

2ND  
CONFERENCE



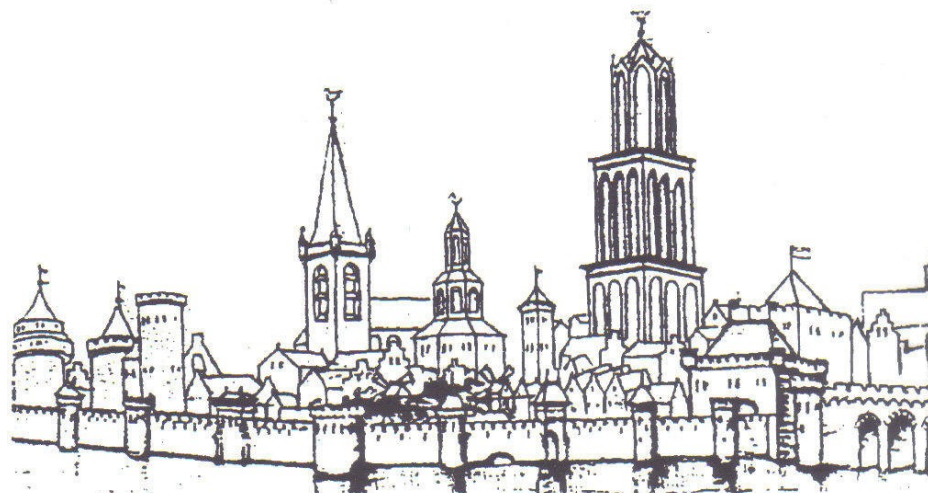
THE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLE

DIE MITTELALTERLICHE CHRONIK

LA CHRONIQUE MÉDIÉVALE

UTRECHT, 16 - 21 JULY 1999

ABSTRACTS



## Preface

When in 1996 the first international conference on the Medieval Chronicle was organised all participants were provided, as is customary at conferences, with abstracts of all the papers. Since the chronicle was then, and still is, a little studied topic it was suggested at the general meeting that a little volume consisting of the abstracts of the papers, but each extended with a basic bibliography of primary sources and secondary literature, would be extremely useful. All participants were therefore requested to send in a summary (revised, if necessary) of their paper. In the end some 85 of these were submitted, and on the basis of these and the abstracts already available a new collection entitled *Summaries* was produced and sent to all participants.

It had been the intention of the organisers to provide the participants of the second Chronicle conference with such a booklet at the moment of their arrival in Driebergen. Unfortunately, due to a variety of problems (especially computer technical, but also lack of time) we were not able to notify everyone enrolling for the conference of our ambition. Hence the present volume of 110 abstracts cannot claim to offer what we had envisaged it would, since a substantial group of them still lacks a bibliography. Nevertheless we hope that, in spite of its shortcomings, it will serve a useful purpose.

Erik Kooper

## **Roman and Germanic Identities in the Chronicles of Hydatius of Chaves and John of Biclaro**

*Jeremy Adams*

It is a commonplace in comparative historiography that remarkably little history-writing was done in Spain between 409 and 711 AD and that in the chronicle genre the most important (significant both in itself and in its long-range influence) contribution was Isidore of Seville's continuation of the Eusebian-Hieronymian Chronicle. Dissenting from at least the implications of that line of critique, I call attention to the two Hispanic antecedents of Isidore's Chronicle, the mid-fifth-century chronicle of the Lusitanian bishop Hydatius and the late sixth-century chronicle of the cosmopolitan abbot John of Biclaro.

Emphasizing what linguistic-turn criticism can make such documents tell us, I concentrate in this paper on the shape-shifting presentation of Roman and Germanic leadership figures and of the collective masses they are presented as leading C in other words, of the primary narrative antagonists C in these two tendentially selective narratives, one the apocalyptic testament of a Hispano-Roman patriot, the other the triumphalist statement of a Catholic Goth who foresaw a brilliant future for his finally orthodox people and their local church. Semantic analysis of the closely-read text is my basic method here, benefitting from Kristevan as well as structuralist and traditionally philological insights and techniques.

---

## **The Fact of Fiction as Fact in the *Crónica sarracina*, a Fifteenth-Century Castilian Historical Romance**

*Michael Agnew*

Widely read in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Spain and yet all but neglected by modern scholarship, the *Crónica sarracina*, by Pedro de Corral, offers a fascinating opportunity to study the role of fictionality in a late medieval work which presents itself as ostensible historical fact. The chronicle is characterized by daringly creative interpolations by the author: the invention of historical figures, the elaboration of chivalric episodes in jousts in Spain and on battlefields across Europe, the creation of sentimental plot sequences, and C most strikingly C the bolstering of all this invention with the 'testimony' of a trio of apocryphal eyewitness historians. These interpolations participate in a complex relationship with Corral's source material on the moorish invasion of the Peninsula in 711 and the first victories of Christians against the invaders. A proper analysis of this relationship and of the implications of the many contradictions produced by Corral's fictions leads us to the conclusion that, ironically, rather than attempting to dupe ingenuous readers with a forgery (as critics have tended to assert), Corral instead highlights the fictional nature of his work. In no way, however, does this fictionality jeopardize what would have been understood as the basic truths of the tale.

A more careful scrutiny of this chronicle allows us to dispell the critical myth of the naïve medieval reader (even though, of course, naïve readers must have existed, just as in any epoch) and to postulate a much more sophisticated readership for such a work as the *Crónica sarracina*. Corral's ironic insistence on the truthfulness of his version of history while he repeatedly signals its fictionality demands a subtle interpretation of contemporary views of the role of fiction, history and legend. In this context, Corral's work reflects an incipient ideology dependent in part on the creation of national legends, stories which consist of a kernel of accepted historical truth, ornamented by C in this case C the *bella menzogna* of chivalric romance. Indeed, it was precisely these elements of fiction, clearly recognized as such, which lent prestige to the tales that formed the basis for Corral's elaboration.

### **Bibliography**

### **Primary sources**

[Corral, Pedro de]. *La crónica del Rey don Rodrigo con la destruycion de España, y como los moros la ganaron*. Nueuamente corregida, cõtiene demas dela historia, muchas biuas razones y auisos muy prouechosos. Toledo: Juan Ferrer, 1549.

*Crónica de 1344*. Ed. Diego Catalán and María Soledad de Andrés. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

### **Secondary literature**

Brownlee, Marina S. (1985). 'The Trojan Palimpsest and Leomarte's Metacritical Forgery.' *Modern Language Notes* 100: 397-405.

Burshatin, Israel (1990). 'Narratives of Reconquest: Rodrigo, Pelayo and the Saints.' In *Saints and their Authors: Studies in Medieval Spanish Hagiography in Honor of John K. Walsh*. Ed. Jane E. Connolly. Madison: HSMS. 13-26.

CCC (1985). 'The Moor in the Text: Metaphor, Emblem and Silence.' *Critical Inquiry* 12: 98-118.

Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel (1992). 'Los historiadores de la Crónica sarracina.' In *Historias y ficciones: Coloquio sobre la literatura del siglo XV*. Ed. R. Beltrán. Valencia: U. de Valencia.

Camões, Luis de (1972). *Os Lusíadas*. Ed. Alvaro Júlio da Costa Pimpão. Lisboa: Instituto de Alta Cultura.

Carr, Derek C. (1974). 'La Epístola que enbió don Enrrique de Villena a Suero de Quiñones y la fecha de la Crónica sarracina de Pedro del Corral.' *University of British Columbia Hispanic Studies*. Ed. Harold Livermore. London: Támesis. 1-18.

Fogelquist, James Donald (1982). *El Amadís y el género de la historia fingida*. Madrid: Porrúa Turanzas.

Fleischmann, Suzanne (1983). 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages.' *History and Theory* 22: 278-310.

Lauzardo Ugarte, Aurora (1990). 'La Crónica sarracina de Pedro del Corral y la representación de la verdad en la Edad Media.' Diss. Princeton U. *DAI* 51: 1250A.

Menéndez Pidal (1925). *Ramón. Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas: Rodrigo, el último godo*. Vol. 1. Madrid: La Lectura.

Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán (1965). *Generaciones y semblanzas*. Ed. Robert B. Tate. London: Támesis.

Rollo, David (1995). 'Benoit de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie: Historiography, Forgery, and Fiction.' *Comparative Literature Studies* 32: 191-225.

Satorre Grau, José Joaquín (1969). 'Pedro del Corral y la estructura de su Crónica del Rey don Rodrigo.' *Al-Andalus* 34: 159-73.

Tate, Robert B. (1970). *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*. Madrid: Gredos.

---

## **Heraldry in an early 15th-century manuscript of Froissart's *Chronicles*. The case of New York Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.804**

*Peter Ainsworth / Godfried Croenen*

Most 'early' manuscripts of Books I-II of Froissart's *Chroniques* appear to have come from a Parisian workshop active between c. 1395 and 1420. One of the most remarkable is Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.804. Offering a complete text for Books I-II, it comprises two distinct sets of quires bound into a single volume. The illuminations may have been done by the same workshop, but by different >teams'. The manuscript was almost certainly copied between 1404 and 1410, although the border on folio 1 may be a later addition.

