authorities to insistence on empirical evidence.

It is a well known fact that Birgitta had no compunction about telling her contemporaries what she thought of them. King Magnus (1319-1364) and his wife queen Blanka were the particular object of her attention. To begin with, she was well-disposed towards them, but gradually her hopes in the royal couple turned to the deepest dislike, which was directed primarily towards the king. All of this is well known and well documented in the revelations. They contain both her advice and her reprimands, and they also describe her final rift with the king, when through Virgin Mary she attempted to legitimise a coup d'état by the aristocracy, the express purpose of which was to overthrow the king whom she now despised.

A few years after king Magnus' deposition a pamphlet was written, commonly referred to as the *Libellus de Magno Erici rege*, which gives a brief account of his misgovernment and misdeeds. The document doubtless originated from the aristocratic group which had rejected king Magnus and with

which Birgitta was in alliance. It is essentially a defence of the insurrectionists within the aristocracy and it repeats some of the accusations made in the revelations.

As far as we now know, there was a gap of nearly 100 years before king Magnus's time was treated in a work with a historical perspective. In the 1450s the so called *Forbindelsedikten* ('Connecting chronicle') was written. The author of *Forbindelsedikten* is very much influenced by the *Libellus*, but he also adds new stuff from S. Birgitta's revelations, e.g. king Magnus' unsuccessful crusade to Ingermanland.

Ericus Olai, Uppsala University's first professor of theology, wrote his *Chronica regni gothorum* around 1470. It contains a long section on king Magnus. Ericus has used both the *Libellus*, the *Forbindelsedikten* as well as S. Birgitta's revelations and makes his own comments on the qualities of the main actors. The last Catholic archbishop of Sweden, Johannes Magnus, wrote while he was in exile the *Historia de Sveonum Gothorumque regibus* (published in 1554 in Rome). It is excessively rich and fantastic, not least in the oldest sections. Johannes gives Magnus's government a large amount of space, without adding anything new to the medieval tradition.

Olaus Petri, the Swedish reformer, broke with the medieval tradition, when he wrote his very original version of Swedish history, *En svensk kronika* (c. 1540). Almost everything in the medieval tradition is repeated by Olaus Petri, but he treats it critically. In his dealing with the accusations against king Magnus Olaus Petri states two methodical positions which make him unique in comparison to the medieval historiographical tradition in Sweden: 1. He argues that historical figures must be understood in relation to their own time. 2. Olaus Petri demands proof for the claims about the historical veracity of facts. Nothing is true just because one of the Church's saints claims it. It is clear that Olaus Petri as a Reformer had a new basis on which to consider contemporary and past history. He could look at it with an outsider's eye. But when he judges Magnus Eriksson's reign, he does not argue from a Reformation perspective. He reasons along lines, which are scholarly and morally more sound, than those used by the medieval writers whom he knew and used.

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Márta Font (University of Pécs, Hungary). Session 2a

Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts an der Grenze zweier Kulturen

Die zwei Gebiete, deren Geschichtsschreibung den Untersuchungsgegenstand des Aufsatzes bildet, sind das Königreich Ungarn und das damals sich immer mehr verselbständige Teilfürstentum, Halitsch-Wolhynien im Südwesten der Kiever Rus'. Die Grenze dieser zwei Gebiete stimmt mit der Grenze zwischen Ostmittel- und Osteuropa überein. Diese Trennungslinie entspricht jedoch nicht nur der mittelalterlichen Landesgrenze, sondern sie stellt auch eine Grenze zwischen zwei Kulturen dar, die sich im Laufe der Entstehung einzelner "Staaten" bzw. Herrschaftsgebiete im 10. Jahrhundert herausbildete und sich bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts manifestierte. Der Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Gebieten kommt am deutlichsten in der Bekenntnis zum Christentum bzw. im Prozess der Christianisierung und in der Art der Schriftlichkeit zum Ausdruck.

Die genannten kulturellen Unterschiede verhindern jedoch nicht die Herausbildung politischer und dynastischer Beziehungen, die sich aus der geographischen Nachbarschaft der beiden Gebiete ergaben. Die Chroniken und andere literarische Gattungen überschritten allerdings nicht die Grenzen des jeweiligen Kulturraumes und es kam zu keiner gegenseitigen Rezeption, wofür es auch an den nötigen Sprachkenntnissen mangelte. Diese enthalten trotzdem zahlreiche Informationen über das jeweilige Nachbargebiet, die wahrscheinlich zuvor mündlich weitergegeben worden waren. Ihre Verfasser sind zwar namentlich nicht bekannt, beim ungarischen Chronisten (*Gesta Hungarorum* des anonymen Notars) ist es mit Gewissheit anzunehmen, dass das ganze Werk aus der Feder eines einzigen Autors stammt. Bei der Halitsch verfassten Chronik (eine Biographie – *zitie* – des Fürsten Daniil) sind es nur bestimmte Textteile, die auf die jeweiligen Verfasser hindeuten.

Das durch die mündliche Tradition erhaltene Erinnerungsgut, das sich der Verfasser aneignen konnte, wurde in der ungarischen *Gesta* ebenso auf eine besondere Weise kompiliert, wie das bei der Fürstenbiographie Daniils der Fall war. Die Hypothese, wonach der Informationsaustausch an der Grenze "zweier Kulturen" dank den dynastischen und politischen Beziehungen vor allem mittels mündlicher Kommunikation erfolgte, scheint für uns durch eine Textanalyse belegbar geworden zu sein. Auch andere weitere Bereiche der Kultur, wie etwa die Architektur oder die Malerei, zeugen in vielen Beispielen davon.

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Susan Foran (Trinity College Dublin). Session 9b

Chronicling chivalry: John Barbour's *The Bruce* and Chandos Herald's *Vie du Prince Noir*

My research is concerned with examining John Barbour's *The Bruce*, Chandos Herald's *Vie du Prince Noir*, the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* and the *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi Secundi* as examples of medieval royal biography within the intertextual and intergeneric tradition of fourteenth-century historiography in order to isolate the political and ideological influences involved in their composition.

This paper is concerned with chivalric influence in both John Barbour's *The Bruce* and Chandos Herald's *Vie du Prince Noir*. Both texts are formed and informed by chivalric culture as they form part of the evolving tradition of chivalric literature. As examples of chivalric biography, they apply techniques from the many types of romance to chronicle the exploits of their heroes. Although saturated with romance *lopoi*, *The Bruce* in particular, and to a lesser extent the *Vie du Prince Noir*, do not become subservient to the genres they are appropriating as the method applied is a means to an end. It is this end I wish to focus on as I examine the reasons for the application of chivalric conventions, and the form and function of medieval biography within a chivalric context.

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Per Förnégård (Departement de français et d'italien, Université de Stockholm). Session 5a

La chronique de Jean de Noyal: méthode de compilation et inventaire des sources

Chronique universelle rédigée en français, le *Miroir historial* de l'abbé laonnois Jean de Noyal fut rédigé dans les années 1380. Lors de sa création, cette chronique retraçait, en plusieurs volumes, l'histoire universelle des origines jusqu'en 1380. Aujourd'hui ne subsistent cependant que les trois derniers livres, les livres x-xii, qui se trouvent dans un manuscrit unique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (ms. fr.

10138). Ces trois livres couvrent les années 1223 à 1380. Notre thèse de doctorat, qui sera soutenue en octobre 2005, consiste en l'édition du livre x de ce *Miroir historial* et repose sur les 101 premiers des 191 feuillets qui composent le manuscrit.

A ce jour, seuls de brefs extraits de la chronique de Jean de Noyal ont été édités, et tous les chercheurs qui se sont penchés sur cet ouvrage l'ont étudié dans un but purement historique. De plus, à une exception près, les extraits publiés ont été tirés des livres xi et xii. Le peu d'intérêt accordé par les éditeurs à l'ouvrage de Jean de Noyal est dû au fait qu'il contient très peu de passages originaux et plusieurs répétitions, et qu'en outre il ne respecte pas toujours la chronologie.

Il s'avère que les parties originales du livre x sont quasiment inexistantes: elles ne constituent que 0,3% des mots du livre. Tout le reste consiste soit en emprunts littéraires faits à d'autres textes en français, soit en traductions de textes en latin. Excepté quelques brefs passages sur l'histoire religieuse laonnaise pour lesquels Jean de Noyal peut être qualifié d'auteur, les ajouts de sa propre plume sont exclusivement de caractère épexégétique. C'est le cas par exemple des subordonnées telles que « comme nous avons dit dessus ».

Les ruptures de chronologie et les redites, quant à elles, sont dues au fait que Jean de Noyal a entrecroisé plusieurs sources. A chaque avènement d'un pape ou d'un empereur, il change de source et insère un chapitre sur le souverain en question, qui décrit son règne du début à la fin. Ensuite, il reprend sa source principale et revient sur ses pas, ce qui rend ruptures de chronologie et répétitions inévitables.

A notre avis, ces ruptures de chronologie et ces redites sont le fruit d'une méthode de compilation tout à fait consciente et que l'on rencontre dans de nombreuses chroniques de l'époque. Le lecteur médiéval n'était sans doute pas gêné par le fait que le même événement était raconté deux fois d'après deux sources différentes. Voilà pourquoi nous avons fait le choix de prêter une attention particulière à la conception de la chronique de Jean de Noyal en identifiant les sources utilisées et en analysant la façon dont celles-ci sont insérées dans sa compilation. Les quelques chercheurs qui ont travaillé sur le *Miroir historial* nomment trois sources, dont l'une a été incorrectement identifiée. Nous avons identifié au total huit sources, directes ou indirectes. Notre communication sera consacrée aux sources utilisées par Jean de Noyal et à la façon dont il les a traitées et intégrées dans sa compilation.

