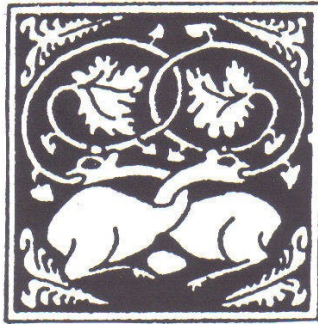


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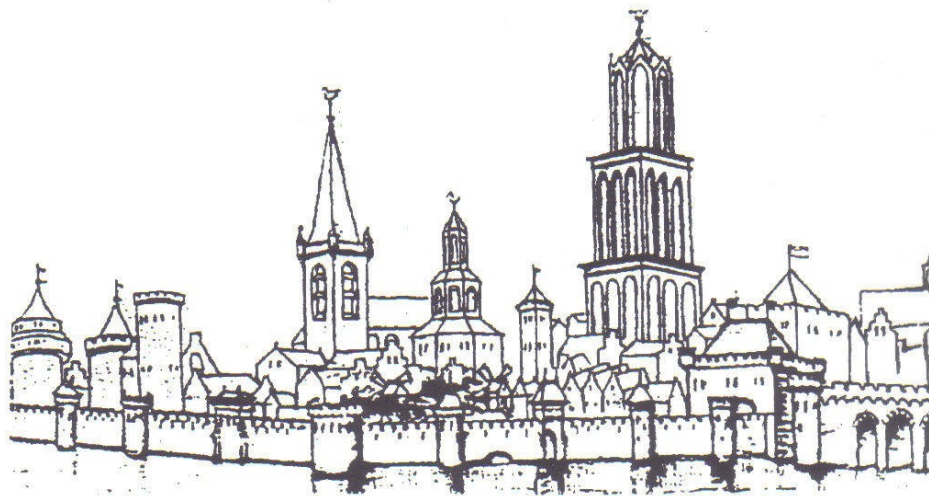
THE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLE

DIE MITTELALTERLICHE CHRONIK

LA CHRONIQUE MÉDIÉVALE

UTRECHT, 13 - 16 JULY 1996

ABSTRACTS



Heralds, Heraldry and the Colour Blue in the *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart

Peter Ainsworth

By Froissart's own assertion, heralds were a major source of information for the *Chronicles*. They feature prominently in his depiction of late fourteenth-century aristocratic society, and make numerous appearances in the narrative itself. Some appearances are more significant than others. Froissart's 'declension' of blazon is almost uniformly accurate, showing ease and familiarity with the grammar of heraldic language, as is evidenced by the unjustly neglected publications of Max Prinnet. The *rois d'armes* are not only an unimpeachable source of information concerning the armigerous: Froissart's identification with them aligns him with the more formally sanctioned clerical professions associated with chivalry, combining as he does the functions of poet, chronicler-historian, secretary and memorialist of chivalry. As a self-professed, allegedly impartial preserver of the deeds of the 'preux', he shares certain functions with the secretaries to the monarchical orders of chivalry described by Boulton and Keen.

Heraldry is one of the key elements lending ideological sanction and authority to his work. Most of the instances of heraldic citation are purely referential. Others are powerfully expressive and poetic, witness especially his depiction of the death of Sir John Chandos. This poetic articulation of heraldry finds its material, meta-textual equivalent in the heraldic display found in many of the more luxurious MSS commissioned by those who stamp the ownership of their own blazon on the codex itself. This reaches its apogee in the relatively little-known New York (formerly Mostyn) MS, Pierpont Morgan MS M.804, in which the banners of the *preux* invade the borders where we would normally expect to find fruits, exotic animals or decorated fillets. The miniatures depicting battles such as Crécy and Poitiers are thus enriched and complemented by vertical and horizontal arrangements of armorially accurate, painted banners – in a MS which thus approximates to certain kinds of armorial. The MS page in this wise becomes the chivalric equivalent of a liturgical or architectural memorial to the (senior) combatants, the writerly equivalent of a *chapelle ardente* or chantry chapel.

Heraldry in Froissart has its more ambivalent and ambiguous side. In Book II it occurs as part of an oppositional system whereby the coats, devices and other military attributes of the legitimate rulers of Flanders are contrasted with the sub-heraldry of the Flemish communes. This feature has been analysed elsewhere (by Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros and Peter Ainsworth). Emphasised here is the manner in which the 'synecdochic' spectacle of heraldry crushing anti-heraldry comes to convey, ironically, the growing dignity and strength of non-aristocratic political forces. However, the most disturbing heraldic reference in the *Chronicles* concerns a little-known antitype to the *bleue dame* over which Chandos and Marshal Clermont argue at the battle of Poitiers (they are each outraged to discover the other wearing the same embroidered device as a romantic charge sewn onto their surcoats). Blue is not only an intrinsically important heraldic colour; it acquires especial, but mysterious significance in Froissart's poetry, witness the 'Dit du Bleu Chevalier', currently attracting the sustained attention of scholars (two papers were exclusively devoted to it at the 1995 Amherst Colloquium, "Froissart across the genres"). The antitype referred to is the female Frisian freedom-fighter – dressed all in blue – who defies the massed chivalry of Hainault and Guelders as they come ashore, and who is mercilessly butchered for her pains.

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The Chronicle of the Kings of Navarre

David Alegría

Even though the chronical genre was widespread in Europe towards the end of the Middle Ages, this was not so in the kingdom of Navarre. *The Chronicle of the Kings of Navarre*, for example, is one of the few historiographical works of this kind existing in this small Pyrenean kingdom.

This work was the first attempt to prepare an exclusive history of considerable length and veracity of Navarre. In addition to making it the "official" history, its formal author, Charles, Prince of Viana (1421-1461), tried to justify his succession to the Navarrese throne, in contrast to the position of his stepfather, John of Aragon, king consort. Apparently, his work limited itself to just compiling ancient documentation on the history of the kingdom. However, behind this, was something more. Charles, wanted to make the historical values of the kingdom his own in order to reinforce his candidature to the Navarrese throne. Contrary to the desires of his father, he wished to present John of Aragon as someone removed from this very kingdom and as someone who had usurped a status which was not legitimate.

Preserved in twenty-six manuscripts, the chronicle was written up around 1454 in two successive recensions. Even though Charles was not the actual author of the main part of the work, his personal contribution can be clearly appreciated in the preface and epilogue of this work.

In preparing the chronicle, abundant internal documentation of the kingdom was compiled together with several extracts about the history of Navarre taken from other general and specific chronicles of the neighbouring kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and France.

Finally, this chronicle represented an invaluable step forward in the concept of History for that period, as critical selection of sources was employed for the first time in this kind of historiographical compilation. Later chroniclers were unable to emulate this work and limited themselves to simply adding more information.

A Manual on Irishness: Identity in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*

Thomasin Rovelli Alyxander

The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland is a record of an indigenous development of identity. Intermingled with the references to the Osraige dynasty and a general interest in Leinster affairs are discussions on what it meant to be Christian and what it meant to be Irish in the Middle Ages. It is not surprising that this ontological inquiry arose in the southeast of Ireland when this area experienced an increase in Viking aggression. Because the compiler is careful to distinguish between Norwegians and Danes, he appears to be creating a straw man out of the Norwegians to accept the responsibility for any internal Irish social turmoil. What a terrible thing it is, in the redactor's opinion, that the Irish do not occupy themselves usefully and stab these foreigners in the head. No, they fight among themselves and make common cause with the outsider. The Danes were also foreigners, but foreigners with the wisdom to swear allegiance to St. Patrick. These themes of enemy predation, religious affiliation, and political agendas are knitted together in such a way as to hint that part of the ecclesiastical community sought to promote the idea that to be Irish and to be Christian were synonymous.

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Die Wandmalereien von Montegiordano in Rom und die Tradition der Weltchroniken

Annelies Amberger

Von der Existenz der heute verlorenen Wandmalereien, die sich im Palast des Kardinals Giordano Orsini (1360er Jahre - 1438) auf dem Montegiordano in Rom befanden, zeugen ein Reisebericht Giovanni Rucellais und ein Passus in Filaretos Architekturtraktat. Der Zyklus wird von der Forschung in das Jahr 1432 bzw. kurz davor datiert und hauptsächlich Masolino da Panicale (1383 - nach 1435) und seiner Werkstatt zugeschrieben.

Der Zyklus zeigte in Form repräsentativ ausgewählter Helden der biblischen, der antiken sowie der römischen Geschichte und Mythologie eine Weltchronik in Protagonistenbildern von der Schaffung der Welt bis kurz nach 1395. Dieser große Zeitraum, die Einteilung der Heldenserie in sechs aetates und die Darstellung von die vier Elemente symbolisierenden Tieren erlauben eine Einordnung in die Kategorie der Weltchroniken und zugleich eine Unterscheidung von uomini-famosi-Zyklen.

Zeugnis von dem etwas über 400 Protagonisten umfassenden Zyklus geben, neben den oben genannten Quellen, acht in Handschriften des 15. und 16. Jh.s überlieferte Kopien der Bilder und Tituli.

Der Heldenreihe sind die vier Elemente vorangestellt. Die Figurenfolge beginnt mit Adam und Eva und endet mit der Jahreszahl 1395 und dem 1405 gestorbenen Mongolenkhan Tamerlan. Die Einteilung der sechs aetates folgt insgesamt der seit Augustinus (354-430) und Beda (672-745) verbreiteten Periodisierung des Weltgeschehens in sechs Zeitalter. Sie ist in Montegiordano folgende:

1. Adam-Tubalkain; 2. Noah-Ninus; 3. Abraham-Aletes; 4. David-Peisistratus;
5. Cambises-Oratius; 6. Geburt Christi-Tamerlan.

Die Tituli zu den einzelnen Figuren sind in der Regel kurz gefaßt. Sie geben Auskunft zu Stand und Funktion der Helden in ihrer Zeit. So lautet der Adam und Eva beigegebene Titulus: *primi parentes et fuerunt a principio mundi*. Peisistratus wird mit den Worten *Atheniensis tyrannus fuit hoc tempore*

vorgelegt. Einige der Helden tragen Bänder mit Zitaten aus ihren Schriften, so Aggäus, auf dessen Schriftband zu lesen ist: *veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus*. Die Mehrzahl der Figuren ist mit der knappen Bezeichnung *Propheta* oder *Philosophus* sowie *fuit eodem tempore* und dergleichen versehen.

Illustrierte Weltchroniken zeigen vorwiegend narrativ-szenische Textillustrationen. Der Chroniktext steht im Vordergrund, die Miniaturen sind in eher dienender Funktion eingesetzt. In Montegiordano wird die Weltgeschichte durch die Darstellung ihrer bedeutendsten Protagonisten vertreten. Die Tituli sagen nur das wichtigste über sie aus.

Die Idee von Protagonistenbildern ist jedoch auch in Chronikillustrationen herkömmlichen Typs bekannt. Oft werden sie bei der Darstellung von Genealogien eingesetzt, und sind in Form von Büsten oder Halbfiguren - oft eingeschrieben in Medaillons - in das Netz der vielfach kreuz und quer verlaufenden Geschlechterfolgen eingewoben. Ein illustriertes Exemplar der *chronologia magna* des Paolino Minorita (1270-1344) ist mit Federzeichnungen synchronistisch angeordneter Halbfigurenbilder von Helden der Weltgeschichte geschmückt. Die Tatsache der Textreduktion und der vermehrten Aufnahme von Tabellen mit Protagonistenbildern weist auf die Umkehrung des Systems hin, bei dem die Bilder den Text illustrieren. In Montegiordano treten die Bilder in den Vordergrund und nehmen eine dem Text eher übergeordnete Rolle ein.

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Fortune in Guelph Accounts of the Sicilian Vespers: Fra Paolino and Boccaccio

David Anderson

During the fourteenth century, the Guelph capitals of Avignon and Naples produced a number of universal chronicles in which the broad design of providential history could be represented, analyzed, and indexed for the convenience of preachers or polemicists. It was a topic with political implications, especially in connection with Papal-Angevin government in Southern Italy. One chronicle from this Guelph milieu, Fra Paolino's *Satyrical History*, addresses the topic directly in an appended treatise, and indirectly in its narrative.

Fra Paolino's 'curial' view of the history of the Angevins in Italy can be compared with Boccaccio's account in his *De casibus*.

Epic and History: Konrad's *Rolandslied* and the Chronicles of Otto of Freising/Rahewin, Helmold of Bosau, and Arnold of Luebeck

Konrad's German adaptation of the Roland epic intersects with three great chronicles of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Its patron, Henry the Lion, is an important player in Otto of Freising's and Rahewin's *Gesta Frederici*, as loyal ally of Frederick Barbarossa in his earlier Italian campaigns, in Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum*, as awkward ally of the Church in the crusading wars to conquer and convert the transalbanian Slavs, and in Arnold of Luebeck's *Chronica*, as pilgrim to Jerusalem and as rival of and rebel against Barbarossa. Henry's court in Braunschweig offers a possible place of contact between the clerical writers, Konrad, Helmold and Arnold; Konrad's function as ducal capellanus may easily have taken him to the imperial court. As the epilogue of the *Rolandslied* makes plain, the epic is part of Henry's grandiose project to promote his quasi-royal status, and it is meant to give ideological underpinning to his Slav crusade, to the expansion of ducal power and Christian faith east of the Elbe. Comparison of epic and chronicles will show how Konrad shares vital concepts, values, and language of his politico-religious discourse with the three chronicles. With Otto of Freising and Helmold he shares too the validation of late twelfth-century imperial and territorial-princely lordship and crusade by appeal to the authority and depiction of Carolingian history.

The paper thus establishes some important shared functions of historiographical chronicle and historical epic and raises questions of generic overlap (theme 1). A particular common feature is the presentation in chronicle and epic of historical prototypes and exemplars of lordship and holy war for patrons and audiences at the imperial and Saxon ducal courts: the figural function of the Carolingian past for the twelfth-century present.

Narrative and Explanation in German Chronicles of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

Sverre Bagge

My paper forms part of a larger project on the development of political historiography from the ninth century (Einhard) till the sixteenth (Guicciardini), in which the German tradition up to the twelfth century has a prominent part. My main interest is historical; I want to treat the chronicles as political history and as sources for changing attitudes to human nature and actions and ideas of society. However, they can only be used in this way through a careful analysis of their composition, narrative style, and selection of materials. In contrast to many earlier analyses of the ideas of medieval historians, which have been mainly concerned with explicit statements and key concepts, I want to focus on the narrative. How do the authors select their facts? What do they include and what do they omit, and what do they treat in more or less detail? Medieval chronicles are usually episodic, often in such a way that there seems to be little connection between the events, and consequently, no real attempt at explanation, as for instance W. J. Brandt maintains (*The Shape of Medieval History*, 1966). However, as the chroniclers probably wrote for readers with a lot of background knowledge which we lack, their contemporaries were probably able to make more sense of their accounts than we do.

In my paper, I examine two eleventh century German chronicles: Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* from the beginning of the century and Lampert of Hersfeld's *Annales* from its end. Thietmar immediately seems like a perfect example of Brandt's medieval chronicler. His work is incoherent, apparently shows little political understanding, and makes few attempts at explanation, at least what we would call rational explanation. Thietmar seems to live in a strange world, where miracles and portents belong to the order of the day and in which God constantly intervenes to punish the wicked and reward the just. Nevertheless, Thietmar also occasionally shows a clear understanding of secular politics which he demonstrates in his detailed narrative of Henry II's manoeuvres to succeed Otto III in 1002. Thietmar's failure as a political historian in most other cases is therefore not the result of his failure to understand

politics but rather of his lack of interest in it.

By contrast, the main bulk of Lampert's *Annales*, dealing with the early part of the reign of Henry IV (1056-1077), forms a continuous narrative with a plot, focused on Henry's attempts to subdue the Saxons and the gradual mobilisation of Saxon resistance which, in the end, involves the whole of Germany. Lampert shares Thietmar's moral and religious approach to history, he has his saints and his villains, and he occasionally gives a supernatural interpretation of events. Nevertheless, the change in consistent narrative and explanation almost seems like an intellectual revolution.

Two examples are not sufficient to conclude that such a revolution has taken place. Moreover, Lampert is no average medieval chronicler. He is deeply influenced by his classical reading and in some respects anticipates renaissance historiography. He is also exceptional among clerical historians in mainly seeking his explanations in human motives and political issues. The main trend in the eleventh and twelfth centuries seems to be in the direction of religious interpretation, as illustrated by authors like Wipo, Otto of Freising, and the author of the anonymous *Vita Heinrici Quarti*. However, this interpretation is both more strongly linked to an idea of the state and intellectually more developed and consistent than the one to be found in Thietmar. The explanation for this development must be sought both in the renewal of classical learning in Germany in the eleventh century and - mainly - in the challenges presented by the great political, religious, and intellectual struggles in late eleventh century Germany, usually referred to as the Investiture Contest.

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Narration, Rhetorik und Metatext in *Cronica Principum Poloniae*

Piotr Bering

Zu den wichtigsten Kategorien, mit deren Hilfe die moderne Literaturwissenschaft diverse literarische Werke analysiert, gehört *Textkohärenz*. Bei den Forschungen nach *innerer Perspektive des Satzes* sind auch zwei andere Termini behilflich: *Metatext* und *Delimitation des Textes*. Alle diese Kategorien werden sehr oft in den Recherchen der modernen Werke verwendet. Die Forscher, die sich mit den früheren Epochen befassen, benutzen relativ häufiger die andere, nicht selten aus 19 Jhs. stammende Terminologie. Jeder Versuch der Analyse der mittelalterlichen Literatur mit den Begriffen der modernen Texttheorie bedeutet auch die Notwendigkeit der Aneignung dieser Begriffe zur Struktur des mittelalterlichen Textes.

In der mittelalterlichen Chroniken kann man unterscheiden: sowohl die Fragmente, in denen vor allem sachliche Narration dominiert, als auch solche, die viele rhetorische Mittel enthalten. Den Meta-

text bilden die verbalisierte Konstruktionen, die den Leser über die Narration und ihre Grenzen informieren. Diese metatextuellen Bemerkungen spielen eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Analyse der Textkohärenz und ermöglichen präzise die Delimitation des Textes durchzuführen.

Cronica Principum Poloniae wurde von Peter von Pitschen (Piotr z Byczyny) (in Schlesien) im 14. Jh. geschrieben. Als die Vorlage dienten dem Autor direkt *Cronica Polono-Silesiaca* und anhand ihrer Vermittlung frühere polnische Chroniken: *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadz̄ubek Cronica Polonorum* und *Cronica Galli Anonymi*. Die ältere Forscher (Schaube, Schulte, Stenzel, Włclewski) hielten, daß *Cronica Principum Poloniae* eine "fast mechanische Bearbeitung" von *Cronica Polono-Silesiaca* ist. Die neuere Forschungen von Prof. Roman Heck bewiesen die Originalität dieser Chronik. Diese Feststellungen sind durch die Analyse der Textkohärenz verstärkt.

Man trifft in dieser Chronik, ziemlich komplizierte Konstruktionen, z.B. in welchen ein Thema durch zwei verschiedene Rhemata ergänzt wird. Nicht selten umfaßt das initiale Teil einer Aussage einen Kapitelausgang und das ergänzende Teil enthält einen Anfang des anderen Kapitels.

Sowohl die Struktur der Narration und des Metatextes, als auch der Wechsel der Erzählungsart oder Einsetzen mannigfaltiger rhetorischen Mittel tragen sich direkt zur Schlußfolgerung bei, daß die Quellen der Erudition von Peter reichere - als es gedacht wurde - sind. Der Autor erwähnt einige, von ihm benutzte, Quellen. Der Einfluß von Gallus Anonymus kann man in der Narrationsart und in der Rhetorik beobachten. Es ist auch möglich, daß Peter von Pitschen *Magistri Vincentii... Cronica Polonorum* ohne Mittelbarkeit der *Cronica Polono-Silesiaca* benutzte. Deswegen können die modernen Methoden auch bei traditioneller Quellenkritik nützlich sein.

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The Commemorating Function of Chronicles. Patrons and Gifts in Chronicles from the Diocese of Liège, 11th - 12th Centuries

Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld

It is well-known that chronicles or *gesta* written by canons and monks during the eleventh and twelfth centuries not only served to record the history of their diocese, chapter or monastery, but also to enhance the veneration of the patron saint(s) of their institution, to defend its rights and landed property, and to commemorate its patrons and their gifts. These donations, which mostly concerned landed property and spiritual rights, such as churches and tithes, were sometimes simultaneously recorded in charters which often have not been preserved. But eleventh- and twelfth-century property transactions were not exclusively recorded in contemporary charters of donation. Often their memory is only preserved in non-diplomatic recordings.

These recordings were made in a period in which a charter was not yet the sole lawful evidence to

proof one's right to a property. Therefore, often no charter was drawn up at all: the transaction was only recorded in a *liber traditionum*, in an obituary or in an other sacred liturgical codex such as an evangelary. Finally, we also find the recording of property transactions (including complete charters) as well as the commemoration of donors in chronicles. Until the end of the twelfth century these ways of putting down in writing property transactions for future generations were, next to 'authentic' sealed charters, far more frequent than can be gathered from preserved charter collections and cartularies, let alone from modern editions of charters. However, for contemporaries the recordings of transactions in a non-authentic way, even those in monastic, canonical and episcopal chronicles or liturgical books, had evidential value too. The sacrosanct character of these codices, which often were kept near or on the altar, supposedly contributed to the safety and defense of the institution's patrimony.

By means of the study of two chronicles written in the diocese of Liège in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I investigated **the function of chronicles for the recording of property transactions and the commemoration of patrons**. The examples are the *Cantatorium sive Chronicon Sancti Huberti* of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Hubert, finished in about 1106, and the so-called *Annales Rodenses*, written some time between 1150 and 1180 in the abbey of Augustinian Canons at Rolduc.

This study is part of my research project, entitled "Gift Exchange as an Agent of Social and Political Integration in the Region between the rivers Maas, Demer and Scheldt during the High Middle Ages (*circa* 950 - *circa* 1250)", in which I study the interactions and the interplay between aristocracy and religious institutions by means of their gifts and counter-gifts. My aim is to establish what the secular elite gained in terms of spiritual rewards, social prestige and even political power by donating their landed property, such an important part of their position of power, to religious institutions. For this, the question in what way these donations were recorded and how the generous benefactors were commemorated within and outside the religious community, is a crucial one.

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Livening up the truth?

Direct discourse in the Old French *Pseudo-Turpin*, in the chronicles of the Fourth Crusade by Robert de Clari and Geoffrey de Villehardouin, and in Arthurian prose and verse romances

Frank Brandsma

The Old French *Pseudo-Turpin* and Geoffroi de Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* are often put forward by literary scholars as texts which have influenced stylistic innovations in vernacular literature in general and in Arthurian romance especially. Like the use of prose and the narrative technique of interlace, the presentation of direct discourse may demonstrate this connection between romance and chronicle. In my paper I have tried to shed some light on the way Old French prose chronicles represent spoken words by means of an analysis of the components in the units of direct discourse and by a comparison of the results of this analysis with the analyses of direct discourse in Arthurian verse and prose romances.

Speaking very generally, there are two systems to the presentation of direct discourse: either the text gives components like the speaker and the inquit **before** the actual speech (Category 1, e.g. "il demanda: `Qui est cil Criz en cui tu croiz?"), or it incorporates these elements in the spoken words, dividing the discourse into two speeches (Category 2, e.g. "'C'est', dist Rollanz, `li filz Deu Nostre Pere"). The three versions of the Old French *Pseudo-Turpin* (see below under 'Texts analysed') use units of the first category most often; units of the second category appear mainly in the rare (but elaborate) dialogues. The texts show relatively few units of direct discourse. The same goes for Villehardouin and Clari. These two chronicles also prefer units of the first category and have few dialogues. Prose romances, on the other hand, abound with dialogue and that results in a preference for units of the second category. The one verse romance analyzed as a control sample, turned out to resemble the prose chronicles in its preference for units of category 1, even though it showed as many dialogues as the prose romances.

Since it may be easier to read units of the first category (where elements like the 'speaker', the 'inquit formula' and the 'addressee' are given before the actual spoken words) aloud to an audience, the notion of different modes of performance and reception pops up. Perhaps the chronicles and the verse romance were meant to be listened to and the romances to be read in the modern sense of the word? However, this would be jumping to conclusions, especially since there seems to be a system to the presentation of dialogues, a system that – once grasped – may have been quite distinctive and recognizable for the performer: the texts tend to use a unit of the first category to begin a dialogue, formally introducing the spoken words in this manner, and only after that use units of the second category, which then need no longer surprise the performer or the listeners.

Further research is necessary, but perhaps thus a textual explanation for the signaled differences in the analyses may be found. The majority of the units in the prose chronicles stand on their own as small islands in a stream of narrative and need the formal profile of category 1, like a dike separating them from their context. In the prose romances, the units are usually combined in dialogues, and only when a dialogue is properly on its way do the prose chronicles come up with units of the second category. Since in the prose romances dialogues dominate, it seems natural that units of the second category prevail as well. When it came to making the characters speak, the authors of romance and chronicle each had their own techniques to liven up the narrative.

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Chronicles of Fifteenth-Century Lucca: Contributions to an Understanding of the Restored Republic

M. E. Bratchel

The Italian chronicle tradition is represented primarily by the so-called *cronache cittadine*. For the twelfth century, the study of Tuscan chronicles has focused on Pisa; from the fourteenth century interest has centred on Florence. In this respect, as in others, Lucca is among the most neglected of Italian cities. The neglect is to be explained partly by an excessive concern with Florence, particularly by English-speaking scholars. But more specific factors have also impeded the dissemination of Lucchese chronicles.

Few chronicles have survived from Lucca for the period between the death of Giovanni Sercambi

in 1424 and the resurgence of historical writing in the early sixteenth century. Excluding Nicolao Tegrini's humanist biography of Castruccio Castracani, I am aware of only three works: Alessandro Streggi, *Cronache di Lucca scritte in ottava rima*; Alessandro Boccella, *Historie Lucchesi*; and canon Giorgio Franciotti, *Compendium Historiarum Civitatis Lucensis*. Of these, only Streggi is available, partially, in a published edition. These fragmentary contemporary accounts of the eventful decades following the restoration of the Lucchese republic in 1430 are supplemented - though hardly profusely - by local chronicles emanating from the *contado*; by family chronicles (*ricordanze*); and by institutional (largely monastic) chronicles. The totality of the fifteenth-century Lucchese chronicle record provides the material for my paper.

Much has been written about developments taking place in Italian historiography between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The chief concern of my paper will be to assess the Lucchese chronicles against the wider transitions posited for Italian, particularly Tuscan, historiography. Of fundamental importance here is the historical context, or more accurately the set of interacting contexts invoked by more recent guides to the study of texts. I have written elsewhere of fifteenth-century Lucca as a highly distinctive community in the context of Renaissance Italy. I believe that the Lucchese chronicles both illustrate and help to explain this distinctiveness.

Though the focus of my paper will be on the Lucchese chronicle tradition *per se*, as a socio-political, socio-economic historian my own past interest in the chronicles has been as a historical source rather than as a historiographical or literary genre. As a subsidiary theme, I shall be reflecting throughout on the distinctive value of the chronicles for historical reconstruction. This would seem a particularly apposite question for the historian of the fifteenth century, so much better furnished than scholars of an earlier period with a profligacy of - apparently more objective - documentary material.

The *Brut y Tywysogyon* and Irish History

Douglas Carver

The Welsh *Brut y Tywysogyon*, or *The Chronicle of the Princes*, has been recognized by Thomas Jones, one of its translators, as an important source of history for Medieval Wales, and as one which should be consulted for the history of England, France and Germany. For some reason, Jones neglected to note that the *Brut* is an excellent source of history for Ireland. Ireland is a frequent stage of events in the chronicle, and the people of Ireland often appear in the events the *Brut* records. This paper will constitute an analysis of the Irish references in the *Brut*. The references can be broken down into five general categories: relations between Ireland and Wales; relations between Ireland and the Anglo (Cambro) - Normans/English; mentions of purely Irish or Hiberno-Norse affairs; religious references; and miscellaneous references. Analysis of these references will show how questions of geography, provenance, and bias colour and change the nature of a chronicle, and also will show the importance the view of 'outsider' has for the study of a country's history. A chronicle's function (Theme 2) is often taken to be a history of local interests. The study of Irish references in the *Brut* demonstrates the value a chronicle has to the modern historian, how a chronicle can be made to exercise a broader function than that for which it was written.

A Chronicle from Laon

Krijnie Ciggaar

The Chronicle written in Laon, known as *Anonymus Laudunensis*, *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis*, *Chronicon Laudunensis* or *Annales Laudunenses*, was written by an anonymous monk in Laon in the first half of the thirteenth century. Already in the nineteenth century scholars who had published fragments of the chronicle or had referred to certain passages, expressed their regrets that the chronicle was not available in its entirety. In 1909 Cartellieri and W. Stechele published a larger part of it, the period from 1154 to 1219, the very end of the chronicle. Unfortunately this edition is not easily available (no copy in the Netherlands).

Earlier commentators have referred to the sometimes exclusive character of the chronicle. More than once a historical event has only been preserved in this chronicle, which poses problems as for its models. For example, an embassy sent by the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus in the early 1170s to king Henry II of England to ask him to send his son John as future husband for the emperor's daughter is only found in this text. Other examples can be brought forward.

The author's taste for fantastic stories has not always been to his credit. Indeed, the anonymous monk has sometimes inserted miracle stories or stories with a 'fantastic' character which are sometimes confirmed by reliable Byzantine historians. The background of the anonymous monk, sometimes thought to have been an English Praemonstratensian monk, remains unclear. A further search of his work may reveal personal remarks or statements which may bring to light unknown aspects of his origins and eventually reveal his identity. This is also true of the historical sources which he used. One has to take into consideration that he was active at Laon, an important centre of learning from the early Middle Ages onwards. The Cathedral school of Laon had a splendid reputation. Scholars from all over Western Europe came to Laon. In an earlier period the Greek language had been one of the intellectual interests. The city disposed of various libraries, witness the hundreds of manuscripts still preserved in the Municipal Library of Laon. A first glance reveals that Marianus Scotus and Sigebert of Gembloux were among his models. Elsewhere the author mentions a book kept in the library of the abbey of St. Vincent.

The special character of this World Chronicle is accentuated by the wide interest, shown by the author and/or his patron(s), in the world around them. France, England, Flanders, Germany, the Norman states and the Crusader states, Italy and Hungary and even Spain, and last but not least the Byzantine empire, they all figure in this historical survey of the 11th and 12th centuries. Another interesting aspect of the chronicle are the occasional vernacular *spuria* which may interest linguists. A further study of this chronicle, and possibly a more complete edition, are thus a *desideratum*.

Reconstructing Ancient History

Paul M. Clogan

The *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cesar*, the earliest ancient history written in Old French, reveals early thirteenth-century perception of the *romans antiques* and the historiographer's strategy in the transposition of verse romances into prose texts. Although Paul Meyer called attention to its literary significance in 1885, the text remains unedited, though it has spawned some critical interest. The seventy widely divergent extant manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne*, many with illustrations, some dating from ca. 1300, bear witness to its contemporary significance. The authorship of the *Histoire ancienne* has been attributed to Wachier de Denain, a thirteenth-century translator, and the work is dedicated to Roger, Chatelain de Lille. The text creates "history" from "literary" romance sources and reveals a close relationship between the two, manifesting generic transposition and preference for moralization.

Early vernacular historiography often served the purpose of an important family or dynasty who sought to glorify lineage and military adventures, and moralization became characteristic of the historian's way of evaluating events in an impartial or non-annalistic manner. This paper focuses on the reconstruction and use of Theban history in this universal chronicle.

Chronicle Sources for the Italian Architecture of the Fifteenth Century

Giordano Conti

La tradition de la chronique italienne trouve son origine au cours du Moyen-Age lorsque, dans de nombreuses villes communales et seigneuriales, on compose des *historie* dictées par les faits locaux et les suggestions phantastiques provenant du monde externe. On trouve un témoignage dans ce sens dans le répertoire établi en époque moderne par L.A. Muratori: *Rerum italicarum scriptores*. L'apport, offert par les chroniques dans la reconstruction d'événements spécifiques du point de vue artistique et culturel, n'a jamais été pris suffisamment en considération, peut-être, parce que retenu, chaque fois, obscur, peu important, peu fiable. Une analyse comparée des chroniques et des documents d'archive permet, au contraire, de définir plus clairement la vie et les événements quotidiens des moments historiques les plus significatifs. C'est le cas du passage délicat entre Moyen-Age et Renaissance qui voit apparaître, en Italie, au cours du XV siècle, un épanouissement extraordinaire dans le champs de l'architecture.

La relation veut examiner, en particulier, les événements connexes à certains chantiers de constructions, qui marquent un véritable tournant dans le nouveau cours de l'architecture du début de l'humanisme. A commencer par Florence, où Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, considéré le biographe de Brunelleschi, raconte le parcours des projets de certaines oeuvres fondamentales comme la coupole de S. Maria del Fiore, l'hôpital des Innocenti, les églises de S. Lorenzo et S.Spirito. Une autre source importante pour Urbino est Vespasiano da Bisticci: sa biographie de Federico da Montefeltro représente, en effet, un fresque splendide sur les problèmes affrontés pendant la construction du Palais Ducal. A Cesena un chroniqueur peu connu, Giuliano Fantaguzzi, raconte dans son *Caos*, la grande activité de Malatesta Novello des Malatesti pour le renouvellement de la ville et la réalisation de la fameuse bibliothèque humaniste. Une appréciation plus approfondie de la source des chroniques peut, en fait, porter à une connaissance encore plus vaste et détaillée d'un événement historique, connu sous certains aspects, comme la première Renaissance italienne.