M.804's most unusual feature is the scheme of illumination for Book I: many of the borders incorporate accurately-blazoned banners displaying the arms of sovereigns, princes and knights

bannerets featuring in the text, some with superscript annotations. Knights are also depicted in emblazoned surcoats, in the miniatures. Heraldic shields as a decorative element are not a novelty: they often occur on opening folios as a silent witness to a former owner or patron. Nor are heraldic surcoats unique to M.804. At least two other 'early' Book I manuscripts contain paintings of surcoated knights, some bearing armorial banners (Toulouse, Public Library MS 511; cf. B.N. ms. f. fr. 2663; the handling of architectural detail in both MSS recalls that of Besançon Public Library MS 864 and Stonyhurst College, Archives MS I). Banners as a recurring border element are a different matter altogether, however; their systematic occurrence in M.804 renders this codex unique amongst all extant manuscripts of Froissart's *Chroniques*. Credit for first drawing attention to this feature must go to Max Prinnet, who in 1922 observed that the banners aligned on the right-hand side of the folios are almost invariably English, whilst those on the left are not only almost invariably French, but are also shown with arms reversed, or *contournées*.

Prinnet had access only to black-and-white photographs, and was able to do no more than blazon the more obvious coats. The catalogue notice is, moreover, incomplete. This paper seeks to fill these gaps by providing the first complete catalogue of all the banners and other armorial coats found in the manuscript.

A tentative connexion will then be adduced between the heraldic decoration and several contemporary rolls of arms. M.804 (Bk I) may afford evidence for a kind of collaboration between herald and chronicler that has been, hitherto, little studied. The codex seems to combine the functions of chronicle and occasional commemorative roll. It thus stands as a peculiarly emblematic testimony to the ideology that underpins the earlier Books of the *Chroniques* and the culture that produced them: the need to preserve the memory of those to whom the writer may, safely and on eyewitness authority (often coterminous with heraldic authority), credit courageous deeds of arms.

### Bibliography

- Ainsworth, Peter (1993). 'Asneton, Chandos et "X": Jean Froissart et l'écllosion des mythes.' In *'Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble.'* *Hommage à Jean Dufournet. Littérature, Histoire et Langue du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Champion. I, 1-18. Appendix: Heraldic bibliography.
- CCC (1999a). 'Pierpont Morgan MS. M. 804: An Heraldic Manuscript of Froissart's *Chroniques*.' In *Word and Image: Studies in the French Illustrated Book from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*. Ed. David Adams and Adrian Armstrong. Special issue of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. Manchester. October.
- CCC (1999b). 'Heralds, heraldry and the colour blue in the Chronicles of Jean Froissart.' In Erik Kooper, ed. *The Medieval Chronicle*. Proceedings of the July 1996 Utrecht Conference. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- CCC (1999c). '"Le vaillant homme, li peuples (...) et auquns clers": Froissardian Perspectives on Late Fourteenth-Century Society.' In *Hierarchies and Orders in the Later Middle Ages*. Ed. J. H. Denton. London: Macmillan.
- Calkins, Robert G. (1983). *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Plates 139-54 and colour plates 22 and 23. [The 'London Hours': British Library Add. MS 29433 C the shields are here left unpainted; for examples of blazoned shields, *ibid.*, pl. 155: 'Hours of Charles the Noble' (Cleveland Museum of Art), and pl. 156-8: 'Hours of Cordier de Bignan'. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 62.]
- Harf-Lancner, L. (1998). 'Image and Propaganda. The Illustration of Book 1 of Froissart's *Chroniques*.' In *Froissart Across the Genres*. Ed. D. Maddox and S. Sturm-Maddox. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 221-50.
- Prinnet, Max (1916). 'Les usages héraldiques au XIVE siècle d'après les *Chroniques* de Froissart.' *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* LIII, 2e partie: 141-55.
- Varvaro, Alberto (1994a). 'Il libro I delle *Chroniques* di Jean Froissart. Per una filologia integrata dei testi e delle immagini.' *Medioevo Romano* 19: 3-36.

**Propaganda im Bild:  
Herodes-Interpretation und Chronistik zur Zeit des Investiturstreits**

*Annelies Amberger*

Die Benediktinerklosterkirche im oberösterreichischen Lambach birgt in ihren heute barocken Mauern ein Kleinod frühromanischer Wandmalerei, deren Entstehung mit dem Jahr 1093 zu verbinden ist.

Der christologische Zyklus mit Szenen aus Kindheit und Wirken Jesu enthält drei Herodesdarstellungen, die in ihrer Ikonographie singulär sind, wenn auch motivische und kompositionelle Traditionen nachweisbar sind. Der Suizidversuch Herodis des Großen, die Bestechung des Herodessohnes Antipatros und der Herrschersturz Herodes Agrippas I. erweisen sich als Schlüsselszenen, deren aktuelle Deutung nur mit Hilfe von zeitgenössischen Chroniken, den *libelli de lite* und Antichrist-Traktaten zu leisten ist.

Aufgebaut auf die aus Bibel, Josephus Flavius und Kirchenväterliteratur hergeleitete historische Interpretationsebene erfahren die Herodesfiguren eine tropologische Deutung, die im Sinne der gregorianischen Kirchenpolitik argumentiert. Herodes wird als *exemplum* für den schlechten Herrscher an sich vorgeführt. Dieses negative Herrschaftsmodell wird auf Heinrich IV. übertragen, der nicht der gängigen Herrscherfiktion entsprach, weil er die kirchliche Macht in der herrschenden Form in Frage stellte. Das Bildmedium diente dazu, für eine bestimmte Öffentlichkeit politische Zeichen zu setzen.

**Bibliographie**

- Amberger, Annelies (1997). 'Herodes der Große als Selbstmörder.' In *Per assiduum studium scientiae adipisci margaritam*. Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen zum 65. Geb. St. Ottilien.
- Genge, Hans-Joachim (1972). *Die liturgiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Lambacher Freskenzyklus*. Münsterschwarzacher Studien 16. Münsterschwarzach.
- Meyer von Knonau, Gerold (1903, 1904). *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte. Bde. 4 und 5. Leipzig.
- Wibiral, Norbert (1998). *Die romanische Klosterkirche in Lambach und ihre Wandmalereien. Zum Stand der Forschung*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte. Bd. 4. Wien.
- 

**The Reconstruction of the Past in the Abbey Chronicle of Villers**

*Jarick Appelmans*

The main aim of this contribution is to study the methods and techniques applied at the redaction of the Latin abbey chronicle of Villers (13th-15th century, *Narrative Sources* C010, F022 and J179). The original chronicle of this Brabantine abbey was written shortly after 1250 and intended for the local Cistercian community. An introduction will concentrate on the different stages in its redaction, the spread of the surviving nine manuscripts and the influence of hagiography and *exempla* in the chronicle. The analysis of the reconstruction of the past, expressed by for example the awareness of time and space and the use of its sources will be most fruitful in a comparative approach, since the chronicle has been continued up to four times (until c.1275, 1333, 1459 and 1485).

What were the main themes in the chronicle and its four continuations: material wealth, economical crisis, or spiritual highlights, the reign of the abbots or the life and deeds of the monks and lay brethren. On which area was focused: the monastery of Villers and its neighbourhood, its extensive possessions or the duchy of Brabant? How did each single author reconstruct the past he described? Some continuators had to cover only a few decades, whilst others had to write the history of the monastery and its abbots for more than a hundred years. Was there a different approach to the recent past as to the narration of deeds and stories from a distant past?

Questioning the redaction of a medieval narrative source is not limited to how the authors presented their history to their audience, but also includes the problem of which material they used for the construction of their image and perception of the past: what sources did the Cistercian authors use for the reconstruction of their own past? According to which criteria did they choose their material? How did they refer to their sources? How did they order their material?

The Cistercian monks of Villers could select their information from a large set of sources, including widely spread narrative sources, like the *Bonum Universale de Apibus* of Thomas of Cantimpré or the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach. Before the first redaction of the *Cronica Villariensis Monasterii* an important number of Cistercian saints's lives were written at the abbey of Villers. This hagiographic tradition was afterwards gathered in the *Gesta Sanctorum Villariensium*. Another major source were the abbey records. The contents of some 750 charters and letters (1146-1500) are known to today's historians. A lot of this evidence has been inserted in the chronicle by the first author and the second continuator.

The application of the sources differed. Some authors draw widely on narrative texts and archival records, whereas others largely used the oral tradition, that conserved parts of the proper past within the monastic community, which they supplied with information from effigies and archaeological evidence. Can a correlation be perceived between the use of sources and the image of the past, as it has been drawn by the different authors of the abbey chronicle?

## **Bibliography**

### **Sources**

*Cronica Monasterii Villariensis*. Ed. G. Waitz. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, 25. Hannover, 1880. 195-216.

*Narrative Sources. De Verhalende Bronnen uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 600-1500 (The Narrative Sources from the Southern Low Countries, 600-1500*. C010 (and F022, G078, J179).

### **Secondary literature**

Balau, S. (1903). *Les sources de l'histoire de Liège au Moyen Age*. Etude critique. Brussels. 478-84.

Moreau, E. de (1909). *L'abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*. Etude d'histoire religieuse et économique. Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 21. Brussels. XLVI-LVIII.

Despy, G. (1957). 'La fondation de l'abbaye de Villers, 1146.' *Archives, Bibliothèques et Musées de Belgique* 28: 3-17.

---

## **Oratory in Medieval Historiography**

*Sverre Bagge*

The use of speeches is a characteristic feature of classical historiography which was taken over by medieval chroniclers. From a literary and rhetorical point of view, such speeches may be regarded as show-pieces, intended to demonstrate the author's skill in style and composition. The main aim of my paper, however, will be to analyse the use of speeches as part of the political culture of the period. My

main emphasis here will be on German historiography c. 950-1150 and the Old Norse sagas of the first half of the thirteenth century. In my paper I shall deal with two aspects of the use of speeches:

1. The relationship between the speeches in the chronicles and actual discussions. Even if the speeches were normally invented, did they have some relationship to how leaders actually behaved and matters were decided? An important point here is the avoidance of direct discussion which is characteristic at least of early medieval Germany, as pointed out particularly by Gerd Althoff. By contrast, the Nordic countries, Iceland and Norway, seem to have had a different political culture, where such discussions formed a normal part of the way politics was conducted. This difference seems to correspond to the way oratory occurs in the chronicles. As for Germany, the period of the Investiture Contest forms an exception in this respect, which is clearly related to the ideological controversies during this period.