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Chris Given-Wilson (University of St Andrews). Plenary, Friday 16 July

Court Chroniclers, Partisan Chronicles? The Evidence from late Medieval England

This paper examines the growing number of chronicles written at royal and noble courts in late medieval England and asks whether the gradual but steady change from monastic-based historical writing to court-based historical writing resulted in a simultaneous increase in partisanship among chroniclers as a consequence of the (presumed) patronage of historical writing by kings and nobles. To some extent this is done by examining moments of 'crisis' in late medieval English history, and to some extent it is done simply by analysing the propagandist intentions of certain key chroniclers. There are also instructive comparisons to be made with the growth of 'official' history on the continent from the thirteenth century onwards, most notably in France (at the abbey of Saint-Denis), in the Iberian kingdoms, and, during the fifteenth century, under the dukes of Burgundy. This leads to a further question, namely, why the English kings never seem to have sponsored or encouraged the writing of 'official' history as did several of their continental counterparts.

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Dan Goldenberg (Tel Aviv University). Session 4b

Medieval Chronicles and the Beginning of Medieval Ethnography

My proposed paper has two parts: In the first part I wish to raise the possibility that medieval ethnographical descriptions have their roots in the tradition of medieval chronicles. While most scholars tend to emphasize the geographical traditions of works by Pliny, Orosius and Solinus as the genre from which medieval ethnography was influenced, I think that medieval ethnographers, such as Gerald of Wales, were influenced by the chroniclers such as Venerable Bede and Isidore of Seville, who included a prefatory chapter about the land and its people, when they described their history.

For example, Otto of Freising wrote a chapter about Hungary and the Hungarians, when he described the achievements of Friedrich Barbarossa. When Gerald of Wales collected the material for his works about Ireland, he had enough information for a monograph under the title: 'Topographia Hibernica'.

In the second part of my paper I shall discuss the differences between early medieval chronicles by authors such as Jordanes and Fredegar and between later ethnographic and travel descriptions.

In my opinion there is a difference in the way in which the writer showed the reliability of his descriptions. In chronicles from the early middle ages the writers usually based their descriptions on the 'classical' authorities, by quoting entire passages from writers such as Sallust, Josephus Flavius, Pliny etc. By the 12th century one can find a tendency towards the description of eyewitness account. For example, when describing the geographical situation of Ireland, Gerald of Wales wrote what Solinus, Venerable Bede and Isidore had to say about it – but he preferred his own account, since they had never been to Ireland, while he visited the island twice and saw it with his own eyes.

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Ryszard Grzesik (Instytut Slawistyki Pokskiej Akademii Nauk/Institute for Slavistic of the Polish Academy of Sciences). Session 10a

The Hungarian Expedition to Poland in 1093 in the Hungarian and Polish Chronicles

The aim of my article is to compare two literary traditions, the Polish and the Hungarian, about the Hungarian expedition of St. Ladislas to Poland. I concentrate on the changes of the description of the events in the Polish narrative sources, where the presentation changed. The worthiest description gave us Gallus Anonymus, who presented the rebellion of the inhabitants of Wrocław against the palatine Sieciech. Thanks to the advice of the Bohemian prince Břetislav II they invited Zbigniew, the older son of prince of Poland Władysław Herman. The Polish ruler and Sieciech invited the Hungarian king Ladislas to help them in fight against the rebels and (in the version of the latest English edition) against Břetislav. Ladislas wanted however to catch Sieciech, who saved his freedom, and maybe his life, thanks to rush escaping. The Chronicle of Vincent Kadłubek, about 90 years later, wrote that Władysław invited both Ladislas and Břetislav. The second stage of the tradition created the particular chronicles from the end of the 13th century – they based their narration on Kadłubek's text, but changed the presentation. They based maybe on corrupted text of their basis. The Great-Polish Chronicle and Dzierzwa, a Franciscan chronicler from Little Poland, wrote that it was Sieciech who made Zbigniew the prince of Wrocław (in fact they were enemies) and he together with a queen, the wife of Władysław Herman, Judith Mary of Salier dynasty, invited Ladislas and Břetislav fearing that they could support Władysław Herman. The Polish Chronicle (in literature known as Polish-Silesian Chronicle) wrote that both rulers were invited by Zbigniew. Only Peter of Byczyna, the possible author of the Chronicle of the Polish Princes, returned to Gall in his proper version.

The text of the English translation is based on false emendation, because in all manuscripts was written that Władysław Herman invited both Ladislas and Břetislav. The explanations of the editors that it was impossible that the Polish prince would invite the Bohemian ruler, who inspired the rebellion, are unconvincing. I think that it was possible, because Poland had to pay tribute from Silesia to Bohemia at that time, so Břetislav could feel himself a senior of this territory. It is a case of falsification of the source

text, which could cause further errors. It shows the responsibility of the editors and users of editions, that means all of us.

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Julian P. Harrison (Glasgow University). Session 3b

The Manuscripts of the Melrose and Winchcombe Chronicles

This paper will provide an overview of recent research on the manuscripts of the annalistic chronicles from Melrose Abbey (London, British Library, MSS. Cotton Julius B. XIII, ff. 41r-47v, + Cotton Faustina B. IX, ff. 2r-75v) and Winchcombe Abbey (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius E. IV, ff. 1r-27v) respectively. A new fragment of *The Melrose Chronicle* has recently been identified, demonstrating that this work began with the year AD 1 (and not AD 731, as previously supposed); the fragment is also associated with a previously unknown copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*. In turn, the production of the first phase of *The Winchcombe Chronicle* can be dated, on palaeographical grounds, approximately 50 years earlier than anticipated by previous commentators.

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Eva Haverkamp (Rice University). Session 1b

What Did the Christians Know?

The Latin Chronicles on the Persecution of Jews in 1096 as News Reports

Close to thirty Latin sources in *gesta*, annals, and chronicles describe the persecution of Jews during the First Crusade. From April through July 1096, all the Jewish communities in the *Regnum Teutonicum* (i.e. German lands) suffered severe persecutions which far exceeded those of the past in their extent and intensity. These brief accounts pale in comparison to the three Hebrew reports by Salomo bar Simson, Elieser bar Nathan, and the Mainz Anonymus, written in the first half of the twelfth century, that provide extensively detailed and chronologically nuanced narratives of the events. Therefore, the Hebrew texts have generally received more scholarly attention at the expense of the Latin sources. This paper seeks to bring the Latin testimonies into focus and into the arena of scholarly debate. It challenges the assessment of the Latin sources as poor historiographical evidence, and reconsiders them as valid and highly informative sources about the attitudes and approaches of Christian writers to the events of 1096. By contextualizing the Latin sources in an innovative way, this study not only draws attention to their different perspectives, but also views their genre, traditionally described as historiography, in a new light.

This new approach begins by determining the interdependencies of the narrative sources reporting on the persecutions. By reconstructing this fabric of models and derivatives, we can trace the genesis of the reports and the origin of their information. It is of fundamental relevance whether a source served as model for another, whether the report on the persecutions was simply taken over or altered to various degrees, or whether a text was written independently of the model. This procedure opens the way for a broad spectrum of different analyses on different levels. They may be summarized under the question: What did the Christian writers know, and what did they impart to their fellow Christians and following generations?

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L'éclairage iconographique: l'illustration des *Chroniques de Froissart*

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, les historiens de la littérature s'intéressent de plus en plus aux images. C'est qu'elles offrent un nouvel accès aux textes, un contrepoint visuel réalisé un ou deux siècles après la composition du texte. L'exemple des manuscrits enluminés des *Chroniques* de Froissart est particulièrement révélateur de la richesse de cette approche.

- *Place, répartition, choix des images*

La place des images, leur répartition, le choix des épisodes illustrés sont révélateurs de la réception du texte. Les images ne font d'ailleurs sens que les unes par rapport aux autres à l'intérieur d'une série, par des jeux d'écho ou d'opposition. Le choix d'illustrer certains épisodes traduit l'importance que leur accorde le maître d'oeuvre ou le commanditaire. Ainsi une seule scène est illustrée dans tous les manuscrits du livre IV des *Chroniques* de Froissart qui présentent un programme iconographique: c'est le bal des Ardents. La répartition des images est également significative. Elle n'est pas forcément régulière: il existe de véritables séries picturales (par exemple la chute de Richard II). C'est un autre indice de l'importance accordée à un épisode.

- *L'image et la propagande*

L'image peut être au service de la propagande. L'illustration du premier livre en offre plusieurs exemples. L'analyse iconographique confirme l'existence de deux familles de manuscrits. La première regroupe des manuscrits français, la plupart réalisés à Paris dans les premières années du XV^e siècle pour des seigneurs français; la seconde des manuscrits flamands, nés dans la seconde moitié du siècle, dans la mouvance de la cour de Bourgogne. Or bien que les peintres soient scrupuleusement fidèles au texte de Froissart, on voit ici et là affleurer l'idéologie politique.

- *Discordance et surinterprétation*

Enfin les écarts entre le texte et sa « transcription picturale » peuvent révéler une interprétation du texte. Froissart donne souvent à ses *Chroniques* une dimension romanesque et le fantastique affleure dans plus d'une page des deux derniers livres. En conteur habile, il laisse dans l'ombre des éléments que le peintre cherche parfois à expliciter, trahissant ainsi son interprétation du texte.

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Paul Hayward (Lancaster University). Session 3b

John of Worcester and the First Phase of the Winchcombe Chronicle

It has long been recognised that *The Winchcombe Chronicle* is closely related to the *Chronica chronicarum* now attributed to John of Worcester, but this relationship takes on new significance now that palaeographical analysis has shown that the first phase of *The Winchcombe Chronicle* was produced between 1122 and c.1135, at the same time as John was producing his great work. It would seem likely that *Winchcombe* might well shed further light on how John went about his work in much the same way as other, closely related works (such as the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Duham) have done. Much depends, however, on the exact nature of the connection between the two works and that relationship is certainly far more complex than first appears. Indeed, it will be suggested in the present paper that the first phase is related to John's otherwise extant work, via a lost intermediary, a hitherto unrecognised 'breviate' version of his *Chronica chronicarum*. This 'breviate' text was probably produced in John's workshop but it is clearly distinguished from the other, presently known, breviate text, the so-

called *Chronicula*. The Winchcombe Chronicle thus emerges as an important witness to the nature of John's project.