Fouke le Fitzwaryn as a 'Chronicle Romance' of the Anglo-Norman Barony

Marc Couacaud

Provincial English heroes whose local affiliations "read like an itinerary of the realm" (Susan Crane, *Insular Romance*, 1986) are the protagonists of six Anglo-Norman romances written in the late 12th or early 13th centuries and later translated into Middle English, those of Horn, Havelok, Bevis, Guy, Fulk and Waldef. Recently scholars have begun to argue that the accepted term 'ancestral romances' is a misnomer for these, and Crane categorizes them among her 'insular romances' because their interest transcends family. Unlike the famous medieval romances of love and chivalry, these are stories in which, as Crane says, "political interests become universal goals as the hero's impulse toward personal achievement supports a broader, impersonal impulse toward social stability This poetic conception of noble life is grounded in the barony's history" (Crane, 14). Accepting her argument that this handful of romances supports the Anglo-Norman barons' cause against the increasingly arbitrary acts of their rulers, and observing their typical connection with specifically local history and interests, I propose that they may be considered the barony's response to the more formal and geographically broad national chronicle supportive of the power of rulers. Thus these six romances about English heroes may be designated 'chronicle romances' to acknowledge their affinity with chronicle in being rooted in authentic time and place and to a large degree presented as history, while being distinct from the chronicles' wider and more

royalist focus.

I will use *Fouke le Fitzwaryn*, the Shropshire romance about Fulk, to exemplify this unique type of 'chronicle romance' that proceeds chronologically, is emphatically attached to verifiable events and topography, yet includes digressions of pure romance fantasy to provide narrative coverage for periods of time not historically documented. Fulk's romance is a good story, little known, and lends itself well to my purpose of isolating this early and unusual romance genre.

Genealogies and Genealogical Chronicles: Their Function and Use in Noble Milieus (13th-14th Century)

Godfried Croenen

It is now widely accepted that medieval genealogical texts had an ideological function. By describing in detail the ancient ancestry and filiation of a ruling house, often tracing back the origins of the family to a mythical or hypothetical forebear, they served to prove the legitimacy of kings and princes. The appearance of the first such texts in the eleventh century has been linked to the emergence of a new type of noble kinship structure, the lineage (Fr. 'lignage'), a 'vertically' organised dynasty, in which the eldest son had precedence over his younger siblings and in which the male line was much more important than the female line.

This type of genealogy can be characterised as an 'ancestor oriented' type. In the 13th century appeared another type of genealogy, often incorporated in a chronicle. These new genealogies were different in that they not only described the male line of succession, but the complete descent of a founding couple and their children, both through male and female lines. Using examples like the *Chronique de Baudouin d'Avesnes* and the *Lignages d'Outremer*, I will point out the differences between this new 'descent oriented' type and the well-known 'ancestor oriented' type. I will suggest possible functions of the 'descent oriented' type for the noble milieu, namely as records of kinship ties. Finally, I will investigate what conclusions can be drawn for the history of noble kinship structure.

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Abstract Velthem Workshop:

**Court and Nobility in Brabant:
The *Continuation* of Vincentius' *Speculum historiale* and its Historical Context**

In the beginning of the fourteenth century Lodewijk van Velthem, after completing Van Maerlant's translation into the vernacular of the *Speculum historiale*, also wrote a *Voortzetting* (*Continuation*). Although he dedicated this *Voortzetting* to Gerard van Voorne, one of the leading nobles of Zeeland, new research suggests that originally he might have had an Brabantine audience in mind.

In this session Tom Hage will present the evidence supporting this argument. In my paper I will focus on the situation of the Brabantine nobility in the beginning of the fourteenth century, trying to identify prominent families and individuals who might have been in contact with Van Velthem and for whom he might have conceived his *Voortzetting*.

**The Romancer as Historian:
Authorial Strategies in Benoît de Saint-Maure's
*Chronique des Ducs de Normandie***

Peter Damian-Grint

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, the author of the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, is generally accepted to have previously written a *roman antique*, the *Roman de Troie*. This permits us to raise a number of questions about how he saw the nature of his work as a historian.

There are a number of elements of discourse in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* which are typical of the group of verse histories written in England or in connection with the English court. These point to an understanding on the part of Benoît that his *Chronique* was an *estoire*, a historical work of a different type from the *roman antique* he had previously composed, though he may also have used common stylistic elements in both works.

In establishing the nature of the *Chronique* as a piece of historiography, this study focuses on Benoît's own presentation of his *persona* as a historian. This is seen in the use he makes in the *Chronique* of a form of *exordium* taken from the model of the Latin *historia*; in the author's self-presentation to the audience as a learned and scholarly writer; and in the frequent use of authorial interjections to strengthen the authoritative nature of the text by means of reference to sources and to the historian's task of critical evaluation of the sources.

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Stil und Quellen in den Chroniken des Richard von San Germano und Bartholomaeus von Neocastro

Edoardo D'Angelo

Es ist möglich die Ergebnisse dieser Forschung in den folgenden Punkten zu resumieren:

1. es existieren, in der mittellateinischen und mittelalterlichen Sekundärliteratur, keine Spezialuntersuchungen über Sprache, Stil und (eventuelle) Metrik der italienischen Chroniken des XIII. Jahrhunderts;

2. aber gerade die 'Form' der Erzählung stellt vielleicht das wichtigste Element eines Textes dar, um die ästhetische, ethische, politische u.s.w. 'Ideologie' eines Verfassers zu verstehen. Das trifft in besonderer Weise zu auf Geschichtsschreiber wie Richard von San Germano, die ein historiographisches Prosimetrum verfasst hat (*Chronica*), und auf Bartholomaeus von Neocastro, der gleich zweimal ein historiographisches Werk, zuerst in dactylischen Hexametern, das zweite mal in Prosa geschaffen hat (*Historia Sicula*);

3. in diesem Aufsatz werden kleine Abschnitte aus den Werken des Richard und Bartholomaeus analysiert: der Prolog der Chronik des Notars von Montecassino und das Kapitel 120 aus jener des sizilianischen Richters;

4. eine neue und strengere Analyse der Quellen des Prologs der 'zweiten' Chronik des Richard (neue Entdeckungen: Ovid, das zweite Buch der Makkabäer, das Lukas-Evangelium) zeigt, dass das Selbstbewusstsein des Notars als Geschichtsschreiber ist ganz anders als wie Carlo Alberto Garufi, in seiner Edition des Textes, dachte;

5. neuer Text, kritischer Apparat und Quellenapparat des Prologs der 'zweiten' Chronik des Richard von San Germano;

6. eine Erhellung der Beziehungen zwischen den zwei Redaktionen der Chronik des Bartholomaeus von Neocastro ist sehr nützlich, weil sie uns erlaubt, einen etwaigen Wechsel in der historiographischen Optik oder der politischen Ideologie des Autors während der Periode 1283-1285 und 1292-1294 (als die zwei Versionen verfasst wurden) zu überprüfen. In dieser Hinsicht könnte eine stilistische Prüfung der Kapitel der Chronik, die von König Jacob von Aragon haldeln, erweisen, ob diese Kapitel ein versifizierter Text zugrundeliegt oder nicht; in anderen Worten, wenn die Kapitel 100-124 deutliche Spuren eines metrischen Substrats enthalten, hätten wir den Beweis dafür, dass die metrische Version mit dem Jahr 1283 nicht geendet hat;

7. Entdeckung von vielen klassischen (Vergil, Lukan, Ovid) und biblischen Einflüssen im Kapitel 120 der *Historia Sicula*. Analyse der cursus im Kapitel 120;

Dieser Aufsatz will nur die Probleme anreissen, vor die uns die Werke des Richard von San Germano und des Bartholomaeus von Neocastro stellen, und eine 'Anregung' sein, diese literarischen Forschungen fortzuführen. Erst wenn die Werke der beiden Chronisten in ihrer Gesamtheit analysiert sein werden, wird es möglich sein, neue, sichere Ergebnisse festzustellen.

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The *Fleur des Histoires* and the Visualization of History at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court

Lisa Deam

One of the most sumptuous illustrated chronicles to be produced at the fifteenth-century Burgundian court of Duke Philip the Good (1419-69) was the *Fleur des Histoires* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, mss. 9231-9232), a compendium of universal history written by court functionary Jean Mansel and illustrated by several prominent illuminators, including Simon Marmion. Although the *Fleur* was probably not commissioned by Philip the Good himself, it entered his collection before 1467 and can thus be considered as part of his large collection of illuminated chronicles. While the miniatures in the *Fleur des Histoires* have been the subject of intense stylistic scrutiny, their contribution to courtly historiography has received little scholarly attention. Through careful examination of the *Fleur*'s images, I attempt to move the discourse on chronicle illumination from questions of workshop production and stylistic identities to a discussion of how these images organized history in distinctly visual ways. In particular, it is my contention that the miniatures in the *Fleur des Histoires* would have appealed to a ruler such as Philip the Good because of their innovative technique of continuous narration, a method in which the same figures are repeated several times in one pictorial composition. By employing this narrative convention, the miniatures in the *Fleur des Histoires* helped the Burgundian viewer to order and remember past events so that they would be useful in the present.

In the *Fleur*'s miniatures, the multiple narrative scenes are scattered over the image space in landscapes of breadth and diversity. In their visual structure and geographical definition, the miniatures are reminiscent of world maps, such as that pictured toward the end of volume one of the *Fleur*. Like many medieval maps, the miniatures serve to organize historical narratives by means of space. For example, the fact that the same figures appear in different geographical spaces in each miniature alerts the viewer that these figures are seen at different points in time. These events are strung together into narratives in various ways. The arrangement of events in some miniatures seems to encourage a chronological and typological viewing of historical events, which is especially appropriate since these are two narrative structures typical of universal chronicles. In other miniatures, however, scenes are scattered in the landscapes in a way that precludes a simple chronological reading, as if inviting the viewer him- or herself to construct the most pleasing narrative order. Beyond providing these different narrative possibilities, continuous narration in the *Fleur des Histoires* was also very likely a mnemonic structure that was meant to help the viewer remember events by connecting them with distinctive spaces. It thus served a didactic function common to much medieval historiography.

Finally, the *Fleur*'s miniatures served to connect past and present in Philip the Good's political program. Their expansive narratives and map-like structure encouraged the viewing of past events, including the history of the Belgians, as part of a divinely inspired, universal plan. These miniatures may have provided Philip the Good with a visual justification for his own attempts at territorial expansion and encouraged his desire to put Burgundy on the world map.

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The Use of Chronicles in Recreating Medieval Military History

Kelly DeVries

While it might be possible to neglect narrative historical sources in recreating other genres of medieval history, it is virtually impossible to write medieval military history without relying almost totally on the chronicle. But this approach is fraught with problems. As J.F. Verbruggen pointed out in his *De krijgkunst in west-europa in de middeleeuwen (IXe tot XIVe eeuw)* more than forty years ago, the scholar attempting to write medieval military history must be acutely aware not only of the chronicler's nationality and presence (or lack thereof) at the military event, but also of his locality, vocation,

education, and agenda; even whether the chronicler chose to write in Latin or a vernacular should be taken into account. To Verbruggen, whose book is to be released in a new edition and translation during the upcoming year, this meant that the task of writing medieval military history was an onerous one which should not, but had too often been, taken too lightly by modern historians.

Drawing on my own experiences in writing *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology*, to be published by Boydell and Brewer Press in May 1996, I will revisit the discussion begun by Verbruggen. In my book I attempt to detail what happened in nineteen battles fought throughout Europe between 1302 and 1347. As such I was required to use numerous narrative sources (more than 100) written by authors of many different vocations, nationalities, attitudes, and educations; some were written in Latin, while others were written in their various vernacular languages. Most were not present at the events they discussed. While recognizing Verbruggen's cautions, I found that in most cases these chronicle sources, when cross referenced against each other, regardless of the nationality of the author, could be quite trustworthy witnesses of military history. While this might indicate more of a connection among the writers of these chronicles than has previously been believed, I feel that for military history at least chronicles can be a very useful source of historical research.

Troughs of Fortune

Isabel de Barros Dias

The Portuguese circa 1400 version of *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* belongs to a family of chronicles written in the Iberian Peninsula after the compiling work of King Afonso X of Castile and Leon, *Primera Crónica General de España* (1270-75). The texts in this family form a complex structure of mutual dependences and innovations.

Bearing in mind the dialogical character of these chronicles, it is possible to consider, from a rhetorical point of view, how they set forth some largely widespread clichés: historical awareness and memory as a process for overcoming physical death. Two distinct levels can be taken into account: the theoretical considerations on the subjects and the literary devices used to convey them. It is then possible to estimate whether the actual use of the *topoi* or *loci* match the explicit excerpts on those problems or if, on the contrary, they diverge from one another.

Remembrance is a most attractive weapon against time and oblivion. In general terms, the relationship between chronicles and the recollection of exploits is presented as twofold:

1. on the one hand it is said that people seek to perform more and more valuable deeds and great achievements when they know it will be known not only by their contemporaries but also by those to come
2. on the other hand those to come will profit from the good and bad examples set before them by the chronicler and will then be able to improve their behaviour.

The use of *topoi* like fame, Gothic heritage and duties towards ancestors is skilful, converging to create an ideological pillar, one of the paradigms around which the textual tissue of these chronicles is weaved. References are carefully placed throughout the text in order to convince the reader and to keep in his mind the ideological messages put forward.

Other *topoi* such as doubt and references to the wheel of fortune do not acknowledge only a wholly positive view of writing. They can be used in different if not opposed ways and set forth a deep awareness of the power of writing.

The chronicler derives his status from his power of choice and capacity to influence what he writes about, turning historical events into a mirror of his own intentions. Being referred to in a chronicle is an achievement in itself, kept only for those who deserve it.

Life is short compared to the possibilities of the infinite time of memory. Fernão Gonçalves is a character that sets a paradigm. He moves frenetically between the two times that the chronicle relates: a human lifetime (a relative time) and eternity (absolute time). This is destiny, both a blessing and curse

for epic heroes since Antiquity: being fated to be superior to ordinary men, they cannot reach divinity, remaining in an indecision responsible for the tension in their lives. Fernão Gonçalves races against death, time and oblivion. He needs to increase his territory and to be worthy of a space in memory. He cannot afford to lose any time for every minute is precious in the fight to overcome destruction by the troughs of the noria of fortune and subsequent oblivion in a river of forgetfulness.

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A Millennium of Gaelic Chronicling

David N. Dumville

Chronicling appears to have begun in the Gaelic world in the mid-sixth-century. A continuous tradition of record, expanding, combining, and re-combining local and national records, reached its culmination in the Counter-reformation era with the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* by the Four Masters, who were working in the 1630s. The earliest texts, which must be reconstructed by historical, linguistic, and text-historical analysis, contained in laconic notices, mostly in Latin, within an annalistic format. While by the end of the middle ages Gaelic chronicles had become very substantial, in part loquacious, and largely vernacular, nonetheless the genre remained resolutely annalistic, essentially eschewing speculation about cause and effect in the sequence of events recorded.

The Gaelic chronicle nevertheless took its origin in a literary genre known in the late Roman world. Its development in Ireland and North Britain was from the conventions of that form. English chronicling, at least in part, derived from Gaelic models and its products were in their turn exported from England to influence and underpin a number of Frankish annalistic chronicles of the eighth and ninth centuries. In spite of this, Insular scholars have shown little interest in the late Antique origins of Gaelic chronicling and Continental scholars have effectively ignored pre-twelfth-century Insular texts in this genre. What is more, Insular chronicling began in an era of paschal controversy, when many scholars were obsessed with sacred mathematics and mundane chronology; the result was a keen concern with modes of expressing dates, an interest which can still be seen in the work of Marianus Scottus in eleventh-century Germany.

Throughout its mediaeval history in the Gaelic world, the chronicle remained resolutely ecclesiastical property. Nevertheless, its fundamental concern with succession to office, both ecclesiastical and secular, and with disaster, both natural and man-made, gave chroniclers ample scope for consideration of many aspects of their society. At different times and places the intensely worldly aspect which Gaelic churches often displayed encouraged a closer and more partisan interest in chronicling political affairs. At Clonmacnoise, the second ecclesiastical city of Ireland until the twelfth century, chronicles kept by different hereditary officials of the community of St Ciarán display markedly different political viewpoints. The audience of chronicling was an ecclesiastical élite but a substantial one.

From the tenth century we can see a substantial pseudohistorical element in Gaelic chronicling. The 'backward look' so characteristic of mediaeval Gaelic literature affected chronicling also, leading to in-filling of blanks in previous annals, rewriting of earlier history to serve new political and scholarly

constructs, and its incorporation within a larger scheme of world-history within which the entire Gaelic national pseudohistory was to be accommodated. The *Irish World-chronicle* created at Clonmacnoise in the first half of the tenth century achieved wide circulation throughout Ireland, becoming the basis of most surviving Gaelic chronicles of subsequent centuries.

Towards the end of the same century, a Scottish ecclesiastic created from Irish and Scottish annalistic sources and a local regnal list a short chronicle with highly political and ideological agenda. He sought to explain, and to justify, the disappearance of a whole nation, the Picts, from his part of Britain. By invoking divine sanction for gaelicisation, he solved his problem of ethnic identity in a way which proved compelling for subsequent historians. In both Ireland and Scotland, therefore, the tenth century was historiographically decisive.

In the course of the millennium of mediaeval Gaelic chronicling, three principal meeting points with the European Latin mainstream may be identified: (1) the contacts, from the fifth or sixth century to the eighth, which originated this Gaelic genre; (2) the mediation to the Continent of a set of English annals, with Northumbrian and Gaelic interests, which became the foundation-stone for various eighth- and ninth-century chronicles; (3) the influence of the chronicle of Marianus Scottus on important twelfth-century writers. In the Counter-reformation era, when Irish writers' need to communicate their nation's history to a wider European public was at its greatest, their chroniclers were not heard.

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**New Wine in Old Wineskins:
The Rewriting of History in Jans Enikel's *Weltchronik***

Graeme Dunphy

Enikel's *Weltchronik* (c. 1272) is an important work both in terms of its literary influence and of its place in the development of the world chronicle form. It has however been seriously neglected by scholarship, partly because of a view propounded particularly by its 19th-century editor, Strauch, that both style and content are of low quality. Consequently most of the studies in the first part of this century had a linguistic emphasis. The last two decades however have seen an upsurge of interest in the work and a new appreciation of Enikel as a story-teller. The research which I have been engaged in attempts to take this process further by means of an examination of the largely unstudied Old Testament material in the chronicle from a literary point of view. The findings presented in this paper are extracted from the full study which is to appear in print in the near future.

One of the most interesting aspects of Enikel's work is the boldness with which he takes received material and refashions it to create novel and exciting narratives. Although it is obvious that he leans heavily on the Bible and the *Kaiserchronik*, and a number of other casual sources have been identified, Enikel's authorities for much of his material are unknown and were probably often oral rather than written. Nonetheless, a detailed study of the exegetical tradition allows us to determine with some degree of certainty what data he is likely to have drawn from his sources and what is probably his own. An analysis of the new material reveals an author who is more interested in producing a pleasing and effective narrative than in reproducing an orthodox version of events. While he clearly presents himself as a writer of history, he feels free to shape the course events much as one would expect in a work of fiction. This is equally true in the early, biblical and classical parts of the chronicle and in the latter sections dealing with events of his own century. To illustrate this, the paper offers an analysis of Enikel's account of Noah's discovery of wine, a passage which includes two striking and unexpected details. Noah is out walking, accompanied by a goat. The goat discovers a vine, eats and becomes inebriated. Noah is so impressed with the effect that he experiments with viniculture. The narrative continues with the curse of Ham. Here Enikel describes how the young man first runs away from his father, but then returns to seek a reconciliation, only to be met with an unforgiving condemnation. I suggest that the goat is borrowed from a classical bacchanalian motif, while Ham's flight and return represents a deliberate reversal of the prodigal son story, and would be recognised as such by a medieval reader. In both cases, the innovation appears to be Enikel's own, and both must be judged extremely bold adaptations of what was, after all, Holy Writ.

If the new narrative details are in themselves interesting, the new set of emphases behind them open a fascinating window on the thinking of the 13th-century patrician writer. Here we might mention Enikel's rationalisation of situations, his tendency to sensationalise and to secularise, his chaotic mixture of courtly and urban perspectives and his lively (if often earthy) sense of humour. These emphases are to be understood in terms of the social-historical situation of the author and his intended readers, and they are the keys to understanding the popularity of the work well into the 15th century.

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Editing Scribal History

Daniel Embree

By "scribal history" I mean the accidental creation of "historical" facts by acts of scribal carelessness, which history is then faithfully transmitted by later scribes and credulously believed by later readers. This discussion is based on examination of the manuscripts of several chronicles, but mainly on a study of the manuscripts of the Middle English translations of the *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* of Martnus Polonus and of some 60 Latin manuscripts of that work. (I have been lucky enough to identify the particular Latin MS from which, I believe, the English translation was made.) I illustrate my argument by close examination of a dozen errors taken from these MSS.

I want to argue that the editors of medieval chronicles like Martinus's (enormously popular, entirely derivative, largely inaccurate) ought to treat such errors with respect, leaving the texts, as far as possible, as they find them -- as, in other words, their medieval readers found them.

In the first place, the "restoration" of accuracy or historical truth to many chronicles is an illusory goal, since they had little enough to do with accuracy or truth when they left their writers' hands. In the second place, it is futile for editors of texts like the Middle English versions of Martinus to worry much about original intentions: those intentions lie a hundred years, perhaps 10 or 20 acts of copying, and one language in the past. (Of course, it would be different if Martinus's intentions seemed more worthy of recovery: substitute Bede for Martinus, and intention is all.)

Equally futile would be an attempt to emend the English text in accordance with the Latin text -- to publish, in effect, what Martinus would have written had he been a fourteenth-century Englishman instead of a thirteenth-century Czech, or what the translator and scribes ought to have translated and copied had they been better at their jobs than they were. We might as well publish the history that Martinus would have written had he known anything about history.

Instead I think it editorially reasonable and historically useful for editors and readers to forsake the texts they think medieval writers may have written in favor of the texts (or at least one form of the texts) that they know medieval readers read. We can do this with greater confidence than we can do anything else.

The Chronicle of Meaux and its author Thomas Burton

Barbara English

The chronicle of the Cistercian abbey of Meaux was one of the last to be written in England. It was composed by Thomas Burton, bursar and later abbot, who in retirement, between c. 1399 and c. 1429, wrote two versions of his chronicle, basing them, according to his own account, upon ancient schedules and neglected parchments, registers (including one written by the author himself), the witness of reliable men and his own observations. It is concerned with the affairs of an East Yorkshire monastery.

The first and longest version of the chronicle contains much material relating to English and Continental affairs, virtually all derived from secondary sources: the second version is a revision of the first, correcting errors, expanding some sections but excising most of the non-Yorkshire material.

The process of creation can be ascertained by following individual transactions through the stages of composition. Burton's register is the equivalent of the historian's notebook: from it selections were made, expanded, amended and cross-referenced to other parts of the chronicle text. Amendments were made, for instance, to clarify the terms of gifts to the monastery, often for the purposes of litigation.

Thomas Burton reveals a number of motives for the writing of his chronicle. He had a certain intellectual curiosity in the past and in his surroundings. He also narrated the background to 250 years of property transactions, to help his successors in the lawsuits that had always beset his house, and to diminish the payments that had to be made for tithes and taxes. He was interested in the genealogy of local families, whose continued support was necessary to the monastery.

The primary motive for Burton's chronicle, however, seems to have been to emphasise the significance of the office of abbot. In his preface, Burton tells us that the purpose of the work is to preserve the memory of those famous men, the abbots of the monastery. Every page of the chronicle carries as a running head the name of the abbot at the time; Burton records at the end of each section the achievements of the abbot, his buildings, the profits or losses he had left to the house. The cross-references within the chronicle are all linked through each abbot's term of office. The first chapter concerns the first abbot of Meaux, not the founder; additionally, in this first chapter, Burton names the seven founder monks of the mother house, Fountains, who became Cistercian abbots, and dismisses, unnamed, "the remaining five who died not being abbots". In Burton's time, the Cistercian Order, which had always been administered through a series of mother and daughter houses, was greatly damaged by the Great Schism, French abbeys adhering to Avignon, English abbeys to Rome. Alternative arrangements had to be made by both sides, for the summons of general chapters, the visitation of abbeys, and the election of abbots.

The Roman Pope Boniface IX, c. 1394, authorised the abbots of Boxley, Stratford Langthorne and St Mary Graces to call general chapters in London, to elect abbots and to do everything that the abbot and general chapter of Citeaux could do. This English pseudo-general chapter, which met in London from 1394 to 1400, caused offence to houses older than St Mary Graces, creating dissension among the English Cistercians. During the Great Schism Burton travelled to one of the General Chapters of the Cistercian abbots who supported Rome, held at Vienna in 1397. Here he took a leading part as locum for the abbot of Clairvaux, excluded as an adherent of the Avignon pope. Nothing is known of the proceedings of this General Chapter, but at Vienna Burton would have seen all too clearly the effects of the breakdown of central authority within the church and within his order. This, together with the quarrels within his own house that were to force his resignation, may have driven him to emphasise the supreme importance of the office of abbot.

In the mixture of reasons that drove Thomas Burton to write his chronicle, we may perhaps discern the attempt of the author to halt the decline of his office, his house, his order and his Church.

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The chronicle has survived in a first version, in Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 219 (formerly Phillipps MS 6478), and in a second version, in London, British Library, Egerton MS 1141, both holographs. The chronicle was admirably edited in 1866-8 by E.A. Bond, *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls

Zum Beitrag der koranischen Lehre zur Bildung der mittelalterlichen islamischen Chronik im Zusammenhang mit dem historischen Selbstbewußtsein der Araber

Simeon Evstatiev

Dieser Artikel behandelt den Beitrag, den die koranische Lehre zur Entwicklung des historischen Selbstbewußtseins der Araber leistet, die ihrerseits die Entstehung und Bildung der mittelalterlichen islamischen Chronik ermöglicht.

Der Koran impliziert einen einheitlichen Anfangspunkt in der Person von Adam, der eine grundlegende Voraussetzung für die Änderung des partikularen Selbstbewußtseins der vorislamischen Beduinen ist. Dadurch schließen sich die Bewohner Arabiens an die historischen Völker und die Menschheit an, weil sie schon *banu Adam* sind.

Nach der Entstehung der *`umma* und des Kalifats ist der historische Täter nicht mehr die einzelne verwandtschaftliche Gruppe, sondern die zahlreiche muslimische Gemeinde. In den ersten Jahrzehnten nach der Erscheinung des Islams und der Gründung des Kalifats wird eine große Menge von Tatsachenmaterial gesammelt. Für die neue Gesellschaft wird der Beruf des Chronisten und Historikers eine Notwendigkeit.

Die ersten arabischen Chroniken, die die historischen Ereignisse in ihrer zeitlichen Konsequenz darstellen, erscheinen aber erst nach mehr als einem Jahrhundert. Damit beginnt man den grundlegenden theozentrischen Gedanken an die Geschichte zu suchen. Allmählich werden umfangreiche islamische Chroniken verfasst. Als Grundlage der inneren Konsequenz des Textes im muslimischen historischen Werk dient die zeitliche Konsequenz: das Material wird nach den Ereignissen gruppiert und die Ereignisse werden in chronologischer Reihe dargestellt. So sind beispielsweise die Chroniken des at-Tabari (verst. 923) und al-Mas'udi (verst. 956) strukturiert.

Folglich liegt die koranische Lehre der Entstehung der ersten islamischen Chroniken in der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts zugrunde. Diese Chroniken sind ihrerseits ein Zeugnis von der Bildung des historischen Selbstbewußtseins der Araber und von dem Anfang der klassischen Periode der mittelalterlichen muslimischen Historiographie.

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The Case of Perugia

Kathleen C. Falvey

The study of 14th-century drama in the central Italian town of Perugia is rendered difficult by the dearth of related confraternal documents that might shed light on the limited number of play texts that have survived. Therefore, whatever material can be gleaned from the analysis of local chronicles assumes greater than ordinary importance. For example, the dating of one of only two complete surviving playbooks is suggested by an entry in the coeval vernacular chronicle at present indicated MS 871 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele di Roma.

Chronicles are invaluable for studying the link between the dramatic traditions of a confraternity and its specific charitable work. Nowhere is this link more suggestive than in the case of the St. Andrew group that comforted prisoners condemned to death, often by decapitation by the *mannaia*. This same group produced the earliest Beheading of John the Baptist play that I have been able to locate in the Italian tradition. John, under his title *decollato*, 'beheaded', was patron of those under capital sentence, and the interpenetration of the play text enacting his martyrdom and the descriptions of executions found in various chronicles offers us interesting opportunity to study complex literary, iconic, civic and religious concerns.

Even more specifically, chronicles help us to study the significance of the unnamed dancing girl in the beheading play together with her sculpted analogue that figures prominently in the complex program decorating the *fontana maggiore* in the main town square. The inscription 'identifying' the statue of the young woman bearing the severed head of John is incomplete: *puella ferens* ..., 'the girl carrying'. Chronicle entries suggest that this sculpted *puella* is suffering the punishment of *la gogna*, 'the pillory', fixed forever in public, before the main entrance to the Cathedral, bearing the emblem of her shame.

Chronicles detail other themes and images marking the highly charged civic space of the main square: executions were carried out there in the course of rituals performed by the St. Andrew group, passion plays were performed ... perhaps even the Beheading of John play itself. John's cult is significantly in evidence in the area. And, the emotional lament or *corrotto* enacted in the play for John's burial finds resonance in chronicle entries describing this same *corrotto* for civic figures, together with the *rappresentazione* of their deaths. *Rappresentazione* is an ambiguous and suggestive term; one of its meanings is 'dramatic presentation'.

A puzzling chronicle entry indicates how dramatic elements, even costumes, could be employed in penal rituals officiated by members of the St. Andrew confraternity. A certain Santuccia from the town of Gualdo Tadino was to be burned as a witch. She was made to ride on a donkey through Perugia to the place of execution while two figures in black devil costumes walked on either side of her holding a mitre on her head.

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Past and Present in Erchempert's *History of the Lombards of Benevento*

Joan R. Ferry

Erchempert, a ninth-century Lombard and monk of Monte Cassino in southern Italy, continues Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* (written in the late eighth century) by acknowledging the Frankish conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774 under Charlemagne, which Paul had omitted. He then proceeds with events in the South of Italy, where the Beneventan Lombards' present difficulties contrast with the more glorious Lombard past portrayed by Paul. The unfavorable relationship of present to past is evident as Erchempert describes the decline in Benevento's fortunes, the destruction of Monte Cassino by Islamic raiders, and his own experiences as a victim of the times. Erchempert believes that a series of misdeeds on the part of prince Sicard in the 830s caused the loss of God's protection over Benevento, resulting in civil war and the forced splitting of the principality between Benevento and Salerno. Political division contributes to the southern Lombards' inability to deal successfully with Carolingian and Byzantine intervention in the region and with ongoing attacks by Muslim invaders. Erchempert's own situation helps to explain his preoccupation with events at Capua (market center of fertile Campania and now risen as a third center of Lombard power in the South), for he writes his *History* while living in exile there after the Muslim destruction of Monte Cassino in 883. Much of Erchempert's account is concerned with fighting between rival heirs of Capua's ruling family, who keep the region in turmoil and involve the Lombards in battles against Greek and Islamic mercenaries sent from Naples. Erchempert reports being twice captured and robbed by these bands, giving him further reason to deplore the dangers of the present time and regret the loss of a more secure past.

Erchempert's *History* provides a useful study of the relationship between past and present in the medieval chronicle, and of the important role played by the chronicler's own situation as he constructs his narrative.

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Ein Nachbarland (Ungarn) im Spiegel der altrussischen Chroniken

Martha Font

Die Länder Mitteleuropas, Polen, Böhmen und Ungarn haben sich am Ende des 10. Jhs dem christlichen Europa (*Orbis Christianus*) mit dem römischen oder lateinischen Ritus angeschlossen. Das galt für Polen im Jahre 966, für Böhmen um Mitte des Jahrhunderts, während für Ungarn nach 973. Zur gleichen Zeit (988) wurde die Kiewer Ruß zum Christentum bekehrt, wo jedoch die byzantinische oder griechische Liturgie eingeführt wurde.

Die Schriftlichkeit nahm ihren Anfang mit dem christlichen kulturellen Einfluß. Die Aufzeichnung der Geschehnisse der Vergangenheit und der Herkunft und Geschichte des ganzen Volkes (*natio*) erfolgte erst später: in Polen war ein unbekannter Author, Anonymus Gallus, der erste Annalist, bei den Böhmen der Prager Kosma (Cosmas Pragensis) und in Ungarn stammte die sog. Urgesta gleichfalls von einem unbekanntem Author. In der Kiewer Ruß ist die *Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre* (PVL: *Powjest wremennych let*) oder mit anderen Worten die *Nestorchronik* das erste entsprechende Beispiel. Die Entstehung aller vier erwähnten Werke geht zurück auf die Wende des 11. und 12. Jhs. Die genaueste Jahreszahl kann bei der altrussischen *Nestorchronik* angegeben werden: 1113. Es ist einer der gemeinsamen Charakterzüge dieser frühen historischen Werke, daß sie zwei verschiedene Herkunftssagen beinhalten: eine dynastische (Psemysl-, Piast-, Rurik- und Arpadenhäuser) und eine kollektive, z.B. die Herkunft der Slawen, die Einberufung der Waräger, die Fortwanderung aus Scythien usw. Meines Erachtens war der Beweggrund überall der gleiche: die zur Herrschaft gekommene Dynastie oder der gerade herrschende Teil einer Dynastie fand in der Geschichtsschreibung ein entsprechendes Mittel, mit dem man die Legitimität nachweisen konnte. In Ihren Ideen und höchstwahrscheinlich auch durch die Person des Chronisten war diese Geschichtsschreibung eng mit dem königlichen oder großfürstlichen Hofe und seiner Gedankenwelt verbunden.