2. The function of the speeches within the chronicles themselves. We can here schematically distinguish between two types: (1) the speech expresses the author's own opinions, or (2) it represents his attempts to reconstruct a particular situation in the past and thus his imagination of how his characters acted and reasoned. The former type may tentatively be linked to the religious or clerical tradition, the second to a more secular or classicising. Here again, however, we may try to explain the difference between the two types in terms of different political cultures, i.e. more or less dominated by ideological issues.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary sources***

*Hákonar saga*. Ed. Guðbrandur Vigfusson. *Rerum britannicarum medii ævi scriptores*, 88.1-2. London, 1857; rpt. 1964.

*Lamperti Annales*. In *Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis Opera*. Ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*. Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1894. 1-304.

[Otto of Freising]. *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I Imperatoris*. Ed. G. Waitz and B. von Simson. *MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 46. Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1912.

Snorri Sturluson. *Heimskringla*. I-IV. Ed. F. Jónsson. Copenhagen, 1893-1900.

*Sverris saga*. Ed. G. Indrebø. Oslo, 1920.

*Thietmari Merseburgiensis episcopi Chronicon*. Ed. Robert Holzmann. *MGH, Scriptorum*, 9. Berlin: Weidmann, 1955.

### ***Secondary literature***

Althoff, Gerd (1997). 'Colloquium familiare C colloquium secretum C colloquium publicum. Beratung im politischen Leben des Mittelalters.' In *ibid. Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 157-84.

Bagge, Sverre (1991). *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

CCC (1996a). *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed. Kingship in Sverris saga and Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. The Viking Collection 8. Odense: Odense UP.

CCC (1996b). 'Ideas and narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*.' *Journal of Medieval History* 22: 345-77.

CCC (1997). 'Oratory and Politics in the Sagas.' In *L'Histoire et les nouveaux publics dans l'Europe médiévale (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*. Actes du colloque international organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science à la Casa de Velásquez, Madrid, 23-24 Avril 1993. Ed. Jean-Philippe Genet. Publications de la Sorbonne. Paris. 215-28.



## Recreating the World: Trevisa Translates the *Polychronicon*

Jane Beal

Ranulf Higden wrote his universal history of the world, the *Polychronicon*, in Latin in the first half of the fourteenth century. John Trevisa translated it into Middle English in the second half, adding a preface, 'A Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk', as well as several original interpolations throughout his English version of the universal chronicle. In my paper, I consider Trevisa's 'translations' of the Genesis creation narrative in his prologue and the first five chapters of the second book of the *Polychronicon*. Perhaps somewhat on the model of Hebrews 11, Trevisa retells history thematically, only his theme is not faith, but the justification of vernacular Bible translation. Trevisa manipulates the "auctorite" of Ranulf Higden and even God Himself, *imitatio Creatoris*, for his project. Trevisa subtly yet successfully demonstrates originality within imitation, recreating the world for an English audience just beginning to receive Wycliffite translations of the Bible.

### Bibliography

#### Primary Sources

- Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. Ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.
- Higden, Ranulf. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. Churchill Babington. London: Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited, 1975.
- The Gospel of Nicodemus*. Ed. H. C. Kim. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973.
- Trevisa, John. 'Dialogue Between a Lord and Clerk.' In *A Book of Middle English*. Ed. J. A. Burrow and Thorlac Turville-Petre. Blackwell, 1997.
- CCC. 'Epistle of Sir John Trevisa, Chaplain unto Lord Thomas of Barkley, upon the translation of Polychronicon into our English Tongue.' *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*. Ed. Alfred W. Pollard. NY: E. P. Dutton, 1903.

#### Secondary Sources

- Deansley, Margaret. *The Lollard Bible*.
- Edwards, Anthony S. G. (1980). 'The Influence and Audience of the Polychronicon: Some Observations.' *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 17. Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.
- CCC (1984) 'John Trevisa.' In *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. Ed. A. S. G. Edwards. Rutgers University Press. 133-46.
- Fowler, David C. (1960). 'John Trevisa and the English Bible.' *Modern Philology* 58: 81-98.
- CCC (1962). 'New Light on John Trevisa.' *Traditio* 18: 289-317.
- CCC (1971). 'More about John Trevisa.' *Modern Language Quarterly* 32: 243-54.
- Greetham, D. C. (1984). 'Models for Textual Transmission of Translation: The Case of John Trevisa.' *Studies in Bibliography* 37. Ed. Fredson Bowers. University of Virginia.
- Hanna, Ralph III (1989). 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage.' *Speculum* 64: 878-916.
- Lawler, Traugott (1983). 'On the Properties of John Trevisas Major Translations.' *Viator* 14: 267-88.
- Perry, Aaron J. (1971). 'Introduction.' In *Trevisa's Minor Works: Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, Riachard FitzRalph's Sermon 'Defensio Curatorum' and Methodius, 'De Byggyning of þe World and þe Ende of Worlde'*. Ed. Aaron J. Perry. Early English Text Society OS 167. London: Oxford UP.
- Taylor, John (1966). *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Waldron, R. A. (1988). 'John Trevisa and the Use of English.' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74: 171-202.

## Gattungsmerkmale der spätmittelalterlichen Chroniken

*Piotr Bering*

Die spätmittelalterliche Chronistik ist schon lange ziemlich gut erforscht. Hier soll man vor allem den Sammelband von H. Patze (1987) erwähnen. In diesem Buch wurden eingehend verschiedene Aspekte der Chronistik dargestellt und besprochen. Jedoch, scheint es, daß die Funktion der Chronik in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft und ihre Rolle im Denken über eigene Vergangenheit wichtiger als eine literarische Form für die Verfasser waren. Obwohl ein Syntheseversuch der Poetik der mittelalterlichen Chroniken von K. Liman existiert, löst er nicht alle Fragen die mit der spätmittelalterlichen Chronistik verbunden sind. In diesem Modell wurden sowohl die literarische Kommunikation, als auch Grundelemente der Poetik *grosso modo* charakterisiert. Die einzelnen aber sehr wichtigen Beiträge zur literarischen Gestalt der spätmittelalterlichen Chroniken brachten die Schriften von A. Lhotsky mit, in denen die Rolle der komischen Elemente und der metrischen Einlagen untersucht wurden, sowohl die alte Arbeit von H. Schmidt (1958).

Diese letzte Arbeit zeigt, wie die in Chroniken dargestellte Welt eng war. Sie wurde sehr oft durch die Stadtmauer bestimmt. Die lokale Interesse und lokale Geschichte befanden sich im Brennpunkt der chronikalischen Erzählung. Das ist allgemein bekannt, jedoch M. a. W. diese Beschränkung der Perspektive bildet ein Grundmerkmal der spätmittelalterlichen Chronistik. Das andere ist mit der Annäherung der Chroniken und *Annales* (auch der Äbtekataloge) verbunden. Diese zwei, ursprünglich ganz andere Gattungen, im späten Mittelalter stellten praktisch eine gemeinsame Form dar: z. B. Johannes Dlugossius (Jan Długosz) hat sein Werk *Annales seu Cronicae...* betitelt.

Jede Chronik wurde *usque ad diem praesentem* geschrieben und der Chronist schenkte seinen zeitgenössischen Ereignissen eine besondere Beachtung. Die alltägliche Wirklichkeit bildet einen Fokus der chronikalischen Interessen. Da die Chronik sehr oft zu den praktischen Zwecken diente, nahm sie eine publizistische Funktion auch an. Dieses Phänomen wurde besonders in der polnischen Wissenschaft geprägt (B. Kürbis, R. Heck). Eine Legitimierung der Macht eines lokalen Herrschers oder eine Charakterisierung der Feinde im negativen Licht verlangten vom Chronisten einen kompetenten Überblick der schriftlichen und mündlichen Quellen. Er benutzte frühere Quellen, sogar versuchte sie kritisch zu bewerten. Auch *memoria* oder ein Zeugnis der glaubwürdigen Person wichtig war.

Im Gegensatz zu den früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Chronisten wurden die theologischen und geschichtsphilosophischen Fragen und Spekulationen für die Verfasser im Spätmittelalter nicht interessant. Man kann sagen, daß nur ein konkretes Tat für sie interessant war. Die sakrale Sphäre entweder existiert nicht, oder spielt nur eine geringere Rolle. Die Fürsten oder Könige stammten aus *profanum*-Sphäre, sie erfüllten einfach die Pflichten des Wirtes schlecht oder gut. Auch nicht selten sind merkwürdige Erscheinungen nicht als eine Folge der Gotteswirkung interpretiert, sondern im naturalen Kategorien oder nur erwähnt ohne irgendwelche Erklärung. Der Chronist bemüht sich oft die Ereignisse möglichst gelehrt darzustellen, aber er versucht nicht alle Fakten zu klären.

Diese scheinbar winzigen Unterschiede ermöglichen eine besondere Form der spätmittelalterlichen Chronistik auszusondern, die alle Grundmerkmale der tausendjährigen Gattung beibehielten und sie kreativ entwickelten.