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Michael Hicks (University College Winchester). Session 1a

The Second Crowland Continuator and his World

The Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Abbey Chronicle is one of the last medieval English chronicles and the last important one. It was the work of a senior ecclesiastic and royal civil servant resident throughout the Wars of the Roses in London and was composed in two stages, late in 1485 and in April 1486. This paper reviews its composition, proposes a candidate as author, and explores what the chronicle can reveal about the world view of the upper civil service to which the author belonged.

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Jeannine Horowitz (University of Haifa). Session 2b

The Chronicle of Nicetas Choniates on the sack of Constantinople: Between historical accuracy and emotional turmoil

Nicetas's merit as an historian has been disputed in recent scholarship both for his alleged partiality as for his definite tedious grandiloquence and large usage of classical topoi. Although an eyewitness of the sack of the Polis, his chronicle has sometimes been deemed unacceptable because his opinion is supposedly biased and prejudiced by the hatred he bares the Latins. Admittedly, the violent and pathetic tones echoing in his chronicle of the sack may challenge his ability to perceive and report facts *sine odio*. Still, his treatment of the Comnenoi emperors displays basically reliable information and demonstrates his capacity to judge in a manner at least as dispassionate as other trustworthy chroniclers of his time, such as John Kinnamos. But credibility does not necessarily imply impartiality. Omissions, exaggerations, partiality, apologetic accounts, such flaws typify Villehardoin's or Robert de Clari's approaches of the issue, as well as the genre of the chronicle on the whole. What then confers to some approaches more reliability than to others in historiography?

This paper seeks to provide some answers to this question in a cross examination of Byzantine and Western perceptions reflected by contemporary chronicles.

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Richard Ingham (School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, University of Reading). Session 5a

L'Évolution du Français: l'apport linguistique des *Grandes Chroniques de France*

Cette proposition de communication s'insère sous la rubrique 'forme de la chronique'. Elle vise à éclaircir certains aspects de son langage, en particulier le rôle qu'a pu jouer la 'traduction', par rapport à la composition 'libre' (termes relatifs), dans le langage des *Grandes Chroniques* de Primat comparées à celles de ses successeurs.

Se tenant à l'orée du Moyen Français, les *Grandes Chroniques de France* nous apportent un témoignage précieux quant à l'évolution de la langue. Les recherches portant sur les changements

grammaticaux qui ont débouché sur le Moyen Français se sont ordinairement penchées sur le XVe siècle (p. ex. Combettes 1988, Lemieux & Dupuis 1995, Buridant 1997, Vance 1997, Prevost 2001), et même au-delà. Quitte à les passer sous silence (cf. la critique de Smith 2002), on estime parfois que les textes du XIVe – ‘siècle des traductions’ – ne possèdent qu’une valeur linguistique réduite. En privilégiant ainsi les oeuvres littéraires, on risque pourtant d’obtenir de l’évolution du Français une vue quelque peu faussée. Par ailleurs, la traduction elle-même, qui servait à expliquer le texte source à un public romanophone ignorant le Latin (Evdokimova 2003), peut éclaircir la nature des systèmes linguistiques romans (Buridant 1987), entre autres ceux de l’Ancien et du Moyen Français.

Seront étudiés plusieurs vecteurs de changement syntaxiques et discursifs indicateurs du développement du Moyen Français (Marchello-Nizia 1997), y compris les connecteurs *lequel* et *si* l’ordre syntaxique CVS, et la postposition du sujet suivant le connecteur *et*. Il est démontré que la restructuration syntaxique de l’Ancien Français, qui commence tout juste à se faire sentir dans les *Chroniques* de Primat rédigées vers 1270, s’affirme largement dans celle de Philippe VI de Valois (1328-40); il s’agit dans les deux cas de traductions assez fidèles. Nous établissons ensuite une comparaison entre deux chroniques non traduites. La *Vie de S. Louis* (ms. Ste Genevieve), réalisée vers 1300, est un remaniement ‘libre’ d’une traduction de chroniques latines: l’auteur a opéré une libre sélection tant dans le contenu que dans la forme linguistique de son sujet. L’analyse de cette chronique remaniée et de la *Chronique de Philippe VI de Valois* (1340-50), non traduite elle aussi, permet d’observer qu’entre ces deux textes, espacés dans le temps de 50 ans environ, se poursuivent sensiblement les mêmes progressions syntaxiques et discursives que nous avons relevées dans les ‘traductions’ réalisées vers la même époque.

Nous en dégageons deux conclusions. Pour l’étude linguistique du Moyen Français, les GCF fournissent une grande richesse de matériel pertinent et révélateur, située à une étape antérieure aux sources que l’on utilise le plus souvent à ce propos. En outre, pour ce qui est de l’évaluation de ces données linguistiques, on s’offre la possibilité, en faisant la part de la traduction, de mieux cerner les changements autochtones qui s’effectuaient à cette époque.

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Collective enterprises. Some theoretical remarks on the (ab)use of historiography

The purpose of this article is to present some theoretical considerations borrowed from the studies on nationalism and the phenomenon of heritage for the analysis of two tenth-century chronicles, i.e. *Chronicon Æthelweardi* and *Res gestae Saxonicae* of Widukind of Corvey.

A few years ago, Gabrielle M. Spiegel collected the allegations made by the contemporary historiography against the medieval one, which state that the latter has, among others: a weak notion of historical evidence, is based on forgery, myth, and lacks scientific criticism etc. These charges agree surprisingly well with David Lowenthal's enumeration of accusations brought by the professional historians against 'heritage'. By and large, its idea is to 'get things wrong'. This is in line with my reading of the above named sources, that medieval historiography is about deliberate concealments and misinterpretations. But it is negative only when we look at them from the modern academic point of view. In the eyes of nationalism or heritage these ways of meaning and presenting the past are understandable, and accusations pointless.

My paper contributes mainly to the second theme of the Conference, as it speaks about the function of the chronicles and historiography in the tenth-century England and Germany, and to the fourth theme, touching upon the 'construction of the past', also in collective memory.

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Indispensable or Irrelevant? The Empire in the Universal Chronicle of Geoffroi de Collon

This paper will examine the position occupied by the medieval western Empire in the thought of the Benedictine Geoffroi de Collon. It will examine Geoffroi's conception of imperial history as it appears in the universal chronicle he compiled at Sens in the late thirteenth century and assess whether or not Geoffroi conceived of the Empire as an institution with any eschatological or other divinely appointed purpose. Universal histories were traditionally intended to recount, principally, the history of the world through chronological accounts of the ultimate spiritual and temporal authorities of Christian society, respectively the Papacy and the Empire. It has been suggested frequently that the decline of the Hohenstaufen Empire and the conflict between the French king Philippe IV le Bel and Pope Boniface VIII contributed, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, to a gradual decline in subscription to the concept of universal temporal authority and the emergence of a new concept of autonomous states. In light of this it seems worthwhile pausing to consider the place the medieval Empire, and the wider concept of universal temporal authority connected with it, came to occupy in a universal chronicle compiled against the backdrop of such sweeping changes in political outlook.

Geoffroi de Collon's view of the Empire and its rulers is of particular interest. His universal chronicle offers the opportunity to examine a work compiled in northern France but which was neither a direct product of the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, nor a work based upon one of the many historical texts produced in the Dionysian scriptorium. While the extraordinary productivity and influence of the monks of Saint-Denis has, with good reason, long excited the interest of modern historians, it has also led many other writers and compilers of historical works in the second half of the thirteenth-century to be relegated to a position of secondary importance. Despite the preparation of an edition of his universal chronicle in the nineteenth century, Geoffroi de Collon is one such writer who has received virtually no critical attention. Geoffroi's view of the Empire and its rulers is all the more significant because it differs markedly from that developed in the universal chronicle written at Saint Denis by Geoffroi's contemporary, Guillaume de Nangis. Given the interest that Guillaume's view of the Empire and its role in Christian society has generated amongst historians, it seems timely to draw attention to an alternative view of the Empire developed simultaneously. In doing so this paper will explore not only conceptions of political institutions, but throw light upon the factors that shaped the production of historical works in late-thirteenth century France.

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Margaret Jubb (University of Aberdeen). Session 11a

The relationship between text and image in manuscripts of the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* and in the *Ernoul-Bernard abrege*

My paper will start by examining the relationship between text and image in the two extant thirteenth-century manuscripts (BN f.fr. 770 and 12203) of the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* of which I have already published a critical edition (London, 1990). It will then consider manuscripts of the text most closely related to the *Estoires*, namely the *Ernoul-Bernard abrege* (ed. L. de Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1871).

The following questions will be discussed: (i) any significant differences in placement, subject matter and style of illuminations in different manuscripts of the same text; (ii) what light comparative study of the illuminations may throw both on the relationship between the extant MSS of the *Estoires* and on textual relations between the *Estoires* and the *abrege*, cf. "The *Estoires* and the *abrege*: textual relations," in M.A. Jubb, *A Critical Edition of the Estoires* (London, 1990), pp. 277-92; (iii) any notable discordances between text and image; (iv) what the relationship between illuminations and text reveals

about the conditions of production and reception of the various manuscripts (who was writing for whom; for what purpose, in what context and for what mode of delivery?).

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Linda Kaljundi. (University of Tartu, Estonia). Session 4b

Waiting for the barbarians: the imagery, functions and dynamics of the other in northern missionary and crusading chronicles 11th-15th centuries

This paper focuses on the representation of the spread of Latin Christianity in Central-Eastern and Northern Europe from the ninth to the early thirteenth centuries. The study is based on four episcopal chronicles: the *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (written around 1075-76) by Adam of Bremen, the *Chronica Slavorum* (around 1167-68, 1172) by Helmold of Bosau, the *Chronica Slavorum* (around 1200/1211) by Arnold of Lübeck and the *Chronicon Livoniae* (around 1224-27) by Henry of Livonia.

The reason for creating such a textual corpus is that the chronicles, though representing different focuses, are all closely linked through the timescale (representing sequential events), the space (the Baltic Sea region) and through their main theme, which is the conversion of the heathens of the North. As such, they serve to illustrate many of the ideas and values shared in the tradition of the Northern mission. In addition they reflect not only the various local angles and interests, but also the development of missionary and crusading ideology.