Die über die Ungarn geschriebenen Berichte der PVL zusammenfassend können wir darüber, wie die einzelnen Informationen in dem Text gerieten, folgendes feststellen:

- In die um 1116 geschriebene zweite Redaktion geriet die ausführlichere, irrtümlicherweise an das Jahr 1097 geknüpfte Beschreibung der Niederlage Kolomans als ein neues Element und wahrscheinlich als ein Werk des Abtes Sylvester.
- Der Chronist (Nestor?) setzte die Eheschließungen von 1104 und 1112 während der um 1113 durchgeführten ersten Kompilation fest, über den Verstoß von Euphemia kann er gar nicht gewußt haben, denn dies geschah erst 1113. Die Texte der Legenden über Boris und Gleb können derzeit auf das Jahr 1015 gesetzt worden sein, womit man sie an die Ereignisse nach dem Tode des sich zum christlichen Glauben bekennenden Großfürsten Wladimir (982--1015) knüpfte.
- Die frühere sog. *Kiewo-Petscherskij svod* (um 1095) kann die in (falsche) chronologische Rahmen gesetzte Entstehungsgeschichte der Ruß sowie die Berichte über die Bekehrung der Ruß beinhaltet haben. Nach langen Jahrzehnten und im Besitz weniger Informationen konnte man Wladimir, der sich taufen ließ, als einen frommen Herrscher beschreiben und über ihn bemerken, daß er im Frieden mit seinen Nachbarn, unter ihnen dem Heiligen Stephan lebte.
- Vorher gab es hauptsächlich nur kurze klösterliche Aufzeichnungen auf dem Gebiet der Kiewer Ruß, die aus kurzen, *Annales*-artigen Berichten bestanden. In unserer Einschätzung entstanden die ersten schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen auf Veranlassung des berühmten Abtes des Kiewer Höhlenklosters, Nikon. Nikon hatte auch Byzanz und den Berg Athos besucht, war also ein gelehrter Mönch und es ist nicht unmöglich, daß griechischsprachige, bzw. ins Slawische übersetzte byzantinische Chronikzusammen-

stellungen (Chronographen) während seiner Tätigkeit im Höhlenkloster erschienen. Die in der mündlichen Überlieferung aufbewahrte Herkunftslegende (über die Einberufung der Russen und die slawischen Stämme) ist wahrscheinlich eines um die Wende des 11-12. Jhs. abgeschrieben Ereigniss, obwohl diese Hypothese nicht entscheidend beweisbar ist.

Davon ausgehend, woher die Chronisten des Anfangs des 12. Jhs. ihre Informationen beschafften, kann folgendes behauptet werden:

Sie haben geschrieben, was sie von ihren Zeitgenossen und aus der lokalen Tradition wußten:

- 1) z.B. die Angaben, die mit der Ergänzung *ninje* ('jetzt') vorkommen;
- 2) Eheschließungen in der Jahre 1104 und 1112;
- 3) den Feldzug König Kolomans im 1099.

Sie haben geschrieben, was sie in den vom Griechischen ins Slawische übersetzten Chronographen und den bereits fertigten -- wahrscheinlich weniger -- Jahrbücher des Höhlenklosters lasen:

- 1) aus griechischen Quellen (Hamartolas, Malalas, Skytitzes) geschöpfte kurze Informationen über die Ungarns Feldzüge nach Byzanz;
- 2) die Legende von Boris und Gleb, die über die drei Geschwister von Ungarn erwähnt;
- 3) die Geschichte der Taufe der Ruß, in der über Stephan den Heiligen zu lesen;
- 4) verstreute frühere klösterliche Aufzeichnungen.

Was für Folgen können daraus auf den Quellenwert der Ungarn betreffenden Informationen gezogen werden?

- 1) Die Chronisten der Ruß können uns über die Wende des 11-12. Jhs. in nennenswerter und authentischer Weise informieren. In unserer Einschätzung ist es den damals entstandenen dynastischen Verbindungen zu verdanken, daß man für die Ungarn ein rückblickendes Interesse hatte.
- 2) Die früheren Informationen haben sie aus ihren Lektüren (größtenteils byzantinischen Chroniken) und aus mündlichen Überlieferung geschöpft, deswegen erfahren wir öfters Ungenauigkeiten.

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**Constructing a Narrative:
King Alfred, the History of the English and the Compilation
of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle***

Sarah Foot

The first recension of the compilation of annals known as *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is generally agreed to have been made in Wessex in the later ninth century, probably in the context of King Alfred's programme for the revival of learning and the promotion of vernacular texts. In another paper (forthcoming in *TRHS*), I have argued that the historical works in Alfred's curriculum, including the *Chronicle*, were chosen deliberately as part of a conscious effort to shape among his subjects a sense of cultural and spiritual identity, an invented concept of 'Englishness' arising from their common history. There are political dimensions to this endeavour (it provided a rationale for the domination of Wessex over Mercia), but in appealing to his people's memory of shared experience, Alfred was imagining for them a new cultural community to which they might all belong, and defining this by the collective name of the Angelcynn.

In the paper I propose for this conference, I shall argue that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was consciously constructed as part of the Alfredian programme in such a way as to provide the English with a myth - a story with a veiled meaning - of their common origins; the *Chronicle* is not simply propaganda for one dynasty, it is a history with an inner hermeneutic. The *Chronicle* does not present, in the way that Bede did, the history of one people in a linear progression with a beginning, a middle and an end: there are indeed too many beginnings in the *Chronicle*. But, despite its annalistic form, it is a continuing and developing narrative. The separate beginnings of Alfred's subject peoples are brought to one end: that of unitary rule from Wessex. But the story continues thereafter: the Angelcynn have had multiple early histories, yet they will have one future, together. The inclusion of the different origin-myths for the separate early kingdoms illustrates the distinctiveness of each people; their ethnic diversity and the particular circumstances in which each group arrived in Britain gives each people its own traditions and culture; the genealogies for each royal line provide a record of each separate ruling dynasty. Yet despite the differences in each kingdom's past history, they all share certain common features and ultimately theirs is a collective history. The *Chronicle* can thus be seen as instruction for the English, the Angelcynn, in their shared inheritance of a common history. This moves discussion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* into areas not previously much explored; as well as the standard literature on the composition of the *Chronicle* it will draw on the recently published work of Alfred Smyth and Anton Scharer.

This paper would fit into both the second and third of the conference's themes (those concerning chronicles' function and their role in the reconstruction of the past). I wish to explore the making of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* on two levels, firstly challenging Hayden White's argument that early medieval annals cannot be understood as narratives; and secondly as an illustration of the idea (expressed by Foucault admittedly in an exclusively modern context, but equally pertinent here) of the way in which those in power have controlled the knowledge available to the disempowered. Alfred is not merely telling his people which books are 'the most necessary for all men to know', he is recreating their memory for them. In this way I hope to demonstrate that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, despite its annalistic form, contains a narrative, and that it has a claim to be considered, in some respects, as making a 'history' for the English.

**The Many Functions of Cistercian Histories:
Using Aelred of Rievaulx's *Relatio de Standardo* as a Case Study**

Elizabeth Freeman

Aelred of Rievaulx's *Relatio de Standardo* (also known as *De Bello Standardii*) was composed in approximately 1155. It is a piece of vivid contemporary history which in fewer than twelve columns of

Patrologia Latina provides a summary account of the Battle of the Standard, one of the battles between supporters of Matilda and Stephen in England. In this paper I employ Aelred's text to argue that twelfth-century English historiography was not comprised of exclusive monastic and non-monastic histories but, rather, that the defining characteristics of this historiographical culture were exchange and influence across institutional and generic divides. I study the likely reception of two of the work's themes and suggest that different audiences found their own different meanings in the history and, indeed, in the same passages of the history.

To turn to my first theme -- the *Relatio's* endorsement of history and memory. Aelred's work contains two statements on the value of history. Both comments occur in the battle speeches, thus presenting history as an overwhelmingly public rather than private activity. These speeches are placed in the mouth of Walter Espec, confirming eloquently the nascent ethos of Anglo-Norman nobles seeking cultural capital by their participation in historiography. Walter is the repository of his troops' memory and the agent by which an individual private memory is transferred into the public realm. He is aware of memory's unreliability and continually exhorts his listeners to participate in the activity of remembering. Common enough in medieval chronicles in general, the historiographical references to memory carried particular significance in the Cistercian theological context. Scholarship on the Cistercians' unique form of affective theology highlights this commitment to memory. Thus, when Walter Espec reminded his troops of the usefulness of his historical speech, he both responded to the immediate need of his historically-aware lay audience and also evoked a memorial message which would have carried particular theological significance for the history's immediate Cistercian audience.

The second area in which Aelred's history anticipates various audiences is its concentration on genealogy and the assertion of legitimate origins. This section is composed of two sub-sets: the continuity and legitimacy of Cistercian foundations in England, and the continuity of Norman prowess.

Once again, Walter Espec is the point of departure. Aelred exploits the fact that Walter was a Cistercian monastic patron to indulge in a potted history of the entire Cistercian order. He harnesses the histories of the Yorkshire houses to wider Cistercian history in general and invokes contemporary Cistercian ideals such as "purity" and "poverty". This passage is an early example of the Cistercians' myth of glorious desert-inspired origins. As such, it carries a very strong monastic message in the specific context of the twelfth-century reform.

The next area in which Aelred's history presents an alleged continuity and attendant glory is in its invocations of the famous Norman myth. Walter Espec's battle oration to the northern barons includes all the references to past glories and military success that characterised the Normans' claims to unity and uniqueness. On this occasion, the

passage seems to speak to the preoccupations and memories of the same lay audience that, as we have seen above, was the recipient of Walter's endorsement of history.

And so, to conclude. Post-Conquest England was a society of coexisting, competing and mutually enhancing textual communities. Written and oral histories were derived from, and moved between, different literary milieux (lay or religious, canonical or monastic, vernacular or Latin) -- milieux which were sometimes competing, sometimes collaborative, but always mutually-enhancing.

Although only a short work, Aelred's history is an important example of this greater historiographical tendency. It responded to the preoccupations of two groups that are often studied more in isolation than in combination -- that is, English Cistercian monks versus the flag-waving Anglo-Norman laity. In this sense, Aelred was an important participant in what was arguably the most significant trend of twelfth-century English historiography -- not only did he follow the traditional and well-studied Benedictine urge to reassert the continuity of experience across the chasm of "1066" but, like Geffrei Gaimar and Geoffrey of Monmouth, Aelred also offered this continuity to both new and multiple audiences. It would seem fruitless, then, to speak of histories that carried meaning only for monks or only for non-monks. Thus, following the excellent insights that have recently accrued from studying twelfth-century historiography away from the monastic context (see works by Gillingham and Short), the time would now seem right to concentrate on the links between ostensibly separate historiographical cultures, rather than on the differences.

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The Chronicling Narrator in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*

SunHee Kim Gertz

The fourteenth century English poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, took pains to fashion a bookish narrator for his five-book romance, *Troilus and Criseyde*. Although the romance is set in Troy before the fall, its narrator pointedly and consciously focuses on the two lovers of the title and marginalizes the War. Nonetheless, the Trojan War is strongly intimated in the narrator's presentation, shading every word and every act with knowledge that Troy will soon fall and Aeneas will flee Ilium's burning towers for what will eventually become the glorious Roman empire, itself to be succeeded by other powerful realms--a chain of events so well known to medieval *literati* that it is captured in a topos, the *translatio studii et imperii* (transfer of culture and empire).

The *translatio studii et imperii* topos is of particular relevance to medieval *literati*, because of its frequent use in prologues to historical and fictional narratives. It is no accident that in the London known as New Troy, Chaucer decided to draw on the topos to nuance his narrative, one that not only tells of a failed love story, but also conveys Chaucer's speculations on the common ground shared by both literature and history. Rather than a commonplace used to evoke authority, in *Troilus and Criseyde*, the *translatio* topos becomes a touchstone by which Chaucer can explore the past and the problem of how to narrate it.

Chaucer's narrator becomes the major vehicle for sounding this problem. He is at one and the same time a chronicler, a historian, a bookish reader of *auctores*, and, in his terms, a servant to love's servants. Depicted as forming an unlikely crux for all these various literary streams, the narrator at times seems incapable of juggling all these perspectives. For one, he is highly aware of the distance in time separating himself and the lovers, and just as strongly, he is aware of the need to convince his readers that his narrative is correct, true, and authoritative.

In posing his narrator in this fashion, Chaucer subtly probes the roles of the medieval historian, chronicler, and romance writer. Thus, as a chronicler, the narrator puzzles about the historically veracious facts--whether Criseyde had children, her age, and the like. As a historian, he sets the tale in ever greater circles of authority--the Trojan War, God's divine essence. As a romance writer, he is enthralled by Criseyde, so much so that he must constantly guard against veering from his mission and historical truth. While Chaucer thus focuses in on a variety of roles, he also explores the commonalities among these *literati*: they must read authorities, they create narratives, they are fixed on revealing some greater truth, and in order to accomplish any of these activities, they must, paradoxically, engage in a leap of imagination.

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Lodewijk van Velthem and Geoffroi de Meaux on the Comet of 1315

Annelies van Gijzen

In his *Spiegel Historiae*-continuation Lodewijk van Velthem pays attention to various categories of 'ominous phenomena'. One of these is the comet of 1315. Velthem summarizes a treatise on the significance of this comet by 'meester Gaufroet van Meldes', the French astronomer Geoffroi de Meaux (Galfredus de Meldis or Meldensis; *SpH* VI, c. 23, 1584-1617). In this paper the way in which Lodewijk handled Geoffroi's text is discussed.

Geoffroi de Meaux was connected with the university of Paris, probably as a master of arts and medicine; he was also one of the royal physicians at the French court. His short treatise on the comet of 1315 (ed. Thorndike 1950: 210-214) is very clear. Geoffroi first argues that comets are generally and for the best of reasons considered as signs of future events. He then describes the comet's appearance and movements from his own observation, concluding that it was of the kind called Pertica. After a careful analysis of its astronomical and astrological position and causes, Geoffroi gives a prediction of its effects. Again, every detail is explicitly based on general premises from authoritative sources.

Lodewijk is very selective: though he must have seen the whole of Geoffroi's text, he only takes over, almost *verbatim*, the prediction proper. He is either not interested in Geoffroi's observations and logical argument, or he does not assume his audience to be interested. Yet, Lodewijk puts in some vague phrases that seem mainly intended to suggest that the prediction is well founded. He does not seem to be very well versed in astrological terminology, though carelessness, hastiness or problems with the Latin may have contributed to inaccuracies. In the only extant manuscript of this chapter, Lodewijk's text has furthermore been seriously violated by an inadequate scribe. Geoffroi's treatise can be of help to reconstruct the original (some 'emendations' by Verdam and by the editors have only made it worse).

Though Lodewijk's chapter does not give a very adequate rendering of Geoffroi's treatise, the fact that he put the prediction in at all seems to fit in with his overall vision of history. Velthem explicitly attributes the famine and mortality described in his following chapters (VI, c. 24 and 25) to the comet of 1315. It is one of the many instances where he presents (super)natural phenomena as 'warnings' or 'punishments'. These are more or less standard ingredients of an eschatological compound including prophecies and revelations (the pseudo-Methodius, the Tiburtine sibyl, Merlin), miracles, astrology and interpretations of *mirabilia*, which all appear in Velthem. This specific cocktail was successful in the 13th century (Roger Bacon; I am not sure of its pre-history), and two centuries after Lodewijk it is still in full vigor in the works of Sebastian Brant.

The question how Geoffroi's treatise (written between February the 12th and March the 13th 1316 n.s.) could reach Lodewijk so soon is still to be answered.

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"Mit grossem geschrey und herten wilden worten"

Chroniken als Instrument der Meinungsbildung in innerstädtischen Auseinandersetzungen des Spätmittelalters

Gudrun Gleba

In der bislang wenig beachteten Denkschrift des Münchener Bürgers Jörg Kazmair vom Beginn des 15. Jhs. bewegt sich der Autor je nach seinen wechselnden politischen Aufgaben bzw. ‚Rollen‘, die Grundlage für seine Ausführungen sind, in unterschiedlichen historischen Problemzusammenhängen. Die Schrift entstand in einer für viele Städte des Spätmittelalters typischen Konfliktsituation der sozialpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um patrizische Rats Herrschaft und gemeindliche Partizipationsansprüche. Sie ist weder objektiv noch sachlich, sondern parteiisch und propagandistisch. Als Mitglied eines ratsfähigen Geschlechts gibt der Autor ein Selbstzeugnis patrizischen Denkens und Wertens. Als Ratsherr, Vermittler zwischen den streitenden Parteien und schliesslich Exiliertem zeigt Kazmair Oppositionsbildung und Fraktionierung im Laufe eines eskalierenden Streits. Als Verhandlungsführer in städtischem Dienst und Kontaktmann zum herzoglichen Hof schildert er das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen dem Selbstständigkeitsanspruch der städtischen Rats Herrschaft und der übergeordneten Landesherrschaft. Seine Adressaten dürften Gleichgesinnte, Mitstreiter oder noch für die eigene Sache zu gewinnende Mitglieder der herzoglichen Hofgesellschaft gewesen sein. Die Überzeugungsarbeit wurde mit literarischen Mitteln geleistet. Schwarz-Weiss-Malerei übernimmt gleich zu Beginn die Zuordnung zu Gut und Böse, dramatischer Szenenwechsel hält die Spannung und das Interesse aufrecht, die Verwendung direkter Rede täuscht dem Hörer oder Leser Authentizität des Geschehens vor, wo es um die moralische Disqualifizierung des Gegners mittels Sprache geht. Jörg Kazmair schrieb ein einfaches politisches Propagandastück. Es lohnt sich, seine verschiedenen Schichten aufzudecken, offen bleibt die Frage nach seiner Rezeption und Wirkung.

The Chronicle in the Age of Humanism: Chronological Structures and the Reckoning of Time Between Tradition and Innovation

Uta Goerlitz

However controversial it may be to define 'the medieval chronicle' as a separate genre among other historiographic genres, there is a general agreement that the particular effort with which the chroniclers dealt with the problem of a chronological nexus must be counted among its essential features. The analysis of the composition of medieval chronicles shows a complex variety of chronological structures that result from specific chronological problems the author saw himself confronted with as well as from different conceptions of time reckoning.

In both respects the age of humanism provided new approaches. Traditional chronological systems based on Christian-theological theories like the doctrine of the six ages of the world (which since the efforts of Augustine, Isidor and Bede had become relevant in particular to universal histories) gradually lost ground; at the same time, immanent aspects of structuring the flow of historical time gained weight.

This is especially true for the *Chronicon urbis et ecclesiae Maguntinensis*, written by the Benedictine humanist Hermannus Piscator from Mainz (d. 1526), a voluminous chronicle with over 500 handwritten quarto sheets that remained unknown until only recently, when it was possible to retrieve copies of the major part of it (cf. Goerlitz 1995). The *Chronicon urbis et ecclesiae Maguntinensis* encompasses the period from pre-Roman antiquity up to the year 1518 and unites such traditional categories of the genre as the town chronicle, the bishopric and the world chronicle as well as the national history as it was formed under the influence of humanism.

In the research into this chronicle which I have been engaged in Piscator turned out to have enhanced the genre of the medieval chronicle by giving to it the systematic concept of a chronological structuring in centuries successively numbered and irrevocably fixed in time. Before Piscator's chronicle was retrieved scholarly research had generally traced the invention of time reckoning in centuries in this modern sense back to the famous Protestant Church History of the Magdeburg Centuriators (cf. in particular Burkhardt 1971). However, this work, commonly known as the Magdeburg Centuries, was not written before the middle of the 16th century and, therefore, at a time when Piscator had already ceased to live for about thirty years. Thus, Hermannus Piscator proves to be the first demonstrable writer of history employing the modern form of time reckoning in centuries. The paper attempts to clarify this by following the traces that lead from Piscator both back to its medieval and humanistic predecessors and forward to the Magdeburg Centuriators and their successors.

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The Continuations of the Old French Crusade Cycle

Peter R. Grillo

The texts comprising the Crusade Cycle, fully constituted by the close of the 13th century, have not generally attracted the close scrutiny either of scholars of the French epic cycles or most historians. Fortunately, new editions - some of previously unavailable material - and several recent studies should ensure a more adequate recognition of the *Quatrième geste épique*.

This paper reviews the place within the Cycle of two dodecasyllabic verse Continuations, as preserved in three extant MSS dating from the late 13th/early 14th centuries: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 12569; London, British Library, Additional 36615; and Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, L-III-25. The "short" (or Paris) and "long" (or London-Turin) versions, which I have edited, both feature parallel narratives centred on the First Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, starting with the rule of Godfrey of Bouillon and ending with the initial campaigns of Saladin.

The anonymous authors of the Continuations are clearly acquainted with the Latin and vernacular Crusade chronicle tradition, but draw mainly on the Old French adaptation of William of Tyre, as well as the kindred *Chronique d'Ernoul* and *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*. However, unlike Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre sainte*, these texts are not authentic verse chronicles. Our redactors devised their works for aristocratic audiences in northeastern France (where interest and participation in Crusades was a strong tradition), modelling them wholly in the form and style of the *chanson de geste*: "storyless" chronicle facts are selectively emplotted according to the modes of epic themes, motifs, and representation, as shown, for example, in the treatments of Godfrey's death and its aftermath or the circumstances surrounding Saladin's rise to power. As well, our redactors eschew both the chroniclers' anecdotal descriptions of Jerusalem and other holy places and interest in natural signs as *præfigurationes* of events themselves.

While not primary historiographical sources, the Continuations exemplify the extent to which literary endeavours can sustain the ideology of the Crusade as significantly as the more official voices of chroniclers. To this end, the redactors reaffirm an ethos very familiar from many *chansons de gestes*; they do not hesitate to revise royal chronologies and filiations or to bring into play fictional Franco-Muslim alliances, and they tend to emphasize Crusader solidarity, as revealed in the idealized portrayals of Reynald of Chatillon, the twin de Chaumont brothers, and Count Thierry of Flanders.

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Mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung spielte verschiedene Rollen in der damaligen Gesellschaft. Einerseits gab sie die Informationen über nationalen und weltlichen Geschichte, die in der Kleid der Rhetorik geprägt wurden, andererseits propagierte die aktuelle politische Ideen, die von der politischen Elite ausgedacht und realisiert wurden. Damit ist eine methodische Regel der Quellenkritik verbunden. Man kann durch die Analyse der Textideologie den Entstehungsplatz und -milieu der Quelle entdecken, sogar damals, wenn wir nichts davon von anderen Angaben wissen. Ein Beispiel dafür gibt die ungarisch-polnische Chronik, die die Geschichte Ungarns seit der Zeit Attilas bis zum Heiligen Ladislav darstellt. Sie betont dabei meistens die gute ungarisch-polnische Beziehungen.

Bis heute wurde es nicht entschieden, wann und wo wurde die Chronik entstanden. Einige Forscher datierten die Schreibezeit der Chronik auf die Wende des 11. und 12. Jhs., andere auf die letzten Jahrzehnten des 12. Jhs. oder sogar auf die letzten Jahren des 13. Jhs. Man stritt auch, ob die Chronik in Polen oder in Ungarn geschrieben wurde. Ich meine, daß die Forschung der politischen Ideen in der Chronik Licht über den Empfängerkreis der Chronik verbreiten und die Grundfragen der Quellenkritik beantworten kann.

Wir beobachten in dem chronikalischen Text zwei ideologischen Hauptmotiven:

1) Geschichte der Ungarn. Das ist die Geschichte des ungarischen Christentums und ungarischen Staatswesens, das vom regierenden Haus repräsentiert wurde.

a) Die ungarisch-hunnische Identifizierung wurde hier voller entsprechen, als in anderen ungarischen Quellen. Attila wurde als Staatsgründer vorgestellt. Er fand das neue Vaterland der Ungarn in Slawonien (der Namen von Pannonien wurde dem Verfasser unbekannt), das mit Hilfe der biblischen Stilisierung als *terra promissionis* gemalt wurde. Hier treffen wir auf die Legitimisierung der ungarischen Rechte zum Land.

b) Die Hl. Stephans-Krone wurde eine Vollendung des Versprechens, das Attila vom Gottesbote gegeben wurde. Die Königssalbung der ungarischen Herrschern wurde deshalb begründet.

c) Auch die Legitimität der herrschenden Dynastie wurde nachgewiesen. Alle Könige wurden als die Nachfolger Attilas und Hl. Stephans in der geraden Linie gezogen. Der Verfasser schrieb nichts über die ständigen Brüderzwiste um Thronfolge. Mehr, seine Meinung nach schon Attila schuf ein Primogeniturprinzip, das in Ungarn verpflichtet. Wir wissen, das die Wirklichkeit mehr kompliziert war. Die Primogenitur wurde bis zum 13. Jh. nicht verwendet, deshalb stand die ganze Geschichte des frühmittelalterlichen Ungarns unter ständigen Brüderzwiste um Thronfolge. Hier treffen wir auf einen Versuch der Auflösung des komplizierten Verwaltungsproblemles als auch eine starke Legitimisierung des jüngeren Zweiges der Dynastie.

2) Das zweite Hauptthema der Chronik sind die ungarisch-slawischen Beziehungen.

a) Die Ungarn erscheinen sich auf den kroatischen Boden als die Rächer, vom Gottes Befehl, des von den kroatischen Untertanen ermordeten Königs Krešimir (Kazimir). Die ungarische Herrschaft über Kroatien sowie die ungarische Besiedlung im Nordteil von *Slavonia* (und spätere Königssalbung Stephans) ist ein Preis für die Gehorsamkeit Attilas.

b) Eine wichtige Rolle in der Chronik spielten die Beziehungen zwischen Ungarn und Polen. Es sieht so, ob der Verfasser das Nutzen der guten Beziehungen zwischen beiden Staaten nachweisen wollte.

c) Gute ungarisch-polnische Kontakte störten dem Verfasser nicht, streng die ungarische Rechte zum Haliczer Rus' zu betonen. Die Beschreibung der Ehe zwischen Hl. Ladislav und eine Tochter von Mstislav aus Halicz, dessen Erbe Ladislav wurde, sollen die ungarische Rechte zu diesem Land legitimieren. Hier wird auch die Antwort auf die Fragen nach der Entstehungszeit der Chronik versteckt. Ich sehe die Möglichkeit der Chronikkomposition nur in der Zeit der höchstentwickelten ungarischen Expansion gegen die Haliczer Rus', die in den ersten dreißig Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts stattfand und die polnische Gegenwirkung traf. Ich schlage sogar genauere Data vor: 1226-1228, wenn Andreas, der jüngste Sohn Königs Andreas II. auf dem Haliczer Thron saß, und sein Schwiegervater, der ehemalige Haliczer Herzog, Mstislav Uda; y, noch lebte. Ich suche den Schreibensplatz in Slawonien (heute: Nordostkroatien), wo damals Koloman, der älteste Sohn Andreas' II. regierte, der ehemalige König von

Halicz. Diese Hypothese erklärt, wie der Text der Chronik nach Polen kam. Die Ehefrau von Koloman war die Polin, Salomea, Tochter von Krakauer Herzog, Leszek des Weißen, die nach dem Kolomans Tod 1241 nach Vaterland zurückkehrte. Ich meine, daß die Chronik von jemandem aus ihrer Gefolgschaft nach (Klein)Polen gegeben werden konnte. Im Ungarn wurde die Chronik bald vergessen.

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Image and Text in the Antonio Baldana *Chronicle* on the Schism

Paola Guerrini

Codex 1194 in the Biblioteca Palatina di Parma contains the only specimen of the *De magno schismate* by Antonio Baldana <<utinensis legum studentis>> known up to date. The manuscript is dedicated to Martin V. and tells about the main events of the schism of the West, the facts which led to the election of Oddone Colonna and first years of his pontificate up to June 1419. Some brightly illustrated little scenes in pen-and-ink drawing and painted in water-colours can be confronted with similar images appearing in manuscript 118 of the Archivio di Stato di Lucca containing the *Chronicle* by Giovanni Sercambi. In both works a strong identity is established between tale and images; the text, which alternates Latin and the vernacular, prose and verse, refers to the prophetic language and the figurations contain a conceptual symbolism and a realism featuring the typical formulistic aspects of end-of-trecento culture. In the same time some scenes of *De magno schismate* can be confronted with similar plates of the *Chronicles* by Jean Froissart, Ulrich Richental, Hartmann Schedel and Diebold Schilling.

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**Workshop Lodewijk van Velthem's *Spiegel Historiae* Continuation
(c. 1316-1317)**

Tom Hage

Scholars generally agree that the Brabantine poet-historiographer Lodewijk van Velthem from the very outset intended his chronicle for Gerard of Voorne, viscount of Zeeland. In my paper I will reevaluate the external and internal evidence for this assumption. On the basis of this evidence I will argue two points:

- (1) Velthem had at first intended his chronicle for the Brabantine court, which he was obviously closely connected to, and
- (2) he dedicated it to Gerard of Voorne only at a very late stage of writing.

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Perpetual History in the Old English *Menologium*

Pauline Head

Recent critical thought, in fields as diverse as philosophy, science, history, linguistics, and art, has rejected the 'common sense' notion that time exists in an essential, natural form, and has recognized that time is a construct, shaped differently by different cultures, through various media, and affected also by interpretive perspectives. In light of such a provocative concept, constructed temporal frameworks in literature from all historical periods ask to be questioned and interpreted; chronicles, as records of the passage of time, are a particularly appropriate focus of critical attention. This paper concerns the Old English *Menologium*, a poem inserted into one of the manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* -- Cotton Tiberius B.i, generally thought to have been compiled at Abingdon in the mid-eleventh century. The *Menologium*, *Maxims II*, and the first three folios of the *Chronicle* are written in the same hand; in his *ASPR* edition of the poems, E. Van K. Dobbie speculates, "the evidence of the capitalization in the manuscript makes it probable that the scribe, at least, regarded the *Menologium* and *Maxims II* as preliminary matter to the *Chronicle*". The *Menologium* is a metrical calendar, perhaps intended to help readers or listeners remember the annual liturgical cycle of feasts, and *Maxims II* is a list-like poem conveying gnomic wisdom; the relationship among the three texts is not made explicit and is not obvious.

In this paper, I explore the characteristics and functions of the *Menologium*'s construction of time. The poem compresses Christian history, bringing all of its events into this present year and all present years so that they always repeat themselves. Conceptually, it can be thought of as supplying a context of closure and meaning within which the *Chronicle* can be read. Positioned and functioning as a preface, its temporal perspective supplements that of the *Chronicle*, which must always end *in medias res*. The *Menologium* implies that the story of the *Chronicle* will eventually be complete because the time frame

of Christianity is structured according to resolution. The circle of the *Menologium* traces, although it does not specify, the end of the *Chronicle's* narrative by suggesting that human history, with its fleeting, chance events, occurs within the frameworks of both repetitious, seasonal time and stable, sacred time. The adjacent placement of the two texts invites the possibility of a reading wherein they work together *towards* creating a history which is both complete and meaningful, although completion is never realized.

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The First Greek Chronicles in the Vernacular

Annette Iliéva

The paper presents a very rough summary of a book bearing the same title and near completion. The chronicles examined are those of the Morea, of the Tocco family, and of Leontios Machairas. They are in verse and prose and have been composed throughout the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries within the bilingual and bicultural societies of the Frankish Principality of Achaia, Epiros of Carlo I Tocco (died 1429), and Lusignan Cyprus. In my modest opinion the paper fits in both the second and the third main themes of the conference since it treats the problems of the "social logic of the texts" (to quote Gabrielle Spiegel).

Preceding local activity in the genre is, where discernible, either in the 'high Byzantine style' or unknown. No wonder then that our chronicles show little affinity to the Byzantine tradition in 'history/chronicle' writing. They are not the first pieces in the Greek vernacular either. While the concept of a 'byzantinische Volksliteratur' still stands the winds have changed. A rediscovery of the two centuries after ca. 1000 has brought to light a Byzantine *mutatio*. The medieval Greek romances have been reexamined and rehabilitated as works of art.

However, that Byzantinists and modern Hellenists no longer lag behind their colleagues who study western medieval literature has not made the task easier. The difficulties come from the binomial social logic of the texts: their sites of articulation were within regions of co-existence between a Greek substratum and superimposed Frankish communities. Therefore, any answer to the question whether a specific type of history writing in the Greek vernacular was ordered, produced and distributed within these societies could only be tentative. I have tried to follow a path of investigation determined by the general nature of medieval historiography as a mimetic, yet variable complex of relations between authorities and epigones, space and time, facts and truth, agents and protagonists, causes and arguments,

central themes and ultimate messages.

There are no basic differences between the verse and the prose discourse of our chronicles. But that Machairas has compiled his long text in prose is significant: it means there was awareness in his *milieu* that a true history of Cyprus is needed and he set to meeting this need.

Finally, the works I deal with are in no way 'popular literature'. They have been compiled in the upper secular sections of the respective societies but for the edification of both 'literate' and 'illiterate'; that they keep calling themselves 'books' is symbolic and does not pertain to a model copied *stricto sensu*. The texts are of what Paul Zumthor calls "mixed-orality" type to which the influence of writing is external. Here again Machairas's work is somewhat different and comes closer to 'secondary orality': everything in his text is under the mark of the written word. Was it an archaism of the "voix performantielle"? I believe it was.

Die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Weltchronik

Johannes Irmscher

Das mittelalterliche Europa war ein Europa *bipartita*, bestehend aus einer oströmisch-byzantinischen Pars und einer westlich-abendländischen. Dem östlichen Teil eignete die ungebrochene Koninuität als Imperium Romanum, das erst mit der türkischen Eroberung von 1453 sein Ende fand; das weströmische Reich war 476 zu Ende gegangen, die Reichsidee bedurfte einer mehrfachen *Renovatio*, während das Moment der Koninuität mit zunehmender Effektivität die römisch-katholische Kirche verkörperte. Ost- wie Westrom haben ihre gemeinsamen Wurzeln in der Antike; beide Entwicklungen muß daher die Mediävistik, um ein wahrheitsgetreues Bild der mittelalterlichen Geschichte zu gewinnen, im Auge haben.

Die oströmisch-byzantinische Geschichtsschreibung zerfiel *grosso modo* in drei Gattungen. Die Kirchengeschichte beginnt mit dem Bischof Eusebios von Kaisarea (gestorben 339), der den Begriff prägte. Eusebios fand kongeniale Nachfolger bis in die Epoche Justinians und wirkte auf lateinische (Rufinus, Cassiodorus), syrische, koptische, armenische Leistungen ein. Mit der ausgehenden Antike verschwand das Genius im Osten wie im Westen; an seine Stelle trat die immer mehr ausufernde Hagiographie.

Die zweite Form historiographischer Äußerungen bilden die monographischen Darstellungen der Zeitgeschichte, verfaßt von den historischen Akteuren oder ihren literarischen Helfern, und machen wertvolle Geschichtsquellen aus. Sie setzen altgriechische Tradition fort und wissen sich ...?

Die byzantinische Historiographie gliedert sich *grosso modo* in drei Gattungen:

1. Die zeitgeschichtliche Monographie
2. Die Weltchronik
3. Die Kirchengeschichte, welcher mit einiger Distanz die Hagiographie anzufügen ist.