## Bibliographie

- Patze, H., hrsg. (1987). *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*. Sigmaringen.
- Schmidt, H. (1958). *Die deutschen Städtechroniken als Spiegel des bürgerlichen Selbstverständnisses im Spätmittelalter*. Göttingen.

---

**Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und seine christlich-humanistische Bildwelt:  
Tafelmalerei im Kontext von Rhetorik, Chroniken und Fürstenspiegeln**

*Edgar Bierende*

Ziel der Untersuchung war es die zentralen Diskurse der deutschen Humanisten zur deutschen Vergangenheit an den zwei wichtigsten Höfen Deutschlands bzw. des alten Reiches zu Beginn des 16. Jhs., nämlich in Wien und Wittenberg, zu rekonstruieren, um hieraus die Interpretamente und Parameter für die dort von Lucas Cranach geschaffenen Bilder zu gewinnen. An diesen beiden Höfen wurde sowohl von Kaiser Maximilian I. (1493-1519) als auch von Kurfürst Friedrich III. dem Weisen (1486-1525) in einem bis dahin nicht bekannten Ausmaß die eigene "historia", die deutsch-germanische Antike bzw. "Vorzeit" in Form von Genealogien, Standessukzessionen, Reichs- und Landesgeschichtsschreibungen erforscht. Ausgehend von diesem höfisch-humanistischen Hintergrund wurden die Bilder des Hofmalers Cranach versucht neu zu sehen, um sie wieder in ihrer ganzen historischen Komplexität begreifen zu können.

In der Wiener Zeit Cranachs (ca. 1500-1504) konnte eine Synthese von Herrschergeschichte und Heilsgeschichte C unter Berücksichtigung der *Schedelschen Weltchronik* und weiteren Chroniken bzw. Schriften von Johannes Cuspinian, Johannes Stabius, Jakob Mennel, usw. C in seinen Bildern (*Wiener Kreuzigung*, um 1500) nachgewiesen werden. Als gemeinsame theoretische Grundlage für Schreiben und Malen konnte die erstmals in Deutschland wieder aufkommende Gattung der Rhetorik namhaft gemacht werden. Mittels der Rhetorik des Konrad Celtis' (*Ārs versificandi et carminum*, 1486) ließ sich das qualitativ neuartige humanistische Interesse an Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Umwelt nachweisen, das sich prägend auf Cranachs Bilder in Form von Stilwahl (*genus humile*, Schlichtheit und Reduzierung), Gestaltungsweise (*vivacitas*, Naturschilderung und -phänomene) und Auswahl (*sensus historicus*: direkte Rede und retrospektive Motivübernahmen) anwirkte.

Am Wittenberger Hof schuf der Hofmaler Cranach erstmals in Deutschland unter den Regenten Kurfürst Friedrich III. der Weise (1463-1525) und seinem Nachfolger Johann dem Beständigen (1468-1532) in großer Anzahl, wenige, sich beständig wiederholende profane Bildthemen, wie etwa *Parisurteil*, *Venus und Amor*, *Quellnympe*, *Faunenfamilie*, *Goldnes* und *Silbernes Zeitalter* usw. Der thematische Ausgangspunkt für diese neuartigen profanen Bildthemen fand sich in den zeitgleich entstandenen Chroniken bzw. Fürstenspiegeln der sächsischen Kurfürsten, in denen die Ursprungsmythen der Sachsen, Thüringer und Meißner bzw. der deutsch-germanischen 'Vorzeit' einen wesentlichen Beitrag darstellten. Diese handschriftlichen Chroniken bzw. Fürstenspiegel (*Chroniken der Sachsen, Thüringer und Meissen*. 1. Bd. 1513. Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, *Chronik der Sachsen und Thüringer*. 3 Bde. 1535. Landesbibliothek Coburg), die im Auftrag der sächsischen Kurfürsten und unter der Leitung des sächsischen Hofhistoriographen Georg Spalatin verfaßt wurden, stellten die zentrale Bezugsgröße für das historische Selbstverständnis der sächsischen Kurfürsten und der an ihrem Hof entstandenen Bilder dar. Neben diesen schriftlichen Quellen dienten dem Hofmaler Cranach weitere antike, aber auch pseudo-antike Texte, wie etwa Tacitus *Germania*, Plinius d. Ä. *Naturkunde*, Darius Phrygius *Bellum Troianum* und Francesco Colonna *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, als ikonographische Ergänzungen für seine profanen Bildthemen. Das bildliche Ausgangsmaterial für seine Motive und Figuren fand er jedoch nicht in den zeitgenössischen oder älteren Chroniken, die oft bilderlos oder nur im zeitgenössischen Gewand die altehrwürdige Vergangenheit darstellten, sondern in den antiken bzw.

pseudo-antiken Kunstwerken, die ihm in Form von Kleinbronzen oder auch in Form von Stichen und Zeichnungen vorlagen. In diesem Umgang mit Bildern offenbart sich Cranach als einer der großen humanistischen Maler seiner Zeit, der wie ein humanistischer Gelehrter antike Realien sammelte, um diese als Quellen und Zeugnisse der deutsch-germanischen Vergangenheit zu nutzen. Die ersten Bilder Cranachs zur deutsch-germanischen 'Vorzeit', die sich um eine C dem damaligen Kenntnisstand entsprechende C historisch adäquate Darstellung bemühten, entsprachen dem selben christlich-humanistischen Geschichtsbewußtsein (Euhemerismus, *sensus historicus*, *sensus allegoricus*), das sich auch in den zeitgleichen Geschichtswerken spiegelte. Cranachs profane Bilder zu Themen der sächsischen Landes- bzw. Herrschergeschichte entstanden genau in der Phase der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung, in der noch keine klare Trennung zwischen Prosa und Lyrik, zwischen Wahrheit und Dichtung, zwischen Geschichte und Mythos getroffen worden war. Seine profanen Bilder sind daher als mythisch-historische Darstellungen zu begreifen. In ihnen zeigt sich das sublimen christlich-humanistische Verstehen einer gerade erst wiedergewonnen germanisch-deutschen 'Vorzeit', wie sie am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit in Deutschland bestand.

---

### **La Galitzko-Volynskaja Letopis' comme Genre Historico-Littéraire**

*Ljudmila Boeva*

La *Galitzko-Volynskaja letopis'* (XIIIe siècle), une oeuvre médiévale peu étudiée, fut découverte dans le texte d'*Ipat'evskaja letopis'* (XVe siècle), mais elle représente un texte autonome. Contrairement aux autres *letopis'* russes, exemple typique desquelles fut *Povest' vremennyh let* ('Récit du temps passé', XIIIe siècle), la narration dans la *Galitzko-Volynskaja letopis'* n'est pas organisée par des notes annuelles. Les chiffres notant les années sont probablement incorporés plus tard. Ainsi la *Galitzko-Volynskaja letopis'* est typologiquement plus proche aux chroniques byzantines et à la *letopis* reconstruite de Siméon de Bulgarie. Le récit présente l'histoire de la famille du prince Roman Galitzki, de ses deux fils Daniil et Vasil'ko et ses petits-fils. En cet égard, la *Galitzko-Volynskaja letopis'* trouve le chemin vers le roman historique et la chronique historique de famille.

La *Galitzko-Volynskaja letopis'* est un texte entier. Son entité consiste dans l'espace, englobant la Russie, particulièrement la Grande Steppe, Pologne, Lituanie, Hongrie. Dans le centre de narration est le temps comme le sujet de procès, l'action se développe horizontalement, dans sa conséquence historique. Les éléments littéraires, chrétiens et épiques sont étroitement liés. Les images folkloriques ont leur origines dans l'épos russe et polovets. L'entité fictionnelle se manifeste dans la collision: la lutte pour le pouvoir familial du prince et les factions avec les maisons concurrentes, la lutte contre l'ennemi de dehors, surtout avec les Tartares. Le sujet extensif joint une mosaïque de fragments, scènes, images. Dans la *letopis'* comme metagenre, on peut trouver les genres des nouvelles guerrières (*voïnskaja povest'*), des notes et des récits chroniques, des récits de miracles et des querelles, des éloges, des documents, des oraisons, des citations de Bible et de livres sacrés, des légendes, etc. Malgré l'identification de quelques narrateurs parmi lesquels fut "le sage scribe Timopheï", la *Galitzko-Volynskaja letopis'* a son style unique, plein d'émotion qui contribue à la création de l'image monumentale des seigneurs idéaux.

#### **Bibliographie**

##### **Sources**

*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*. T. 2. *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. St. Petersburg, 1908; Moscou, 1962.  
*Pamjatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi, XIII vek*. Vyp.3. Moscou, 1981.

##### **Secondary literature**

- Boeva, L. (1979). 'Istoria Slavenoblgarskaja@ kato literaturno proizvedenie.' In *Za literaturnite zhanrove prez Balgarskoto Vazrazhdane*. Sofia. 45-62.
- Eremin, I. P. (1957). 'Volynskaja letopis' 1289-1290 kak pamjatnik literatury.' *TODRL* 13: 102-17.
- Pashuto, V. T. (1950). *Očerki po istorii Galitzko-Volynskoi Rusi*. Moscou.
- 

### **La Chronique comme genre artistique-littéraire**

*Ivan Bouukliev*

La Chronique, ainsi que le Matyrologe, représente un typique genre médiéval. Son but consiste à présenter, sur la base d'un ordre chronologique, les événements non seulement de la vie nationale et religieuse, mais encore quotidienne, interprétés par des signes providentiels d'un futur proche ou lointain. La valeur historique peut être plus élevée ou plus basse selon les renseignements dont l'auteur dispose.