Being chronicles of newly established dioceses, their function is to legitimise both ecclesiastical and territorial power by textual means. As such the texts also aim at creating local identities and linking their local histories to the universal Christian history. For those tasks the main models are provided by the Bible, the saints lives, yet also by Roman and early Christian writing. Hence the reconstruction of the past takes place by creating an intertextual contact with the textual authorities and linking it to the Christian sacred discourse.

Moreover, the main topics of the chronicles, i.e. mission and crusading, are largely tradition-based phenomena themselves and closely linked to the ideals of personal imitation of Christ, the Apostles, saints and martyrs. As those models contain a pattern for describing not only the missionaries but also the subjects of their missionary goal – both as personae and locus – the imagery of the other is largely determined by intertextuality and textual authorities.

Hence the patterns of personal behaviour, emphasising the individual valour of missionaries and martyrs – both based on textual authorities and reflecting the changes in religious attitudes during the eleventh and twelfth centuries – can be treated as one of the main means for creating the imagery of the other. As the individual valour of the missionaries and martyrs is attributed to the collective identity of a missionary church in general, the images of the other function also to explain and legitimise the authority of the new dioceses.

As regards the dynamics of the other, the main dividing line is firstly defined by the missionary ideology. The making of the other starts with the discovery, where the other is defined as different, named and located. However, as the nature of the expansion becomes shortly that of many withdrawals, reconquests and the formation of the frontier societies begins, it results in a large variety of different actors and landscapes, characterised by different qualities of otherness. The interaction brings along the dynamics both in the imagery and functions of others; including neophytes and apostates, allies and betrayers; yet also the Christian enemies of the missions. The space starts to change as well as the missionaries and conquerors enter it, and start to explore and Christianise the idolatrous landscape.

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The Scottish *Brevis Cronica*: Its Form and Function

The *Brevis Cronica*, a short chronicle of Scottish history written in English, dates from the sixteenth century and survives in two versions which were probably independent versions of either a Latin or English epitome of the long early fifteenth-century Latin *Scoticronicon* of Walter Bower. The version that appears in the Asloan manuscript would have been written at about the time of the other works in this manuscript, probably the mid-1520s before the death of the scribe Asloan ca. 1530. The version that appears in National Library of Scotland MS 19.2.4 is based on the same epitome of the *Scoticronicon* but is supplemented by extensive additions from John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's Latin history of Scotland, a translation that was written in the early 1530s. As short vernacular versions of Bower's *Scoticronicon*, supplemented in one case by information from Bellenden's long translation of Boece, it was probably written in part as propaganda against the English and in part as a means of teaching the fundamentals of Scottish history to readers who lacked the learning to read a Latin work or the patience to read a long history written in English that frequently had little to do with Scotland. The *Brevis cronica* may have been written too in response to the earlier Latin chronicle of John Major (1521), which had treated the British and English more favorably than either Bower or Boece had. This English epitome of Bower, supplemented in the one manuscript by Boece, can be seen as an attempt to make available to a wider audience the nationalist ideas found in longer, more learned earlier chronicles.

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Erik Kooper (Utrecht University). Plenary lecture, Tuesday 19 July

Historical Texts and the Writing of History: Is there an Author in the Text?

Working with manuscripts means working with copies, and working with chronicles means working with long texts. These two commonplaces give rise to a number of questions, the most complex no doubt being 'To what extent do scribes interfere with their exemplars in the case of chronicles?' If a chronicle (or any other text, for that matter) survives in several copies it is often possible to draw some conclusions regarding scribal interference on the basis of a contrastive study of the different versions. More hazardous is to extend these conclusions to a reconstruction of the 'authorial', the 'original' text, and nowadays most editors make no attempts in that direction. Nevertheless, one wonders if it might not be possible to trace a number of such authorial features. The first I tend to think of in this respect are what I have termed the author's 'presentation strategies'. In the case of such a long text as a chronicle some kind of structuring device would seem to be called for, and a study of the manuscripts reveals that these have indeed been used. The purpose of my present research is to establish the existence of such strategic devices, and to find out if, and if so, how, these have developed with the copying and reshaping of the text in the course of time.

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Anne Lawrence (University of Reading). Session 6b

The Northumbrian Chroniclers, King Arthur and Concepts of Historical Truth

William of Newburgh wrote his *History of English Affairs* at the request of the abbot of the nearby Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx. This is well known, and has led to discussion as to the accuracy of William's statement that Augustinians like himself had more time than Cistercians for the composition of historical works. What has been given much less attention is William's assertion that he was writing in

order to expose the ‘fables and lies’ of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s supposedly historical work, the *History of the Kings of Britain*, by contrasting them with the historical truths told by ‘our Bede’. This paper examines the issues of the reception of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s work in Northern England, of continuing knowledge of Bede’s very different account of the ‘British’ past, and of the involvement of the Cistercians and Augustinians in fighting for what they saw as historical truth.

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Alison Williams Lewin (St Joseph’s University, Philadelphia). Session 9b

Chronicle or Romance? Bindino da Travale and King Ladislao of Naples

Written during the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Italian chronicle of Bindino da Travale contains in its 221 folio pages a remarkable wealth of factual information. A middling artisan, Bindino nonetheless managed to acquire knowledge of basic contemporary science, current diplomatic relations, and even a smattering of the classics.

Just as striking, however, is Bindino’s fascination with the court and person of King Ladislao of Naples, with whom the chronicler’s adopted city of Siena was largely at war during this period. The trappings and ceremonies of Ladislao and his followers receive detailed and frequent attention from the writer, in contrast with the brief factual accounts accorded actual battles or sieges. Ladislao himself is tall, handsome, dignified and in command of all situations, be they diplomatic or military.

Under the rubric ‘Chronicle as Literature,’ I plan to present this chronicle in relation to the romance and quest literature of Bindino’s time. Bindino’s own writing style at times becomes extremely flowery, rich in allusion and imagery; he even attempts short poems from time to time. Clearly he read literary works and aspired to imitate their language; concerning Ladislao he seems to want to imitate their content as well. Though it is doubtful Bindino could read Provençal himself, Ronald Witt has shown that troubadour and romance literature, often in translation, enjoyed a wide audience throughout northern Italy. I wish to situate Bindino’s work within that tradition.

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Margarida Madureira (Faculté des Lettres, Université de Lisbonne). Session 10b

Le chroniqueur et son public: les versions françaises des chroniques de Guillaume de Tyr et Foucher de Chartres

Le texte historiographique médiéval combine son souci de vérité avec des visées religieuses, morales, politiques, personnelles ou autres. Si celles-ci risquent de porter atteinte à la vérité événementielle du récit, elles n’en sont pas moins à l’origine d’une autre dimension du vrai, sur laquelle la chronique médiévale fonde sa pertinence par rapport au contexte de sa réception. Dans ma communication je me propose d’analyser les traductions du début du XIIIe siècle des chroniques de Foucher de Chartres et Guillaume de Tyr dans le but d’y repérer les traces d’une nouvelle fonction par rapport aux originaux latins, qui tiennent compte en particulier, du public non lettré auquel s’adressent les versions françaises ainsi que du temps qui les sépare des textes latins.

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Julia Marvin (University of Notre Dame, Indiana). Session 11b

The Strong Women of the Anglo-Norman Prose *Brut* Chronicle

The oldest version of the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut* chronicle offers figures who tend to act according to what we would consider recognizable types or conventions. Blustering tyrants, saintly bishops, and wicked pagan invaders take their turns and by and large do what what we, as readers of medieval narrative, may have come to expect of them. Just as the men do, the women of the chronicle appear in traditional roles: mother and stepmother, martyr, seductress, queen, and victim of rape. But even as they fulfil these stereotypical roles, the women of the chronicle do not conform to stereotypical expectations of what those roles mean and what they demonstrate about women. The prose *Brut* does not have much to say about gender or gender roles: what it *manifests* about them is all the more interesting and potentially significant for the fact that it is not explicit.

In this paper I will consider the *Brut's* portrayal of a number of women, among them its first major female character, Queen Guentholen, who overthrows her adulterous husband and then governs the land 'well and wisely'; the martyr Ursula, goes to her death 'resolute and so steadfast in God' (and not with the pathos or bathos of the equivalent scene in Wace); the wife of the baron Buern Bocard, who is raped and lives to tell the tale; and Queen Estrild, who passes from victim of men's games to scheming stepmother to penitent who dies 'a holy death.' These women, and others in the *Brut*, are strong and resourceful, equal to the occasions they encounter, they are not blamed for their own victimization, and they are not held guilty for their effect on the men who desire them. The chronicle's contemporary baronial audience, of both sexes, may have found in it figures of women far more sympathetic, plausible, and pertinent to their own experience than they could find in works of a more escapist or overtly ideological bent.

Recognition of the *Brut's* notable perspective on women of course expands the understanding of the literary models of femininity available to late-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century audiences. It also aids in the investigation of the chronicle's literary methods, societal ideals, and ways of making an account of the past accessible and meaningful to its audience. As Lister Matheson has long since pointed out, the prose *Brut* was the most popular, secular vernacular work of the late Middle Ages in England, but it has been woefully understudied in both historical and literary scholarship. This paper follows on my edition and translation of the Oldest Version of the *Brut* and forms part of my ongoing project of making a reading of the chronicle as a whole.

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Elisabeth Mégier (Independent Scholar, Paris). Session 5b

Chronicles and biblical commentaries: amalgamation and distinction, from Frechulf of Lisieux to Hugh of St. Victor (ca. 820 to ca. 1140)

This paper will be about genre confusion: not between historiography and literature, but between historiography and biblical exegesis. In fact as far as ancient history is concerned, not only the Bible itself but also its commentaries are, from the beginning, the main source of Christian world chronicles, just as the exegetes use data provided by the chroniclers. For instance, St. Augustine's and others' discussion of

the measurements of Noah's ark and of the presence or not of one or the other kind of animals in the ark tend to find their way into historiographical works, whereas the so-called diamerismos, the distribution of the regions of the earth between the descendants of Noah, contained in the chronicle of Hippolyte of Rome, becomes a constant element of the commentaries on Genesis. And in many cases, the chroniclers do not only repeat the 'literal' or 'historical' explanations of the biblical texts provided by the exegetes, but they often present the 'spiritual' meanings currently proposed in the commentaries – or even add some of their own.