Die byzantinische Weltchronik nahm ihren Ausgang von der Universalhistorie der Antike, deren griechische wie lateinische Werke in unterschiedlichem Ausmaße benützt werden. Die Aufgabe der christlichen Universalgeschichte, wie sie namentlich seit Euseb in Erscheinung tritt, bestand darin, antike und biblische Tradition möglichst nahtlos zu verbinden. Johannes Malalas schuf in Justinianischer Zeit den Prototyp der byzantinischen Weltchronik, der bis zum Ende des Ostreiches und noch darüber hinaus vorbildlich und verbindlich blieb.

Rose redolebant per totam patriam
Les chroniques de Flandre tardives:
à la recherche des forestiers dans une forêt sans merci

Les chroniques de Flandre tardives ont provoqué une modification profonde de la légende des forestiers. Notamment, les textes de la tradition *Flandria Generosa C* ajoutent une dimension importante au récit. Il s'agit d'une chronique latine anonyme et de plusieurs versions flamandes, principalement conservées dans des manuscrits du quinzième et seizième siècle.

Les changements par rapport à l'historiographie des époques précédentes se manifestent de façons diverses. Ainsi, le nombre d'ancêtres légendaires de Baudouin I est augmenté. Liederik de Harelbeke doit céder sa place d'ancêtre de la maison comtale flamande à Liederik de Buc, un de ses soi-disant aïeux. En même temps, un changement du cadre géographique se produit: dorénavant, l'origine de la dynastie comtale est située dans le Nord de la France actuelle. Enfin, tandis que dans les chroniques antérieures les forestiers ne sont cités que sommairement, les textes de la *Flandria Generosa C* nous présentent un récit détaillé sur la vie de Liederik de Buc.

Des thèmes empruntés à la littérature épique contribuent au fait qu'une légende explicitant l'origine du comté de Flandre, peut en même temps être considérée comme un *Speculum Principis*.

Il entre dans l'intention de cette conférence d'approfondir l'emploi du soi-disant 'matériel littéraire' dans l'historiographie flamande tardive et de focaliser le changement de fonction de la légende des forestiers.

Romancing the Past: A Middle English Perspective

Edward Donald Kennedy

Thirty-five years ago Denys Hay published an article in which he argued that there was little difference in the types of historical writing being done in France and England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but that there were striking differences in the fifteenth century. Gabrielle Spiegel's book on the development of the vernacular prose chronicle in thirteenth-century France, however, not only gives one a clearer picture of the types of historical writing being done in France, but also makes it clear to one reading the book from the perspective of historical writing in England that there were striking differences as well as similarities throughout the Middle Ages and that the contrasts in the fifteenth century are not as great as Denys Hay had thought.

Differences become especially obvious when vernacular historical writing in the two countries, as opposed to historical writing in Latin, is considered, for vernacular historical writing in England developed differently from vernacular historical writing in France. Four aspects of English historical writing during the Middle Ages offer good opportunities for comparisons and contrasts with the historical writing of medieval France:

- 1) the function of English verse and prose as literary languages for historical writing, with particular attention to the increased prestige of English as a medium for historical writing at the end of the Middle Ages;
- 2) the use of English as a language for historical works written by those outside the government in opposition to royal authority;
- 3) the importance of the Arthurian legends to historical works written in England from the twelfth century on;
- 4) the central government's use of historical works for political propaganda.

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William of Malmesbury and the writing of contemporary history

Edmund J. King

At the beginning of the reign of King Stephen (1135-54), England had a historical profession, in a form in which we might recognise it today: a group of scholars in contact one with another, collecting material, distributing drafts of their writings, confident both of their methodology and of the market for their work. The *doyen* of this group of scholars was William of Malmesbury (c.1090-c.1143). The chief of his historical writings was an influential chronicle, the *Gesta Regum*, "The History of the Kings" of England. Attached to this, in under half the surviving manuscripts, is a short work, the *Historia Novella*, "The History of Recent Events" in England. He had been asked to explain, "those things that by the wonderful dispensation of God had befallen in England in recent times" (Potter 1955, 1). This was a difficult task, for England was in the middle of a very damaging civil war, fought between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. The work was commissioned by Robert earl of Gloucester, the half-brother of the Empress, and it accepts the justice of her claim to the English succession. For this reason, it is customary for historians in citing this work to refer to William of Malmesbury's 'bias', and it has even been suggested that the *Historia Novella* should not be regarded as a work of 'history' at all.

I have recently completed a new edition of *Historia Novella* for the series Oxford Medieval Texts. This will replace that of K. R. Potter, one of the earliest volumes published in the invaluable Nelson's Medieval Texts (Potter 1955), in which the Latin text was established by R. A. B. Mynors. This edition drew heavily on the classic edition of the *Gesta Regum* and the *Historia Novella* published by Bishop Stubbs in the Rolls Series (Stubbs 1887-89). It is argued in my new edition that what earlier editors had identified as the 'final revisions' of William of Malmesbury were not in fact made by him but by a later 'editor'. The nature of the revisions suggests that the editor was in some way associated with Robert of Gloucester, a member of his family or of his wider *familia*. These findings raise the whole question of the interaction between monastic writer and aristocratic patron.

William of Malmesbury, in the Prefaces to his various works, provides valuable fragments of personal and intellectual biography, and shows himself aware of the problems of writing in each particular genre. In his Prefaces to Books IV and V of the *Gesta Regum*, and in the *Historia Novella*, he shows an awareness of the problems of writing contemporary history. "I shall make no concession to favour", he insists, "but write the truth of history alone" (Potter 1955, 64-5). The *Historia Novella* shows how he carried his intention out, and how he worked within the constraints of patronage to produce an independent political history of the years 1126 to 1142. The work is highly allusive: it should be seen, and judged, as a political commentary not a political narrative. An added spice is given to this commentary by the clear evidence, given to us by the survival of the two distinct 'editions', that the work was read in the aristocratic circles to which it was addressed. On occasion, it is suggested, as with the treatment of the towns, the chronicler shared the same attitudes - prejudices might be a better word - as Robert of Gloucester and his circle. The language of communal aspiration was not to their taste. On other occasions, William seems concerned to keep his distance, as with what is termed here 'the language of chivalry', which he reproduces but seems to want to hold at arms length. The author's attitude to Stephen is not merely critical, and that to the empress and her party offers a defence to any "suspicion of flattery" (Potter 1955, 64). William of Malmesbury's last work is that of a historian at the height of his powers.

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La3amon's *Brut*, EETS Volume 3: work in progress

Ian Kirby

The preparation of the Glossary to 'Brook and Leslie' is a long but by no means unrewarding task. Although the necessary close examination of the work, with the invaluable aid of the concordance to the text, has largely confirmed the views of recent scholars, a number of interesting facts have come to light which strengthen, and in some cases modify, such views. One of these facts involves a word which, though common enough today, is not recorded before La3amon, but may well cast light on sporting activities in his day.

This is the word *balles*, which occurs twice in the Caligula MS, at lines 8706 and 12328. Comparison of the two passages suggests that La3amon may have been thinking of the kind of ball used for a golf-like game played in his own day, and probably similar to the 'feathery' used for golf up till the early 19th century.

The material on *balles* is now published as:

Kirby, Ian. "First in the Field? A 'New-Old' Word in La3amon's *Brut*". In *Bright is the Ring of Words. Festschrift für Horst Weinstock zum 65. Geburtstag*. Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag, 1996. 163-6.

Die polnische Familienchronik und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschlechter- und Landesgeschichte

Zofia Kowalska

Die polnische Familienchronik als Geschichtsquelle und literarische Gattung tritt im Spätmittelalter zum Vorschein. Viele polnische Handschriften beinhalten interessante chronikalisch-genealogische Aufzeichnungen, die die besondere Rolle und Bedeutung der adeligen Familien hervorheben und zu Festigung des Stammesbewußtseins und der Verwandtschaftsbande beitragen sollten. Diese Chroniken wurden in lateinischer Sprache niedergeschrieben, manche von ihnen sind schon kritisch ediert. Folgende Beispiele werden in meinen Ausführungen genannt: die Aufzeichnungen über die Familien Ciołek, Drzewicki, Łaski und Melsztyński. Sie berichten nicht nur über die Geschichte und Taten der einzelnen Personen, sondern viel mehr über ihren Anteil an der Landesgeschichte (als hohe Beamten in der königlichen Kanzlei, königliche Berater, Diplomaten und kirchliche Würdenträger). Die genealogische Literatur, die Familienchroniken, sollten auch das Bestreben der Adeligen, die Vorherrschaft unter den Ständen zu erreichen legitimieren.

Eine der als Beispiel angeführten Chronik ist die Aufzeichnung über die Familie Ciołek. Der Name stammt vom Wappen Ciołek, lat. *vitellus* (dasselbe Wappen hatte Stanislaus August Poniatowski, der letzte polnische König 1764-1795). Der Autor der Chronik war der aus dieser Familie stammende Stanislaus (1382-1437), ein berühmter mittelalterlicher Dichter, Sekretär und Vizekanzler des Königs Wladislaw Jagiello, Bischof von Posen. Die Chronik, entstanden 1414-1423, erzählt von seinen Vorfahren und Verwandten; die Geschehnisse werden oft mit Beschreibungen von Heldentaten der

Familienmitglieder geschmückt. Stanislaus berichtet auch über die Rolle seiner Familie in der polnischen Geschichte: z.B. über ihre Teilnahme an den Kämpfen mit den Tataren unter der Herrschaft Kasimirs der Große (1356). Diese Familiengeschichte kann man nicht nur als Beispiel der Chronik-Gattung schlechthin bezeichnen, sondern sie gehört auch zu den interessantesten Denkmälern der polnischen genealogischen Literatur.

Allein der Initiative der jeweiligen Familienangehörigen verdanken wir auch die Entstehung der weiteren Chroniken, der von Drzewicki- (Wappen *vitellus*), Łaski- (Wappen *corbita*) und Melsztyński-Geschlecht (Wappen *Leliwa*). Alle entstanden in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Es werden berühmte Persönlichkeiten dargestellt, ihre Würden und Reichtümer aufgezählt, ihre Taten und Verdienste gelobt, auch in Form von Gedichten (z.B. ein Lobesgedicht über Spizimirus Melsztyński). Ebenso wichtig erscheint den Autoren die Präsenz der adeligen Familien bei den wichtigsten politischen Ereignissen. In allen Chroniken werden die Bedeutung und das Ansehen des Geschlechts betont. Dadurch wird auch das Motiv der Aufzeichnung von Familienchroniken sichtbar: sie unterstreichen die Bedeutung des Adelstandes und seine Bestrebungen, eine führende politische Rolle im Staate zu übernehmen. Die Chroniken stärkten das Selbstbewußtsein der Adeligen, in der Verwirklichung ihrer politischen Ziele, die sie im Spätmittelalter anstrebten und später tatsächlich erreichen sollten; im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert formierte sich die sogenannte polnische Adelsrepublik im Rahmen der Monarchie.

Die polnischen Familienchroniken übermitteln nicht nur die historischen Daten, sondern ein gewisses ideologisches Programm und sie stellen auch interessante Beispiele der genealogischen Literatur dar.

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A forestariis regis Francorum regebatur

The Legend of the Foresters in the Flemish Chronicles (12th-14th century)

Véronique Lambert

Until the beginning of this century it was commonly accepted that Baldwin the Iron, the first count of Flanders, derived from de so-called foresters. Prof. de Saint-Léger proved that this story was a mere legend that found its origins in the 11th century when the descent Liederik - Ingelram - Audacer - Baldwin I is reported for the first time by the author of the *Genealogia Bertiniana*. For the later chroniclers of Flanders the existence of these ancestors of the first count was never a point of discussion. On the answer to the question, however, whether Liederik, Ingelram and Audacer were already counts of Flanders or not, their opinions differed.

Lambert of Saint-Omer in his *Liber Floridus* (1120) and the anonymous author of *Flandria Generosa B* (end 12th century) named Liederik as the first count of Flanders. Andreas of Marchiennes in his *Historia Regum Francorum* (1194) explicitly states that Liederik, Ingelram and Audacer did rule Flanders, not as counts but as foresters in the service of the King of France (this source is the first to use the word *forestarius*). The author of the *Genealogia Brevis* (beginning of the 13th century) mentions the forefathers of Balwin I without any title, while John of Thielrode (end 13th century) calls them Foresters.

This paper will show how the legend of the Foresters of Flanders developed in the chronicles of the 13th and 14th century. At that point the legend changes into a long fable that appears for the first time in the *Flandria Generosa C* (mid 14th century).

Intentionale Verschiebungen in der Chronik Hugos von Flavigny

Mathias Lawo

Die Chronik des Abtes Hugo von Flavigny (1064/5 - nach 1111) ist zwar von der historischen Forschung immer wieder unter Einzelaspekten als wichtige Quelle verwertet worden, als literarisches Ganzes ist ihr eine umfangreichere Würdigung bislang aber versagt geblieben. Bei oberflächlichem Blick in die noch maßgebliche Ausgabe des Werkes durch G. H. Pertz (*MGH SS VIII 288-502*, danach Migne *PL CLIV 21-400*) bietet es sich dem Leser auch als recht ungefügtes Machwerk dar. Das aber ist zu einem guten Teil dem Editor anzulasten, dem - unter erschwerten Bedingungen und wohl auch erheblichem Zeitdruck - zahlreiche Verlesungen sowie sinnstörende bzw. falsche Zuordnungen von Haupttext und Nachträgen unterlaufen sind, sofern er letztere überhaupt kenntlich gemacht hat. Durch diese mangelhafte Trennung zwischen Haupttext und Nachträgen wird jedoch der Blick auf die Genese des überlieferten Textes verstellt. Dabei sind wir in der glücklichen Lage, mit der Handschrift Phillipps 1870 der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz) mit ziemlicher Sicherheit das Autograph der Chronik in Händen zu halten. Wenn man sich mit diesem Codex auseinandersetzt, so erkennt man in ihm bald ein unvollendetes Arbeitsexemplar, dem eine klare, einheitliche Linie noch fehlt. Der Grund dafür dürfte darin zu suchen sein, daß sich Hugos Anspruch an das Werk in der Zeitspanne seines Entstehens zwischen 1085 und 1102 mit seinen eigenen Lebensbedingungen gewandelt hat: Haben wir es zunächst - gewissermaßen als Rückgrat - mit einer bei Christi Geburt einsetzenden Weltchronik zu tun, so sind in diese nachweisbar später vier Lebensbeschreibungen von Verduner Bischöfen (Sanctinus, Pulchronius, Agericus und Madelveus) sowie eine des Abtes Richard von Saint-Vanne eingebaut. In Ihnen wird nicht nur Anspruch auf den apostolischen Ursprung des Bistums und das ehrwürdige Alter von Saint-Vanne erhoben; durch mehrfache Interpolationen (soweit das ermittelbare Vorlagen für diese Viten erkennen lassen) werden auch Wohltaten der früheren Bischöfe gegenüber der Abtei Saint-Vanne bzw. umgekehrt gesagt deren Ansprüche gegenüber der Bischofskirche von Verdun aufgebauscht. Dies ist unschwer als Reaktion auf die Vertreibung der Mönche von Saint-Vanne unter ihrem romtreuen Abt Rodulf durch den kaisertreuen Bischof Dietrich im Jahre 1085 zu verstehen. Mit diesem Jahr, in dem auch für Hugo ein mehrjähriges Exil zu Saint-Bénigne in Dijon begann - zugleich Todesjahr Gregors VII., dem in der Chronik viel Platz eingeräumt ist - vollzieht sich eine deutliche Verlagerung im Blickwinkel des Chronisten eher zu seinen eigenen inneren wie äußeren Lebensumständen hin, ohne daß aber die 'allgemeine' Geschichte ganz aus seinem Gesichtskreis verschwindet. Diese autobiographische Darstellung, das daraus abzuleitende Psychogramm des Autors, die m. W. bisher lediglich zur

Gewinnung von Daten untersucht worden sind, gipfelt in den Streitigkeiten um Hugos Abbatat von Saint-Pierre-et-Prix im burgundischen Flavigny-sur-Ozerain (1096-1099). Allerdings endet die Chronik nicht mit seiner Vertreibung aus dieser Abtei und den anschließenden kanonistischen Querelen mit seinem Ortsbischof Norgaud von Autun: Vielmehr bricht die Darstellung nach einer Rückkehr zu jüngsten Verduner Ereignissen (Sterben und Begräbnis des Abtes Rodulf von Saint-Vanne) mit eher allgemeinesgeschichtlichen Fakten aus den Jahren 1101 und 1102 ab - als habe Hugo auch innerlich mit einem Kapitel seines Lebens abgeschlossen und wolle sich wieder den ursprünglichen Themen seiner schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit zuwenden.

Guibert of Nogent: A Man of the House of his Father

Trudy Lemmers

In the year 1112 the city of Laon was startled by violent riots. For a long period of time maltreatment, plunder and manslaughter were the order of the day. Guibert, abbot of the nearby convent of St. Mary of Nogent, gives a vivid description of this so-called "Communal revolt of Laon". In the third book of his *Monodiae* Guibert presents an eye-witness account of what he calls: "The tragedy of Laon". No single horrible detail of the events that took place in that year and the years thereafter is left unrecorded.

Strictly speaking the third book of Guibert's *Monodiae* is not a chronicle. Still it is a historiographical work in which the author records what happened in his time. Today the third book of this work is primarily appreciated by historians for the author's detailed account of the communal revolt. Especially researchers on socio-economic relations or scholars focussing on the historical development of towns in northern France regard Guibert's account as having great value.

However the *Monodiae* owes its reputation among medievalists even more to the autobiographical first book. Historians as well as literary scholars regard this mixture of genres as an anomaly. Consequently the *Monodiae* is studied mostly in a one-sided way. To a modern point of view the work lacks coherence. It appears episodic, a miscellaneous compilation. There seems to be no visible connection between the three individual books. Yet, Guibert has given sufficient proof that he meant the three books of the *Monodiae* to form a unit.

In my research I focus on the work as a unit in order to understand its meaning. Besides, I try to explain why the work as a whole made perfect sense to Guibert's public, whereas it is so difficult to understand for modern readers.

In my paper I will concentrate on the third, historiographical book. I will explain that in order to understand the *Monodiae* as a whole we will have to take the third historiographical book as a starting point. For the immediate occasion that led to Guibert's writing was in the commotion occasioned by the communal revolt of Laon. By studying the work from this angle, it is possible to indicate the author's intentions and the public for whom he wrote. It will even be possible to locate the author's presence in this book, which is considered as lacking any autobiographical data. By doing so the coherence between the books of the *Monodiae* will be made clear.

How my research relates to the state of research on Guibert's *Monodiae* is evident from the above. Considering the main themes of the conference, it fits in with: The chronicle as a genre (the mixture of genres poses problems for modern researchers, for Guibert and his contemporaries this problem did not exist) and: The function of the chronicle (also evident from the above).

Wace, the *Historia Regum Britannie* and the *Roman de Brut*

The aim of this paper is to analyse Wace's use of the two main sources of his *Roman de Brut*, i.e. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* (known as the Vulgate version) and the Variant version of the same work by an anonymous rewriter. It has been established that the first half or so of the *Roman de Brut* is based on the Variant version, and that the Vulgate version does not seem to have influenced the narrative before the appearance of Merlin. How does Wace handle these two sources? There are relatively few factual divergences between the two versions of the *Historia*, but they display significant differences in narrative structure, particularly in the Arthurian section: how does Wace resolve the tension between his two authorities? Does he merge the two accounts, or make a choice? If so, on what grounds?

This investigation gives valuable insights into the compositional procedures of a medieval chronicler-translator confronted with conflicting readings, and may shed some light upon Wace's idea of historical writing.

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Das literarisches Kommunikations-Modell in den mittellateinischen Chroniken

Kazimierz Liman

Es wird versucht das sprachtheoretische Modell, welches auf der Konzeption von Bühler-Jacobson fußt, und von mir weiter ausgearbeitet wurde, bei der Beschreibung der Struktur des Kunsttextes und der Umgestaltung des Sprachberichtes in ein Kunstwerk, d.h. in eine Chronik anzuwenden. Solches folgerichtiges Verfahren, das praktisch bisher nicht artikuliert wurde, führt m.E. in die literarisch-historische Analyse ein ordnendes Prinzip ein, und legt mit Hilfe der Poetik d.h. der Theorie des literarischen Werkes ein individuelles System des chronikalischen Schaffens fest. Es wurde dabei folgendes Modell aufgestellt:

[Technische Bemerkung: hier soll die gedruckte und beigelegte Darstellung des Modells einspeichern oder scannen]

Es werden im Werk die Hauptrollen von drei Personen exponiert, *in puncto A* - des Senders (Autors), *in puncto B* - des Helden (Person) von dem man spricht, *in puncto C* - des Empfängers (Lesers). Man soll also *in puncto A* - das Chronisten-Bild (primäres Milieu, Schule, literarische Tradition des jeweiligen Wirkungskreises) festlegen. Die Zeugen der geschilderten Vorgängen, werden *nominatim* eher selten genannt, den Chronisten erkennen wir aber meistens in der *Intitulatio* vom Namen her. Von persönlichen Akzenten des Verfassers ist z.B. das Werk Thietmars durchsickert, der auch nicht selten in das Bild der dargestellten Welt hineindringt. Es gibt transdiskursive Autoren, d.h. diejenigen, die mehr als ein Werk verfaßt haben, z.B. Gregor von Tours, Paulus Diaconus, Widukind. Neben begrenzter gibt es auch eingepflanzte Anonymität (z.B. Anon. Gallus, der erste polnische Chronist, Anfang des XII Jhs.).

Grundlegend im Kommunikationsprozess ist die Relation: der Sender □ die Aussage. In *puncto B* - wird der Kanal (Übertrager, *Communiqé*) mit seinen literarischen Kategorien: Erzähler, Erzählung, loziert. Neben der Frage nach der Placierung des Erzählers geht auch um die Art der Thematisierung der Erzählkommunikation. Relevant ist der Sender, d.h. der meistens auktoriale und namentlich genannte Erzähler. Zum Wissensumfang gehört seine schulische und schriftstellerische Ausbildung (lateinische

Sprache, Rhetorik, Bibel, römische und mittellateinische Literatur), welche u.a. die Problematik der Intertextualität mit sich bringen.

Die Position des Erzählers der dargestellten Welt gegenüber wird unterschiedlich betont. So z.B. scheint Thietmar als besonders engagierter auktorialer Erzähler von Assertorität geprägt zu sein. In manchen Chroniken wird die Einschränkung der Kompetenz des Erzählers verbal akzentuiert.

In puncto B - 2, in der Erzählung, ist zuerst der Metatext, d.h. die autotematischen Äußerungen, auszusondern. Sie betreffen den Erzähler, der u.a. mit autotropischer oder allotropischer Orientierung und alternierenden Personenformen *ego/nos*, auftritt (die pl. Form *nos* überwiegt bei Paulus Diac., Widukind, An. Gallus, bei Kosmas kommt die sg. Form *ego* unwesentlich öfters vor). Weil die Chroniken sozusagen ein petrifiziertes Gattungsmodell sind, bezieht sich das Metatextuelle auch auf die Chronik Konvention. Die Narrationslage wird recht selten geschildert. Die topischen Wendungen betreffen meistens der Gliederung des Stoffes, wo die Überschrift und deiktisch geprägtes Vorwort sowie der segmentierte Text eine kohärente Einheit bilden. Sie betreffen ferner der Umstände (*causa scribendi*) in denen das Werk verfaßt wurde, des heuristischen Strebens des Chronisten. Die Konventionalität wird auch beim Beachten des *ordo narrationis*, bis qualitativer Faktenvermittlung (*veritas*), bei Beurteilung der Geschehnisse, und beim verbalen Bemühen nach der *brevitas*, sichtbar. Ein Texttransformieren kann von Autoren die das gleiche Thema aufnehmen oder fortsetzen durch Faktenmanipulation (Verschweigen, unklarer Bericht, Übertreibungen, Rhetorik, formelles Perfektionieren usw.) vorgenommen werden.

Neben der Temporalisierung wurde auch der Raum unterschiedlich betrachtet. Er wird in den Abschweifungen (z.B. geographische exkurse), die als stilistische Figuren mit Eigenfunktion zu verstehen sind, im II. der Paratext, vermittelt.

III. Text: Wichtig ist die Problematik der dargestellten Welt samt ihrer kognitiven und ideologischen Funktion. Ein Reflektieren über das Welt-Modell (vertikales Welt-Bild, *sacrum* und *antisacrum*, Modell der Herrscher in der literarischen Tradition, meistens providentielle Deutung (Hand Gottes) des historischen Geschehens, neben der *Fortuna*), macht es möglich eingehender als bisher den Inhalt zu analysieren. Die Erzählung wurde gelegentlich durch novellenartige Partien, Diskurse, stilisierte Reden und Monologe (u.a. *ultimae voces*), bereichert. Die strukturelle Position und der vielfältige modus der Existenz der Helden-Figur, ist ein wichtiges Element der literarischer Kommunikation und der Reflexion über das Schrifttum.

In puncto C - der meistens verallgemeinerte Empfänger wird in seiner untergeordneten Position placiert. Von einer Wahrnehmung des Textes durch Hören lesen wir selten.

Schlußfolgerungen. Anhand des Kommunikationsmodells konnte man m.E. tiefer als bisher in den offenen Text dieser diskursiven Gattung eindringen. Den mittelalterlichen Autoren waren die Axiomata der Gattungspoetik wohl bekannt, und sie wußten es dieselben erfolgreich zu realisieren. Die umrißene Polyfunktionalität der Chroniken besteht in der: Kognivität, Verherrlichung der Dynastie, der Herrscher, der eigenen Vergangenheit, Belehrung, Unterhaltung.

Das vorgelegte Forschungsverfahren, welches in Details noch zu perfektionieren ist, bliebe eine verlockende Aufgabe, zumal sie weit über die simple Quellen-Beschreibung hinausgeht.

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Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.198, a miscellany of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works, includes two very brief and hitherto unpublished pieces of medieval geography and history. Though the geography is in Latin and the epitome of history in Middle English, the two works are in the same hand and have been deliberately associated in this manuscript by someone other than a copyist. Both the geography and history use a pattern typical of longer medieval historical works; like Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* and Higden's *Polychronicon*, they start from an abbreviated universal and biblical perspective and proceed quickly to focus more narrowly on features of England's geography and history. Their brevity is remarkable and is the main subject of this paper. The geography seeks to describe the known world and England in just over a hundred words, and the history presents world and English history from the Creation to 1415 in fewer than 450 words. Similarly brief works, mainly historical, appear fairly frequently in medieval manuscripts and are generally disregarded because they are derivative and supply little or no information available in fuller works. But the Folger geography and history are significant for reasons other than their content. I will remark on their relation to each other, their placement together in the miscellany, the detectable assumptions which led to their composing, and, in particular, an apparent use which brief geographies and histories like these served in the middle ages and of which we are no longer perfectly aware. Also of interest are a cryptically provided date of composition of 1442, collocations of parts of the geography to Bartholoméus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* and to Higden's *Polychronicon*, a Middle English analogue to the geography in BL Additional MS 37049, and collocations of parts of the history to Martinus Polonus' *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* and to the *Prose Brut*.

Bishops and Chroniclers in Fourteenth-Century England

Ingrid Lundegardh

The attitude towards medieval chronicles as historical sources has gone through some dramatic changes over the centuries. Once they were the principal material of the medieval historian, much used by Victorian scholars. Then the record sources were discovered, and the chronicles were often rejected as inaccurate and biased. Of course, no one can deny that many of these allegations are often true. Chroniclers had antipathies and sympathies which influenced the way they interpreted and described people and events, and their reports were not seldom inaccurate and misinformed. But an incorrect and distorted report made by an observer inside the same cultural context, that is within the same ideological paradigm, represents *one* kind of "truth", which cannot be tested against factual evidence. It gives us a fragment of how society perceived, or wanted to perceive, itself. In this paper, I wish to illustrate how I have approached chronicles in my own research, which is an attempt to define the role and position of bishops in fourteenth century English society. The central material in this study are chronicles, between 50 and 60 works which can be considered roughly contemporary.

Bishops held an ambiguous position in late medieval society. On one hand they were ecclesiastical officials with clearly defined religious duties, while on the other hand they played an important role in lay society as magnates and landowners. They sat together with the lay peerage in parliament, and often served their king, locally or nationally, as administrators and advisers. A consequence of this dual role of the bishops, both spiritual and temporal, was that the practicalities of secular society often intruded on the ideals surrounding the episcopal office; and the guidelines set down by Canon law provided insufficient support in the complexities of the real, material world. Nevertheless, there must have been a set of assumptions and expectations, which influenced bishop's actions and interactions in the social arena, something which we may call an episcopal role. However, this should not be perceived of as a set of rules which would determine every action of every individual bishop, but rather as a framework of expectations and ideals within which individual bishops had to operate and which constituted the basis

for their own interpretation of the episcopal role, as well as contemporaries' perception of bishop's activities. For this purpose I have found an ideal source material in the chronicles, many of which were written by men who had lived through the events they recorded, and attempted to describe and make sense out of the world they lived in. Although it is far beyond the scope of this paper to cover the full range of episcopal activities, I would nevertheless like briefly to explore two extremes to which the episcopal role could be brought, as represented by the militant Bishop Despenser of Norwich, riding out against the rebels of 1381, and Archbishop, murdered by an angry mob during the same revolt. While Despenser in the chronicler Thomas Walsingham's work is portrayed as the righteous avenger, striking down the enemies of the church, Sudbury is by the same author cast in the role of the martyr, forgiving his murderers and offering his neck to the executioner. Contradictory as these images may seem, they nevertheless represent two idealised manifestations of the episcopal role which were equally acceptable, even laudable, in the eyes of at least some of Walsingham's contemporaries. Furthermore, both roles, avenger and martyr, had direct repercussions in a wide social and political context. The image of the martyr bishop was still exploited politically in the late middle ages, for instance by Archbishop John Stratford in his conflict with Edward III in 1340 and 1341. The military implications of the bishop as avenger were, on the other hand, much more problematic, being in conflict with the dictates of Canon Law, as well as constituting a potential threat against the position of those societal groups who had monopolised the military sphere. Nevertheless, the bishops of the northern province were expected to share the responsibility for the defence against Scottish invaders and the chroniclers frequently relate the military activities of the archbishops of York as well as of the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, seemingly without any unease. Such attitudes towards bishops and warfare reflected a general trend, a perception of the ideal bishop as a strong lord, militant and aggressive when the interests of his church were threatened. One of the main demands on a bishop was to defend both church and clergy against a hostile world, and it can be argued that this was the consequence of operating in a secular world, functioning as magnate and landowner. However pious, learned and morally impeccable a bishop was, he still had to gain respect from his subjects and his neighbours, and this could only be done within a secular system of values. Over all, the chroniclers are little concerned with bishops' performances of the pastoral duties of the episcopal office

The argument of this paper is that what has often been considered a weakness in the chronicle sources, can instead be turned into a strength. They may not be accurate or reliable when it comes to facts, but despite these flaws, or maybe because of them, they provide us with an image of the society in which they were created; a society where, as in any other society, opinions, expectations and misconceptions have as much influence as the 'reality' which they are accused of distorting.

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From Panegyric to Chronicle: Narrative aspects of Heelu's *Battle of Woeringen* in Velthem's *Continuation*

Erwin Mantingh

Writing his *Continuation* (c. 1316) to the Middle Dutch verse adaptation of Vincent of Beauvias'

Speculum historiale, Lodewijk van Velthem incorporated Jan van Heelu's verse account of the *Battle of Woeringen* (c. 1290). The incorporation in the universal chronicle has left deep marks on the battle account. Its length has been reduced to one third (c. 3000 lines against almost 9000 in the original version), the story split up into three pieces spread over the chronicle while the panegyric character has been removed.

In my paper I will focus on an aspect of the adaptation that has affected the narrative technique: whereas Heelu structured his story in the traditional way, connecting the parts by verbal links, Velthem made use of "modern" visual means (a division into books, chapters, etc.). A comparison will shed light on this shift in narrative technique.

Narrator and Point of View in Medieval Chronicles: A Linguistic Approach

Sophie Marnette

My paper relates to at least two of the main themes set for the conference, i.e. the chronicle as a literary genre, and its function (language, audience, prose or verse). It draws on my dissertation research and consists of a close linguistic analysis of the chronicles of Robert de Clari, Villehardouin and Joinville in order to explore the ways in which narrators are presented in these texts and how point of view is expressed, that of the narrator as well as those of characters.

First, I explore two essential questions regarding narration:

- a) Is there a first-person speaker in the texts?
- b) How is the narrator's relation to listeners/readers encoded?

This agenda involves primarily looking at personal pronouns in the specifically narrative parts of the texts.

Second, I examine the narrator's comments on the story, the extra-textual world and the activity of narration. This is accomplished by analyzing speech acts (commands, wishes, questions...) as well as a set of linguistic categories (tense, spatial and temporal deictics, and 'irrealis' markers), and by focusing on explicit references to the act of narration.

Third, by analyzing reported speech and thought in the texts, I determine how and to what degree the narrator 'controls' the discourses of the characters.

Finally, on the basis of the preceding analyses, which assess the position of the narrator in the texts, I can proceed to identify the - often multiple - point(s) of view through which the content of story worlds is filtered: the narrator's, the characters' or even at times the implied listeners/readers' points of view.

By means of the above analyses, this study aims at providing some answers to two puzzling questions:

- 1) What does differentiate chronicles from epics?
- 2) What are the differences between thirteenth-century chronicles like those of Clari and Villehardouin and a later chronicle like Joinville's?

In very short, chronicles and epics are two historical genres that present reality in radically different ways. Epics enable listeners/readers to 're-live' historical events, notably by using present tenses and numerous direct discourses. Listeners/readers thus become witnesses of the story. On the contrary, chronicles show history as remote in the past and detached from listeners/readers, particularly by using mainly past tenses and indirect discourses (if any reported discourses at all). Instead of linking their authority to the voice of the performer and of deriving their sources from traditional communal knowledge, chronicles draw them from a single individual, both witness of the narrated events and author of the narrative. This individual may be referred to in the third person in earlier chronicles or in the first person in later ones.

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Fourteenth-Century Chronicles: News as History

Geoffrey Martin

Chronicles were a striking feature not only of the intellectual and literary but also of the political life of the Middle Ages. Highly regarded in their time, they were subsequently judged more critically in the light of the cultural and religious changes of the renaissance and Reformation. Their nineteenth-century editors were apt to assess them, as though they were examination scripts, only for accuracy and reliability, and with low expectations on either count.