On peut considérer la Chronique de Manasse comme une oeuvre littéraire plutôt que historique. Auteur vécut au temps des dynasties des Commens, période apprécié et connu comme 'Renaissance commeniennne', Manasse a créé des images suggestives, riches en couleurs, frappantes. Dans l'oeuvre on peut trouver aussi des scènes dramatiques, capables de charmer même le lecteur contemporain. Les qualités artistiques du poème sont dues aussi à la présence, dans l'oeuvre, d'un précieux iambe politique byzantin, très répandu dans la poésie épique.

---

### **The Historiographical Content of Twelfth-Century *Miracula*: Miracle Collections as Quasi-Chronicles**

*Marcus Bull*

This paper examines the historiographical self-awareness and methodologies of authors of miracle collections in twelfth-century Europe. In particular, it compares and contrasts two collections which are very close in time: those from Our Lady of Rocamadour (1172-3) and the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury (1171-c.1180). The Rocamadour collection is of particular interest because it represents a major narrative dealing with recent events from southern France - a region in which, as Thomas Bisson has demonstrated, the writing of history was not a major feature of learned culture in this period. The Becket collection (over 700 miracle stories) commends itself as a substantial and still largely unexplored resource which constructs an explanatory framework to link a mass of disparate material bearing on recent events.

A notable feature of both collections, and of other similar texts from the same period, is that their authors engage with issues and problems in ways which closely resemble the forms and content of contemporary historiographical discourse as articulated by chroniclers. For example, both the Rocamadour and Canterbury collections exhibit political awareness in including authorial comment on Henry II's expedition to Ireland (1171-2). The Rocamadour author has much to say about perceptions of the mercenary bands which were operating in the Midi. Both collections make use of many chronological markers which implicitly reveal their authors participating in contemporary debates and accordingly making historiographical judgements: for example, the Rocamadour author situates events within the context of the war between the count of Toulouse and the king of Aragon, in ways which reveal that he supported the latter.

The questions are therefore: Why is there a substantial element of historiographical discourse in texts of this type? To what extent can their authors' strategies of selection and composition be compared to the activities of chroniclers? To what extent did miracle collections serve commemorative functions

analogous to those of histories, for example from the point of view of the religious communities which produced them? To what extent can scholars draw on the miracle material in the same ways as they might exploit chronicle sources?

The main conclusion of the paper is that we need to be flexible in our use of genre boundaries when studying different types of medieval texts which purport to preserve and describe the past. The miracle collections under review have so much in common with contemporary chronicles - in terms of functionality, political perspectives, and authorial editorializing - that they should be studied in an inclusive way, as well as with regard to questions of veracity and purpose which are specific to that particular form.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary sources**

- Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*. Ed. L. Robertini. Biblioteca di medioevo latino, 10. Spoleto, 1994.
- Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*. Ed. J. C. Robertson, vols. 1-2. Rolls Series 67: 1-2. London, 1875-76.
- Les Miracles de saint Benoit*, ed. E. de Certain. Paris, 1858.
- Les Miracles de saint Privat suivis des opuscules d'Aldebert III, évêque de Mende*. Ed. C. Brunel. Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, 46. Paris, 1912.
- '*Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*'. Ed. A. Thomas. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 42 (1881): 505-50.
- Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Rocamadour au XIIIe siècle*. Ed. and trans. E. Albe; rev. intro. and notes J. Rocacher. Toulouse, 1996.
- Robert of Torigny. *Chronica*. Ed. R. Howlett. Rolls Series, 82: 4. London, 1889.
- Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine*. Ed. and trans. M. Aubrun. Clermont-Ferrand, 1970.

### **Secondary literature**

- Benjamin, R. (1988). 'A Forty Years War: Toulouse and the Plantagenets, 1156-96.' *Historical Research* 61: 270-85.
- Bisson, T. N. (1990). 'Unheroed Past.' *Speculum* 65: 281-308.
- Finucane, R. C. (1977). *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. London.
- de Gaiffier, B. (1970). 'Hagiographie et historiographie: Quelques aspects du problème.' In *La storiografia altomedievale*. 2 vols. Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 17. Spoleto. I, 139-66.
- Remensnyder, A. G. (1995). *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France*. Ithaca, NY.
- Sigal, P.-A. (1980). 'Histoire et hagiographie: les "Miracula" aux XIe et XIIe siècles.' *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87: 237-57.
- Signori, G. (1996). 'The Miracle Kitchen and its Ingredients: A Methodical and Critical Approach to Marian Shrine Wonders (10th to 13th Century).' *Hagiographica* 3: 277-303.
- Spiegel, G. M. (1990). 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages.' *Speculum* 65: 59-86.

---

## **Historisches Berichten und literarisches Erzählen in Geffrei Gaimars *Estoire des Engleis***

*Brigitte Burrichter*

Geffrei Gaimar hat seine *Estoire des Engleis* 1138/39 als Auftragsarbeit für Constance FitzGilbert, die Frau eines Adligen aus Lincolnshire, verfaßt. Die *Estoire des Engleis* ist das älteste überlieferte

Geschichtswerk in der anglonormannischen Volkssprache, sie ist in der in der Volkssprache vorherrschenden Form des gepaarten Achtsilbers geschrieben.

Geffrei verarbeitet in der *Estoire* verschiedene schriftliche Quellen, verwendet aber auch mündliche Überlieferungen und berücksichtigt die Erwartung seiner Auftraggeberin auf Unterhaltung und deren höfischen Geschmack. In der *Estoire* finden sich lange Sequenzen, in denen Geffrei Einträge aus der *Angelsächsischen Chronik* ohne jegliche Ausschmückung übersetzt, daneben auch Ereignisse, die er im Sinne der zeitgenössischen Historiographie erzählt. Immer wieder fügt er aber auch Erzählungen ein, die eindeutig aus der nicht-historiographischen Überlieferung kommen und die sowohl inhaltlich als auch formal vom annalistischen oder historischen Berichten abweichen.

Die beiden auffälligsten Episoden sind die Haveloc-Erzählung (die auch als eigenständiger Lai überliefert ist) und die Geschichte von Edgar und Elfrida. Ich möchte die dritte dieser längeren Erzähleinheiten analysieren, die Geschichte von Buern Bucecarle.

Diese Geschichte liefert die Hintergründe für einen der zahlreichen dänischen Überfälle auf England. Inhaltlich hebt sie sich von dem sie umgebenden historischen Bericht ab, weil sie nicht nur den persönlichen Grund für diesen Überfall angibt B Buern Bucecarle hat ihn inszeniert, um sich an einem englischen König zu rächen B, sondern vor allem, weil sie ausführlich erzählt, womit dieser König die Rache provoziert hat (er hat Bucecarles Frau vergewaltigt). Der Höhepunkt dieser Erzählung, das Geständnis der Frau, steht im Spannungsfeld von zwei Wertesystemen, dem (alten) ständischen Recht, wonach der Ehemann das Recht hat, seine Frau wegen dieser Schande umzubringen, und dem (neuen) höfischen Recht, das die Frau freispricht. Das Gespräch zwischen Bucecarle und seiner Frau transportiert aber nicht nur die neuen Vorstellungen, in denen bereits die höfischen Ideale der Romane anklingen. Gaimar verwendet hier auch eine Sprache, die in der zeitgenössischen (lateinischen) und auch in Waces fünfzehn Jahre später entstandenem *Roman de Rou* nicht zu finden ist.

Im Vergleich der Buern-Bucecarle-Episode mit den umgebenden historiographischen Berichten treten die Unterschiede zwischen historischem Berichten und literarischem Erzählen sowohl auf der Ebene der *histoire* wie auch auf der des *discours* deutlich zutage. Gaimars Umgang mit den beiden Gattungen, der besonders aus den Übergängen zu erschließen ist, läßt auch Rückschlüsse darauf zu, unter welchen Bedingungen sich die volkssprachliche Reimchronik als eigene Gattung entwickelt hat.

### **Bibliographie**

Geffrei Gaimar. *L'Estoire des Engleis*. Hg. Alexander Bell. Anglo-Norman Text Society 14-16. Oxford, 1960. Bes. Vv. 2561-928.

Bell, Alexander (1960). 'Introduction' zu Geffrei Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engleis*.

Becker, Philipp August (1934). *Der gepaarte Achtsilber in der französischen Dichtung*. Leipzig.

Burrichter, Brigitte (1996). *Wahrheit und Fiktion. Der Status der Fiktionalität in der Artusliteratur des 12. Jahrhunderts*. München. Kap. 'Geffrei Gaimars *L'Estoire des Engleis*', S. 64-89.

Legge, M. Domenica (1963). *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*. Oxford.

Meneghetti, Maria Luisa (1975). 'L'Estoire des Engleis di Geffrei Gaimar fra cronaca genealogica e romanzo cortese.' *Medioevo Romano* 232-46.

**The Accidental Chronicler:  
Robert Mannyng and the Prologue to the *Story of England***

*Joyce Coleman*

Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Story of England* (or *Chronicle*; 1327-38) features prominently in current discussions of the emergence of both the English vernacular and English identity, after centuries of domination by a French-speaking elite of Norman origin.

While these two issues are certainly critical to Mannyng, the prologue to the *Story of England* also reflects a third concern that in fact destabilizes and complicates the other two. This is the question of poetic register and models, raised by Mannyng in a tangled, obsessive passage that has deterred modern attempts at interpretation and thus minimized critical discussion.