One of the texts most characteristic of this amalgamating tendency is the chronicle of the Carolingian bishop Frechulf of Lisieux, which as its recent editor, Michael I. Alien, has shown, is heavily based on the Pentateuch commentary written some 30 years earlier by Claudius of Turin. Moreover, this is not only a question of content, but also of form. In fact Frechulf proceeds like an exegete, using the biblical text as the guideline of his presentation, quoting and explaining one biblical verse after the other, and even connecting them by the standard expression: *sequitur*; he even presents his enterprise explicitly – if partly – as an explanation of the Bible, when he declares in his prologue that he will not omit to unravel the difficult questions contained in the writings of the 'legislator', that is, of Moses seen as the author of the Pentateuch.

In my paper, I will investigate more in detail the resemblances – and possible differences – between Frechulf's practice (and to a certain extent theory) as a historical author, and Claudius' and others' exegetical methods, and I will follow these themes in some of the major Latin world chronicles of the succeeding time, especially in the first half of the 12th century: where we find, it seems to me, two divergent tendencies. There are authors like Hugo of Fleury, who use exegetical categories and methods in history no more in order to explain individual texts in the way of the biblical commentators and the earlier chroniclers, but in order to give sense to history as a whole, and there is Hugo of St. Victor some decades later, who tends to refuse the symbiosis of exegesis and history altogether. As far as I can see, research on such topics, while emphasizing the influence of the Bible and its interpretation on the medieval representations of history, has not sufficiently considered the more technical aspects of this influence, nor, in particular, the differences between various authors and periods.

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Charles Melville (Cambridge). Session 6a

Between Tabriz and Herat: Persian historical writing in the 15th century

This paper will look at developments in Persian historiography in the 15th century, a period that witnessed the fragmentation of political power and competing ideologies in the Iranian world – Chinggis, Timuri and Turkoman. Whether of the 'Black Sheep' or 'White Sheep' Turkoman regimes in eastern Anatolia and western Iran, or the shrinking Timuri state in the eastern Iran, all the rulers came from a tribal background and were only superficially acculturated to Persian models of statehood, which nevertheless their court historians were anxious to portray as the basis for successful rule. To a greater or lesser extent, too, Islamic religious principles were upheld as essential elements of imperial government, however loosely applied in practice.

Our concern will then be to determine whether there is indeed a uniformity of outlook among the historians of the period and if so, whether nevertheless any variations in the format, style or genres of historical writing can be distinguished between the work of the historians writing in the Timurid realm centred in Herat, and those in the Turkoman territories centred in Tabriz. In that the works written in both regions, and indeed the political authority exercised there, were inherited in the 16th century by the two great powers of the early modern period – the Safavis in Iran and the Ottomans in Turkey – it is particularly useful to try to isolate the chief characteristics of this legacy. The other two speakers on this panel will be discussing how this legacy was exploited in Ottoman and Safavi historical writing.

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Sophia Menache (University of Haifa). Plenary lecture Sunday 17 July

Chronicles, Narratives, and Historiography: The Interrelationship of Text and Context

Along with historical information, medieval chronicles relate all sort of stories flavored with various doses of prejudices, fantasies, and stereotypes. They thus pose the methodological and theoretical challenge of extracting historical data from the 'story'. The situation becomes especially difficult when different chronicles provide similar or even identical accounts, which effectively transform tendentious information into 'historical fact'.

My lecture deals with several stories relating to Clement V (1305-1314) that contributed to providing a basis for the negative nature ascribed to this pope since the Avignon period: first and foremost, his lack of character; then his nepotistic and pro-French tendencies.

When analyzing medieval texts in their historical context from a broad perspective, one sees that they lose much of the archaic nature attributed to them and become faithful reflections of the socio-ethical values of contemporary chroniclers, in addition to the interests they foster and the ways they 'process' historical developments. The pontificate of Clement V, which thus sheds much of its negative character, appears as a manifestation, premature and fragile as it was, of the conflict between opposing perspectives: the medieval normative represented by the chronicles versus a Real-politik perspective followed by the Avignon curia, with the pope at its head, and which in many aspects may be categorized as 'modern.'

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Evalds Mugurēvičs (Institute of Latvian History, University of Latvia). Session 2a

Die Informationsquellen über ostbaltische Völker in der geographischen Beschreibung 'Descriptiones terrarum' (Mitte des 13. Jh.)

'Descriptiones' ist eine Beschreibung Europas und eine interessante Quelle für Geschichtsforscher der von Balten und Ostseefinnen besiedelten Gebiete. Der unbekannte Autor erwähnt Preussen (Pruscia) mit Samland (Zambia), Sudauen (Ietusia, Ietwesya), das Litauer Kernland (Lectauia, Latuuonia), Samogitien (Samoita), Nalsen, Estland (Hestonia, Estonia) mit Wirland (Bironia) u.a.

'Descriptiones' liefert uns eine originelle Beschreibung der politischen Geographie des Ostbaltikums und zeigt die Weise der Unterwerfung der lokalen Bevölkerung der westlichen Kirche (*ecclesia occidentals*) in der Zeit, als sich im Osten die gegenwirkende östliche Kirche (*ecclesia orientalis*) befand und der Einfall der Tataren-Mongolen drohte.

Der Autor der 'Descriptiones' war ein Anhänger der Bekehrung der Heiden, ohne dabei 'das Schwert zu benutzen. Er stand in einer engen Verbindung mit der höheren livländisch-preussischen Geistlichkeit,

deren Interessen er auch vertreten hat. Er war ein Geistlicher, Mitglied einer Ordensgemeinschaft, die vielleicht mit den Dominikanern in Verbindung gesetzt könnte.

Die Information über die baltische Region konnte der Autor von 'Descriptiones' vom Erzbischof zu Riga Albert Suerbeer (1255-1273) bekommen. Dieser Geistliche wirkte als Bischof, Erzbischof und päpstlicher Legat im Irland, Norddeutschland und Preussen in den 40-50 Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts. Der andere Informator konnte Friedrich von Hasseldorf, späterer Bischof von Dorpat (1268-1284), sein. Früher war er ein Ritter, im 1255 fasste er den Entschluss Geistlicher zu werden und wurde zum ersten Bischof von Karelien. Der Autor der 'Descriptiones' zeigte ein grosses Interesse für den Lebenswandel der Karelierer (Carili) und die Sorge um Verbreitung des Christentums und des Kirchenbaues in diesem Lande. Darum kann man annehmen, dass der Autor dem ostbaltischen Kreis der Geistlichen nahe stand.

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Katariina Närä (University of Sheffield). Session 4a

Visual and Verbal: Some Reflections on Links between Text and Image in BL MS Harley 4379-80

British Library MS Harley 4379-80, an important witness for Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* (Book IV), is the most abundantly illuminated of all the Book IV MSS. The manuscript was executed between 1470 and 1475 in the South Netherlands, most likely in Bruges, for Philippe de Comynnes, lord of Argenton. There are eighty fully painted miniatures in the two-volume manuscript (29 in 4379 and 51 in 4380), attributed diversely to a 'Master of the Harley Froissart', a 'Master of the Comynnes' Froissart', and a 'Master of the Vienna *Chroniques d'Angleterre*'. This paper will focus on the work of the Master of the Harley Froissart (responsible for illuminations in several other manuscripts featuring in the 2004 'Illuminating the Renaissance' exhibition) who seems to be responsible for the majority of the miniatures. The paper will discuss some of the ways in which he links his artwork with the text of Book IV. The main emphasis will be on his use of heraldry as a device to link more closely to the text otherwise conventional and reoccurring scenes. The paper aims to contribute to the theme of 'Text and image in the chronicle'; it will form a part of a chapter in my forthcoming thesis (*A Study and Edition of Jean Froissart's Chronicles Book IV, based on BL MS Harley 437980*), entitled 'The Art of Harley 4379-80'.

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Marigold Anne Norbye (University College London). Session 11a

‘A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires’ – the multiple transformations of a fifteenth-century French genealogical chronicle

The focus of this paper is an anonymous genealogical chronicle of the kings of France, in the form of an abridged history of France accompanied by genealogical diagrams of the three French royal dynasties. This work survives in about sixty-five manuscripts in a variety of physical forms: rolls or codices, from finely produced and decorated to plainly executed with text only; with illustrations ranging from simple pen and ink drawings to illuminated miniatures. It exists in at least twenty textual versions, some of which can be grouped into families, and between which there is much cross-fertilisation. To these variant texts correspond variant genealogical trees. In some versions, physical presentation can differ considerably between one manuscript and another, whereas in other cases, there is a large degree of homogeneity among the separate copies of the same version.

This wide variety of content and form for what was, essentially, an unremarkable and unoriginal text, has led to a reflection on why it was subject to such a large amount of remodelling by its authors, scribes and decorators. The relatively large number of surviving manuscripts leads one to infer that it was a popular piece of history writing in its time, which was constantly being copied and adapted throughout the fifteenth century. The paper examines who the audiences were likely to have been, and who were the authors or scribes who chose to remodel the work rather than simply to copy an exemplar. It postulates that the patrons – and possibly some of the authors – of ‘A tous nobles’ were to be found among the lay aristocracy and government officials who were interested both in current affairs (the Hundred Years War and its aftermath) and in French history. Some may have been based in north-west France, an area particularly affected by the war. ‘A tous nobles’ was short and malleable enough to lend itself to multiple minor adaptations where the writer or the scribe-artist could make his mark on the work. In some cases, creativity was displayed not so much in the text, but in novel ways of presenting the genealogical trees. The numerous copies that survive, and the multiplicity of forms in which the work appears, are witnesses to a lively historical culture among the lay elites of France.