With a broader view of the subject, however, their sources, inter-relationships, assumptions, and even the shortcomings of the genre are instructive and full of interest. Although all chronicles were historical statements of a kind, many of them drew material from a wide variety of contemporary sources, and they can themselves be regarded as one of the means by which news and political information were disseminated.

In the middle and later fourteenth century chroniclers were still predominantly the products of religious houses. In England there are examples from all the principal orders, amongst which the Benedictines and the Augustinian canons make a strong showing. All rely in some measure upon the *Polychronicon* of Ralf Higden, OSB, written at Chester between 1320 and 1350, but the vernacular chronicle known as the *Brut* and a number of Franciscan narratives seem also to have been widely used.

For contemporary events there was evidently much archival and semi-archival material in circulation, supplemented everywhere by the reports of eye-witnesses and those who regarded themselves as being as good as eye-witnesses. The informal and personal elements in chronicles invite investigation because they bring us close to the techniques and interests of their compilers, and also show us something of the audience for whom they wrote. News from abroad is always interesting and readily lends itself to embellishments which in retrospect are usefully instructive. The complex relations between England and the Low Countries, cultural, dynastic, diplomatic and commercial make the acquisition and treatment of news from those territories a particularly promising field of inquiry.

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The Prose *Brut* Chronicle: Ordering History and Narrative

Julia Marvin

The prose *Brut* chronicle, originally a history of Britain from Brutus to the death of Henry III in 1272, was the first work of English secular historiography widely available to those not literate in Latin. In its Anglo-Norman versions and later Middle English translation, it appears to have been the single most popular secular vernacular work of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, but its main text has received little critical attention, perhaps because as a highly derivative prose work in the Anglo-Norman dialect, it has fallen outside the traditional bailiwicks of students of medieval English literature and history. But if the *Brut* has few memorable turns of phrase or reliable 'facts' to offer, it does reveal the different ways in which readers and writers established a genre of serious vernacular historiography and imparted meaning to the British past by assimilating source material for contemporary use. In this paper, I concentrate on particular examples drawn from different versions of the text in order to illuminate the Anglo-Norman *Brut's* broad social concerns and narrative techniques.

I first discuss the ways in which the earliest known version of the Anglo-Norman *Brut* adapts, embellishes, and selectively omits material from its sources in order to create a British history that addresses the concerns and desires of its baronial audience, an audience apparently at least as eager for stories of domestic order as for those of chivalric adventure. I concentrate on two examples from the text: the representation of Arthur as a crusader king against the pagan allies of Rome, and the suppression of the story of Cadwallader and the destruction of the Britons.

I then consider the last version of the Anglo-Norman *Brut* (which probably dates from the 1330s, and on which the better-known Middle English translation is based) to show how it restructures the ordination of the text to bring it into line with a more 'clerical' generic conception of history. It also revises legendary material in order to provide correspondences to and commentary on more recent events: I discuss its revision of the text's prologue - the story of the regicidal princess Albine - and its account of the reign of Edward II, which I argue are redesigned to reflect on each other.

This paper addresses several subthemes of the conference: primarily the reconstruction of the past for contemporary use, but also varieties of contemporary awareness of history as a narrative genre, manifested in both textual revision and the ordination of particular manuscripts.

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The Middle English Prose *Brut*: Variation and Recension

C. W. Marx

The prose *Brut* chronicle survives in Middle English in over 175 manuscripts, in Anglo-Norman in over 50 manuscripts, and in Latin in 15 manuscripts. On this evidence it was the most popular secular text in medieval Britain. However, the prose *Brut* has received little attention, and there is only one edition of a complete text, that by F. W. D. Brie, who includes as well extracts from a number of continuations. Donald Kennedy and Lister M. Matheson have done much valuable work on the census of the manuscripts, but there has been little attempt and few opportunities to investigate the different versions or recensions of the text. The entries in the handlists of the *Index of Middle English Prose* tend to give the impression that the *Brut* is a uniform text with little significant variation in scope or content.

However, individual manuscripts of the Middle English text show extensive revisions and additions, and investigations of these variant texts reveal different ways in which the history of Britain and its place in European history were constructed in the Middle Ages.

My concern has been with some of the distinctive features of one version or recension of the *Brut* and with what these suggest about how medieval compilers perceived the genre and function of the chronicle. This version or recension is found in two manuscripts of the *Brut*. The first is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34. A portion of the text in this manuscript covering the years 1377-1461, the reigns of the English kings from Richard II to Henry VI, was published in 1856 as *An English Chronicle*, without reference to other English language manuscripts. The manuscript consisted originally of 30 quires in 8s, but three quires (numbers 19, 20, 21), that is, 24 folios, survive as only 3 folios and 8 fragments -- these cover the first part of the reign of Richard II. The editor has printed the fragments, but large portions of the text are missing, including the account of the Peasants' Revolt. Through my work in the National Library of Wales for the *Index of Middle English Prose* I have come across a manuscript of the *Brut*, NLW MS 21608, which is closely related to MS Lyell 34 and contains a complete text where MS Lyell 34 is damaged. Using this I have been able to reconstruct the chronicle narrative in MS Lyell 34. It has long been recognized that MS Lyell 34 contains a distinctive continuation of the Middle English prose *Brut*, that is, from the account of the reign of Richard II onwards, and that this was drawn from the Latin chronicle, the *Eulogium Historiarum* which originated in a monastic context, Malmesbury Abbey. But recognizing the significance of NLW MS 21608 has encouraged a fuller investigation of the special features of the whole of this recension of the *Brut*. The version of the *Brut* witnessed in MS Lyell 34 and NLW 21608 has distinctive features which are evident throughout the text. At many points the text is much expanded in comparison with the 'standard' text printed by Brie, and materials are drawn from legendary history, saints' lives, miracle stories, Latin chronicles, political writing, and mystical writing. The evidence of these manuscripts modifies our understanding of how the function of the vernacular chronicle was coming to be understood in fifteenth-century Britain. The *Brut* was a popular text because it was adaptable and could be made to function as an historical encyclopaedia, and it could absorb some of the functions previously reserved for the Latin monastic chronicle. The existence of only one modern edition of a complete text of the *Brut* has distorted our understanding of the way that text was used in medieval Britain, particularly in the fifteenth century. There is an urgent need for much closer scrutiny of individual manuscripts in order to identify distinctive recensions such as the one witnessed by MS Lyell 34 and NLW MS 21608.

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A New Chronicle Account of the Outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt

Lister M. Matheson
58

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (and sometimes beyond) accounts of the English Peasants' Revolt of 1381 commonly begin with an anecdote concerning John Tyler of Dartford in Kent, whose killing of a tax collector (who had made an indecent suggestion how to determine the age of Tyler's daughter) sparked off the rising. In early versions of the story, John Tyler assumes the name Jack Straw and becomes the rebels' leader, while in some later versions, John is called Wat Tyler, the historical leader of the rising.

Twentieth-century scholarly historians have generally discounted the John Tyler story as pure fable, primarily because they have thought that it appeared first in the late sixteenth-century works of John Stow. Stow's source has, however, survived unnoticed in an expanded version of the Middle English prose *Brut*, the most popular historical work of the Middle Ages in England, found in Woburn Abbey MS. 181. This text was compiled by Richard Fox, a lay employee of St. Albans Abbey, who completed his work in 1448. He claims to have received his information concerning John Tyler from an informant who was close to the incident in 1381. The present paper describes Fox's work and sources, considers the later political and cultural uses and treatment of the John Tyler story in scholarly and popular histories and in literary works, and discusses what this new evidence adds to the intriguing implications of the frequent confusion in medieval chronicles over the true identity of the rebel leader (Wat Tyler or Jack Straw) killed at Smithfield in London by William Walworth, mayor of the city.

The Annals of St David's: A Welsh Latin Chronicle

Kari Maund

The three Welsh Latin chronicles known collectively as the *Annales Cambriae* have long been treated by historians as though they were essentially no more than variants of the same core text. Their value to the scholar of British and Irish early mediaeval history is well recognised, yet relatively little attention has been paid to the texts themselves (a situation which has been exacerbated by the lack of a modern critical edition of any of the texts). I propose to offer a paper which will go (I hope) at least some short way towards redressing this situation, and which should form an appropriate contribution to theme two of the conference on the mediaeval chronicle (The Function of the Chronicle).

The *Annals of St David's* (the C-Text of the *Annales Cambriae*) survive in an thirteenth-century manuscript, British Library MS. Cotton Domitian i. The annals cover a long historical range - from early 'history' derived from Biblical tradition down to the late thirteenth century itself, and the era of the Edwardian conquest of Wales. The text was compiled at the monastery of St David's, in South West Wales, using records from Ireland, as well as local materials and materials from classical and post-classical authors, forming a multi-layered whole. I discussed this text in terms both of political and regional bias. Despite its provenance at St David's (a church with apparently strong 'nationalistic' connections) the *Annals of St David's* in their later sections form less a record of the history of Wales than of the Anglo-Normans in Wales, while the B-text is largely a record of native Welsh activity. This difference raises a number of important questions about the roles played by these chronicles in their Welsh context, and about the impact of colonial Anglo-Norman activity on Welsh historical writing. The text as extant gives the impression of a work in progress, and shows clear signs of an attempt by the compiler(s) to create a Cambro-Norman chronicle from the basis of a text which in its earlier sections at least represents a Welsh record. I also addressed the question of the intended audience and purpose of the C-text, and looked at how such a text came to be compiled at St David's, rather than (as might be expected) one of the newer Anglo-Norman foundations within Wales. I also looked at the regional interests displayed within the text, in terms both of the light this sheds upon the internal structure and sources of the *Annals of St David's*, and in terms of Welsh political dominance, influence and hegemony within the early mediaeval period.

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**Pourquoi et comment les chroniqueurs médiévaux racontent-ils l'histoire biblique?
Enquête chez quelques auteurs de la première moitié du XII^e siècle
(Hugues de Fleury, Ordéric Vital, Otton de Freising)**

Elisabeth Mégier

Par cette contribution je voudrais stimuler la discussion autour de la 'vision médiévale de l'histoire' dont l'histoire biblique serait le fondement normatif (Schmale, 38-39; Guenée 20). Mon hypothèse est que le modèle d'histoire biblique censé constituer la norme, à savoir la succession unilinéaire d'événements uniformément réels et datés, partant d'une origine et orientés vers une fin selon le plan de Dieu (Schmale 32; 41), est le fruit d'une élaboration interprétative particulière, qui prend sa racine, plus que dans la Bible, dans l'empire romain: elle est née de l'exigence d'intégrer la tradition biblique dans les représentations historiques de l'antiquité païenne, marquées par l'ascension progressive de Rome au règne universel. Par la suite, le modèle 'normatif' va donc être plus ou moins présent selon l'importance donnée par les auteurs à la 'romanité', ou subir des variations selon leur attitude vis-à-vis de l'empire. Ces variations expriment aussi la contradiction interne que le modèle comporte: placée sur une même ligne de succession, l'Ancienne Alliance, qui devait être valorisée, risque d'être au contraire dévaluée par rapport à la Nouvelle, dont l'avènement la rend caduque, ou par rapport aux Romains, qui occupent la ligne historique de manière plus efficace que les Juifs.

Les différences entre les auteurs étudiés, dans leur vision de l'histoire biblique, et par conséquent dans leur vision des Juifs de leur temps, sont en bonne partie fonction de leur perception de la querelle des investitures. Les deux auteurs marqués par cet affrontement proposent des versions divergeantes du modèle normatif. Otton de Freising, qui défend la prérogative de l'empire et fait de celui-ci le support providentiel de la cité de Dieu, a besoin de l'histoire juive pour son projet d'histoire totale, mais tend à minimiser l'apport des Juifs par rapport à celui des Romains; les Juifs contemporains, qualifiés de quantité négligeable, ne provoquent pas d'aversion particulière. Hugues de Fleury, qui met en avant l'Eglise, la considérant cependant comme entité spirituelle qui ne concurrence pas le pouvoir temporel, insiste sur la continuité progressive de foi et de doctrine qui unit les deux Alliances, et est ainsi amené à une dure condamnation des Juifs non convertis. Ordéric Vital par contre reste en marge aussi bien de la querelle des investitures que de l'histoire biblique normative. Il considère toute la Bible comme fondement exemplaire et toujours actif de l'existence présente; la permanence des Juifs après le Christ n'est pas un problème pour lui.

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Matthew Paris and the Jews: A Reconsideration

Sophia Menache

Against the doubts surrounding Matthew Paris's reliability as a historical source on the one hand and the awareness of his biased approach toward Jews on the other, stands his importance in voicing the prevailing fears and expectations in thirteenth-century England; no less important was his influence in shaping the stereotype of Jews for the years to come. Moreover, according to Gavin I. Langmuir, "the phenomenon of prejudice is central to any investigation of the treatment of the Jews in the Middle Ages...It is difficult to imagine a more perfect screen on which might be projected the dissatisfactions, the anxieties, the hostility and the repressed fantasies of the delights and powers of evil brewed by all the tensions of a rapidly developing and increasingly institutionalized society." In this regard, Matthew's approach to Jews provides an excellent case study of the complex mental structures within which Anglo-Jewry developed some forty years before the expulsion (1290).

Yet, a comprehensive research of Matthew Paris's attitudes toward Anglo-Jewry is still missing, and the fragmentary comments in this regard suffer from some regrettable weaknesses. On the whole, historiographical research puts emphasis on Matthew's ecclesiastical affiliation and, though acknowledging his political tenets, relegated them to a marginal role in his approach to contemporary Jews.

Consequently, his 'anti-Jewish' images were commonly evaluated as predictable, hatred of the Jew being a prevailing tendency in medieval Christendom, especially in the ecclesiastical order. Besides, the lack of coherence attributed to Matthew Paris presumably precludes any attempt to elucidate his approach on a defined issue. To be more specific, it seems that research on Matthew Paris and his view of Anglo-Jewry suffers from the same stereotyping of which the monk of St. Albans himself was found guilty. This monolithic stereotyping subsequently justified a selective approach to Matthew Paris and his writing, his manifestations of empathy toward Jews being regarded either as symptoms of a 'lack of coherence' or as a simple oversight.

It is the premise of this study that Matthew's links with St. Albans and his basic antagonism to King Henry III and Pope Innocent IV provided him with a more coherent approach to Anglo-Jewry than is commonly attributed to him, though this coherence was not always conscious or premeditated. Further, Matthew's ambivalent attitudes toward Jews, and Anglo-Jewry in particular, essentially hint at the "climate of opinion" of thirteenth century England, the ecclesiastical and aristocratic elite at its front. Guided by these premises, this essay elucidates Matthew's attitudes toward Jews in general and Anglo-Jewry in particular.

An Illuminated Middle Dutch Mirror of History: Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael*

Martine Meuwese

Jacob van Maerlant wrote the *Spiegel Historiae* ('Mirror of History') in 1283-1287 by order of Floris V, the Count of Holland. It is the earliest translation of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* into a vernacular. In order to make his book more accessible to his lay readers Maerlant particularly applies himself to stressing the story line of his source.

The only illuminated manuscript containing this text has probably been manufactured in Flanders in the early fourteenth century. This means that it is an early instance of an illuminated manuscript containing a Middle Dutch literary text (and a richly decorated one at that).

The miniatures in this manuscript depict both religious scenes (from the Old and New Testament) and worldly scenes (the stories of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar, Attila, Arthur, Clovis, Charlemagne, and the crusaders). These appear to have been inspired by the international iconography of both religious and secular texts (a.o. the *Grandes Chroniques de France*). At the same time there is a close connection between the text and the illustrations in the manuscript, which in places makes for exceptional iconography.

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Les chroniqueurs et la grande peste. Le cas de Marseille

Francine Michaud

Cette proposition de communication s'inscrit dans la cadre du thème sur "la chronique et la reconstruction du passé". Du Saint Empire à l'Angleterre, les chroniqueurs de la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle ont écrit plus ou moins abondamment sur le retour de la peste noire, sur ses origines et ses conséquences immédiates d'ordre démographique, social, religieux et même psychologique. Or, à la lumière de sources non-narratives (telles les sources notariales), l'historiographie moderne est en mesure d'apprécier le degré de véracité des faits rapportés par les chroniqueurs latins. Port de mer méditerranéen par où le mal allait embraser tout l'Occident, Marseille constitue à cet égard un terrain d'observation privilégié, puisque les auteurs n'ont pas manqué de se prononcer, bien que diversement, sur la chronologie des événements, le rôle de la cité dans la propagation de l'épidémie dans le reste de la Chrétienté, ainsi que sur les premières réactions humaines face au fléau. Détail non négligeable, même les faits les plus fantaisistes rapportés par certains narrateurs ont été repris à la lettre par les historiens contemporains.

Zu den Benutzungsräumen von Papst-Kaiser-Chroniken: Der Überlieferungsbefund der *Flores temporum*

Heike Johanna Mierau

Ein offenbar in Südwestdeutschland lebender Minorit verfaßte am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts nach dem Vorbild Martins von Troppau eine lateinische Papst-Kaiser-Chronik, die im späten Mittelalter eine breite Rezeption erfahren hat. Ausgehend vom deutschen Südwesten fanden die *Flores temporum*, wie die Chronik in Ermangelung eines Verfassernamens genannt wird, in ganz Süddeutschland mit den angrenzenden Gebieten der Schweiz, Österreichs und Böhmens weite Verbreitung. Dabei wurde der

Text mehrfach bearbeitet und fortgesetzt. Die Liste der erhaltenen Handschriften der Chronik weist momentan 101 Einträge auf, dazu kommen etliche Exzerpte und auch einige Übersetzungen ins Deutsche.

Der Vortrag wird Ergebnisse der an der Universität Münster im Sonderforschungsbereich 231 "Träger, Felder, Formen pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter" bearbeiteten Überlieferungsgeschichte der Chronik präsentieren. Um den pragmatischen Gebrauch der Chronik zu verdeutlichen, steht die Frage nach den Benutzungsräumen und den Trägern der Rezeption im Mittelpunkt.

Im Prolog hat der Verfasser den Verwendungsbereich seines Werkes selbst klar umrissen: die Chronik sollte den Predigern als Hilfe dienen, mit der sie die Lebensdaten und Lebenssituationen der Heiligen einordnen konnten. Die Träger der Überlieferung waren aber, wie eine Übersicht über die Schreiber und Besitzer der Chronikhandschriften zeigt, nicht die Bettelmönche, für die sie zunächst als Hilfsmittel gedacht waren. Die Konvente der Benediktiner, Zisterzienser und Augustinerchorherren sind in der Gruppe der Handschriftenbesitzer führend, wenn die Texte auch nicht immer im direkten Interesse der Gemeinschaften hergestellt oder erworben wurden, sondern vielfach als Schenkungen von Klerikern in die Klosterbibliotheken gelangten. Ein für die Papst-Kaiser-Chroniken bislang wenig beachtetes Rezeptionsfeld ist damit an gesprochen: der Pfarrklerus des 15. Jahrhunderts, der die *Flores temporum* gemäß der Werkintention zur Predigtvorbereitung nutzte. Für die Bewertung der Klerusreform des 15. Jahrhunderts ist dieser Befund interessant.

Daneben sind Handschriften der Chronik in Hof- und seltener in Ratsbibliotheken sowie in den Büchersammlungen von Gelehrten aufzufinden. Die *Flores temporum* wurden wie auch die anderen breit überlieferten Papst-Kaiser-Chroniken als Handbuch herangezogen, um historisches Grundwissen nachzuschlagen. Die Übersichtlichkeit der Anlage und die Beschränkung auf die wichtigsten Informationen sorgten dafür, daß die gesuchten Nachrichten schnell griffbereit waren.

Wie die Vorlagenkennzeichnung in regionalen Geschichtswerken des späten Mittelalters und auch die Zusammenstellung von Geschichtskompendien mit mehreren Chroniken in einer Handschrift zeigen, wurde die Chronik ferner dazu genutzt, die eigene Geschichte in das allgemeine Weltgeschehen einzuordnen. Darüber hinaus haben die Humanisten den Text als Quelle für ihre historischen Studien verwandt. Damit wird das Verdikt von Herbert Grundmann, die Papst-Kaiser-Chroniken hätten "den historischen Sinn eher erstickt als gefördert", durch den Überlieferungsbefund der *Flores temporum* erneut als Fehlurteil erwiesen.

The Death of James Douglas in Barbour, Froissart and Richard Holland

Inge B. Milfull

Descriptions of one and the same historical incident, James Douglas's crusade against the Saracenes carrying the heart of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and Douglas's subsequent death in battle, are found in the works of three late medieval authors, Barbour, Froissart and Holland. The three accounts, however, differ considerably in content, ideology and style in ways that are only in part motivated by the divergence of their sources.

The two fourteenth-century chronicles by Barbour and Froissart are both noted for the ways the chivalric ideal informs their writing. While Froissart has at times been criticized for stylizing his subject matter as chivalric romance at the cost of historical accuracy, Barbour has tended to be praised for combining an - on the whole - factual account with a staunch adherence to chivalry in a rousing narrative. Froissart writes in French prose, Barbour in Scots verse. How have the demands of the medium shaped the approach of the writer and the reception by latter-day historians?

For Froissart and Barbour both Douglas's death is an event of the not-too-distant past. Otherwise they treat it from widely differing points of view. For Froissart, it is a relatively minor incident at the beginning of his pageant of Anglo-French interaction. The Scots as a nation have something of the exotic

savage about them for him, although he is able to appreciate the prowess of their leaders. Barbour, on the other hand, is approaching the end of his account of the war of the Independence and celebrating the fitting end of both his heroes, Robert Bruce and James Douglas. Scottish nationalism is strong, but not strident, in his work.

In Richard Holland's *Buke of the Howlat*, a century later, Douglas's death appears outside the context of a chronicle, as a historical setpiece in a highly complex literary work, within the outer frame of a fable. It is interwoven with a heraldic account of the arms of the Douglas family. The form is now the elaborate thirteen-line alliterative stanza, and the event itself is transformed in various ways; for example, it now takes place in Palestine instead of Spain. Condensed into a few stanzas, the account achieves an emotional impact similar to Barbour's more leisurely narrative by a heightened lyricism.

The detailed analysis of the differences between these three versions of Douglas's death, presented at the conference in Utrecht, is the starting point for a more extended study (in progress) of the ways in which the past is functionalized by these authors to propagate potentially conflicting ideals such as chivalry, patriotism and aristocratic pride of blood.

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'We Englishe Men': Construction and Advocacy of an English Cause in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle

Sarah Mitchell

The late thirteenth-century chronicle attributed to Robert of Gloucester remains evasive to attempts to categorise its author, status, location and intended function. There is no preface in the extant texts and the author gives no overt indication of his intent in writing. In the absence of such criteria, textual analysis must be used to provide this information; my interest here lies in elucidating the function of the chronicle by the use of such techniques.

Whilst discussing English gained control of the British Isles after the overthrow of the Britons in the fifth century, Robert indicates what he at least considers to be in part the function of his chronicle when he addresses his potential audience as "we englishe men". This term forms part of a comment upon

a stage in the country's past, but it could also be extended to refer to the author's wider scheme. This, it is revealed, is a concern with Englishness and with creating access to the common heritage which is the birth-right of native Englishmen, and which confers legitimacy upon those who actively support its cause, whether born "englishe men" or not. Important to this debate is the author's decision to write in the English vernacular. It is in this latter that the seeds of his intent are sown, by so doing, he reasserts that language to the exalted position it held before the Norman conquest. This is not a mere idle decision, I would argue, but part of an attempt to promote English as the primary language of the country, the right language for "we englishe men" to be speaking. That the English language is important to the chronicler's narration of English history, and to his perceived audience, is emphasised by the identification of the origins of that tongue in the Saxon period, and the affiliation made between it and those who are defined as the ancestors of the audience, the Saxons. There lie the roots of his contemporary Englishmen, he asserts, and he cultivates contemporary identity by reference to a past culturally, as well as temporally distinct from the Norman-usurped present (as he views it) in which he writes. Not only language and descent emanate from the Anglo-Saxon period in the chronicle, but also ideals of kingship. These descend from the reign of King Alfred. The esteem in which Robert holds this ninth-century king of Wessex is based upon his 'consecration' to the kingship by the pope, thus, by his interpretation, a lineage of authority is inaugurated. Together with other criteria which emerge throughout the text, a list of essential conditions for legitimate and prosperous government are established, all of which are illustrated by reference to Anglo-Saxon kings and, initially, to Alfred. Robert thus lays out English-derived customs for peaceful rule, but further, he demonstrates his esteem for Alfred by locating his chronicle in a historiographical tradition emanating historically from his reign. Robert's task in writing was one of redacting, translating and versifying a variety of essentially Latin texts. Latin was indeed the traditional language of historiography at this date. What then was Robert hoping to achieve in using English? The answer, I would claim, is that he was seeking to restore the common heritage of England to the English people. In so doing, he was thus an heir to the tradition of King Alfred. In that king's English translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, he proclaims his intent was to turn "certain books which it is most necessary for all men to know" into "that language which we may all understand". Alfred, like Robert also, was not unaware of the benefits of language acquisition, but in their use of the English vernacular, they both show a consciousness of the deficiencies of Latin as a cultural vehicle: that is, the obscurity of that language denied the people access to their heritage. It is to remedy this latter deficiency, I would argue, that Robert writes. The chronicle must, of course, be considered in the context of the events of late thirteenth-century England, particularly the upheaval of the Barons' wars. Under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, the rebel barons defied the king on a number of issues which Robert defines as a concern with the ejection of foreigners, the maintenance of traditional laws and restriction of the power of a wrongful king. All of these issues are treated by the chronicler, in his criteria for legitimate rule. He presents them as ideals of an English past to educate the English in their independent history, and to argue for the reestablishment of that era's standards and mores. In order to present an image of a territorially, racially and linguistically coherent country of England, historical irregularities are necessarily smoothed over. One of these is the nature of the potential "englishe" audience which he addresses. It would have been difficult to isolate Anglo-Saxon-derived ('English') people in the thirteenth century; to ignore this fact is, however, to strengthen Robert's polemic. His image of the country's past is clear and uncomplicated. To this end, his notions of what constitutes 'Englishness' are flexible. The criteria, set up by the writing of the chronicle in English, is a readiness to read, listen to and write in English. He thus makes the assumption that language identifies a person's society. The espousal of the English cause, the defence of the English from foreign interference (demonstrated by Robert's acceptance of de Montfort as a martyr) is another criterion. In promoting these ideas, Robert's chronicle is neither archaic or archaising, it is a highly contemporary and political writing, looking to the future reestablishment of the people of England, and of their language. It sees itself having a role in that process by awakening an understanding of the heritage of the "englishe" in a form which they could "all understand". It was indeed, then, a text which it was "most necessary" for the people of England "to know".

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Making History: John Hardyng's Grail Quest

Richard Moll

John Hardyng was a soldier, spy, forger and chronicler who flourished in the fifteenth century. His chronicle of English history, written in English rhyme royal stanzas, reveals that Hardyng viewed history as a malleable political tool. Current scholarship has focused on Hardyng's manipulation of history to advance his belief that Scotland should be the feudal subject of England. E. D. Kennedy, for example, has pointed to Hardyng's use of the Grail legend to prove that England had ecclesiastical authority over Scotland. Accepting these conclusions, this paper does not question Hardyng's reasons for altering traditional history. Rather, it examines his method of adding non-historical material to his narrative while carefully preserving the integrity of English chronicle traditions.

I use as my exemplar Hardyng's treatment of the Arthurian quest for the Grail. Hardyng is the first chronicler of English history to include a Grail quest in an historical narrative and his main source for the quest is the Prose Vulgate cycle of Arthurian romance, particularly the *Queste de Saint Graal*. Through an examination of English chronicle tradition relating to King Arthur, I show that aspects of the Arthurian story drawn from Geoffrey of Monmouth were regarded as 'historical' while other aspects drawn from romance traditions were dismissed as 'fable' or 'fancy'. Hardyng recognizes this distinction and realizes that the Grail quest does not belong to the 'historical' tradition. He is therefore forced to justify the inclusion of the grail material and he does this through elaborate and inventive references to source material. Hardyng also recognizes that aspects of the Grail narrative (such as Lancelot's role) contradict the chronicle tradition established by Geoffrey of Monmouth and he therefore alters his Grail story so that it blends harmoniously with his larger narrative. The paper shows that Hardyng, despite a cavalier attitude towards historical truth, was careful to preserve the narrative integrity of English history. Through an examination of his chronicle's relationship to its sources, I demonstrate how Hardyng manipulates both narrative and authority in order to transform romance legend into historical fact.

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The Jewish Historical Aspects in *Els Llibres d'Entreveniments*

Gloria Mound

When *Els Llibres d'Entreveniments* was begun in 1235 after the Spanish Reconquest of Ibiza and Formentera, a period when the rest of Spain and Europe were mainly governed by the feudal system, yet on these two small Balearic Islands, there was a liberal constitution that guaranteed rights to its citizens which continued until the Wars of The Spanish Succession. The new occupiers having expelled the Arabs, were alarmed at the tendency of the remaining citizens to look for greener pastures elsewhere, and so to encourage residency they guaranteed exemptions from taxes, inviolacy of the home, as well as a Democratic direct participation in civil and criminal cases. Hitherto historians had concluded that the saga of the Jews of these Islands was identical to controlling Majorca and that the Community had ceased after the expulsion of 1492, but from these Chronicles a well documented very different factual local situation emerges. The format informs on landholdings, occupations disputes etc. of the Ibicencos. This has enabled modern researchers to learn much on how the Islanders kept the Inquisition at bay and helped escapees etc. whilst clinging to their own independent culture.

Abbreviations

B.R.A.H. - *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*
A.H.P.E. - *Arxiu Historic de la Pabordia d'Eivissa*
A.H.N. - *Archivo Historico Nacional. Madrid.*

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Appendix - Geographical Names of Balearic Islands

Majorca (Mallorca- Catalan).
 Madina Mayurqua - Majorca City - today Palma-De-Majorca.
 Minorca, found also listed as Menor, Menorca (Catalan).

Ibiza and Formentera, and the surrounding small islands, in the South Eastern portion of the Balearic Archipelago, known as the Pitiuses Isles (Pine Islands), written as such over the centuries:
 Pitiuses, Pityusas, Pitonesus, Pityusa, Pityuso.

Ibiza (modern Castillian-Spanish spelling), but until fairly recently also common was Ivica, Iviza (see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*)
 Eivissa (Catalan, and used side by side with Castillian version today)
 Ibosim (Carthage-Phoenician)
 Ebisos (Greek)
 Yebisah (Arab, Ibiza Town known at this period as Madina Iabisa)
 Aivis (ancient coinage)
 Ivitza, Ebosim Yarsa, Ybica, Eresos, Juisa, etc.

Formentera (Frumentera-Roman - meaning `full of wheat')
 Forminter, Ffortmentera, Fermentella, Fermentera, Formantierre, etc.

The Chronicle of Zweder van Culemborg (late 15th Century)

Esther Mourits

The fifteenth century showed an increasing interest in history writing in the Netherlands. One of its results was a small chronicle by Zweder van Culemborg. His account of some important historical facts from the preceding five centuries, largely concerning the county of Guelders and the bishopric of Utrecht, seems to add little to what had already been written. The chronicle is unique as the provider of some apocryphal stories probably based on folk tales and local gossip, but these do not make up a reliable source of history from a modern point of view.

This apparent weakness, though, is interesting in itself. The seemingly haphazard choice of sources and stories invokes some specific questions about the author's intentions. Which audience did he have in mind? What did he want to communicate? How did he treat his sources? What does this tell us about the medieval concept of the chronicle?

In my paper I will mainly focus upon the author's intentions and the way in which he realized them in the choice of his sources and the treatment of his subjects.

Villehardouin, Robert de Clari and Henri de Valenciennes

The survival of the descriptions of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire of Constantinople by three men who were contemporaries and on the same side gives us a rare opportunity to compare their style, their accuracy and their objectivity. Villehardouin, clearly amongst the leading personalities of the crusade, presents himself as an honest narrator, describing dispassionately the events to which he was an eye-witness. Not all modern critics have been convinced by his claim, and questions have been asked, for example, about the closeness of his relationship with Boniface of Montferrat and his reporting of the quarrels at the siege of Zara. Robert de Clari, a vassal of Pierre d'Amiens and clearly not in the confidence of the leaders gives a completely different view of events, treating the siege Zara as a relatively minor adventure and giving far more space to the feuds of the Byzantine Imperial family. He reveals details which Villehardouin passes over in silence and has no particular commitment to any of the leaders apart from his own overlord. Henri de Valenciennes, a professional writer attached to the court of the Emperor Henry of Constantinople, is concerned only with the events at the beginning of Henry's reign. Although he lacks the insight of Villehardouin into the aims of the Latins, his writing has a polish and a fluency lacking in the other two. He can bring personalities to life in a way that they never even attempt, but the end of his chronicle shows signs of haste and the conclusion is disjointed. A comparison of these three complementary but very different writers has much to tell us about the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath and the writers themselves.

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'Transitional Literacy' and the Poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: Context as Counter-Evidence

Daniel P. O'Donnell

In her 1991 book, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe argues that Anglo-Saxon scribes responsible for copying Old English poetry before the end of the tenth century worked formulaically — that is to say, relied on their knowledge of the formulaic conventions of Old English verse to 'predict' what was on the page of their exemplars much as an oral poet is supposed to draw on his or her knowledge of the formulaic conventions of traditional verse in improvising a new work.

The four earliest poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provide O'Keefe with what at first glance appears to be some of her most convincing evidence of the relationship between textual variation and the development of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England. The earliest two witnesses to the earliest two poems — copied by scribes working in the third quarter of the tenth century — show the type of apparently formulaic variation O'Keefe's theory would predict: relatively frequent substitutions of metrically, lexically, and syntactically appropriate verbs and inflectional forms; and non-graphic variation in 'minor' words like conjunctions and sentence particles. In contrast, the witnesses to the two late tenth-century poems and the mid- to late-eleventh-century witnesses to the first two poems show almost no significant substantive variation whatsoever.