After presenting an interpretation of Mannyng's concerns about the poetic form in which he will present his English text this paper will go on to examine how these issues interact with those of language and nationality. One surprising discovery is that while one might expect Mannyng to look to francophonic models for his poetic form, the text he names as meriting esteem over all tales that are or have been (ll. 98-99) is not French. In fact it is (or he thinks it is) Scottish: *Sir Tristrem*, which Mannyng attributes to Thomas of Erceldoun. Mannyng's admiration of Thomas C famous even in Mannyng's own time not only as a poet but as a prophet of Scottish independence C plays very oddly against the focus of the last part of his chronicle: a predictably pro-English account of Edward I's wars against the Scots.

Mannyng's interest in *Sir Tristrem* seems related less to the questionable content (hardly the sort of reading St Gilbert intended for his canons) than to its ambitious rhyme scheme. Although Mannyng is tempted by a variety of exotic rhyme forms (to which he gives French names, but for most of which he is the only source), he doubts the ability of English performers to read such a text adequately. Moreover, his prospective audience C presumably, the man or men who commissioned the chronicle C are constantly pressuring him for an "easy-reading" text. The implicit contrast suggests that Scottish performers and audiences are better able to present and understand sophisticated texts.

Mannyng's knowledge of Scottish literary performance may derive from his friendship at Cambridge with Alexander Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce. He mentions attending Alexander's inception feast (probably in 1303), and may have been present on other occasions when texts such as *Sir Tristrem* were performed.

The mismatch between the project apparently handed Mannyng by his patrons and Mannyng's own ambitions as an author, and loyalties as a friend, may partly explain the incoherence that affects his discussion of these issues. While he was glad to be writing again (which he could only do with the approval of his religious superiors), Mannyng was evidently less engaged with the nationalistic aspects of the task than with the literary, intellectual, and poetic challenges it posed.

---

***Cronache de' signiori di Fiandra: An Italian Chronicle of Flanders***

*Sabrina Corbelli*

An anonymous Italian merchant living in Bruges started in 1452 an important project: he decided to translate a Middle Dutch chronicle of Flanders into his mother-tongue. His translation, entitled *Cronache de' signiori di Fiandra*, is contained in a manuscript of the Bruges Municipal Library (ms. 685). The manuscript also includes a map of Flanders, the first known, drawn by the translator.

The Italian merchant chose for his translation a very specific version of the chronicle of Flanders, starting from the year 621 until 1440, which survives in five manuscripts (Bruges, Municipal Library ms. 436 and 437; Brussels, Royal Library ms.13073-13074; Douay, Municipal Library ms. 110; New York,



Pierpont Morgan Library ms. 435) and an incunable (*Dits die excellente Cronicke van Vlaenderen*, Antwerp, 1531). The Italian chronicle of Flanders was translated directly from the Middle Dutch into the Italian, without the use of Latin or French as intermediate language, as proven by the presence of three Middle Dutch chronograms, which were copied out and subsequently rendered into Italian.

Some aspects of this underestimated Italian contribution to the historiography of Flanders, most likely the first translation from Dutch into Italian, will be analyzed:

- i) social and literary context,
- ii) genesis of the *Cronache*, and
- iii) the *Cronache* as translation from Middle Dutch.

This last point will be illustrated by means of a case study, the uprising of Bruges in the years 1436-1438. The description in the *Cronache* will be compared with the text in the Middle Dutch manuscripts and incunable, which will shed some light on the position of this Italian document in the tradition of Flemish chronicles.

### **Bibliography**

Bonneure, F. (1994). *Brugge beschreven. Hoe een stad in teksten verschijnt*. Brussel.

Corbellini, S. (1997). 'Cronache de' signiori di Fiandra: een Italiaanse kroniek van Vlaanderen.' *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor geschiedenis* 134: 102-11.

Dumolyn, J. (1997). *De Brugse opstand van 1436-1438*. Kortrijk-Heule: UGA.

Geirnaert, N. (1988). 'Belangrijk handschrift aangekocht: Italiaanse kroniek van Vlaanderen met kaart van het graafschap, 1452.' *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor geschiedenis* 125: 234-38.

CCC (1992). 'Brugge en het Europese geestesleven in de middeleeuwen'. In *Brugge en Europa*. Ed. Vermeersch (1992). 224-51.

Vandewalle, A., N. Geirnaert (1992). 'Brugge en Italië'. In Vermeersch (1992). 182-205.

Vermeersch, V., ed. (1992). *Brugge en Europa*. Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds.

-----

**'E las cayssas hubrir, e las vertutz ostar':  
Les déprédations dans la cathédrale de Pampelune pendant  
la prise de la Navarrería selon les chroniques de l'époque**

*Xavier Dectot*

La guerre dite de Navarre ou de Pampelune (1276-1277), révolte nobiliaire, fut aussi une lutte pour le pouvoir entre ces deux groupes fortement différenciés peuplant la ville: les \*francs+, d'installation récente dans la ville, et les \*navarrais+, implantés depuis plus longtemps. Elle s'acheva par des massacres qui choquèrent d'autant plus les esprits qu'ils se poursuivirent jusque sur l'autel majeur de la cathédrale. Deux chroniqueurs presque contemporains des faits, Guillaume Anelier et Guillaume de Nangis donnent la description d'une véritable scène d'apocalypse, mettant en relief la façon dont se percevaient deux peuples qui cohabitaient.

### **Vérité, haine et mauvaise foi: deux visions de la prise d'une ville**

Les deux textes diffèrent sur l'identité et les responsabilités de ceux qui perpétrèrent de si horribles crimes. Pour Guillaume Anelier, Toulousain installé, à Pampelune, les coupables sont les soldats réguliers du roi de France. Mais pour Guillaume de Nangis, historiographe de Philippe le Bel, les auteurs de troubles sont les mercenaires albigeois, accusés d'être cathares. Un siècle de luttes sur fond de querelle religieuse rejaillit. Les deux auteurs s'opposent par leur interprétation des faits et par leur conception de la fonction de la chronique: quand l'un se place aux côtés du pouvoir royal français, l'autre se montre davantage sensible aux navarrais.

### **Horreur et lieux communs: réalités et *topoi* dans les descriptions du sac de la ville**

L'opposition historiographique entre les deux chroniques n'empêche pas qu'elles se retrouvent dans la description matérielle des faits. Elles mélangent subtilement réalité et *topoi* des descriptions de sacs urbains. Une comparaison avec les chroniques ibériques de l'époque et avec celles écrites en France fait ressortir la place qu'elles ont tenu dans l'inspiration des deux auteurs.

### **Le vrai et le dit: le succès des chroniques dans l'historiographie médiévale et moderne de la prise de la Navarrería**

La prise de la Navarrería se voit accorder dans les chroniques navarraises une place privilégiée. Le rôle politique que jouaient à l'origine ces deux chroniques perdure jusqu'au XIXe siècle: la chronique de Guillaume Anelier est utilisée comme un véritable *exemplum* d'un fait plus général, la mauvaise gestion et les exactions que les historiens castillo-navarrais prêtent aux rois des dynasties françaises (Champagne, Capétiens et Evreux), par opposition à l'âge d'or supposé de la dynastie dite \*autochtone+ du XIIe siècle.

Ecrites peu de temps après les faits, avec des ambitions avant tout politiques, les deux chroniques qui évoquent la prise de la Navarrería montrent certains points communs. Elles s'insèrent dans un schéma chronistique et dans un contexte historique sensible pour ses lecteurs, l'opposition juridique et linguistique qui coupait au XIIIe siècle Pampelune en deux.

### **Bibliographie**

#### ***Sources primaires***

- Anelier, Guillaume. 'Histoire de la Guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277.' Ed. Francisque-Michel. In *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*. VI. Paris, 1856. 785p.
- Guillaume de Nangis. 'Gesta Philippi Tertii.' Ed. M. Daunou et M. Naudet. Dans *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. XX. Paris, 1840. 466-538.

#### ***Bibliographie secondaire***

- Bisson, T. N. (1990). 'Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades.' *Speculum* 65: 281-308.
- Buda, M. (1989). 'Early Historical Narrative and the Dynamic of Textual Reference.' *Romanic Review* 80: 1-17.
- Higounet, Charles (1985). 'Une relecture de Guillaume Anelier.' *Annales du Midi* 97: 75-80.
- Jacquin, G. (1987). 'Le style historique dans les récits français et latins de la quatrième croisade.' *L'Information littéraire* 39: 142-45.
- Madrinas i Tinoco, Dolores, et Juan M. Ribera Llopis (1995). 'Oraltat i narratologia: Episodis narratius en la cronística de les literatures peninsulars.' Dans *Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispanica de Literatura Medieval*. III. 147-60.
- Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, María Isabel (1998). 'Guerra, violencia y terror. La destrucción de Santiago de Compostela por Almanzor hace mil años.' *En la España Medieval* 21: 9-28.
- Spiegel, G. M. (1987). 'Social Changes and Literary Language: the Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century Old French Historiography.' *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17: 129-48.
- CCC (1990). 'History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages.' *Speculum* 65: 59-86.

---

### **A Fictional Reconstruction of the Nomadic Past as a History in the Civilisation Present (As Preserved in the Bulgarian Anonymous of the 11th C)**

The anonymous author who wrote this Chronicle pretends that his text is a Vision of prophet Issay both for the past and the future. In order to discover how such text has been read both as a work of 'autobiographical truth' and as a work of pure literary artifice, the mechanism of historical approving of the fiction in this Vision it must be first investigated as an authenticity.

The Slavs do not have their own great and famous historical heritage as Byzantium and Rome do. The compensation of the no-possessing cultural heritage characterises the development of the Slavonic language and the creating of the Slavonic texts. That is the reason for displacing the actual (real) historical time (and space) within the boundaries of the high sacral orthodox time (and space).