There has been no study dedicated to this particular work, although the texts of seven of its versions were studied by Sanford Zale in his doctoral thesis on unofficial histories of France. The art historian Nathalie Hurel has examined one group of rolls where ‘A tous nobles’ is contained within a universal chronicle, as have François Fossier and Christiane Raynaud. Scholars such as Peter Lewis, Kathleen Daly, Nicole Pons, Jacques Krynen and Gert Melville have referred to specific manuscripts or versions in the context of broader studies on chronicles or political literature. My research is therefore an initial survey of the manuscripts of ‘A tous nobles’, their codicology and their contents, on which further work can be based. An awareness of this work and its manuscripts can add to our knowledge of historical culture and mentalities of the late Middle Ages.

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Heather Pagan (University of Toronto). Session 11b

Finding the Sources of the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut*

During my presentation, I will examine in detail the sources used by the author of the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut*. The author of this manuscript/text relied on a variety of sources for the compilation, all of which were written in French verse. Beginning ‘*En la noble cite de graunt Troie il i avoit un noble chivaler fort et puissaunt de cors qe avoit a noun Eneas*’, the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut* chronologically narrates the reigns of the kings of England, beginning with Brutus, legendary discoverer of the island and self-declared king, and ending with the death of Henry III in 1272. Then subject to a number of revisions and continuations, the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut* was later translated into the form in which it is more commonly known, the Middle English *Brut* (1).

Despite its survival in 50 manuscripts and its importance as a source for the Middle English *Brut*, it is only recently that the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut* and its origins have attracted scholarly attention. Lister Matheson's work on the *Prose Brut* has helped establish the evolution of the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut* from its original form to its final, pre-translation form (2). In his study, Matheson, following an earlier work by F.W.D. Brie (3) suggested that the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut* was based on several earlier Anglo-Norman verse texts, especially Wace's *Roman de Brut* (4) and Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* (5).

In preparing an edition of the *Prose Brut* for my doctoral dissertation (6), I compared the *Prose Brut* at length to its probable sources. While it is evident that both Wace's and Gaimar's texts were used by the author of the *Prose Brut*, due to the structural and verbal parallels between the texts, it also became clear that the matter was not quite as simple as previously thought. The *Prose Brut* contains materials not found in either the *Roman de Brut* or the *Estoire des Engleis*, suggesting the use of a variant version of the *Roman de Brut* or even of Gaimar's lost *Estoire des Bretuns*. The version of the Conquest presented by the *Prose Brut* is not that found in the *Estoire des Engleis*, leading, me to believe another source was used, not located by either Matheson or Brie. The sources used by the author of the continuations to the *Prose Brut* are also under re-evaluation. While Langtoft's chronicle (7) was likely used, though in its variant form, questions remain surrounding the sources used for the lives of Edward II and III.

The reliance of the author on only Anglo-Norman verse texts as sources is significant, as earlier Anglo-Norman historical texts were mainly translations of Latin works. In light of recent research, a re-evaluation of the genesis of the *Prose Brut* is warranted, for, by examining in careful detail the sources used by the *Prose Brut*, we gain a greater understanding of how texts were used and evaluated by medieval chroniclers.

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Nira Pancer (University of Haifa). Session 4b

Emotions and Gender in Merovingian Chronicles

The paper is an attempt to analyze the Merovingian chroniclers' discourse towards different sets of emotions displayed by various social groups. The article will also try to understand how the gendering of emotions (virile self-control/female emotionality) served as a strategy for clerics to establish their ideological superiority over other social groups.

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Sarah Peverley (University of Hull). Session 1a

Men ‘broughte up of noughte’: The Inversion of Social Hierarchy in John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*

This paper aims to assess the politicisation of language in John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*. By focussing in particular on the second version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and other polemical discourses of the late fifteenth century, the paper seeks to explore the importance of the recurring motif of men ‘broughte up of noughte’, and to address the political currency of this and similar phrases in England in the 1450s and 1460s.

Through highlighting the different ways in which Hardyng’s history of Britain attacks inversions of the established social hierarchy with the men ‘of noughte’ idiom, the paper hopes to provide an insight into the author’s acute awareness of the civil conflict in his own times, when, to paraphrase Ralph Griffiths, Henry V’s governors sought to fortify a sense of the Lancastrian dynasty, and the duke of York and his supporters attempted to legitimise not only their attacks on Henry’s governors but their eventual deposition of Henry VI.

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Sholeh A. Quinn (Ohio University). Session 6a

An Overview of Safavid Historical Writing

In 1501, in the northern Iranian city of Tabriz, Isma’il founded the Safavid dynasty by crowning himself king. Isma’il and his descendants ruled over Iran for approximately 200 years. This period of Iranian history witnessed a rich output of historical writing in the form of chronicles, epic poems, and illustrated

romances. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the main features of Safavid historiography, starting from the earliest historiographical productions and continuing through the reign of Shah 'Abbas I (d. 1629), perhaps the best known of all Safavid monarchs. The Safavids were the dynasty responsible for established 'Twelver' (Imami) Shi'i Islam as the official state religion, imposing that branch of Islam upon a country with a majority Sunni population. This change triggered numerous developments, including the establishment of a clerical class that eventually became quite powerful and in some ways challenged the legitimacy of the Safavid kings. The various challenges that the Safavids faced in terms of trying to legitimize their rule are all reflected in the historical chronicles, which provide a rich source for understanding these developments. The paper will point out some of the most salient features of Safavid historiography, and pay particular attention over how this historiography changed over time.

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Nada Rácová (Slavistic Institute of Slovak Academy of Sciences). Session 8a

Chronicle of the Anonymous Carthusian, the most important source to the history of the carthusian monastery at Lapis Refugii

The *Chronicle of the Anonymous Carthusian* was written in the Carthusian monastery at Lapis Refugii (Skala útočišť'a, Letenkow, Zufluchtsstein, Menedékszirt – today the territory of north-eastern Slovakia, historical part of the Hungarian kingdom Spiš), which existed at this place in the period of 1299-1543. Its origin can be dated in the first quarter, eventually at the beginning of the second quarter of the 16th century. Although the Chronicle is not very large in extent (circa 11 A4-pages in transcription), it preserves valuable information about important events of the region and especially about events concerning the life in the monastery (list of priors and their activities, its properties, position in the region, etc). In this way next to diplomas the Chronicle is an unappreciable source by the reconstruction of the history of the monastery at Lapis Refugii.

The Chronicle is preserved in more transcriptions from the 17th and 18th centuries (the original hasn't been discovered until now, although there are some indications that it could be placed in the Library of manuscripts in Roumanian Alba Iulia). The most marked difference is in the extent of each copy. The Chronicle describes events which happened between the years 1241-1517. It is divided into several paragraphs, each paragraph is bound always with one year. In this way it reminds more of the genre of annals. It seems as if the events, which have happened in certain period of time (once shorter, another time longer), were accumulated always to one year, into one paragraph. So is the Chronicle very specific by overlapping its genres.

The *Chronicle of the Anonymous Carthusian* is not the only one chronicle of this period, originating from Spiš. Since the end of Middle Ages relatively often we can meet here with this genre – next to the first German written *Chronicle from Spišská Sobota* from the 15th century, and the *Chronicle of the town Levoča* written by Conrad Sperfogel in the first decades of the 16th century, also the family chronicle of Buchholz and the others.

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Cristina Almeida Ribeiro (Universidade de Lisboa). Session 7a

Le regard du chroniqueur et l'impossible neutralité de la chronique

Le 14 août 1385 a eu lieu sur les champs d'Aljubarrota la bataille décisive entre les armées castillane et portugaise dont les commandants disputaient entre eux le trône du Portugal. De par ses profondes implications politiques cet événement militaire ne pouvait aucunement être ignoré par les fonctionnaires qui, d'un côté et de l'autre, allaient être chargés de préserver la mémoire des faits arrivés pendant les règnes de Juan I de Castille et de Joao I du Portugal, soit Pero Lopez de Ayala, participant à la bataille – dans laquelle, d'ailleurs, il a été fait prisonnier –, et Fernao Lopes, encore enfant à l'époque du combat.

Les adversaires avaient cherché tous deux des alliés, les portugais en Angleterre, les castillans en France. Et cela fait que, de façon plus surprenante à mon avis, Froissart accorde lui aussi, dans ses *Chroniques*, une place au conflit opposant les deux royaumes ibériques et notamment à cette bataille.

Dans cette communication, je propose précisément une analyse comparée des chapitres concernant la bataille d'Aljubarrota, non seulement chez Lopes et Ayala mais aussi chez Froissart, pour souligner les divergences entre leurs versions des événements et les évaluer à la lumière du contexte historique dans lequel chacun de ces récits a été produit, du rôle qu'il joue à l'intérieur de la chronique qui l'inclut et de la fonction sociale accordée à celle-ci.

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Lisa M. Ruch (Bay Path College). Session 11a

Chronicle as Medieval Reference Text: A Case Study of Princeton University Library MS Garrett 142

Those who work with manuscripts know that each one, through its textual arrangement, scribal annotations, marginalia, and illustrations, offers a glimpse into the readership of its particular creation and subsequent use. Chronicle texts, often fluid in their format and contents over time, are no exception. In this paper, I will consider Princeton University Library MS Garrett 142, which contains a copy of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*. This particular manuscript is notable among those containing Hardyng's *Chronicle* for its wealth of annotations and illustrations, which appear to be contemporaneous with its production.

From its content and layout, this rendering of the chronicle text seems to be intended as a reference work; running heads and marginalia provide quick stopping points for a reader skimming through to find a particular topic, and the frequent illustrations serve as both orientation points and mnemonic tools to assist in the memorization of key points. More involved graphics, such as those showing King Alfred's uniting of the tribal kingdoms or depicting the key players in the Norman Conquest, serve both to visually clarify the text and act as coherent summaries of crucial points in history. Despite the obvious care taken in arrangement and organization, this manuscript is not a presentation copy for display, the frequent hasty scribbles over erroneous text indicate a scribal interest focused more on content than appearance. With these foregoing observations in mind, I will consider how the text and images of the manuscript relate to the function of the chronicle overall, while opening up avenues for inquiry into the various modes of chronicle readership in the late Middle Ages.