In this paper, I argue that O'Keefe's interpretation of the various levels of substantive innovation exhibited by the different witnesses to the *Chronicle* poems is flawed because it fails to take into account the nature of the context in which these poems appear. As fixed constituents of primarily prose historical framing texts, the *Chronicle* poems were copied for their historical value rather than their intrinsic poetic interest. While their punctuation, layout, and (in all but the latest witness) general lack of non-metrical variation suggest that the scribes responsible for copying these poems recognised them as verse, there is no evidence to suggest that they copied them any more or less accurately than the prose annals with which they are invariably transmitted.

Finally, I suggest that the variation exhibited by the *Chronicle* poems, rather than a product of a specific type of *literacy*, may instead be the product of a specific type of *genre*. In common with the scribes of other Old English poems found as similarly fixed constituents of predominantly prose framing texts, I argue that the scribes responsible for preserving the *Chronicle* poems were working within a well defined contextual genre — in which textual accuracy was valued, but minor editorial intervention allowed. This is in turn contrasted with Old English poems preserved as glosses and translations to Latin texts — where word-for-word accuracy is the norm — and poems preserved in vernacular *florilegia* — where large-scale textual variation and recomposition is almost invariable.

Ramon Muntaner's Heroes - Crusaders or Bandits?

Ramon Muntaner's Chronicle is one of the 'Four Great Chronicles' of the medieval Catalan historiography. Written between 1325 and 1328 it spreads over a larger period - the time of Catalan-Aragonese political upsurge that took place from the beginning of the 13th until the beginning of the 14th century.

These were years of the unity between the Catalan and Aragon kingdoms, of successful battles against the Moors; of the great expansion in the Mediterranean that finished with the Sicilian Vespers (1282) and the further conquest of South Italy.

The most exciting part of Muntaner's Chronicle is the so called 'Catalan Expedition to the East'. After the peace treatment of Caltabellota (1302) that arranged the conflict between the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom and the Angevins in Sicily the leader of the Catalan troops Roger de Flor looked for other war adventures. The most appropriate goal for his desires was the Byzantine empire that suffered great difficulties because of the Turkish advance in Asia Minor. Roger de Flor offered his help to the emperor Andronicus II Palaeologos (1282-1328) and his requirements were accepted.

Ramon Muntaner himself took part in this enterprise and described it step by step with many details glorifying the Catalan talents and military successes - from the arrival of the troops at Constantinople in 1303 to the conquest of Athens in 1311.

The subject of the proposed paper is dedicated to the content analysis of a text from the Chapter 233 of the Chronicle. The author has omitted the Catalan ravage of the Mount Athos' monasteries Chilandar and Laura. The warriors have transformed themselves from crusaders against the Turks to simple bandits that make war to the Christians. Why was that silence of the Catalan chronicler who was certainly not overwhelmed by the writing? Why has he hidden the truth from his royal audience? This paper is an attempt to give an answer to these questions.

Succession, Scandal, and Revolt

David Paradis

According to three different chronicles (Walsingham's *Scandalous Chronicle*, the *Anonimale Chronicle*, and Malvern's continuation of the *Polychronicon*), a scandal concerning the Duke of Lancaster circulated throughout London in late 1376 and early 1377. The scandal claimed that the Duke was a changeling, the son of a Flemish butcher, and potentially a false heir to the English throne. Devised by the Duke's political rival, the Bishop of Winchester, the scandal was a tactic meant to mobilize popular opinion against the Duke, who had wrested power away from a council of regency installed by the Good Parliament of 1376.

This paper examines the chronicles that reported the scandal and the context in which they reported it. By viewing the political developments of 1376 as a power struggle between different factions at court and by utilizing over a century of historiographical analysis of the chronicles involved, I argue that the purpose of the scandal was to undermine both the Duke's control of Edward III's court and his position as a potential heir to the throne. The scandal incited anti-Lancastrian gossip in London, where a riot featuring the scandal occurred in February 1377.

This essay is an early chapter of my dissertation, "The Political Dimensions of the English Rising of 1381". In 1381 popular animosity against the Duke and his retainers was strong. The Duke's political rivals laid the groundwork for this animosity in late 1376 and early 1377, and they benefitted from it during the insurrection of 1381. Finally, the essay suggests that the animosity toward the Duke comprises the primary thread of political sympathy between the chroniclers and the insurgents of 1381 (recently noted by Paul Strohm in *Hochon's Arrow*).

While the essay deals mostly with subtheme 3 of the conference (reconstructing the past), it also

considers several topics raised in subtheme 2. For example, it discusses the relationship of Walsingham's *Scandalous Chronicle*, to contemporary political propaganda.

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Fiction and history: the Alkmaar Codex of 1514

Anja Petrakopoulos

The Alkmaar Codex of 1514, compiled probably under commission of the abbot Meinard Man (1510-1526) at the Egmond monastery, contains a heavily interpolated copy of Jan Gerbrandszoon van Leiden's *Chronicon*. Twenty-five saints' lives were inserted in order to expand the account of conversion, all somehow connected to the central figure of St. Willibrord. This historiographical concern with Willibrord and his company reflects humanist preoccupations in the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Netherlands, which will culminate in the seventeenth century in a 'Willibrord Renaissance'. With respect to the use of hagiography for history, the Alkmaar Codex can be placed in a tradition of medieval and early modern historiography in the Northern Netherlands, in which hagiography was used as a source by historians, from Beke to Aurelius. For the present paper, the focus will be on the history represented in the *Vita Amelberga*. The compiler copied the *Vita Amelberga* into the chronicle with virtually no changes. This provokes many questions with respect to the theme of fiction and history. The chronology in the *Vita* is notoriously bungled. Princes pursue her who could not possibly have done so within the time-frame given. Did the compiler choose to ignore the historical tangle in favour of the fiction, or was he not aware of the facts? Is there internal coherence with the chronicle and the other *vitae*, or do the fictions clash with each other as well? These and other aspects of historical reliability and fiction will be discussed in the paper.

Geschichte Studieren: Warum und Wie? Die Antwort des *Chronicon* Hugos von Sankt Viktor

Ambrogio M. Piazzoni

Hugo von St. Viktor hat ein Werk mit dem Titel *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum* - normalerweise als *Chronicon* bekannt - geschrieben, dessen kritische Edition gerade in Vorbereitung ist. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich nicht um eine Chronik im herkömmlichen Sinn; sie enthält zwar auch geordnete Verzeichnisse von Begebenheiten, doch diese machen im wesentlichen einen eher geringen Anteil des Inhaltes der Chronik aus; außerdem handelt es sich hierbei vor allem um Ereignisse und um Daten, von denen Hugo in keinsten Weise tatsächlich Zeuge gewesen war.

Das, was der viktorinische Meister tatsächlich wollte, war, ein Handbuch zur Orientierung, eine Art Geschichtsbuch für all jene (und vor allem für seine Pariser Studenten) zu schaffen, die den Bibeltext besser verstehen wollten. Die zwölf Tabellen, die den größten Teil des Werkes ausmachen, beinhalten die mit Sorgfalt gesammelten damals verfügbaren Kenntnisse, und eine dieser Tabellen stellt die Ereignisse der weltlichen Geschichte in Beziehung zu denen der biblischen, und der Kirchengeschichte. Jedoch enthalten diese Tabellen keine 'neuen' Daten, und können heute nicht als 'Originalquellen' für historische oder chronistische Informationen benützt werden.

Was interessant ist, und was dieses Referat besonders beleuchten will, ist die methodologische Einführung, die sich einfügt in das Thema des zwischen Bibelauslegung, Geschichte, und Geschichtsschreibung bestehenden Zusammenhangs, und die einen der Schwerpunkte der Überlegungen Hugos bildet. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Bibelauslegung und Geschichte ist für ihn unmittelbar: zwischen den verschiedenen Zugangsmöglichkeiten zur Lektüre der Heiligen Schrift ist seiner Meinung nach die Geschichte ganz sicher die erste, und auch die wichtigste, zumindest unter methodologischem Gesichtspunkt, da die wortwörtliche und historische Auslegung der Schrift die Voraussetzung für jegliche weitere Vertiefung allegorischer oder moralischer Art ist.

Das Referat wird ebenfalls behandeln, worin, gemäß Hugo, das Studium der Geschichte besteht, und welches die Funktion der Geschichtsschreibung ist (das Wort *historia* hat für ihn die zweifache Bedeutung von 'Geschichte' und 'Geschichtsschreibung'). Besonders hervorgehoben wird hierbei Hugos Betonung der Notwendigkeit, Quellen, bevor sie als sicher betrachtet werden können, mit Sorgfalt zu untersuchen.

Zum Schluß wird aufgezeigt werden, wie die dem Studium der *Rerum gestarum veritas* vorbehaltene Bedeutung grundlegend gewesen war für die Definition der Autonomie der Geschichte als Wissenschaft, auch im Zusammenhang mit der kontroversen Haltung anderer kultureller Gruppierungen seiner Zeit, im besonderen der Schule von Chartres (für welche im wesentlichen eher zeitlose Schemen zum Verständnis des Naturgottes, als vielmehr zum Verständnis des historischen Gottes galten), und der neuen Dialektik des Abaelard (die auf die logischen Kategorien der Theologie hinwies, ohne die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Dogmatik zu berücksichtigen).

Obwohl Hugo kein Geschichtsschreiber war, war er nicht nur in der Lage, den innigen Zusammenhang zwischen Bibelauslegung und Geschichtsschreibung hervorzuheben, sondern er erkannte auch die Notwendigkeit, dem Studium der *historia* die passendsten Forschungswerkzeuge zu liefern.

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L'univers moral chez Clari et Villehardouin

Ida Raffaelli

Analysant le vocabulaire psychologique du français de la fin du XIIe siècle et du début du XIIIe, il devient percevable que certains mots reflétaient les conventions civilisationnelles concernant les changements de l'individualité humaine à cette époque-là. Ce qui nous intéresse c'est juste cette composante civilisationnelle de la signification de certains lexèmes faisant partie du vocabulaire psychologique. Les chroniques sur la conquête de Constantinople de Robert de Clari et de Geoffroy de Villehardouin nous démontrent un monde plutôt masculin, guerrier, conquérant.

Le but de notre travail est d'analyser le vocabulaire moral dans un tel monde chez les deux écrivains.

Les tâches principales de notre travail sont:

- a) analyser et comparer le choix (la richesse/la pauvreté) des lexèmes exprimant les caractéristiques morales chez les deux écrivains;
- b) donner des définitions sémantiques les plus exactes possibles des lexèmes et les comparer chez les deux écrivains;
- c) accentuer les composantes civilisationnelles de la signification des lexèmes, c'est-à-dire expliquer leur signification dans le contexte de l'époque et surtout dans le contexte de cet événement historique relaté par les deux écrivains du style différent.

La reine dans les *Grandes Chroniques de France*

Christiane Raynaud

Dans les 47 manuscrits enluminés des *Grandes chroniques de France*, les représentations de reine sont relativement rares (325, dont 44 pour leur couronnement et 41 leur mariage). Reines régnautes, plus que reines mères ou filles de roi, elles se rencontrent en quatre circonstances: les cérémonies d'Etat (couronnement, entrée, funérailles), les événements dynastiques (mariage, naissance, baptême, intercession), les spectacles (tournois) et les rituels de cour (audience, réception diplomatiques). Le

programme iconographique le plus riche en signification politique pour la reine est celui du ms.fr 2813 (Paris, B.N.), réalisé entre 1375 et 1377 par une équipe de quatre ou cinq artistes pour Charles V et sous son étroit contrôle. 18 images seulement sur un total de 193 (pour 176 folios enluminés), l'évoquent malgré les nombreuses mentions du texte. Les passages illustrés le sont avec fidélité. Les seules distorsions constatées dans la relation entre le texte et l'image concernent la définition du rôle de la reine. Les images, semblent avoir pour fonction de proposer à la reine et à la cour un modèle nouveau, qui prend en compte l'évolution de son statut depuis un siècle. Progressivement écartée de la succession au trône, elle l'est aussi en grande partie des affaires et même de la simple gestion de ses biens.

Huit images seulement concernent la période Ve- XIe siècles. La reine est décrite de manière contrastée. Disposant d'inquiétants pouvoirs divinatoires (Basine interprète trois visions de Childéric, fol. 7 verso), elle est présentée comme une dangereuse criminelle (les crimes de Brunehaut sont si horribles que seul son supplice est représenté, fol. 60 verso) ou en prière comme une sainte (Clotilde à Saint-Martin de Tours, fol. 23) ou en martyre (Galswinthe étranglée par Chilpéric, fol. 31). Son intervention dans les problèmes successoraux (Richilde contre Louis le Bègue, fol. 160 et Constance contre son fils Henri 1er, fol. 177) est critiquée. Les rituels de cour soulignent sa fonction de représentation et d'instrument dynastique : elle assiste avec ses enfants aux audiences mais sans y prendre part (Ermentrude, lors des négociations entre Charles le Chauve et Louis le Germanique, fol. 149 et Berthe auprès de Philippe 1er, fol. 182)

Pour les deux périodes suivantes l'image est plus nuancée, moins critique. La sainteté est réservée aux personnalités exceptionnelles, avec la pratique d'une pauvreté extrême (Isabelle de Hongrie, fol. 269 verso). L'intervention dans la succession n'est même plus envisagée. Les événements dynastiques l'emportent, la reine perpétue la lignée royale. Son mariage est représenté lorsque la continuité dynastique est compromise par l'absence d'héritier mâle (mariage de Charles IV et de Marie de Luxembourg, fol. 344). Sa fécondité surtout rappelle que la dynastie est bénie de Dieu (naissance de Philippe Auguste, fol. 223 et de Louis IX, fol. 265). Même veuve, elle participe encore à la construction du lignage en étant la marraine de l'héritier du trône (baptême de Charles VI, fol. 446 verso). Elle tient là le fondement du double pouvoir qui lui est encore reconnu: le droit d'intercéder en faveur de ses parents (pardon du roi de Navarre, fol. 395) et d'intervenir dans le jeu diplomatique en raison des liens privilégiés qu'elle entretient avec son lignage (Isabelle de France, fol. 350 et Jeanne de Bourbon, fol. 477).

Les cérémoniaux d'Etat n'apparaissent qu'à la fin du manuscrit, après remaniements avec le couronnement et les funérailles splendides de Jeanne de Bourbon (fol. 439 et 480 verso). Ils montrent la reine participant de la puissance royale mais sur un mode mineur.

Le programme iconographique des *Grandes chroniques de France* de Charles V, a une valeur didactique forte, il propose une série de contre-modèles à éviter, de comportements exemplaires à suivre ou de modèles édifiants à méditer. Le discours à l'égard de la reine est un peu triste (pas de participation aux spectacles de cour ou aux joyeuses entrées) et surtout sévère. Elle est stigmatisée dès qu'elle veut intervenir dans l'exercice du pouvoir et doit simplement seconder son mari, en assurant la succession au trône en droite ligne, en l'assistant de ses prières et de sa présence sinon de ses conseils, rôle modeste. Mais la multiplication exceptionnelle des représentations de Jeanne de Bourbon, quatre fois mise en scène à la demande du roi, nuance ce discours à défaut de le contredire. L'attachement sincère du roi laisse à son épouse une influence considérable.

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Pride and Humility in the Interpretation of the Past in the *Rogozhsky Chronicle*

Oleg Riabov

The paper is devoted to the influence of such medieval values as pride and humility on the reflection of the historical events in the chronicles, including the selection of facts, their interpretation and the structure of historical narration.

One of the most important places in the medieval Russian system of values was occupied by pride and humility. By the concept of pride was meant man's pursuit of excessive self-affirmation. Since it infringed on the divine hierarchy of being, man in this way opposed himself to God. Pride was considered to be the main sin, giving rise to the others, while humility, the opposite quality, was called "the mother of all virtues".

The *Rogozhsky Chronicle* is the code (*svod*) of chronicles created in the forties of the 15th century. It embraced the events from the settling of the Slavs till 1412. The basic source of the *Rogozhsky Chronicle* was the *All-Russian Chronicle* created in 1408 in Metropolitan Kiprian's office.

The chronicler often exploited the concept of pride characterizing ecclesiastical, interstate and international affairs. Among the displays of pride the author enumerated the aspiration for glory, envy, touchiness, irascibility, self-respect, false shame, vanity, excessive belief in one's own forces.

The first aim of the chronicler was theodicy. All calamities were considered to be God's punishment for our sins. The author had no doubts of its justice, emphasizing over and over again: "God launched the evil punishment for our deserves". A theory of God's punishments was formulated in the *Primary Russian Chronicle* for the first time in Russia. But the author of the *Rogozhsky Chronicle* emphasized that the main reason for this punishment was indeed the sin of pride. Enumerating calamities the chronicler concluded: "Lo, God smashes our pride because he opposes the proud but gives grace to the humble". And Evil, being the punishment for our sins, humiliated human pride and therefore rescued human souls from Gehenna. God's punishment had to be considered as the display of the Saviour's love and his care for the human soul.

The second aim of the annalist's work was to glorify God and to humiliate Man. One can find the chronicler's continuous attempts to warn his readers against superfluous faith in human potentialities so that men wouldn't become proud: "people can do nothing without God's help". This idea influenced the structure of the narration too. The chronicler disposed the facts to prove that a man who relayed upon himself only suffered defeat in the end. The author reverted to the idea of unsteadiness of human beings. Thus he described the downfall of Torzhok: "Everybody saw a big city and many people in it - and in just an hour fire annihilated it, and reduced the city to charcoal, and then to ash, and all human labours turned into nothing". A man had to remember his sinfulness constantly. Such an idea was expressed more vividly in another historical work ("A Tale of Standing on Ugra river" - XV c.): "I have written this work so that men won't become proud saying: 'We have saved Russian land by our own weapons'. But they ought to glorify God and His Immaculate Mother who saved us".¹

The text of the *Rogozhsky Chronicle* is heterogeneous; it contains two kinds of narration:

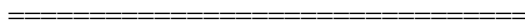
- 1) dry enumeration of the facts
- 2) vivid, artistic description of the events.

As for the latter, it was divided into similar blocks. So one can find a certain algorithm of the narration. As a rule, a historical event was considered as a struggle of two sides. God helped one side and punished the other. For example, Prince Oleg of Riazan was going to fight Prince Dmitry Donskoy of Moscow. The chronicler put the following words into his mouth when he spoke to his retainer-warriors: "Don't take with you armour, shields and swords but take only the cords to tie up the cowardly Muscovites". According to the author Oleg was haughty and self-assured and the citizens of Riazan showed pride. Their adversories, the Muscovites, "became stronger with humility". Prince Oleg suffered defeat by

Prince Dmitry, and a little further the chronicler explained the reason: God saw pride with some and humility with others. Every proud man would be humiliated, and every humble person would be raised up.

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Gender in the *Primary Russian Chronicle*

Tatiana Riabova

The *Primary Russian Chronicle* (PVL: *Povest vremennykh let* ('Tale of Begone Years')) was the first All-Russian Chronicle. It was written in the XII c. by the monk Nestor.

Nestor's attitudes to male and female virtues and affairs are reflected both in long argumentations and, more often, in separate remarks - they all may be divided into the following three parts:

1. Estimations of female and male nature, and of female virtues. The chronicler's view was typical of both Christian and patriarchal traditions in general. A woman like Eve was weak by her nature, she gave way to the Devil's temptation. It explains special female qualities (e.g. her predisposition to witchcraft).

Summarizing the chronicler's remarks about female virtues, we get the typical image: a woman should be modest, obedient, industrious, taciturn etc. On the other hand female promiscuity or disobedience to her husband were defined as lawlessness or disobedience to the law of fathers.

However, a woman is able to overcome her weak, imperfect nature and to display 'male' qualities. Nestor, characterizing the activity of the Grand Duchess Olga Nestor, not only noted her female traits (e.g. faithfulness to her ruined husband, love of her children), he also endowed her with a 'male mind' ("she was the wisest of all men"): wisdom, resoluteness, independence, pride - traits usually attributed to a man.

2. Proper activities for men and women. Nestor formed attitudes about different kinds of activity fitting for man and woman. He designated a number of activities as 'male affairs'. So women of one of the tribes were blamed because, in Nestor's words, they occupied themselves with "male affairs" - they ploughed, built castles, hunted.

3. The attitude to a specific maternal and paternal treatment of children. This specification was clearly realised. A father is a just and severe judge. Taking care of his children he punishes them quite often ("A father loving his child beats him and then caresses him again"). And the punishment of the guilty child is not only a father's right, but his obligation too, because it is the father who is responsible for child to God and to the people. A father's love is conditional, it must be deserved; a father cares for sons, family goods and state interest simultaneously (e.g. in Yaroslav the Wise's Testament found in the *Chronicle*). Such a paternal image was contrasted with the image of a merciful, all-pardoning mother, who is not able to be angry with a child. A mother defends her child before to God, a father, she prays for her child. When characters deserve parental blame Nestor speaks about a father's anger; when it is necessary to sympathize with them he speaks about mother's tears, about the sufferings of the maternal heart. It is mothers who weep for their sons after a battle (though sometimes Nestor blames a mother for her tears).

God and the Mother of God (Bogoroditza) were also endowed with paternal and maternal traits. God was compared with a just father in the *Chronicle*, the father of the people. Bogoroditza was perceived as a merciful mother of Christians. Bogoroditza's love is unconditional, every sinner can rely on her help, she defends all her children from enemies (there are many examples of appeals precisely to

Bogoroditza at highly dangerous moments). Bogoroditza prays for Christians to her son as a mother pleads to a father for her children ("God pardoned his sons because of the prayers of the Mother of God"). It's interesting also to note the allegorical usage of the concepts 'Father' and 'Mother' in the Chronicle (e.g. Kiev is "the mother of Russian towns").

The estimations of male and female natures and virtues contained in the *Primary Russian Chronicle* were often quoted, inserted and discussed in the sources that came later. And they had a great influence on the formation of the attitudes towards woman and womanhood in Medieval Russia.

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Some Town Chronicles of Groningen about 1500: Their Sources and Political Context

A.J. Rinzema

Unlike other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, not many medieval towns in the Netherlands have a tradition of urban historiography. One of the few exceptions is Groningen, partly due to its almost complete political independence. Groningen was 'de facto' one of the Free Imperial Towns, the centres of medieval urban chronicle-writing.

While the earliest Groningen town chronicle dates from the beginning of the 15th century, there is a sudden rise of historiographical activity about 1500. In this paper I shall try to give some reasons for this 'explosion of chronicles'. Special attention is given to the use of sources for non-contemporary history, and the political context in which the chronicles were written: wars with neighbouring princes, and the loss of the town's independence.

Almost all chronicles use the same sources for the earlier history and have the same tripartite structure. Part I contains a series of - partly legendary - historical tales about the Frisian liberty. This fits perfectly well the aspirations that Groningen had of establishing itself as the leader of the Frisian people, in name of its liberty. Part II is made up of some earlier Groningen town chronicles. In part III contemporary developments are described; mainly political and military events. It is only in part III that the chronicles begin to show substantial differences in the selection of their material and their political view, both in internal and external affairs. Most chronicles are anonymous, of only one we know the author by name. This writer explains the political problem of Groningen about 1500 in a moral and religious way.

Some conclusions: somewhere in Groningen (perhaps in the town hall) must have existed a little 'database' of early chronicles (urban and Frisian), which all chronicle-writers about 1500 have used. Of the seven main motives of urban medieval historiography, listed by Du Boulay in his article "The German town chroniclers", in the case of Groningen the political motives (external wars and internal rebellions) predominate. The 'explosion of chronicles' about 1500 might be explained by the turn of the town's fortune: after a century of relative peace, in which Groningen reached the zenith of its power, the wars with their inconveniences, and the eventual loss of the town's independence, took the citizens by unpleasant surprise. They searched for an explanation for this disaster, which led to reflections about the past and, consequently, to chronicle-writing.

This paper fits the theme: "The function of the chronicle (historical context). It is meant as a case study, which stresses the importance of political aspects of urban historiography, and hopes to stimulate further historical research on this subject. There are some useful studies (Heinrich Schmidt, Francois Du Boulay, Juliane Kuemmel), but a general work on European medieval urban historiography still is a desideratum.

**The Rhetoric of English Sovereignty
in the Short Latin Chronicle of Harleian 3860**

Lisa M. Ruch

The period of medieval Anglo-Scottish relations in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was an ideal breeding-ground for propagandistic writings. After the death in 1290 of Margaret, the only direct heir of Alexander III of Scotland, a number of nobles with connections to the Scottish royal house began competing for the throne. Edward I of England oversaw the process and declared John Balliol as the rightful claimant. However, Edward maintained that Scotland should be a vassal of England, and forced Balliol's abdication in 1296, after the latter rebelled. This precipitated a series of Anglo-Scottish wars which carried on well into the next century. Edward looked to chronicles to justify what he saw as his legal claim to oversee Scotland, and wrote to religious houses throughout England asking for details regarding past relations between the two countries. This might have seemed an ideal time for an enterprising chronicler to compose a history which clearly asserted England's historical right to dominion over Scotland.

The short Latin chronicle found at the beginning of British Library MS Harleian 3860, which internal evidence shows to date to the early fourteenth century, is just such a text. The chronicle is comprised of three sections: the first is a short account of British history from Brutus to the death of Henry III, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth; the second is a genealogy of the kings of England and Scotland, extending down to Edward I and John Balliol; and the third is a discussion of the Scottish wars from 1291 to 1303. All three sections are unified by what I see as the chronicle's thesis: that England should have sovereignty over Scotland.

This assertion is graphically clear on the opening folio, where the illustration preceding the text depicts Brutus's three sons, Loquax, Cambrianus, and Albanactus. According to tradition, Loquax was given Loegria, or England; Cambrianus Cambria, or Wales; and Albanactus Albany, or Scotland. In the illustration, Loquax, with crown and scepter, stands with his hand raised, the index finger extended—a sign of authority. Cambrianus, in the center, holds a slightly smaller scepter and wears a wreath rather than a crown, and reaches his hand toward Loquax with the palm out, a sign of submission. Albanactus, on the right, holds a bird (perhaps a dove?); like Cambrianus, he wears a wreath and extends his hand toward Loquax.

This clear assertion of English sovereignty is carried on throughout the text of the chronicle. In the shortened Brut section, for example, the chronicler makes sure to note instances of Scottish subservience and the regular paying of homage to England. The genealogical tables in the second portion of the chronicle carry on in this tone, praising English rulers and their progeny, and clearly pointing out Balliol's rebellion. The third and final portion of the text, much more detailed and narrative in style, provides vivid descriptions of Edward's lamentations over the Scottish attacks, the pitiful effects of the attacks on the English, and the eventual shattering of the Scottish army by the noble and pious Edward.

The pro-English bias of this chronicle is not at all subtle; there is no question but that the text as a whole asserts a rhetorical claim that England should have dominion over Scotland. The chronicler reinforces this message both visually, in the opening, and textually, in his adaptation of the shortened *Brut*-type chronicle, the genealogies, and the account of the Anglo-Scottish wars. The chronicle in Harleian 3860 gives modern scholars a glimpse into the world of propagandistic chronicle writing in the early fourteenth century.

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Karl Magnus krønike, Karlamagnús saga and Karel ende Elegast: Genre, Form, Function

Jacqueline de Ruiter

In chronicles pertaining to the reign of Charlemagne several conspiracies are mentioned. Albericus Triumphontium, for instance, reports in 1240:

Et, ut cantilena dicitur, ad istam conpirationem cognoscendam Karolus Magnus monitu angeli ivit de nocte furari. (Duinhoven 1981, p.27)

[And, as is told in a song, in order to discover this plot, Charlemagne, urged by an angel, went out thieving at night.]

The phrase "as is told in a song" has aroused great interest as it reflects a changing attitude of the contemporary chronicler towards his sources. *Chansons de geste* may be used, but attention is drawn to their special character. For literary scholars the phrase is of significance because it supports the theory of a lost *chanson de geste* on the event even though no such *chanson* has survived in Old French. The story has, however, been handed down in other languages, thus preserving it in full.

The contents is roughly the same in all languages: one night an angel appears to Charlemagne and commands him to go out thieving. Charlemagne obeys, and with the aid of an experienced thief commits a burglary during which they discover a conspiracy against Charlemagne. He is now able to forestall the attempt on his life. The way in which the plot has been worked out and the story is narrated, differs. This is caused by the different genres in which it occurs. The contemporary genre indications of the versions that I discuss lay claim to historical accuracy. The Middle Danish *Karl Magnus krønike* terms itself a chronicle. The Middle Dutch *Karel ende Elegast* promises to tell a "vraye historie ende al waer", a "true history that is all fact". The Old Norse *Karlamagnús saga* makes no explicit claims, but the literary tradition it is part of deals with both historical and pseudo-historical matter. Present-day interpretation of a text may, however, challenge the contemporary genre indication. I demonstrate this by comparing the versions with regard to formal aspects: the context in which the text occurs, its structure and the author's point of view. Analysis on these points shows that the *krønike* concentrates on the events, that the *saga* relates the same events, but provides more detail and directs the attention to characters and their behaviour rather than to events, as is typical of the genre, and, finally, that the *historie* narrates just one episode out of Charlemagne's life, while attention is focused on personal motivation rather than historical events.

In conclusion it can be said that *krønike* and *saga* still answer to their contemporary genre indication, conveying historical information, whereas the *historie*, relating only one episode and with little attention for the historical, can nowadays be termed an episodic romance.

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The Late Medieval Chronicle of Maria Van Oss

Ulla Sander Olsen

A couple of years ago the Chronicle (otherwise considered lost) of Marie Van Oss was as it were rediscovered in the city archives of Köln by the young German historian Dr. Elke Strang. In my opinion it concerns the original Brabantian/Flemish MS, of which no copies are known. The Chronicle is mentioned in the 17th century Birgittine literature (Lindanus, Holstein, Mutzaert).

The MS contains until now unknown biographies of the foundress of the Order, St. Birgitta, and her daughter St. Catherine, followed by shorter or longer foundation stories of 23 Birgittine monasteries, in chronological order; the foundation story and the professionlists (kept up-to-date till 1556) of Maria Troon in Dendermonde occupy most of the ca. 50 leaves of the document.

The authoress of the Chronicle is Marie Van Oss, a niece of the Carthusian writer Willem Van Absel. About 1447 she entered the first Birgittine foundation in the Netherlands, Mariënwater in Rosmalen, near 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1466 she was sent as *Mater* to the new foundation in Dendermonde, where she became abbess (1471 - +1507).

Instead of, as might have been expected, to delegate the work to one of the fathers in the monks' department, Marie Van Oss, about 1500, started writing her chronicle, in order to leave an account of the initial history of her Order and her monastery as a memory to those coming after her.

She deplors that she has started the work so late and often uses extracts of the archives and accountbooks to refresh her memory. No doubt she is an alert and intelligent eye witness, gifted with a great sense of humour and a certain (self) irony; especially the arrival and the first days in Dendermonde are described with both head and heart.

The MS further gives an impression of the direct and indirect relations of Maria Troon with Birgittine monasteries in other countries, of the exchange of literature, art etc. and of the general strivings to get hold of good copies of the important legal and liturgical MSS of the Order.

For the Northern Netherlands it is interesting that the Chronicle gives a more detailed view of the foundation history of the five Late Medieval Birgittine convents in the diocese of Utrecht and reveals new connexions. Marie Van Oss does not spurn a juicy legend, but, on the other hand, willingly admits when her sources are failing her. The language is Brabantian with a Flemish tint.

In the Chronicle princely and ecclesiastical notabilities are mentioned in connexion with the foundations; sometimes their family relations are explained and anniversaries etc. given. Ecclesiastical and secular persons (f.i. Flemish merchants) are mentioned in connexion with their services to the monastery. No further comments are made on the contemporary history.

In the 17th century the Chronicle was borrowed from Maria Troon by the Birgittine monastery Marienbaum in the Rhineland and probably never restored. After the suppression of Marienbaum (1802) the MS somehow (purchase or legacy), in the course of the 19th century, ended up in the city archives of Köln.

The Assertion of Monastic Spiritual and Temporal Authority in the *Vézelay Chronicle* and the Sculpture of Sainte-Madeleine

Kristin M. Sazama

The abbey of Vézelay is known to medievalists through two major 'monuments', both dating from the first half of the twelfth century:

- 1) the Romanesque church of Sainte-Madeleine with its extensive sculptural program, and
- 2) the *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, a carefully produced manuscript from Auxerre containing annals, a short history of the Count of Nevers, a cartulary and the famous Vézelay *Chronicle*.

The latter is remarkable for its account of the history of the abbey and especially for the account of Abbot Pons's efforts to preserve the abbey's *libertas* in the face of those 'envious' of Sainte-Madeleine: the bishop of Autun, the count of Nevers, and even the inhabitants of Vézelay. However, despite the numerous studies consecrated to both the church and its text, scholars have neglected to study the two 'monuments' in tandem, even though the exploitation of the written sources is essential if we are to understand the historical significance of the abbey church and its sculpture in social and political terms.

The object of my presentation has been to demonstrate how the issues structuring the written *Monumenta* came to bear on the choice and shape of some of the imagery in the church. I will argue that the church and the *Monumenta* functioned together, visually and textually, to affirm the spiritual and temporal authority of the abbey over the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding area.

A rigorous analysis of the texts commissioned by Abbot Pons provides the groundwork for the analysis of the sculpture. First, the structural analysis of the *Chronicle* in relation to the *Monumenta* as well as the sermons of Julian the monk (a work also commissioned by Abbot Pons), aims to comprehend the core, ideological issues at stake in the narrative. This manoeuvre comprehends the study of the *Chronicle* as a literary genre in its historical context and aims to elucidate the social and political function of such a literary expression. The dispute between the abbot of Vézelay and the bishop of Autun recounted in Book One thus serves to assert Vézelay's claim to wield spiritual authority over the people of Vézelay. The conflict between the abbot and the count of Nevers in Books Two and Three (the account of the commune) serves to lay out the abbot's jurisdictional authority, while the conflict between the abbot and the laity in the same books illustrates how the abbot's jurisdictional authority over the people of Vézelay was predicated on his spiritual authority. Book Four is notable for its examples of ritualized consensus between the abbot and the people of Vézelay. This narrative structure is reinforced in the cartulary, a document carefully shaped for the assertion of monastic authority, and Julian's sermons.

The analysis of the *Chronicle* as a vehicle for the assertion of monastic authority provides us with an operative framework for understanding the assertion of authority in the imagery at Vézelay. The object of the analysis of the sculpture at Vézelay then is to show how religious imagery derived primarily from Scripture and hagiographical texts served to mediate the abbey's claims to the spiritual and temporal authority over the lay community.