The Slavonic texts in their origin are translations from Greek and Latin.

They move the parameters of the originals into the new ethno-cultural meaning (Slav-like). The first Slavonic original texts eliminate the pre-Christian reality of the Slavonic community by using the Orthodox heritage as authority or by creating their own Slavic Christian pantheon (St Cyrillic, St Method and their disciples).

The second most important condition for the fiction in the Slavonic mediaeval texts is the slowly inner disintegration of the Slavs in a cultural and language meaning. In fact, during the mediaeval period the Slavs use a common literary language whose texts are in using by all the Slavonic community. That is the main difference between East European and West European texts: the missing of an idea for an actual time (and space) because of the moving into the common Christianity past.

This Vision is dated from the 11th C, when Byzantium conquers Bulgaria. The fictional reconstruction of the (never been) Slavonic past is an attempt to constitute an authority. The criticising the paganism should mark the fact that the Slavs belong to the cultural, i.e. Christian world. The paper investigates the most probable no-Slavonic sources of this Vision and their interpretations in the anonymous Bulgarian pseudo-chronicle from the 11th C.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary sources***

Ivanov, Jordan. Bogomilski knigi i legendi. Sofia, 1925: 280-287.

Miltenova, Anisava, Vasilka Tupkova-Zaimova. *Istoriko-apokaliptic -nata kniz -nina va -v Vizantija i v srednovkovna Ba -garija*. Sofia: Kliment Oxridski, 1996.

### ***Secondary literature***

Angelov, Dimitar (1996). *Le bogomilisme en Bulgarie*. Toulouse: Privat.

Dujc -ev, Ivan (1943). *Iz starata ba -garska kniz -nina*. Part I,1. Sofia.

De Loose, Laurence (1997). *Pseudo-autobiography in the fourteenth century*. University Press of Florida.

Morrison, Karl F. (1992). *Understanding Conversion*. University Press of Virginia.

Paterson, Lee (1992). *Negotiating the Past (The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature)*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Powell, James M., ed. (1992). *Medieval Studies. An Introduction*. Syracuse University Press.

Schenker, Alexander M. (1995). *The Down of the Slavic. An Introduction to Slavic Philology*. New Haven and London: Yale UP.

Shopkow, Leah (1997). *History and Community. Norman historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Catholic University of America Press.

The European practice of writing world histories in Latin began in the third century and continued into the seventeenth. In the twelfth century, Germans began writing chronicles in the vernacular, and within a hundred years, chronicles written in German were extremely popular, far more popular than the courtly literature medievalists are so familiar with. The reason for such popularity, scholars have recently suggested, is that by the mid-thirteenth century history texts were emerging as a type of entertainment literature because it caters to the same sort of taste as the stories of Alexander and Aeneas. Thus we must seek its popularity in its treatment of historical material and handling of the audience's assumptions about the world. Since we know that in the thirteenth century the medieval audience developed a great interest in compendia that collected all there was to be told about a person or a topic, it stands to reason that the world histories were popular because they provided such a complete account of world events that an educated person could use one as an encyclopedia or almanac (see Cary's theory about the encyclopedic nature of the expanded Alexander romances).

Few scholars today read vernacular chronicles because the narrative appears incompetent and confused, lacking structure or purpose. The historian finds them extremely unreliable, even deliberately misleading, and the literary historian considers them deficient in literary skill, cohesion, and plausibility. Worse yet, the narrative appears to be grafted together from many diverse elements and details without any attempt to produce a consistent narrative. Furthermore, it backtracks, repeats and contradicts itself and places fantastic stories next to verifiable historical events. Such disapproval has caused most scholars to ignore these texts, but more importantly, it raises a significant question: In what ways do our modern expectations as readers limit our ability to understand how these texts were used and evaluated in their own time? How are we to approach these chronicles? Since the authors are laymen as are their audiences, a rhetorical approach relying on the Latin tradition is doomed to failure as is the attempt to connect the anecdotes and historical references to attested sets of historical events. What we lack are studies on the context of chronicle production and transmission, and by extension, on the attitudes and expectations of the audiences. Chronicles, because they were so popular, must have responded to the needs of the patrons and embodied the historical consciousness of their time. Since they provided their audience with historical and geographical information from the beginning of time, they may well have fulfilled the edifying function of a "book of knowledge," an almanac. If so, these texts open a fascinating door onto the medieval educated layman's concept of the past, of what constitutes history and knowledge.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary sources***

*Deutsche Kaiserchronik*. Ed. Edward Schröder. MGH Deutsche Chroniken, vol. 1. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1895.

Enikel, Jans. *Jansen Enikels Werke*. Ed. Philipp Strauch. MGH Deutsche Chroniken, vol. 3. Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1900.

*Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*. Ed. Joseph Seemüller. Zürich: Weidmann, 1974.

*Sächsische Weltchronik*. Ed. Ludwig Weiland. MGH Deutsche Chroniken, vol. 2. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877.

---

## **The *Histoire d'Outremer* at the Burgundian Court: A Twelfth-Century Text Illuminated on the Threshold of Fifteenth-Century Crusade Politics**

This paper will discuss William of Tyre's (d. 1186) *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* in its fifteenth-century French translation as *Histoire d'Outremer* found in the inventory of the renowned bibliophile Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-67) as well as in the collection of some noble members of his entourage. This text is partially an eye-witness account, partially from documented and oral sources, and chronicles the history of the first two crusading expeditions to the East. Unlike similar chronicles and related texts owned by Philip and other sovereigns of Europe at that time, Tyre's history seems to have been exceptional in the number of copies commissioned as well as in its rich illuminations produced in Northern France and Flanders. Patronage of this sort of manuscript at the court of Burgundy increased considerably right around the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453), yet it seems that the purpose of the Tyre chronicle was not a call to arms. Despite efforts in financing and emissary missions to the East, a crusade was never launched.

It is from an art-historical perspective then, that this paper will attempt, at least partially, to elucidate what the patrons of such costly works had in mind, if not to provoke their fellow Burgundians to take up the cross. By looking at the particular iconography of the Aenemy@ as well as AEastern@ topography, these chronicles will be placed in a context of functionality unique among the crusading texts to be found at the court of Philip the Good.

### **Bibliography**

- Babcock, E. A., and A. C. Krey, annot. and transl. (1943). *A History of Deeds done Beyond the Sea, by William of Tyre*. Records of Civilization XXXV. 2 vols. New York.
- Desobry, J. (1970). 'L'histoire des Croisades de Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs. Ms. 483 de la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Amiens (entre 1450 & 1473).' *Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* 220-35.
- Dogaer, Georges (1967). 'Handschriften over de kruistochten in de librije der hertogen van Bourgondië.' *Speigel Historiae* 2: 457-65.
- Doutrepoint, Georges (1970). *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*. Paris, 1909; rpt. Geneva.
- Folda, Juroslav (1973). 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer, by William of Tyre: a Handlist.' *Scriptorium* 27: 90-95.
- Lacaze, Yvon (1964). 'Philippe le Bon et les terres d'Empire. La diplomatie bourguignonne à l'oeuvre en 1454-1455.' *Annales de Bourgogne* 37: 81-121.
- CCC (1969). 'Politique méditerranéenne et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade.' *Annales de Bourgogne* 41: 81-131.
- Mellinkoff, Ruth (1993). *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Middle Ages*. California Studies in the History of Art, no. 32.
- Robin, F. (n.d.). 'Jérusalem dans la peinture franco-flamande (XIII-XVe siècles). Abstractions, fantaisies et réalités.' In *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople. L'Image et le Mythe de la Ville*. Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales 5. Ed. D. Poirion. Paris. 33-60.
- Smith, Jeffrey Chipps (1979). 'The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-64).' Unpublished Ph.D. diss. Columbia University.
- Southern, R. W. (1980). *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA.
- Vanderjagt, A. J. (1988). 'desirent veoir du monde: Bourgondiers en de Orient.' In *De Orient. Droom of dreiging. Het Oosten in Westers Perspectief*. Ed. H. Bakker and M. Gosman. Kampen. 18-37.

**Lydgate's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*  
as a 'Brief Memoriall' and a Regnal Pageant**

*Henk Dragstra*

John Lydgate's rhymed chronicle of the Kings of England since William the Conqueror has been published in modern editions under various names, reflecting the many versions in which it was copied and printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A rhymed list of kings culminating in the reigning monarch of Lydgate's day, it proclaimed Henry VI's right to the English throne; in later ages it naturally lent itself to re-use and updating by means of added stanzas on subsequent kings. Its formulaic character, with each stanza corresponding to one king, made it a useful memorizer of English regnal history (Mooney 1989: 258), which is one likely reason for its popularity.

Other uses to which the chronicle may have been put include that of being posted in the form of a roll (Robbins 1955: 248), with or without a gallery of pictures or statues of the kings in question. Pictorial genealogies were produced for and used at specific solemn occasions (Robbins 1955: 249), and galleries of kings' portraits in their regnal order were a familiar feature of religious architecture, such as Westminster Abbey and York Minster. What has not been envisaged so far is the possibility of the use of Lydgate's series of rhymes in a tableau vivant or a procession of human impersonators, in other words, as a regnal pageant. This would place Lydgate's text in a category of his productions that were used in pageants (e.g. his 'Pageant of Knowledge') or 'mummings' or 'disguisings' (e.g. 'A Mummung for the Mercers of London'), presented with comments by a herald, master of ceremonies, or other presenter.

The paper will support this contention by surveying various 'brief memorialls' of monarchs, and descriptions of and references to genealogical tableaux vivants and sequential pageants (such as the Ordo Prophetarum and processions of the Nine Worthies), outlining a tradition that continued to flourish well into the seventeenth century.