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Anti Selart (University of Tarlu, Estonia). Session 10a

The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia and its political context

The Chronicle of Livonia, written ca. 1224-1227 by parish priest Henry in Rubene (German: Papendorf, nowadays in Latvia), is the main narrative source of the beginnings of the Livonian crusade. The Augustinian Meinhard began in 1180s his mission among the heathen people of the lower reaches of Daugava (German: Duna) river and died 1196 as the Livonian bishop; by the third bishop Albert (1199-1229) 1201 the town Riga was established. The work by Henry is commonly recognized as chronologically and factologically accurate. He was born in Germany, came supposedly in 1205 in Livonia and was an eye-witness of numerous military and diplomatic events.

What were the sources of Henry by describing the events before 1205 is only one side of the question. His Chronicle is a very polemic work supporting the Rigan claims against Danish, Swedish, and Russian competitors. Already the first episodes of the Chronicle demonstrate priority of the 'German' mission. The historical context of the 1220s gives us answers why the beginnings of the Rigan church in the 12th century are described by means of just these episodes. Henry's selection from the in fact wider Rigan historical tradition is politically determined and his chronicle is not only a historical narrative, but also a document of legal pretensions. This as certain opens new perspectives in the treatment of the Baltic history in the crusading period, but also can help to solve the convincingly non-answered question: who was the initiator and patron of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.

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Bethany Sinclair (Queen's University Belfast). Session 8b

The Textual Geography of a Brut Manuscript: Identity, Merchants and Landscape in 16th century London

Glasgow University Library Hunterian MS 83 (hereinafter referred to as the Hunterian) is a composite medieval book, containing amongst other items, a copy of the Middle English Prose *Brut*. Dating to the third quarter of the 15th century, the text has been attributed, by Lister Matheson, to a small yet well-defined group of *Brut* texts in which an incomplete *Brut* has been extended by using the *Polychronicon* text. In addition, the manuscripts within this group also share the common feature of including copies of *Warkworth's Chronicle*.

The Hunterian contains evidence of two main scribes as well as a small but interesting group of annotations. The first scribe has been suggested as being the owner-compiler of the MS by Lister Matheson's preliminary research and it is possible that this scribe was responsible for the copying of the Hunterian text into the British Library Harley MS 3730 and the Cambridge Peterhouse MS 190, both of which share internal textual features with the Hunterian. The second scribe of the Hunterian, responsible for just the originally discrete *Brut* text, is potentially of Anglo-Scottish descent, since both his hand and the language he adopts shows traits of Anglo-Scottish characteristics, an aspect which is more fully analysed in the PhD chapter from which this paper is drawn.

The marginalia within this MS hold vital clues as to its social identity, and one annotation in particular forms the basis for this paper which locates itself within the urban landscape of early 16th century London as a Merchant goes about his daily business.

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Dion C. Smythe (Institute of Byzantine Studies Queen's University Belfast). Session 2b

'Twelfth-Century' Byzantine Histories: Chronicles or Literature?

In total, there are thirteen histories or chronicles (the jury is still out on where or how to draw the dividing line here) that cover the Byzantine 'long twelfth century' (1). What characterises this collection of thirteen texts is their generic diversity. In this paper I explore the extent to which this generic diversity 'matters'. At one extreme we have the clear literary artifice of Psellos's *Chronographia* (2), Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* (3) or Niketas Choniates's *Narrative* (4); the language used in these texts is the 'high-level, atticising' badge of the Byzantine elite. The authors are present in their texts, either as actors themselves or as the 'poets' of the texts shaping and forming the texts with ulterior motives. In contrast, texts such as Attaliates (5), Glykas (6) or Skylitzes (7) are written in a simpler form of Greek and have a more 'chronicle' style. In joining the 'history or literature' debate I explore whether 'reception theory' has anything germane to tell us about the understanding of these texts in the Byzantine period.

How we read [receive] Byzantine texts does influence our understanding and interpretation of the texts. Native English speakers have a certain aversion to 'rhetoric'. We have been taught that the supreme value of well-written English should be 'plain speaking' ('calling a fig a fig' as it were!) and that rhetoric is too close to the bombast of political discourse. However we need to recognise 'rhetoric' as a cognate of 'language style' (I almost wrote 'literary style' but that is exactly what I do not mean). In Byzantine writing there are rhetorical flourishes and literary commonplaces that have fallen from use in modern English; our task has to be to recover some facility with these conventions to be able to explain Byzantine texts as Byzantine readers may have understood them. This is no easy task and we have no secure guide as to success, but as historians this is what we must attempt.

Reading these Byzantine texts, they appear exceedingly dull. There is only one instance surviving of a manuscript with pictures and conversations seem notable mostly by their rarity. The impression that comes down to us of the Byzantines is of deeply serious individuals, befuddled by religion into the stupor of a Victorian wet Sunday afternoon in November. The thirteen Byzantine history texts had an avowed high moral purpose: they were to instruct. One should not expect to find the rapid-fire patter of a stand-up comedy routine in the hallowed pages of Anna Komnene's hagiography. However, were some of the detailed descriptions intended to raise a wry smile if not a belly-laugh? In writing about the barbarian

Bohemond, it does seem that Anna Komnene found it ‘suddenly really rather hot’ in her study as the pen scratched in the lamplight. Some have seen in Anna’s careful *ekphrasis* of Bohemond’s bulging biceps the blue-stocking’s well-concealed hankering after a ‘bit of rough’. It is a convincing reading. Or was it all a double-buff of great complexity? We know that she knows that we know that such a liaison would be completely unacceptable to a princess ‘born in the purple’ and we laugh with her in the conceit. I shall not focus exclusively on humour, but it is perhaps the hardest aspect of a different culture to understand. How well do we understand Byzantine historical literature?

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Andris Šnē (University of Latvia). Session 8b

Image of the Other or the Own: Representation of the Local Societies in the early 13th century *Heinrici Chronicon*

The 13th century was the age of different social, political and cultural transformations in the lands of eastern Baltic. Due to the Crusades since the late 12th century new features like literacy, medieval towns, fief relations alongside with the Conversion and Crusaders’ statehood were introduced in the territory of Livonia (i.e., territory of the present-day Latvia and Estonia previously inhabited by the local societies of the Balts and Finno-Ugrians). The main source for the study of this age is *Heinrici Chronicon* written in 1225-1227 and describing the first but very important 30 years of the Crusades (about 1180-1227). A priest, probably of native origin, compiled the chronicle under the assignment of bishop Albert, to which it owns its quite ecclesiastical character (although it is a typical example of the literature of the Crusades).

This source (which actually is the first example of literacy in Livonia) has been widely used in almost every study about the late prehistoric and early medieval history in the territory of eastern Baltic. Among the themes discussed in historical research for more than a century are questions concerning the author of the chronicle, sources and political aims of the chronicle, evidences about military and political activities in the Baltic area in the early 13th century etc. (besides those mentioned in the bibliography there should also be named L.Arbusow, H.Laakman, J.Zutis, N.Angerma). During recent years in Latvia

and Estonia historiography has emerged from the discussions, at least partly based on *Heinrici Chronicon*, about several historical topics of the Age of Crusades like political and social organisation of local societies on the eve of the Crusades, role of natives in the Crusades, character of ‘military conquest’ of the Baltic, praxis and results of the Conversion etc.

The proposed paper attempts to examine the representation of local societies in *Heinrici Chronicon*. The author of the chronicle furnished little information about social, religious, political and economical structures of the local societies, but, for example, the terminology used in the chronicle allows us to follow the view of the author to local communities. But still the information is invaluable for discussions on social and cultural life of the local Baltic communities on the eve of the Crusades due to the chronicle’s terminology and the situational context as well as the characteristics of several individuals. But it is, anyway, a question of interpretation whether individuals and societies (as represented in the chronicle) carry the view of a local and well-informed man or that of a foreigner attempting to understand (or ‘modernize’) native local societies but still looking at them through the ideological glasses of Western culture.

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John Spence (Pembroke College, Cambridge). Session 11b

Exempla in later Anglo-Norman chronicles and their manuscript illuminations

In my paper, I will discuss how several chronicles, written in Anglo-Norman in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, attributed an exemplary value to their accounts of English history. By simplifying the total historical information available on each English king into a few succinct sentences, these chronicles did not only provide a compact reference guide, but also transformed a complex history into a series of exemplars of good and bad rule. In many manuscripts, in particular those of roll-chronicles, these exemplars were given added force by the illuminations, in the form of roundels or miniatures, which depicted each king as a single, static symbol of one aspect of their history: a stunning miniature in Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.IIL58, is the ultimate example of this, showing William Rufus being pierced by the arrow which killed him. In the short Anglo-Norman chronicle in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.XIII, text yields primary importance to illuminations, and descriptions of the reigns of English kings seem little more than rubrics to accompany the striking image that encapsulates each reign, and the lesson behind it.

This would seem, at first, to be a depoliticization of history, reducing the complexities of the past to pallid moralizing. However, I hope to show that this is nevertheless a political response to a period when history and the present were conceived of as an unbroken continuum – as exemplified by the roll-chronicles which exist to depict the genealogical lines that bind the past to the present. Within this concept of history, periods of political crisis presented particular difficulty to contemporary historians. Early in the reign of Edward II, for instance, two concerted efforts to reconstruct English history for an unsettled present, the Anglo-Norman chronicles known as the *Brute Abrege* and the *Petit Bruit*, made use of linguistic code-switching from French to English and the use of ahistorical proverbial exempla. At the end of the fourteenth century, when Henry IV’s accession to the throne ruptured the genealogical lines that bound king to king, linguistic code-switching was married with the image of Fortune’s wheel as the

last Anglo-Norman roll-chronicles, such as Cambridge, University Library, MS Oo.VIL32, fled from a political reading of a past which was also the present.

Focusing on the interplay between text and image in the chronicle, and the way in which these images and narratives reconstruct the past, this paper will engage with key themes of the conference. It will build on manuscript surveys of this material by scholars such as Diana Tyson, William Monroe and Oliver de Laborde to examine the ideologies which informed its creation.