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Non erat rex in Israel: Chronicling the German 'Interregnum'

Leonard E. Scales

Between the fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty and the accession of Rudolf of Habsburg in 1273 the German lands of the Empire experienced more than two decades of weak and divided rulership. This

period, customarily (although misleadingly) known as the 'Interregnum', has enjoyed a place of special notoriety in the German historiographical tradition. The events of these years - the formation of the college of electors, the consolidation of the German princes at the expense of the monarch, the dissipation of imperial lands and revenues - have often been regarded as instrumental to the 'special path' (*Sonderweg*) allegedly followed by German history in subsequent centuries.

Given the great importance attributed to the period by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, the question of its treatment by medieval writers naturally suggests itself. It is this question that the paper seeks to answer. During the second half of the thirteenth century a number of chroniclers at work within the Empire's German territories drew up accounts of the recent past which emphasized precisely those features traditionally associated with the 'Interregnum': the collapse of public order, the enfeeblement of monarchical government, the self-interested activities of the German nobility. These themes were reiterated and elaborated by subsequent writers, who commonly followed directly the narrative patterns established during the thirteenth century, as well as adding new points of emphasis of their own. In this fashion, a picture was formed which was to have a powerful and enduring influence upon perceptions of post-Hohenstaufen Germany.

The paper examines critically those medieval texts in which the idea of the 'Interregnum' was constructed and transmitted. These, it is argued, cannot be read as straightforward 'objective' representations of historical realities, but must be understood above all in the light of the circumstances and purposes of their making. Attention is paid to the relationship between chronicle, locality and monarchical government in later medieval Germany; to the emergence, during the later Middle Ages, of new kinds of historical writing and new audiences; and to the topoi by which rulership was represented and justified in medieval narrative sources. Special consideration is given to the kingship and political priorities of Rudolf of Habsburg, for it was during his reign, and in the years immediately following his death, that the theme of the 'Interregnum' established its place in the German historiographical tradition. The theme's consolidation and elaboration in chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is also examined.

The paper therefore traces and analyses the factors which conditioned medieval narratives of a key period in German history. The local and social standpoints of individual chroniclers, the literary and conceptual frameworks within which they worked, and the influence upon them of contemporary political events and personalities must all be given due weight. The intention is not to offer any fundamental challenge to modern accounts of the 'Interregnum'; but, by following the processes by which the familiar picture of the period was constructed in medieval texts, it is possible to draw fruitful comparisons between the priorities of medieval historical writing and the rather different concerns which have commonly underlain the nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography of the subject. Over the past thirty years a number of studies have considered the depiction of Rudolf of Habsburg in medieval narrative sources. Yet the decades preceding his election, in spite of their centrality both to medieval and to modern views of the course of German history, have received no comparable treatment. The paper seeks to remedy this omission.

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Fredegars Chronik als Spiegel des 7. Jhs.

Georg Scheibelreiter

Im Geschichtswerk jenes unbekanntes Autors aus der Mitte des 7. Jhs. spiegelt sich die Umbruchzeit in formaler wie inhaltlicher Hinsicht. Als weltchronik angelegt wird das Werk bald zu einem Mosaik verschiedener literarischer Gattungen. Es zeigt sich mehr und mehr daß die Form der antiken Geschichtsschreibung nur einen unzureichenden Rahmen für die divergierende Fülle der gebotenen Nachrichten bildet. Unter dem Einfluß einer barbarisierten Umwelt ist es dem Autor nicht mehr möglich Inhalt und Form seines Werks zu einer Einheit zu zwingen.

Von wesentlicher Bedeutung ist es daß die traditionelle historiographische Darstellung als Gestaltung der Vergangenheit zwar äußerlich beibehalten aber inhaltlich über manche Strecken vollkommen aufgegeben wird. Als Form der Erinnerung erscheint gelegentlich die Mythisierung und Typisierung vergangenen Geschehens: damit wird dessen Chronologie und Individualität zugunsten einer exemplarischen Fixierung aufgehoben. Es ist dies ein Phänomen barbarischen "Geschichtverständnisses" als charakteristische Art der Bewahrung von Vergangenheit. Insofern der sog. Fredegar von vorgegebenen antiken literarischen Strukturen ausgeht, durch die Einflüsse seiner spezifischen Gegenwart aber an einer klassischen Gestaltung scheitert und deren Denkformen in diese miteinbezieht spiegelt seine Chronik die widersprüchliche Ganzheit des 7. Jhs.

Gestaltung und Gebrauch historiographischer Texte.

Die Berner Chronik des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts und ihre Verwendung vom 16. zum 20. Jahrhundert

Regula Schmid

Die Frage nach der Funktion mittelalterlicher Chroniken, insbesondere diejenige nach deren Funktion innerhalb konkreter Handlungszusammenhänge, wurde bisher in der Geschichtsforschung kaum thematisiert. Neue Ansätze der Geschichtswissenschaft, die insbesondere nach der Stellung von Schriftstücken in kommunikativen Vorgängen fragen, ziehen Konsequenzen grundsätzlicher Art bei der Verwendung von Chroniken als Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters nach sich. Insbesondere aufschlussreich ist dabei die Frage nach dem Gebrauch, den die Chroniken durch ihre Benutzer im weitesten Sinn seit ihrer Entstehung erfuhren.

Diese Frage wird am Beispiel der reichen Chronikproduktion in der Stadt Bern in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts untersucht. Hier entstehen zwischen ca. 1465 und 1485 mindestens fünf Geschichtswerke. Drei Chroniken stammen vom Kanzleibeamten Diebold Schilling, eine weitere Berner Chronik wurde von den Ratsherren Bendicht Tschachtlan und Heinrich Dittlinger verfasst, das fünfte Werk schliesslich ist die Beschreibung einer Auseinandersetzung innerhalb der Berner Regierung durch den Stadtschreiber Thüring Fricker (der sog. Twingerherrenstreit der Jahre 1469/71). Am Beispiel dieses von allen Geschichtsschreibern behandelten Konflikts kann der Einfluss der Stellung der Autoren innerhalb des bernischen Stadtstaats auf die von ihnen erzählte Geschichte thematisiert werden.

Zu allen Geschichtswerken lassen sich nun Angaben zu deren Funktionen innerhalb bestimmter Handlungszusammenhänge machen. Das vom Autor anvisierte Ziel, seine Ausrichtung auf spezifische Leser- und Hörergruppen, Stil und Auswahl der berichteten Geschichte usw. können die Art und Weise, wie mit Chroniken später gehandelt wird, durchaus beeinflussen. Dennoch stehen diese Momente nicht in einem linear kausalen Verhältnis zum schliesslichen Gebrauch, den die durch sie geformten Werke erfahren. Das gewählte Beispiel erweist sich für die Untersuchung dieser Frage besonders günstig, da

von Diebold Schilling gleich drei Chroniken überliefert sind. Diese sind allerdings nur scheinbar gleich □ hier lassen sich die Auswirkungen von unterschiedlichen Zielen des Autors und seiner Ausrichtung auf unterschiedliche Gruppen von Rezipienten auf die Darstellung besonders gut zeigen und zugleich mit Funktionen der Werke in konkreten Handlungszusammenhängen konfrontieren.

Mit Thüring Frickers *Twingerherrenstreit* wird abschliessend exemplarisch auf die Verwendung der mittelalterlichen Geschichtswerke in der frühen Neuzeit eingegangen und gezeigt, wie die durch spezifische Gebrauchssituationen beeinflussten Interpretationen der Kopisten ihrerseits die Interpretationen der ersten Herausgeber im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert prägten und wie diese wiederum von der Geschichtswissenschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts aufgenommen und weiterbearbeitet wurden. Die nationale Geschichtsschreibung der Schweiz mit ihrer Betonung einer eidgenössischen Heldenzeit am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts hat sich ausserordentlich stark auf die spätmittelalterlichen Chroniken gestützt. Damit lassen sich die angesprochenen Fragen nach der Funktion solcher Werke in besonderer Weise auch ideologiekritisch untersuchen.

Ein Chroniktext, mit dem wir als Historikerinnen und Historiker konfrontiert sind, ist das Ergebnis einer vielfältigen Formung, die neben der Absicht des Autors, der thematischen und stilistischen Ausrichtung und der Einreihung in eine literarische und gattungsgeschichtliche Tradition von der Einbettung des Textes in wechselnde kommunikative Handlungsvorgänge bestimmt ist. Auf solche, mehrfach überformte Texte sind die Herausgeber von mittelalterlichen Geschichtswerken häufig angewiesen. Auch durch ihr Bemühen, einen möglichst originalen Text herzustellen (ebenfalls eine Form einer Wiederverwendung mit spezifischen Implikationen) legen sie weitere Interpretationsschichten über das Werk. Diesen wechselnden Gebrauch der Texte gilt es zu thematisieren, wenn mittelalterliche Chroniken als Geschichtsquellen benutzt werden sollen.

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Is the *Weltchronik* of Heinrich von München an Anachronism?

Frank Shaw

The *Weltchronik* (World Chronicle) of Heinrich von München, a voluminous work that exists in 18 MSS from the 14th to the 15th centuries (Kornrumpf 1988), presents problems of generic allocation: Is it poetry, as its vernacular doggerel verse-form appears to imply, or is it history? Such indifference to generic classification is not without parallel in Middle High German literature. Other examples are the *Kaiserchronik* of around 1150, or Jans Enikel's *Weltchronik* of the late 13th century. But Heinrich's chronicle presents an especial problem, in that it contains extracts, often protracted ones, from literary works such as the *Nibelungenlied*, Otte's *Eraclius*, Stricker's *Karl der Große*, the *Arabel* of Ulrich von dem Türlin, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* and Ulrich von Türheim's *Rennewart*, to mention but a few works from the classiscal MHG canon. Admittedly, most of these works have an historical flavour, though certainly not all of them, and their inclusion in a chronicle is nothing if not odd. (For a further discussion of this problem see Shaw 1990).

This generic indifference, which appears to be peculiar to Heinrich's chronicle, no doubt owes its origins to the fusing together of secular and religious history as practised in such seminal works as the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, completed 1169-73, and its continuation, Martin of Troppau's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, written between 1268 und 1277. Particularly the former weaves into the Bible story events from secular history and calibrates the two chronologically, and acquired thereby canonical status in the Middle Ages (Schmale 1985: 76). Knowledge of the latter spread almost like an epidemic until well into the 14th century (Grundmann 1965: 23). Once launched, the idea of a compendium of history from the Creation to the author's own present was not slow to be realized, finding its first complete expression in the early 12th-century Frutolf-Ekkehard chronicle. The tradition was continued by the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo, written between 1187 and 1190. Many Heinrich von München MSS acknowledge these two works as sources.

But to turn finally to the question posed in my title, it cannot be disputed that three of the works I have referred to above, the *Historia scholastica*, the Frutolf/Ekkehard chronicle and Godfrey's *Pantheon*, are all twelfth-century works, whilst Heinrich's chronicle is a work of the first half of the 14th century, whose MSS tradition reaches well into the 15th. It has to be borne in mind that this late MSS tradition brings it into close proximity to Aventin's *Baierische Chronik*, which, although not completed, at least in its German version, until 1554, was embarked upon as early as 1512, when its author, equipped with a letter of recommendation from Duke Ludwig to the administrators of the monasteries and treasuries of Bavaria, set out on what may be said to have been the first 'Forschungsreise' in German historiography (Johannes Aventinus, *Baierische Chronik*, p. ix ff.).

One can but speculate on the reasons for this prolonged interest in what might be called 'mythical' history of the type purveyed by Heinrich von München. To give just one example of what I mean by 'mythical' history I refer to the specifically German myth that makes the Franks and the Romans into cousins and thereby legitimizes Charlemagne's claim to be Roman emperor. This fiction was first discussed by Max Ittenbach (1937: 67f.) and revived recently by Heinz Thomas (1990). Restorative tendencies and historicizing curiosity have been adduced (Schmale 1985: 154 and note 5; also Shaw 1990), coupled with an "intense interest in history among the bourgeoisie, especially in the bigger towns" and an "intense nostalgia for the good old days of the strong Empire" (Hay 1977: 79).

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A Royal Chronicle for François Premier: An Eye-Witness Account of the Reconquest of Milan in 1515

Joanne Snow-Smith

In July of 1515, the twenty-year old François I commenced his first campaign into Italy to recapture the city of Milan. In his entourage was Pasquier Le Moyne, *portier ordinaire* to the king, who, by royal commission, kept a day-by-day diary. In addition to the daily activities of the French army, Pasquier described the many artistic monuments with which he came in contact. Upon his return to Paris early the next year, he composed a "Moral Interlude" in both prose and verse celebrating the virtues of the king, his victory at Marignano and his triumphal entry into Milan. Within this work, Pasquier incorporated much of the material from his diary which appears to have been his actual field notes, apparently without any subsequent editorial revision. This diary, together with the long "Moral Interlude", was published 20 September 1520 by Gilles Couteau in Paris, under the title *Le couronnement du roy francois premier de ce nom voyage & conquete de la duche de millan/ . . .*

Until my in-depth research on this work, it was virtually ignored and actually, to a large extent, unknown. This can be explained in part by the fact that copies of *Le couronnement* are quite rare: there appear to be only eight extant of which one is on vellum in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (Vélin 2782). I should like to set forth the premise that the extremely small number of extant copies of this royal commission from the King himself concerning the glorious French victory at Marignano, directly reflects the fall from royal favor of Charles, the Duke of Bourbon and Constable of France which began six years after the great battle. If, indeed, there is a hero in Pasquier's *Le couronnement*, naturally excluding the King, it is the Duke of Bourbon, and his many courageous and dauntless exploits are recalled and extolled in explicit detail.

In regard to the function of the chronicle, it is primarily a defense of the French claim to the Duchy of Milan. There is important evidence within that the Diary was not only to be read in the presence of the King, but also that the "Moral Interlude" was designed as a play to be performed before the King and his whole court. It can clearly be broken up into Acts and Scenes with several stage directions included. It is easy for us to envision this being performed during which a glorious victory in the King's early reign would have been recalled and relished with much pleasure and pride. It is interesting to note that Pasquier Le Moyne mentions Triboulet, the King's jester, throughout the "Interlude". One can almost see him strutting back and forth poking fun at the acteur's solemn account of the difficulties of the French army as it struggled over an uncharted route while crossing the Alps towards its ultimate Milanese goal. It is known that Triboulet was more than a mere jester; indeed, he was a consummate actor who enjoyed a mastery over even the King himself.

As an art historian working in the Medieval and Renaissance areas, this primary source has proven to have significant value for me. His precise and accurate descriptions demonstrate his role as a keen observer. Such a passion for accuracy and detail is of particular interest to both art historians and historians in evaluating his descriptions that confirm known information or that provide new material on extant and lost works of art and architecture. It is of interest that Pasquier wrote a companion piece for Queen Claude on the proper education of young ladies at the court. This was not known until I recently brought it to light, and it constitutes my current research on the chronicles of Pasquier Le Moyne.

Theory into Practice

Gabrielle M. Spiegel

This paper traces the intellectual trajectory of a generation's study of medieval historiography, beginning in the late 1960s and continuing on to the present. It argues that the approach to medieval historical writing has been radically reoriented during the course of this period. As late as the nineteen-sixties, scholarship in medieval historiography was largely devoted to the identification of what could be accepted as historically 'true' in chronicle accounts of the past and the thorough expurgation of everything that could not, although occasionally it was recognized that the ideological needs that chroniclers invested in the past conditioned and constrained their forms of representation. From this awareness of the ways in which ideology shaped the representation of the past there slowly grew an appreciation of the discursive and constitutive force of representation as such. From this, in turn, flowed an increasing focus on the specific literary modalities of historiographical discourse, aided methodologically by the emergence within the Academy of that aspect of postmodernism which has been labelled the 'linguistic turn'.

The paper traces in brief the various schools of symbolic anthropology and literary criticism that have contributed to this reorientation, explores some of the epistemological and theoretical contradictions that it has generated, and attempts to offer an explanation for the impulses that underlay such a radical reorientation in scholarship on these rich, complex, and often neglected texts.

***Sui Generis* or Universal Definitions? Chinese Historical Works and 'The Medieval Chronicle'**

Naomi Standen

To talk of 'the medieval chronicle' without qualification implies that it will be possible to find examples of the genre wherever we might look in the world. What are the essential features of 'the medieval chronicle,' that could be applied across cultures? It seems generally agreed that they are contemporary, or nearly contemporary accounts, often by an eyewitness; they are in annalistic or at least chronological form; they commonly record events with an eye to some kind of gain for the writer or their patron, though are often presented as being for the good of posterity. The form follows from many of the assumptions we have about why people write history, so surely many, if not most, of the historical works surviving from the pre-modern world will be in this format?

In fact, there are places, such as China, where even this most generalised of chronicles is almost non-existent. This is not to say, however, that in medieval China there were no contemporary accounts of events, nor that there was no annalistic writing, nor that authors were truly motivated by sheer historical altruism. Quite the contrary, in fact. So if all these things existed, how is that there are there no Chinese chronicles?

The problem is that although medieval Chinese historians produced contemporary accounts, and annalistic histories which were then presented to a patron, the process of production was entirely different from that to be found in medieval Europe. The contemporary account and the annals were two

separate works, and while the annalistic account is undoubtedly the closest a Chinese historical account comes to contemporary events, it is not itself contemporary with those events. The features typical to a medieval European chronicle are to be found not in a single type of Chinese historical work, but scattered across several different categories.

This mismatch of definitions is a fruitful area for further work, and this paper gives an introductory survey of possibilities. Considering texts that do not fit the European model suggests the importance of truly comparing like with like. Types of chronicle - for example court-based or local, immediately contemporary or less contemporary - can be defined with greater sophistication and sharpness when the Chinese materials are taken into account. It is striking, though generally unknown, that court-based annalistic accounts in China and Europe show a remarkable similarity in topics chosen for inclusion, and even in style. Of course, such similarities do not necessarily mean the events were recorded for the same reasons. Although the standard works on Chinese historiography declare the purposes of the annals to be broadly similar across many dynasties, many recent students approaching these texts have not taken their purpose for granted, but have closely examined the motivation of the writer and his patrons, achieving a better understanding of the historical story as a result.

When creating categories intended to have some usefully universal application, we should be certain to test them on a wide enough range of cases. Such an approach is of obvious importance since medieval Europe itself supported more than one major historical tradition, of which the had'th tradition in Al-Andalus was but the most strikingly different. If we can sharpen up our definitions and clarify the issues, 'the medieval chronicle' as a category can be made more truly universal and thus of more use for comparative work.

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Robert Stein

In the years 1268-1270, a group of interrelated genealogies of the Brabantine dynasty came into existence under the patronage of duke John I of Brabant (1267-1294). Following those of the house of Boulogne, the Brabantine genealogies found the origins of the Brabantine dynasty in Merovingian and Carolingian times: the most famous ancestors of the Brabantine dukes would be Pippin I 'of Landen', Pippin III 'Martel' and Charlemagne. Furthermore, the Brabantine dukes would be the rightful heirs to the kingdom of France and the duchy of Lotharingia. These genealogies proved to be very successful: in the fifteenth century it was common knowledge that the Brabantine dukes were the heirs *par excellence* to the Carolingian dynasty.

It has usually been assumed that duke John I commissioned the genealogies, because by pointing at his famous ancestry he wanted to legitimate his unstable position as duke of Brabant. Probably this was one of his aims, but it does not explain the emphasis in the genealogies on French and Lotharingian aspects.

In this paper I will give a short description of the Brabantine genealogical tradition. Then I will deal with the question what duke John wanted to accomplish when he commissioned the genealogies.

Fiction et réalité dans l'*Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre*

René Stuip

Dans les romans écrits à la cour de Bourgogne ou dans son entourage immédiat, vers le milieu du XVI^{ème} siècle, nous rencontrons souvent des allusions à des faits ou à des personnages historiques. Ainsi le personnage principal dans *Jean d'Avesnes* est identifié comme le fils aîné, né en 1218, de Bouchard d'Avesnes et Marguerite de Flandre. Dans *L'Histoire de Baudouin de Flandre* nous trouvons une partie de l'histoire de Flandre du XIII^{ème} siècle, autour du comte Ferrand et du roi de France saint Louis. Ces deux romans, avec bien d'autres, peuvent être considérés comme des textes de propagande pour la politique du duc Philippe de Bourgogne.

Un autre roman venant du même milieu - *L'Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* - et écrit en 1456, parle d'un jeune noble né en Flandre, qui quitte sa mère pour aller se prouver à l'étranger et ainsi se rendre digne de son père qui l'a renié. A plusieurs reprises nous trouvons dans ce texte des renvois à des personnages historiques. L'action est placée au XIII^{ème} siècle; ainsi par exemple le père du héros a servi saint Louis et son fils; c'est encore ce dernier qui fait organiser un tournoi à Compiègne. Si l'on étudie de plus près les divers personnages et les actions auxquelles ils prennent part, il devient clair que, ici encore, nous n'avons pas tellement affaire à une chronique, malgré les affirmations de l'auteur qu'il a voulu écrire "la vraie histoire des seigneurs de Gavre".

L'examen du texte et la comparaison des deux manuscrits qui nous restent, rend clair que *L'Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* est une oeuvre qui ne rentre pas dans la série des textes de propagande pour le duc de Bourgogne, malgré tous les traits qu'il a en commun avec les nombreux romans contemporains venant du même milieu et parfois du même *scriptorium*. A notre avis *L'Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre*, rappelant l'époque où la Flandre était encore un fief du roi de France, tout en ayant été écrite au milieu du XV^{ème} siècle dans un entourage bourguignon, glorifie la fierté et l'indépendance d'un chevalier flamand qui se sent l'âme française.

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de Bourgogne au milieu du XVe siècle, parmi lesquels la traduction presque intégrale de *Baudouin de Flandre*, et de certaines parties de *Jean d'Avannes*.]

Constructing an English Past: Robert Mannyng's Translation of Wace's *Roman de Brut*

Thea Summerfield

In the prologue to his *Chronicle* about the history of the kings of England, Robert Mannyng promises his audience of *lewed men* that they will derive *solace*, comfort, from listening to the 24,000 lines of verse which his history numbers. In my contribution to the Chronicle Conference at Driebergen I tried to pinpoint what may have constituted such *solace* by comparing Mannyng's text to the text of one his exemplars, the *Roman de Brut* by Wace. I argued that Mannyng, by means of a host of interpolations in the *Brut*'s post-Arthurian section, gives his *Chronicle* contemporary relevance and an enhanced appeal for an English-speaking audience of *lewed men*, probably persons connected with the Order of St. Gilbert to which Mannyng belonged.

Linear, dynastically organized verse chronicles in which one ruler follows another, either by birth or by conquest, are stories not only of continuity and mythic beginnings, but also of disrapture, of rise and fall. Both the origins of the new rulers and the downfall of the old in the period following the climax of Arthur's reign are given more extensive, and different, coverage in Mannyng's version of history. He adds reasons for the downfall of the Britons, often derived from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Some of these references are precise and traceable, others are spurious. This is the case where Mannyng cites three reasons supposedly given by Bede for the British disaster: the counsel of young men, the love of profit, and private feuds. It is likely that these reasons were of Mannyng's invention, reflecting as they do the political situation in the first decade of the reign of Edward III. Bede is also used for many lengthy interpolations which tell the story of English saints like Oswald and Dunstan.

The Germanic invasions are presented as both a scourge and a new, promising beginning. As in the *Roman de Brut*, the arrival of the Germanic tribes gives rise to explanations of the name 'England'. In Mannyng's version the course of events is rationalized to fill etymological needs. The Angles are briefly brought into the spotlight to explain the name 'England' and to make the interpolated story of Gregory's comments on the angelic slaves in the Roman market work, otherwise Mannyng refers to 'English and Saxons' or simply 'Saxons'. However, there is a difference between the early pagan, warlike Saxons, and the later Saxon settlers.

After the collapse of British rule, Wace rapidly concludes his *Roman*, following his source-text, the First Variant Version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. Mannyng, however, marks this point in time again as a new beginning by an interpolation on the change of name, indicating change of rule as well as a new point of origin, and a new point of departure, a second beginning for the English community.

Wace is primarily interested in the Britons; his is an entertaining, but ultimately dispassionate account of a long gone race which has no direct connection with the present apart from making a wonderful story. Mannyng, on the other hand, is intent on bridging the gap between past and present, on tracing developments and explaining the present from the past, on providing a textual link. It is a task in which he is passionately involved. He offers his audience edification and the possibility of identification with ancestors who were at first wild and pagan, but who had been marked out as special from the beginning. There had also been saintly men among them, while the later settlers who had taken possession of the land had been orderly enough. The history he has written gives the English-speaking part of the community a voice, and a sense of pride and cohesion. It is in that sense that his English audience may be expected to have derived *solace* from his literary efforts.

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Abstract Velthem Workshop:

Simon de Montfort, Edward I and King Arthur in Lodewijk van Velthem's *Continuation*

Lodewijk van Velthem's chronicle in verse usually known as his *Continuation* stands in a tradition of continental chronicle writing. Velthem continues where his Flemish predecessor Jacob van Maerlant had left off; the latter's *Spiegel Historiae* in its turn was a translation/adaptation of the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincentius of Beauvais.

Velthem covers events from c. 1250 to c. 1316, ranging widely from England to Italy to his own Brabantine village. Among the information provided is an extensive account of the struggle which took place between Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester and the English crown-prince (usually called Lord Edward before his accession to the throne) in the mid-1260s. Having concluded his account of the conflict between the two men, Velthem relates *in extenso* the festivities which Edward organised on the occasion of his first marriage. According to Velthem these took the form of an Arthurian Round Table during which Edward adopted the part of King Arthur, while his knights acted as if they were Perceval, Lancelot and other famous Arthurian knights. The Arthurian episodes have repeatedly attracted international attention, but have remained something of a mystery nevertheless; there is no documentary evidence for them. Another curious aspect of Velthem's accounts of English historical events is that more often than not they are totally inaccurate. In the past this has been attributed to his use of a corrupt source, which, however, it has not been possible to identify, or to information which was provided orally.

In my paper I argued that it might be profitable to view the English episodes from a different angle - perhaps Velthem's aim was not in the first place to provide his readers and audience with reliable information, but with an attractive, exemplary narrative whose historical accuracy was at best of secondary importance. In England, Simon de Montfort had remained a controversial figure after his death. Songs and stories celebrating him were composed by former adherents, while former opponents told stories of his evil deeds to prove their point. Montfort had rapidly become the stuff of legend.

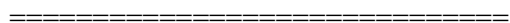
My analysis of the text made clear that Velthem's apparent inaccuracies add up to a consistent portrait of a young, innocent, trusting boy, the crown prince, who is betrayed by the man who should protect him in his father's absence: Simon de Montfort, his uncle. References in Velthem's text further make it clear that the Arthurian Round Table episodes which follow are meant as an integral part of the Simon versus Edward story.

Velthem incorporated Simon de Montfort and Edward I, historical figures of the recent past of legendary proportions, at a point in time of his *Continuation* where they fit in with reasonable accuracy. Having done so, he makes a creative use of the aggregate of stories around these men, including Edward's reputation as an enthusiastic Arthurian, to express ideas on the ideal relationship between the king and his followers. He sketches two contrasting pictures of relations in a kingdom within an explicitly delimited set of episodes. On the one hand he presents a magnate who, in spite of

blood ties with king and crown prince, is concerned with usurpation rather than with aiding the rightful king with military support and wise counsel, as was his feudal duty. On the other we see Edward in Arthurian guise among his knights, ever ready with advice without interposing himself between the knights and their assignments; every opportunity is given them to prove themselves. Velthem's *Continuation* should be read less as a historical account of distant events, whose author unfortunately got it wrong, than as an exposition of ideas on kingship.

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Rigord and the community of the realm

H.B. Teunis

In 1183, a monk of St. Denis, Rigord, took upon himself to write a chronicle on the reign of King Philip Augustus. He called himself the king's chronographer, but there is not one bit of evidence that he was asked to do so by the king. He had been a medical monk elsewhere in France before entering the abbey of St. Denis. Which motive he had to start his writing, if any in particular, is not at all clear. As a monk of St. Denis he was full of sympathy of the Capetian king, but had no direct or important relation with him. There is also no indication that the abbot or the community of monks gave him a commission to write a chronicle about the reign of King Philip. An account of Louis VII' reign was not extant and Rigord's chronicle is not modelled on Suger's work. Therefore I see no reason at all to speak of a chronicle tradition of St. Denis as G. Spiegel does.

Rigord's treatment of Philip's reign is not a piece of political thought, but rather a simple monk's view of the news which reached him and the documents he consulted. In order to understand his account of the disasters for which Philip was responsible, let us first give an impression of his account of the period before the disaster.

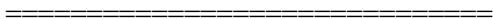
Philip's main trait was that he was God-given, "Dieu-donné", and acted according to this status. Personally he was a devout man, in his actions he always did what he was supposed to do as a *rex christianissimus*: militarily his first actions were intended to protect the churches in Charentes and Bourges. Therefore he was successful in his actions against a coalition of barons in 1180, and against his powerful enemies in the decade 1180-1190: Philip of Flanders, Henry II and his son Richard. His reign brought decent manners and enhanced prosperity: actors were forbidden to perform any longer at court, the Jews, who regularly mistreated christians, were thrown out of Paris, a fine cemetery was laid out in Paris, a market constructed there and after a battle for the good cause, the corn appeared not to be trampled down. Thus, miracles pointed to his being God's chosen man. There were no clear admonitory heavenly signs and the astrologists also favoured him.

From the year 1190 on, however, there is a dramatic change in Rigord's chronicle. Ominous signs

clearly outnumbered the good ones. Two solar eclipses, two lunar eclipses, and two lines of knights were seen to come down from the sky, fighting each other for a while and then fading away. There were tremendous rainfalls and storms in these years, and stones as big as sheep were reported to have fallen on the earth, ravens with black charcoal in their mouth flew around and set houses on fire. No miracles were wrought on behalf of the king. The king just once held an expedition for the protection of a church. He no longer prevented the Jews from being active in Paris. He exacted large amounts of money from churches. Militarily he was unsuccessful. In his campaigns in Vexin, he burned villages, took a lot of booty and acted irresponsibly, for example when he tried to break through the enemy's lines with just a small band of followers. He married a Danish princess, but on the same day, at the devil's instigation and through machinations of witches, he began to hate her. The pope sent his legate, but the archbishops, bishops and abbots dared not thwart the king's wish to divorce her. When the pope excommunicated the king, the latter was so outraged that he expelled bishops from their dioceses and confiscated much of the clergy's landed possessions. The knights whom he in previous years properly had given a third of the booty, did not receive anything, and from the burghers he exacted unheard of taxes.

This dark period in Philip's reign turned out to be, happily enough, just an episode. For after his victories in Normandy in 1203 and 1204, his behaviour changed. Rigord, for the first time in this part of the chronicle, again calls him Augustus and *christianissimus*. Philip came to the abbey of St. Denis to hand over important relics he had just received from Constantinople: some hair of Jesus as a young boy, a thorn from the crown of thorns.

By relating Philip's unsound behaviour during a couple of years and by underlining the good consequences of proper conduct of the king, Rigord clearly presents to us a case of constructive criticism. He did not condemn his king, but he showed him a reflection of his bad deeds, in this way giving practical advice to a living king and rather than recounting a moral story situated in a past age. And what, in Rigord's eyes, did happen when the king no longer was the personification of the good christian norms in his personal life and his attitudes towards his people? Apart from defeat and devastations, there was a rift between the king and the bishops and other members of the clergy whom he exploited and drove away from their residences. There was a division in the realm, disunity in its leading strata, and the king became an isolated person. When the king did not act according to the accepted norms, the consequence inevitably was disunity and all kinds of disaster.



The Tiby~n:

Memoirs of `Abd All~h b. Bulugg~n, Last Z~rid Am~r of Granada (r. 1073-1090)

Amin Tibi

The *Tiby~n* chronicle, in classical Arabic prose, was written - probably in 1095 - in Aghmat (Morocco) by *am~r* `Abd All~h while in exile, mainly for readers in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) and Morocco, with a view to refuting charges against him of collaboration with Alfonso VI, King of Castile and Leon, against the Almoravids. The author seeks to justify the Z~rids' employment of Jews as secretaries (*k~tibs*) and to rebut the charges levelled against him by jurists (*fuqah~*) of exacting uncanonical taxes (*magh~rim*) from his subjects, as well as charges of misrule and corruption.

The historical context of the chronicle can be summed up in the *reconquista* being in full swing, in the advent of the Almoravids in al-Andalus and in the ensuing confrontation between Islam and Christendom in the Iberian peninsula, on the eve of the launching of the Crusades in the East and after the Almoravids had deposed the *~ifa* princes.

The *Tiby~n* is our main source of information about the events of the last twenty years or so of the *~ifa* period when the *reconquista* was well under way; Toledo fell into the hands of Alfonso VI (1085); the Almoravids were called in to help the Andalusians; and the *~ifa* princes were deposed. In conjunction with Ibn Hayy~n's *al-Mat~n*, the *Tiby~n* is also an important source for the history of

Muslim Spain in the first half of the 11th century. The importance of the chronicle is further enhanced by the fact that it is not only an eyewitness account but it is also written by a Berber *~ifa am*Šr, who gives us the viewpoint of other *~ifa* princes as well as his own, concerning the events which have hitherto been described and interpreted solely by Andalusian chroniclers, who were hostile to the *~ifa* princes generally and to Berbers in particular.

Among the significant points underlined in the *Tiby~n* are the division of the people of 11th-century Muslim Spain into two distinct and hostile ethnic groups, namely Andalusians and Berbers; the reasons which led the author's grandfather and predecessor B~dŠs b. abŠs to appoint Jews, rather than Andalusians or Berbers, as *waz*Šrs; and the active and often important role played by women in Berber society.

Die Folklore in der Altrussische Chronik *Powjest Wremennich Let*

Iliana Tschekova

Die Chroniken gehören zu den repräsentativsten Denkmälern der mittelalterlichen Kultur. In ihnen spiegelt sich das Selbstbewußtsein des Ethnos in seiner ganzen Fülle und Vielfältigkeit wider. Die mündliche Überlieferungen, die in sie Eingang gefunden haben, sind eine der wichtigsten Quellen, aus denen Auskunft über die Vergangenheit und deren (oft mythologisierte) Darstellung geschöpft wird.