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Thea Summerfield (University of Utrecht). Session 1a

A confluence of traditions: Boece, Bellenden and Stewart

In the early years of the reign of Young King James V (reigned 1528-1542) two vernacular translations were made almost simultaneously of Hector Boece's 'Scotorum Historia', published in Paris in 1527. One was in prose, the other in verse. Both works were commissioned by the king, or people closely associated with him. In my paper I shall concentrate on the different historiographical traditions that the three closely related works represent.

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Carol Sweetenham (University of Warwick). Session 7b

Remembrance of Things Past: the Events of the First Crusade as portrayed in Orderic Vitalis

'... *une tradition à la fois anti I ue et directe, ininterrompue, orale, déformée, méconnaissable et vivante ...*' (1)

This paper looks at the reconstruction of the past by three chroniclers (Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon) by analysing the way in which they portray the First Crusade of a generation earlier. It also offers some comments on the theme of the chronicle as history and/or literature. Arguably there are more eyewitness near-contemporary accounts of the Crusade than of any other event in medieval history. However, little attention has been paid to the portrayal of the Crusade a generation later. This paper looks in detail for the first time at its depiction in three of the best known histories of the first half of the twelfth century: the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis (2), the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (3), and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon (4).

The paper explores three aspects. Firstly it examines the value of these authors as sources for the Crusade themselves. Measured against the traditional historiographical hierarchy of *visa, audita, lecta* they do not have the status of eyewitnesses. But their accounts still have value for the historian. Secondly it looks at the light they cast on the use of Crusade sources, not only written but vernacular and eyewitness. This illuminates the survival, popularity and dissemination of those sources. And that in turn tells us something about the perceptions of the Crusade some years after the event, not least in England which had fielded few crusaders. Thirdly it analyses the way in which the authors selected and combined their sources. This gives us an insight into the historiographical methodology of the first half of the twelfth century. The paper concludes that these second-generation sources well repay examination as part of First Crusade historiography despite the fact that their authors were not eyewitnesses.

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Biörn Tjällén (Stockholm University, Dept of History). Session 8a

**From Jerusalem to Uppsala.
Ecclesiology and State Formation in Ericus Olai's *Chronica regni Gothorum* (ca. 1470)**

Apart from material and legislative aspects, intensified state formation in late medieval and early modern Western Europe also involved a process of conceptualisation. The emergence of what was partially a new type of political entity needed to be understood and legitimised in relation to the culture of the period at large. The writing of national histories, where various historiographical strategies were applied to create legitimacy and unity to the political entity in question, can be perceived as one of the fields where this process of conceptualisation was carried out.

One element in the period's discourse concerning the state that has gained particular scholarly attention is the transfer of ideas from an ecclesiastical sphere to that of the state. The aim of this paper is to illuminate, in the context of a national chronicle from late medieval Sweden, how this transfer also could be used as a legitimising narrative strategy, intended to support political ambitions present at the archdiocese of Uppsala.

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Paul Trio (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven Campus Kortrijk). Session 8b

**The Chronicle Attributed to Olivier van Diksmuide (Oliver of Dixmude)
An Unappreciated Town Chronicle of Ypres from Late Medieval Flanders**

Not only the earlier, but also the more recent surveys of late medieval historiography in the Low Countries generally accepted and still accept that no true contemporary town chronicle was written in this region, despite its high degree of urbanization and urban autonomy, and the strong urban self-awareness that goes with it (1). If an exception to this 'rule' exists, it is most certainly the Ypres town chronicle attributed to Olivier van Diksmuide. In saying so, we go against the traditional point of view which categorizes this chronicle as a general 'national' chronicle, paying only occasionally some indirect attention to more local events involving Ypres (2). This is why it deserves some more attention than it has heretofore been given (3). This chronicle was published only once, in 1835 (4). Before pursuing the matter of the urban character of this chronicle in greater depth, we should first of all point out that the edition of 1835 was a very defective one.

Unfortunately, the original manuscript, which was kept in the Ypres Town Library, was lost as a result of the complete destruction of the town during the First World War. However, by a stroke of luck, a 19th-century copy, which has received hardly any attention at all, can still be consulted in the Courtrai

Town Library. When one peruses this document, it soon becomes clear that the then editor Lambin composed a less than adequate edition. Not only does it contain numerous reading mistakes, Lambin left out important text fragments (concerning Ypres). By means of the Courtrai copy, it is possible to reconstruct the original text and to suggest some new elements with regard to the authorship of the text, its structure, and the politico-social ideology of the author. The author was a very well-informed person, member of one of the leading political clans within the town of Ypres, and he resolutely opted for urban particularism, versus the state centralization pursued by the Dukes of Burgundy. A new textual analysis, based on the ‘complete’ text of the manuscript, might enable us to adjust the insights of an older study concerning this matter (5). This is, however, not the only town chronicle at our disposal. During the 15th century, several other chroniclers were active in the town of Ypres, and also in the rest of the county of Flanders town chronicles were being written. Because of this, the Low Countries in general, and Flanders in particular, were not completely lacking in true medieval town chronicles (6) even though the genre of the so-called ‘memorial books’ (in which urban events are linked to the recording of the annual election and installation of a new town magistrate) was certainly more widespread. When one keeps in mind that before 1500 this region was characterized by strong urban self-awareness, as a result of which its historiography was closely in keeping with the tendencies in the German regions and in Northern Italy, this conclusion sounds even more acceptable.

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- (2) Henri Pirenne, ‘Olivier de Dixmude’, in *Biographie Nationale*, vol. 6., 1901, c. 142-43 ; cf. also note 1, p. 448.
- (3) Cf. the bibliography in <http://odur.let.rug.nl/narrative-sources/> and cf. also note 2 and note 5 for the most important studies.
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László Veszprémy (Central European University, Budapest). Session 3a

The Career of a Latin World Chronicle in Hungary (Johannes de Utino, XVc.)

The wide-spread use of world chronicles was introduced into the Hungarian medieval Latin historiography by the Italian humanist historians, the standard medieval summaries and encyclopaedias (like those of Martinus Polonus, Vincentius Bellocancensis) exercised but a limited influence earlier. That is why the use (‘career’) of the world chronicle of Johannes de Utino is very interesting. Its first redaction

had been written as a 'Historienbibel' (1344/1349), and has been enriched with a parallel series of the lives of popes and the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire up to the date of its second edition, circa the 1450's. To some copies even a ten-page appendix was added with a short summary of the lives of the Hungarian kings from 1000 up to 1458. The 15th century re-editing of this work, the up-dating of dead texts with fresh information, is closely involved with the practice of commercial manuscript production and the developed demand of the intellectuals for handbooks on history. It seems typical of that age that it was distributed after a standardised copy, called 'zentrale Fortsetzung' by the researchers, in Latin and also in German translation, referring to the fact that German was the first language in Central European cities. On the other hand, this manuscript was intended for Central Europe, Hungary included, because of the interest taken in the Hungarian-Habsburg rivalry during King Matthias's reign, and its struggle with the Ottomans. The success of this edition is proved by the fact that two copies have survived from Hungary with possessor entries (today in Rome and Martin, Slovakia), and several others in Central Europe (Hungary, Austria, Germany).

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Sara Nur Yildiz (Istanbul Bilgi University). Session 6a

**Persian models and Ottoman chronicles: Shukrullah's *Bahjat al-tavarikh*,
a mid-fifteenth-century Ottoman universal history and Persian traditions of historical writing**

Defining the genre of chronicle is problematic in early Ottoman historical writing. Seldom composed according to a rigid annalistic structure, early Ottoman histories consisted of an assortment of works ranging from verse heroic accounts of battles, prose Islamic universal histories, vernacular narratives dealing with the rise of the Ottoman dynasty and the exploits of sultans, or a blending of these various categories. The focus of this paper is the *Bahjat al-tavarikh*, an early Ottoman historical work structured as an abridged Islamic universal history. Composed in 1459 in Bursa by Shukrullah, a member of the Ottoman religious elite for the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha, the *Bahjat al-tavarikh* has the distinction of being the first Ottoman historical work written in Persian, a language of high cultural status in the primarily Turcophone Ottoman court.

While Ottoman historians have in general been interested in only a small part of the text, that is, the final section dealing with the Ottoman dynasty, I examine Shukrullah's work in its entirety in an attempt to better understand the emergence of Ottoman historical writing and its relationship to Persian models. I will look at how the text's structural features as well as its choice of content were influenced in particular by the Persian universal history tradition as established by the well known thirteenth-century work the *Nizam al-Tavarikh* by Qadi Nasir al-Din Bayzavi.

The second part of the paper will place the composition of Shukrullah's history in the context of interregional Turkic political and territorial rivalry of the fifteenth century. Historical writing among the Ottomans first developed in the earlier part of the century partly as a manifestation of a newly emerging Ottoman political consciousness in the face of rival political claims from neighboring Turco-Iranian rulers. Shukrullah himself was sent as an Ottoman envoy on a mission in 1448-49 to the Turkmen Qaraqoyunlu ruler Jahanshah. His task was to form an Ottoman-Qaraqoyunlu alliance against their mutual enemy the Aqqoyunlu Turkmen who began to threaten both Ottoman territory in eastern Anatolia as well as Qaraqoyunlu lands in Iran. Shukrullah's treatment in his history of the ideological dimensions of this regional conflict will be explored. Finally, the paper will attempt to tie the use of Persian and Persian models in Ottoman historical composition as a strategy to express imperial values as well as cultural and political superiority within the context of inter-Turkic regional rivalry.

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Scott Waugh (University of California). Session 7b

Historical Revisionism in Twelfth-Century Chronicles in England

The paper focuses on the ways in which chroniclers, writing in both Latin and Anglo-Norman, treated aspects of pre-Conquest English History, most specifically the Danish conquests of the eleventh century and the Danish rulers and their adherents, such as Godwin and his family. In writing about the preceding century, chroniclers relied on historical texts as well as oral legends and filtered their own accounts through the prevailing ideology of the post-Conquest regime. As a result, they consistently portrayed the Danes and their supporters as tyrants and the period as one of disorder and upheaval in order to contrast it with the good governance of the Normans. Not all chroniclers followed this pattern and some demonstrated uneasiness with a fully revisionist account, demonstrating an awareness of the possibility of a factual history and the limits of ideology.

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