Die altrussischen Chroniken entstehen im Schoße der byzantisch-slawischen mittelalterlichen Tradition und sind ein Bestandteil der Kultur der *Slavia Orthodoxa*. *Powjest wremennich let* ('Erzählung über die vergangenen Jahre') des 12. J., bekannt als *Nestorchronik*, ist die früheste uns überlieferte russische Fassung der Chronik. Sie enthält Werke der Folklore des Kiever Rußlands und wirft ein Licht auf die Fragen nach der ältesten Geschichte des russischen Staatlichkeit, d.h. sie weist kulturhistorische und genealogische Reminiszenzen auf.

Die ältesten Überlieferungen in der Chronik beziehen sich auf zwei historisch reale, zugleich auch Gestalten des Epos - Fürsten Oleg und Fürstin Olga, Herrscher der Kiever Rus im 10. J. Als Gründer der russischen Herrscherdynastie und Staatlichkeit, verlegt Oleg den Sitz seines Königums nach Süden, im Kiev. Olga ist die erste Frau, die das Kiever Rußland regierte. Sie ist auch die erste christliche Fürstin, Vorbote des neuen Glaubens.

Die chronikalische Erzählung über Fürsten Oleg und die Gründung der Kiever Rus kann vom Gesichtspunkt des heroischen Epos aus betrachtet werden. Die Korrelation 'Mytos - Epos - Geschichte' kann durch folgende Schlüsselbilder und -begriffe erklärt werden:

- 1) Das Paradigma des Herrschers und des Königreichs;
- 2) Mytopoetisches Modell des Weges;
- 3) Prophezeiung, Wahrsagung, Omen, Epische Selbstüberschätzung;
- 4) Semantik des Fürstenuntergangs.

Diese Kerne sind typologisch gemeinsam für eine Reihe von mündlichen und schriftlichen Werken, die zu unterschiedlichen Ethnostraditionen gehören: Örwar-Odds Saga, die englische Sage aus der Grafschaft Kent über den Baron Robert Schurland, russische episches Lied, serbische Märchen und bulgarische Sage. Die Parallelen zwischen diesen Texten und der russischen Erzählung führen zu der Feststellung, daß die Mittel zur Realisierung des mythologischen Archetyps der Epos-Modellierung eigen sind.

Die chronikalische Erzählung über Fürstin Olga kann unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Genrespezifität des Zaubermärchens und der Heiligenvitae betrachtet werden. Die Korrelationen 'Mythos - Märchen - Geschichte' und 'Mythos - Heiligenvitae - Geschichte', können aufgrund folgender semantischer Paradigmen analysiert werden:

- 1) Das Paradigma der Herrscherin und ihr Königtum;
- 2) Das mytopoetische Modell des Weges Bekehrung;

3) Das Ableben der Fürstin Olga.

Die älteste russische Chronik *Powjest wremennich let* enthält die komplizierte Verflechtung zwischen dem 'Mündlichen' und 'Schriftlichen', dem 'Dokumentalen' und 'Rituellen', dem 'Heidnischen' und 'Christlichen'. Die Erforschung der semiotischen Aspekte der Folklorgeschichte in den altrussischen Chroniken führt zur Feststellung der organische Einheit der mittelalterlichen russischen Kultur. Der folklor-paganische (heidnische) und der literarisch-christliche Ansatz beziehen sich in den chronikalischen Texten über die ersten russischen Herrscher aufeinander wie zwei gleichwertige Komponenten der mittelalterlichen Kulturtradition. Sie sind nicht antithetisch, sondern dialogisch zu betrachten. Als eine Synthese von Mythos, Folklore und Literatur sind die Chroniken repräsentativ für das mittelalterliche Kulturphänomen.

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Early Dominican Chronicles Between Fantasy and Chronology

Simon Tugwell

In the last third of the 13th century and in the early 14th century several chronicles of the Dominican order were composed or evolved. In the 14th century there are also some chronicle-type writings of Bernard Gui. At least one impetus underlying these products seems to be a need to compensate for the predominantly hagiographical/inspirational nature of early Dominican historical writings, in which chronological sequence and precision are lacking. It is significant that the so-called *chronica prior* was composed by Gerald de Frachet, compiler of the *Vitas Fratrum*, and that the *chronica posterior* is ascribed either to Petrus Ferrandi or Humbert of Romans, both authors of a *legenda* of St Dominic. In the case of Bernard Gui there is explicit evidence of his concern to provide a chronological framework for his more celebratory writings. There are also traces in the same period of other chronicles and of a concern to provide precise dates. However, some of the resulting dates are highly unconvincing, and one wonders where they came from and what purpose they were intended to serve. Also the attempt to arrange things chronologically could itself result in a distortion of received historical material (notably in the case of Gui's account of St Dominic in his 'chronicle' of the Masters of the Order). At the same time chronicles could serve as a repository for brute information which could not find a home in hagiographical or exemplary literature. It looks as if the Dominicans were struggling, not entirely unsuccessfully, to evolve a way of telling their own history as history, rather than as exempla.

Creating a Useable Past in the Tenth Century: Folcuin's *Gesta* and the Crises at Saint-Bertin

Karine Ugé

Medieval writing in general and, more specifically, early medieval local historiographical writing, resist clear-cut classification and categorization. Genres tend to overlap and merge: the distinction between *historia*, annals and chronicle is often slim and irrelevant; historiography and hagiography work hand in hand, and even cartularies, beyond their legal character, were written with historiographical and even

liturgical considerations in mind. Modern historians' inability to define and classify texts in a way which mirrors the early medieval writer's intention may be due to the process of writing history in those times. The monk about to write a text telling the story of, or stories about, his monastery did not think first in terms of genre but in terms of the needs to be fulfilled. Because these needs were often multiple and overlapping — reasserting property rights, marking independence from the secular authority, claiming prestigious and holy origins, advertising the sanctity of the relics — the text proposed to answer them was also multiple in its nature. In this communication, I discussed the *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*, written by the monk Folcuin in 962 to show how *Gesta*, because they encompass many different genres (cartulary, historiography, hagiography) can fulfill all these needs and were used in early medieval monastic historiography to answer a broad range of problems.

The modern editors' attitude toward the *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* strikingly exemplifies the problem historians have with medieval genres in general and particularly with idiosyncratic texts such as *Gesta*. The text was published for the first time in 1840 under the title *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*; in 1841, the MGH published the narrative part of the text, but did not include the charters; the charters were published alone in 1950, and at last, the early ninth-century polyptych included by Folcuin was published separately in 1975. In my communication, I showed how the scattering of these different parts of this work deforms Folcuin's purpose and how a close look at the relation between the charters, the narrative and the sources used by Folcuin unveils significant elements concerning the history of the abbey as the goal of the author. Indeed, our *Gesta* is the product of the author's careful selection of texts; as there were forgeries among them, disentangling the different textual strata making up Folcuin's text and understanding their author's intentions is necessary to apprehend Folcuin's own politics. Many texts produced at Saint-Bertin stemmed from the conflicts opposing the monks to their close neighbours, the canons Saint-Omer. This is reflected in the way Folcuin emphasized regular versus secular religious life and promoted his abbey's local cults by selecting only hagiographic and historiographic texts and the charters that fitted his goal. This, however, is most visible when the whole text, narrative and charters, is considered. As a conclusion, I broadened my subject to a discussion of early medieval historiography in order to show how the classification of historiographical works into genres does not tell much about the texts and their goal. In that regard, I used the notion of "tools of self-representation", meaning that each text — hagiographic, historiographic, liturgical or legal — or iconographic element telling the history or stories about a monastery, has a specific purpose and meaning that cannot *a priori* be inferred from its genre; these texts can be fully understood only through a deep and pragmatic study of their context, the motivations, the sources used or rejected by their authors.

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Medieval Syriac Chronicles (5th-13th Centuries): A Genre in its Historical Context

Lucas Van Rompay

Whereas historiographical writing in Syriac, i.e. the Aramaic language used by the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia, has its roots in biblical tradition (including the Apocrypha), Greek Christian writings (above all Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*), and indigenous local historiography, the genre of the Chronicle proper does not clearly manifest itself in Syriac prior to the seventh century.

The date of the earliest Syriac translation of Eusebius's *Chronicon* is not known, but it is Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) whose name is associated with the first Syriac reworking of this *Chronicon*. Although Jacob's *Chronicle* as well as other early Syriac Chronicles are only very imperfectly known to us, these works reflect the framework of the *Chronicon*, expanded with materials taken from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* as well as from other sources. This type of enlarged Chronicle would subsequently further develop in Syriac, leading up to the elaborate Chronicles of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) and Barhebraeus (d. 1286). These works have a bipartite or tripartite division (Church history, secular history, and - in the case of Michael - a section of 'faits divers').

A survey will be given of the main texts in Syriac with references to recent or current research. Special attention will be paid to what these Chronicles teach us about the way Syrian Christians (who always constituted minorities within larger political entities) thought of themselves and of their particular cultural identity in a broader historical context.

In addition to their general importance for the study of medieval history of the Middle East, Syriac Chronicles - with their roots in Greek and Semitic traditions - have served as sources for historiographical works in neighbouring cultures. This can be seen, e.g., in the nearly contemporary translations and reworkings of Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle* into Armenian and of Barhebraeus's *Chronicle* into Arabic.

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Literary Manipulation in the Arthurian Passages in Layamon's *Brut*

Bart Veldhoen

Three scenes are selected to illustrate the general claim that Layamon is manipulating the chronicle-material into something approaching a national epic. Each scene shows very different literary manipulations.

The first is the description of the Scottish Lakes during the campaign against the Scottish collaborators. Although a traditional element (Monmouth Wace), it has been changed so that manipulative purposes may be assumed. An intertextual echo of *Beowulf*, in the first lake, enhances Arthur's status to that of epic hero. Parallels with homiletic and legendary material (*Visio Pauli*, *St Michael's Mass*, *St Patrick's Purgatory*) may suggest the possibility of symbolic significance of the folkloristic details: the eagles symbolize the Pictish and Scottish kings; the many streams flowing in and the single stream flowing out symbolize the benefits of a united Scotland under Arthur; the four kinds of fishes are an emblem of the same; and the raging water shows that the common people are not threatened by the turmoils of state. A picture of a deeply ambiguous land, in contrast to the stable and 'good' Cornwall. The Scottish brothers Gawain and Mordred contrast similarly with the Cornish Igerne, Cadur, Wenhaver and the Round Table. A propagandist search for a national identity.

The second scene is Arthur's second dream, an original addition. Fate strikes at the height of Arthur's career: *Not* yet the result of Pride, but resulting from treachery, a main theme in Layamon. The dense imagery in the 'rooftop' part is a symbolic analysis of Mordred's treason, clearly suggesting what value-judgments we are to make. In the 'hill and sea' part Arthur's fatally lost condition is assessed. Whether the lioness suggests kingship or Pride or merely Wenhaver, we see Arthur carried into the foreign element of chaos, to be rescued by creatures *not* foreign to that element. The translation of political events into images of nature creates a universal 'naturalness' for these tragic-heroic events.

The last scene considered is the final battle and its immediate aftermath, in which the manipulation is purely rhetorical: repetition, abbreviation, shifts in register. The accumulation of "unimete" ('immense') spells Civil War, a nation divided against itself. The absence of champions and sentiments deprive the battle of glory. Similarly Mordred is denied a heroic death, in contrast to Arthur's glorious death-wounds, which allude to Christ's crucifixion. The register shifts to ritualistic formality with Arthur's handing over of his kingdom, which is stylistically made more important than the destruction. The internal division is charmed away by this dynastic emphasis, which is then confirmed by the elves and Merlin's prophesies. A telling give-away is the sudden change from "Bruttes" (the British) to "Anglen" (the English). Layamon has manipulated his audience into identifying with the ancient indigenous tradition rather than with actual Anglo-Saxon history. He creates a national identity by facing the complexity of Britain's nationhood.

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Duke William of Bavaria, Count of Holland, and his Ancestors in the *Hollantsche Cronike* of Bavaria Herald

Jeanne Verbij

In the *Hollantsche cronike* ('Chronicle of Holland') Bavaria Herald tells the history of the county Holland until 1404, the year in which count William VI of Holland succeeded his father Albrecht of Bavaria, son of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria and Margaretha of Hainault-Holland. To this purpose the Herald has tied together various Dutch historiographical traditions to a new account which he linked up to the history of the world since her creation in a separate volume. Thus arose, so to speak, a diptych *Wereldkroniek* ('Chronicle of the world') - *Hollantsche cronike* in which count William VI could look back upon a glorious family of kings and emperors who represented the legitimate authorities of Holland, Zealand and Friesland, since this territory was conquered by the Merovingian king Dagobert from the Frisian king Radbod. In the structure of the *Hollantsche cronike* Bavaria has given expression to the hierarchy in power, visualized by the coat of arms of the Roman emperors, the Carolingian kings and emperors and the counts of Holland.

Undoubtedly, the representation of this glorious past has served the legitimacy of the Dutch counts on Holland, Zealand and Friesland. But at the same time the prestige of the counts of the Dutch-Bavarian dynasty was thereby greatly enhanced. In the *Hollantsche cronike*, of which the dedication-manuscript has been preserved (Brussels, Royal Library Albert I, ms. 17914), William of Bavaria (1404-1417) finds himself placed on the same level as other European rulers of great renown. In an additional record to the *Hollantsche cronike*, William is portrayed as a prince of great merit by reconciling the king of France and the Burgundian duke in 1409. In the view of Bavaria Herald William has rescued the crown of France and with that served the *respublicae* of France. If possible, Bavaria Herald emphasizes the ducal status of the Dutch count; none of his royal ancestors remains unnamed. In this way Bavaria Herald represents the area north of the Rhine as a former kingdom ruled by a king who can be considered - on the ground of his coat of arms - as an ancestor of the English dynasty. With that the Herald comes forward with important materials for the myth of the Frisian kingdom, which is taken up by the Burgundian rulers in the course of the fifteenth century.

In my contribution I focus on the question whether this representation of the Dutch past can be dismissed as merely an attempt without ulterior motives from the part of a courtier who intended to please his lord. There are several arguments to suppose that it is more likely that William himself had a hand in the representation of his person. Particularly, the status of Bavaria herald give rises to the notion that William seriously has tried to expand his ducal authority in the northern part of the Low Countries. Bavaria himself is the representation of the ducal status of the Dutch count. As king of arms of the Ruyers he has already the authority on chivalrous affairs in the northern part between the Meuse and Rhine. Bavaria Herald turns out to be the first King of Arms who was attached as the official court chronicler. In the course of the fifteenth century, particularly under the patronage of the Burgundian, we see how king of arms are responsible for the historiographical efforts which are taken up to underline the political aims of the prince, as there are Jean Courtois, better known as Sicily Herald, Gilles le Bouvier,

known as Berry Herald, Jean le Fèvre, king of arms of the Gulden Fleece, his successor Georges Chastellain and so on.

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This paper is based on the results of my dissertation: Jeanne Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland, Heraut Beyeren en de historiografie omstreeks 1400*. Amsterdam, 1995 (Nederlandse Literatuur en Cultuur in de Middeleeuwen 13). This study can be seen as complementary to the dissertation of W. van Anrooij, *Spiegel van ridderschap, Heraut Gelre en de ereredes*, Amsterdam, 1990 (Nederlandse Literatuur en Cultuur in de Middeleeuwen 1). Both studies were taken up in the context of the research project on Dutch literature at the turn of the 15th century, instigated by professor Frits van Oostrom (Leiden); see F.P. van Oostrom, *Court and culture. Dutch literature, 1350-1450*. Berkeley, 1992 (translation of F.P. van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer, Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400*, Amsterdam, 1987). On this subject see also J.P. Gumbert, *The Dutch and their books in the manuscript age*. London, 1990 (The Panizzi lectures 1989).

Bavaria Herald is better known as Gelre Herald; Maurice Keen describes him "as a real master of the courtly literary conventions" (M. Keen, *Chivalry*, 2nd ed. New Haven, 1984, p. 140 and illustration 34); cf. also W. van Anrooij, "Heralds, knights and travelling", in Erik Kooper, ed., *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 46-61 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 21.).

In heraldic circles, Bavaria Herald is particularly known as the author of the famous *Wapenboek Gelre* ('Armorial Gelre'), in which a portrait of him has been preserved while serving the duke of Guelders in the years 1381-1402. See on this subject several studies on medieval rolls of arms; a recent publication is L. Jéquier and W. van Anrooij, "Les généalogies armoriées de l'armorial du héraut Gelre et du manuscrit 131 G 37 de la Bibliothèque Royale de la Haye", in *Archives héraldique suisses* 101 (1987), 3-44. My edition of the texts in the The Hague-manuscript will appear early in 1998.

Fact and Fiction in the *Historia Brittonum*, Chapter 66

Robert M. Vermaat

The *Historia Brittonum*, as a source for early medieval England, has attracted a kind of unthrustworthy reputation. This is for a large part due to its late compilation and its use of different sources, some less historically correct than others. For the researcher of early medieval history, trying to establish the value of this source, it is difficult but of the utmost importance to establish just how reliable each of these different sources is. In a reaction to the attachment of semi-historical status to figures like Arthur, Hengist and Vortigern in the early seventies, a serious study of this source was called for.

This was undertaken by professor Dumville, who made a very detailed study of the *Historia Brittonum* as a whole. To establish the true historical value of this text, the historical facts were separated from 'fiction', especially where early English myth and legend were concerned. Chapters on 'Arthur' were rejected, and chapters on events in early English history, such as the *Adventus Saxonum* and its connection with Vortigern, were looked at as very suspicious. The main chapter concerning these events is Chapter 66, *de Chronographia*, which presents an impressive set of dates. In researching the chronology of the *Historia Brittonum*, professor Dumville came to the conclusion that these dates had no historical validity at all.

I do agree with most of his conclusions, but I will show here that at least some information on Vortigern may retain some validity after all. According to Dumville, the *anonymus* compiler of the *Historia Brittonum* tried to write a history of Wales and, wanting to compute a date for the *Adventus Saxonum*, he used two sources; Prosper's *Epitoma Chronicon* (5th C.) and Victorinus' *Cursus Paschalis* (7thC.), also muddling up A.P. and A.D. dates. He then supplied these dates with consuls found in these sources, seemingly presenting a historically valid chronicle (*ibid.*, p. 445). I agree with this part, but I don't think that the compiler also invented the dates accordingly.

Dumville states, based on Chapter 31, that the *anonymus* believed the reign of Vortigern to have started directly after the death of Magnus Maximus in 388 AD. Then the *anonymus* supposedly added a

period of 40 years for the date of the *Adventus Saxonum* (=428 AD), and knowing that Maximus was killed by Theodosius and Valentinian, looked for their appearance together in the *Cursus Paschalis*. He found that in 425 AD, which he then supposedly took to be the first year of Vortigern (ibid., pp. 444, 445). This calculation would of course have no historical validity.

I do not agree with this conclusion. Apart from the fact that we cannot know what the intentions of the *anonymus* were, I believe that Dumville's proposed solution makes the *anonymus* look too suspicious. Chapter 66 clearly states the *Adventus* to have been in Vortigern's *fourth* year, whereas Dumvilles' apparent misreading of Chapter 31 would mean that it was in his *fourtieth*! Also, if we look closer at the *Cursus Paschalis*, several other questions arise about the alleged method of the *anonymus*. Though he stated (C.29) that both emperors ruled *eight* years together, the period where he was to have found them covers *ten*. No reason is given why he would have chosen the specific year of 425 AD instead of, e.g. 426 AD (where they also appear), or why he looked for *both* names instead of one only. For example, the *Cursus Paschalis* gives Theodosius for the year 388 AD: a perfect match, so why look any further?

For that is what professor Dumville wants us to believe; that the *anonymus* somehow, in his quest for a date of the *Adventus Saxonum*, apparently overlooked names like *Stilicho* and *Aetius* that appeared *before* the death of Maximus and the first year of Vortigern; that he mistook the *Theodosius I and Valentinian II* of the 4th Century for the *Theodosius II and Valentinian III* of the 5th! I do not believe that he would have failed to notice this, neither do I dare to propose that he falsified his findings with intent.

I think we must look for an alternative source for these dates, such as a lost 5th Century chronicle of some sort. The very place of this chapter at the end of the British history in the *Historia Brittonum* sets it apart. In addition to the *first* and the *fourth* years of Vortigern, it also mentions the so far unexplained *twelfth* year for the enigmatic *Catguoloph*, the battle of Wallop. This entry gives the impression of being based on a chronicle of some unknown origin or date. Could this have been a contemporary one? Of course. Though admittedly not from the *Historia Brittonum*, we know from other sources that contemporary information on Vortigern once was available. Bede uses a very early form of the name Vortigern, namely *Vertigerno*. An even earlier form, *Uuertigerno*, is derived from a short chronicle of British history, possibly from the ninth century. This form may show that its source could have dated back to the fifth century.

So, might we have here the remains of a lost, fifth-century chronicle, partly containing some dates on Vortigern? Whether we accept the dates themselves, or just the mentioning of a *first*, *fourth*, and *twelfth* year, I believe there is more to the historical validity of Chapter 66 of the *Historia Brittonum* than has been accepted so far.

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(12th-13th c.)

László Veszprémy

Hungarian chronicle research realized that within the chronicles the rate of *Vorgeschichte*, *Vergangenheitsgeschichte* is incredibly high compared to *Zeitgeschichte*, and this rate is among the highest in Europe: the *Anonymous Hungarian Notary* (c. 1200): 100%, and Simon of Kéza (1282-85): 42,6% prehistory; the *Pictorial Chronicle* (c. 1350): 64,1% *Vergangenheitsgeschichte*. It is too easy to brush off this question by stating that this phenomenon is manifest in countries where a particular cycle of legends evolved, e.g. about King Attila in Hungary. The point, however, is that this actually represented contemporary history, making the aims of the current political thinking comprehensible for the contemporaries by projecting them into early history and into the legends of the Hungarian saint king Ladislas respectively.

Both extant 13th-century chronicles were written at the royal court, yet these works cannot be called court or royal propaganda. They had a message to be understood as despatched from the dynasty to the nobility, while at the same time they had a message from the aristocracy to the dynasty concerning the constitutionality of the country. It is particularly the latter that explains why the focus of interest was directed at the period preceding the establishment of the kingdom, the coronation of the first king, the year 1000. The emphasis in citing pre-kingdom history was on the self-determination and popular sovereignty of the nobility, and these texts showed with great plasticity how they had elected of their own will a prince above themselves. In the discussion of *Vorgeschichte* and *Vergangenheitsgeschichte* the propaganda of the dynasty and individual kings and the legal justification for taking possession of the country were reflected as well. The common European cultural, educational stock of the chroniclers, first of all legal, historical and literary genres, convincingly explains why geographically most diversely located historians applied similar, sometimes identical stylistic and legal argumentation.

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Freculph's *Chronicle* and Carolingian Perceptions of History

Derk Visser

Freculph's *Chronicle* is often evaluated in the context of the *translatio imperii* idea. Both Heinz Löwe and Werner Goez, however, have highlighted the Carolingian perception of being citizens of a *respublica christiana*. Freculph's two volumes describe the history of only one "Church as the eternal work of God." Its duration was undetermined and Freculph is certainly not concerned with the expectation (one of the themes of Goez's *Transl. Imp.*) that the reign of Antichrist (also = heretics) would follow on the demise of the Roman Empire. This lack of concern also occurs in Carolingian Revelation commentaries. These are overlooked by modern historians in their assessment of Freculph's *Chronicle*. Carolingian exegesis is informed by an optimistic mentality that emerges, among other instances, in references to Daniel's empires (= the 'earthly city'); it clarifies Freculph's historiographical parameters.

The perception of history in Carolingian exegesis is positive: all history is salvation history symbolized by the 'two cities', one of which is 'Babylon' (= Cain, - or Nebuchadnessar's statue) and the other the 'city of God' (= Abel, the Church). These 'two cities' may have inspired Freculph's division of salvation history into two chronicles. The establishment of the Church (= *respublica Christiana*) by Christ (= the destructive rolling stone) is the subject of Freculph's second volume. Carolingian exegesis was not worried about the reign of Antichrist, for according to Ps(?) Alcuin it was through the preaching of the Word that the statue (= Christian Empire) was raised up more solidly (= *salubriter*; taken verbatim from Ambrosius Autpertus).

Freculph cites the six ecumenical councils at the end of his work for their definition of the nature of Christ against the heresies of Arius and others (= Antichrist). Placing them at the end follows naturally from the Christological nature of Carolingian exegesis. These councils reinforce his reason for completing his story with Gregory the Great. He may have found his justification in the gloss (also taken from Ambrosius Autpertus) on the six wings of the animals of Apoc. 4 that changed the traditional ages of history into 'ages of law'. The last three follow the birth of Christ: 'grace', the 'apostles' and the 'councils'. The Second Nicene (which the Greeks called the seventh) council, and adoptionism determined Freculph's insertion of the six councils.

Order rewritten. Remarks on codex MMW 10-B-17

Little remains of the prestigious church of St. Mary, founded in the late 11th century by king Henry IV in the city of Utrecht. The library and the archive of the chapter on the other hand have survived quite well. One of the most important books from this library is the codex nowadays preserved in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague. This codex (MMW 10-B-17) is best known for the *Annales of St. Mary*, but also contains copies of the *Martyrologium of Usuardus*, the *Rule of Aachen*, the second and third *Rules of St. Augustine* and some other texts. It was written for the chapter ca. 1138 by a single scribe, who presumably was a member of the chapter himself. The question arises why all these texts were brought together in one volume. What sense did it make to combine the *Annales* of the chapter with precisely these texts? In search of the answer I'll pay attention to some codicological aspects as well as to contents of the *Annales* themselves. This will also shed new light on the exact date of the codex, the reason for its production and its function in the chapter.

The Continuation of a Dutch translation project: Lodewijk van Velthem and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais

Hans Voorbij

In my contribution I will discuss three questions related to Velthem's translation of books XXVII-XXXII of Vincent's *Speculum Historiale*:

- a) which version of the *Speculum Historiale* did Velthem use?
- b) did Velthem make a complete translation of this part of Vincent's text?
- c) (time-allowing) what is the quality of Velthem's skills as a translator?

Inventing a tradition: The *Crónica d'Espayña de García de Eugui*

Aengus Ward

The field of Navarrese historiography is one rarely entered into, as the kingdom of Navarre is often felt to be something of a poor neighbour by comparison with Aragón, Castile and Portugal. One of the most significant products of the Navarrese tradition is the *Crónica de García de Eugui*, a fourteenth-century history of Spain, compiled by the bishop of Bayonne. This chronicle is most widely known for the final eight folios, the *Genealogía de los reyes de Navarra*, as the main chronicle of Spain is held to be little more than a copy of the great Alfonsine chronicles from which it derives much of its source material. My paper aims to demonstrate that a close reading of the text can reveal much about the reasons for which it was compiled. In fact, there is a clear editing policy visible in the manner in which the bishop deploys his source material and it is one upon which an examination of the contemporary political situation in the Peninsula can shed a great deal of light.

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`Memorializing Dispute resolution in the twelfth-century: annal, history and chronicle at Vézelay'.

John Ward

Wendy Davies, Patrick Geary and others have lately concentrated on dispute resolution in medieval contexts, but neither they nor any other commentator has made much of the rich resource of information on the subject in MS Auxerre 227, compiled at the monastery of Vézelay in the second half of the twelfth-century and containing a mini-chronicle' and a 'major-chronicle', together with a cartulary which was used in the course of legal proceedings amply set out in the major chronicle. I have commented on the significance of the 'dossier' or 'assemblage' of historical texts (such as MS Auxerre 227) in the annotated translation of the Vézelay material which I and John Scott have recently published (Scott-Ward 1992). My aim in the paper would be to set out the results of my inquiry into the use that the material presented in MS Auxerre 227 was put at Vézelay in the twelfth-century, to sustain, memorialize and render 'permanent' the results of the dispute mediation that had involved important parties (archbishop, abbots, bishops, counts, dukes, emperor, king, popes) over the quarter-century preceding the compilation of the manuscript itself. That is to say, I am concerned with the pragmatic functioning of the historiographical impulse in a revolutionary context. My remarks are also addressed to the position argued in Guenée 1973 that not until the Renaissance, was clarity introduced into the distinctions contemporaries drew between 'chronicle' [annal] and 'history'. I maintain that medieval writers knew exactly why they were using each genre, and what each genre conveyed. They viewed 'history' as a multi-faceted and many-sided phenomenon and held that different points of view had to be preserved by way of different, competing, historiographical genres. In this medieval writers anticipated both the modernist approach to art and the postmodernist approach to 'truth'. MS Auxerre 227 is a good example of this.

My proposal touches upon the 'four main themes' of the conference thus: (1) chronicle as a genre, type of chronicle, conventions etc.; (2) by whom and for whom; historical context ('provenance and dissemination of MSS'); (3) present / past relationship, forgery / fiction, fictionality (invented speeches and situations etc.); (4) function of MS illuminations; provenance / date of illuminations; links with text etc.

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Armenian Chronicles and Armenian Self-Image

Jos Weitenberg

Armenian scholarly writing starts in the fifth century AD. Chronicles cover both the historical and the pre-literary periods. Elaborating on views set out by J.-P. Mahé and R.W. Thomson I intend to discuss in what way the early Armenian chronicles (up to ca. the 14th century), among which also elaborate colophons, both shape and reflect the Armenian national self-image. Initially, Armenian chronicles take their conceptual justification from the Bible and Greek patristic literature (in particular Eusebius), closely comparing Armenian with Biblical events. Later Muslim invasions change this outlook and widen the Armenian national and historical perspective; chronicles reflect this change in their build-up and in the way they describe Armenian history.

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‘swaz dan gesche, der scrive daz’

The Presence as Problem of Medieval Historiography

Jürgen Wolf

Throughout the Middle Ages the universal or world chronicles enjoyed great popularity, especially within the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. Besides the Latin world chronicles, preserved in hundreds of manuscripts, like the *Martins-Chronicle* (Martin of Troppau/Martinus Polonus) or the

Flores Temporum, there were also early vernacular works, first and above all the *Saxon World Chronicle*, which was written probably in Magdeburg around 1230. Considering the more than 50 extant medieval codices and far more documents of reception it does not seem exaggerated when the famous German historian Hans Patze calls both the vernacular *Saxon World Chronicle* and the Latin *Martins-Chronicle* the "main historical books of the 13th century".

However, the 'Original' of a world chronicle had only a short time of existence. Manuscripts in the tenor of the author, for example of the anonymus Saxon world chronicler or Martin of Troppau, are extremely rare; normally it does not exist. The continuation of history forced all the scribes and chroniclers of the 'future' to actualize their sources permanently. The result of this constant fight for being up-to-date is an incredible variety of handed-down material, redactions and versions of the 'same' chronicle, which was again and again revised, supplemented and continued. Ultimately the pressure to be up-to-date entailed that each manuscript presents its own chronicle.

Not only the continuation of history, but also political, religious, ideological and social changes left their traces. A world chronicle that had been changed skillfully, and had been supplemented and partially embedded in new contexts could easily be used to serve various interests. The urban chroniclers especially have carried various special interests (e.g. the history of their town, urban politics, urban legal claims, the urban view of the king's policy and urban propaganda) into the universal chronicles or their manuscripts. These aspects of historiography become only understandable through the unique and characteristic continuations and adaptations, through the individual and often singular products of scribes and writers.

The great number of continuations itself (hardly any continued version, or, to be more precise, any manuscript, represents an original chronicle) should have been acknowledged by research. But the contrary is true. The great chronicle editors of the past -Georg Waitz, Ludwig Weiland, Georg Heinrich Pertz, Oswald Holder-Egger and Hans Ferdinand Massmann, to name only a few - generally considered these innumerable continuations worth publishing, since their aesthetical and historical qualities only rarely reached the qualities of the basic texts. But besides the contemporary news it is exactly these continuations which five or six or seven centuries later give the essential clues to locate and date the manuscripts. Also and still more important information about the patron(s), the audience, the author and the effects of such manuscripts or versions of a chronicle is only available through these continuations. The subject of these reports are not seldom tendentious political, juridical, social, genealogical, economical and/or personal news. They are something like a 'eyewitness report of contemporary reality'.

Furthermore, an element of revision which cannot be recognized at once as such, is of central importance for the history of medieval historiography. Continuations have backward effects on the original. With each updating process a more or less fundamental revision of the original takes place. At a closer look such a 'continued' text, one which according to the edition must clearly be defined as a world chronicle, suddenly appears to be a country, court or town chronicle with totally new intentions and its own perspective. Such continuations, just like adaptations, which in turn are often closely connected to the actualizations, are of central importance as a mirror of social realities. Sometimes they even generate a new reality or a new historical consciousness.

As basis of my research I chose some characteristic examples from the tradition of the vernacular prose *Saxon World Chronicle* and the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* by Martin of Troppau, which was the widest-spread chronicle in the Middle Ages.

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**English History on the River Severn:
La3amon at Worcester and Robert at Gloucester**

Michelle Wright

The re-writing of the Arthurian past throughout the Middle Ages poses one of the most complex and intriguing problems in medieval historiography. In this paper, I will consider how the story of the past becomes meaningful in the present, taking my examples from the thirteenth century, along the banks of the Severn River between England and Wales. In this productive corner of England, two writers working some years apart wrote the history of England (including Arthur) in English verse. While La3amon is well recognized by now as an important writer of vernacular historiography, Robert's pioneering role in this tradition has yet to be established.

La3amon and Robert's geographical proximity and their common formal choices indicate similar relationships to the past, and yet they imagine history very differently. Both, however, use the distant and legendary past to construct their immediate, present identities, turning the narrative of the past into a form of local history. Local concerns emerge in several ways. Etymologies and translations, for example, give the distant past the familiar shape of contemporary England. The representation of racial and religious identities also conflates the past and the present. The respective roles of Worcester and Gloucester, of family and religious community, contribute further to local perspectives. The Arthurian section of both narratives crystallizes this strain of presentism in the narration of armor and battles: here, issues of legitimate conquest, race, and religion all merge to shape narrative Judgment. On the east bank of the Severn, as much as hundred years apart, La3amon and Robert represent two different kinds of vernacular conquest. Their common geopolitical perspective on the navigable border formed by the river prompts both to consider paradigms of continuity: La3amon's vernacular conquest of insular history disowns the continuity of force, while Robert's moralizes it through the concept of a chosen Christian race.