The paper will address all four of the conference's themes. Used as a script for a dramatic or visual performance, the chronicle would straddle the borderline between history and literature; a major purpose of the rhyme was to familiarize and imbue the audience with a sense of the past emphasizing the legitimacy of the reigning monarch; the impersonation of various monarchs involved reconstructions of the past, both in verse and in visual images. The paper's main emphasis will be on formulaic and repetitive structures, both verbal and visual, as mnemonic and didactic devices by which the message of the monarch's legitimacy was promulgated.

**Bibliography**

**Primary source**

*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*. Ed. H. N. MacCracken. EETS, ES 107, OS 192. London, 1959.

**Secondary sources**

Mooney, Linne R. (1989). 'Lydgate's "Kings of England" and Another Verse Chronicle of the Kings.' *Viator* 20: 255-89.

Parry, P. H. (1979). 'On the Continuity of English Civic Pageantry: A Study of John Lydgate and the Tudor Pageant.' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 15: 222-36.

Robbins, Rossell Hope (1955). 'An Epitaph for Duke Humphrey (1447).' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 56: 241-49.

Wickham, Glynn (1959). *Early English Stages*. London.

Withington, Robert. *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*. Cambridge, Mass., 1918.

## What is a Chronicle?

*David Dumville*

What is a chronicle? The very question is designed to tease! But it is one with which students of historiography must wrestle if they are to have any sense of generic boundaries and of the categories of narrative historical record with which ancient and mediaeval writers worked. The word 'chronicle' is part of the hellenistic inheritance of Western literature, and as a result its gender and number proved problematic throughout the Latin middle ages; its nearest Latin equivalent was *annales*, a plural which came to mean simply 'chronicle' but whose plural form has begun in the present generation to cause unnecessary difficulty to some mediaevalists.

By the end of the middle ages, European Chronicle-writing had diversified into many languages and many forms, from Icelandic and Irish to Arabic and Armenian, from the simple annalistic chronicle to the charter-chronicle, the colophon-chronicle, the verse chronicle, and many others. It is unlikely that any single scholar can examine and understand them all: certainly this one cannot! Nevertheless, it is important to even at the cost of seeming to exclude some of the texts which have been or will be discussed at these Utrecht conferences to give ourselves some sense of boundaries, of the unity within which the diversity of mediaeval cultures and their texts can be appreciated.

In my contribution to this 'Second Utrecht Conference on the Medieval Chronicle' I shall attempt to probe and celebrate that diversity, to seek after and explore boundaries, and to propose a definition. But I do not imagine that there will or can be any more agreement about what constitutes a chronicle than there is among us anglophones about how to spell the word 'mediaeval' (or 'medieval').

---

## Gender Issues and Textual Transmission in Alphonsine Chronicles

*Nancy Joe Dyer*

This paper explores gender issues, reader reception theory, and textual transmission manifest in the manuscript culture of Alphonsine chronicles. Often formed from disparate sources pressed into divergent historiographic molds, vernacular Spanish chronicles dating from the XIII-XVI c. will be re-examined in the light of recent critical models which explore the dynamic between the production and consumption. Particular emphasis is placed upon paradigms of gender in traditional sources such as epic poetry and legends where gender issues become lightning rods to spark interpretation by both the producers and consumers of text. The comparison of sources and their different chronistic manifestations can illuminate subjective and pivotal treatment of factors such as gender, as well as age and class, and, in turn, expand our understanding of the Alphonsine historiography.

After an overview of pertinent critical and feminist theory, the paper compares textual and codicological evidence in the *Primera Crónica General*, the *Crónica de Veinte reyes*, the *Crónica Abreviada*, the *Crónica manuelina* and the *Crónica Ocampiana* of clearly gendered figures, including Fermosa, and the notably gendered characters in the prosified *Poema de mio Cid*. Handouts corroborate the conjunction of codicological and textual evidence which demonstrate the importance of gender in the production and reception of Alphonsine chronicles.

### Bibliography

- Burns, E. Jane (1993). *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cox, Catherine S. (1997). *Gender and Language in Chaucer*. Gainesville: University of Florida.

- Dagenais, John (1994). *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture. Glossing the Libro de buen amor*. Princeton: Princeton UP.
- Deyermond, Alan (1988). 'La sexualidad en la épica medieval española.' *NRFH* 36: 781-88.
- Funes, Leonardo (1997). *El modelo historiográfico alfonsí: una caracterización*. Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, No. 6. London: Queen Mary and Westfield College.
- Gold, Barbara K., Paul Allen Miller and Charles Platter (1997). *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts. The Latin Tradition*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Mills, Sara, ed. (1994). *Gendering the Reader*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Montgomery, Thomas (1998). *Medieval Spanish Epic. Mythic Roots and Ritual Language*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Partner, Nancy F., ed. (1993). *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America.
- Pattison, D.G. (1983). *From Legend to Chronicle. The Treatment of Epic Material in Alphonsine Historiography*. Medium Aevum Monographs, n.s. XIII, Oxford.
- Rabinowitz, Nancy Sorkin, and Amy Richlin, eds. (1993). *Feminist Theory and the Classics*. London: Routledge.
- Russell, P. (1978). 'La oración de doña Jimena.' *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios*. Barcelona: Ariel.

---

### **Alvar García de Santa María and the Democratization of Chivalry**

*Lynne Fisher Echegaray*

The theme of my paper is the representation of the aristocratic betrayal of the ideals of chivalry in fifteenth-century Castile and Aragon. This is related to the second principal theme of the Conference, 'The Function of the Chronicle', and to its sub-theme, 'The Social Context'. For García, the function of the chronicle was to serve as an example, and to proclaim and record for all time the glorious historical moments of Spain. Many of García's *exempla*, however, can be considered subversive, for he carefully describes how nobles and prelates fail to conform to the chivalric code while extolling members of classes usually absent from royal and individual chronicles.

After a brief presentation of historical background information, I shall discuss the Castilian notion of *fama* with regard to the chronicles. García's opinions of the chivalric character and his portrayals of its presence and absence will be described. In closing, I shall discuss García's requirements for those who serve as representatives of the chivalric ideal.

#### **Bibliography**

##### **Sources - Manuscript copies (selected)**

- García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica del Rey Don Juan II*. Ms. 12-3-4. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. (1406-1420).
- CCC. *Crónica del Rey Don Juan II*. Ms. 1618. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. (1420-1434).

##### **Printed versions**

- García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de don Juan II de Castilla. Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* 99-100. Madrid, 1842-1895. Vaduz: Kraus, 1966.
- CCC. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*. Ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1982.
- CCC, et. al. *La crónica del serenísimo Príncipe Don Juan Segundo rey deste nombre en Castilla y en León*. Ed. Cayetano Rosell. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 68. Madrid, 1877. Madrid, 1953.



### **Secondary sources**

- Beltrán Llavador, Rafael (1990). 'Convergencias y divergencias en la narrativa cronística de la guerra de Granada: La campaña de Setenil (1407).' *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* 66: 5-45.
- Cantera Burgos, Francisco (1952). *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Carriazo, Juan de Mata (1952). 'Notas para una edición de la Crónica de Alvar García.' *Homenaje a Ramón Menéndez Pidal*. Vol. 3. Madrid: CSIC. 3 vols.
- Sánchez Alonso, Benito (1941). *Historia de la historiografía española*. Vol. 1. Madrid: CSIC, 1941-50. 3 vols.

---

**'Si cum ces vers parolent ki sunt ici escriz':  
oral and written in Jordan Fantosme's *Chronicle* and Wace's *Roman de Rou***

*Penny Eley*

This paper will consider aspects of oral and written production and reception in two Old French chronicles composed in the third quarter of the twelfth century. It takes as its starting point M. T. Clanchy's conclusions about the emergence of a 'literate mentality' during the twelfth century, the implications of which have yet to be systematically explored in relation to what Howard Bloch has termed the 'literary chronicles'. It will not focus on the questions of Jordan Fantosme's versification or the historicity of either his work or that of Wace, both of which topics have already been the subject of considerable debate. The paper fits most obviously into the 'reading and listening' section of the second main theme 'The function of the chronicle', although it also raises questions of genre influence, which contribute to the first main theme 'The chronicle: history or literature?'

There are numerous markers of orality in Jordan's *Chronicle*, from the opening 'Oëz' to the emphasis on speaking and hearing the truth in laisse 116. The three forms of literature identified in the poem *C estoire, fable* and *geste C* are consistently associated with oral performance and apprehension through the use of the verbs *oïr, dire, parler* and *chanter*. Laisse 93 acknowledges the fact that Jordan's *estoire* has a textual form, but no attempt is made to differentiate it from *fable* or *geste* on that basis: its superiority over other narratives derives from the trustworthiness of its author's words, which relate directly to things seen by him, rather than from the sanction of signs on parchment. The curious (to modern eyes) formulation 'Si cum ces vers parolent ki sunt ici escriz' (l. 872) implies that the written manifestation of the work is secondary and lacks the authority of the spoken word. It may be inferred from this, and from the absence of any collocation of the verb *escrire* with the authorial function, that Jordan followed the normal non-monastic practice of composing by dictation, and that his mentality was fundamentally oral rather than literate (or at least, that he wished it to appear to his audience that this was the case).

In Wace's *Roman de Rou*, on the other hand, there are signs not only that the author acted as his own scribe, but also that he was openly applying literate modes of thought to composition in the vernacular; the causal relationship between these two phenomena is an interesting area for speculation. If Clanchy's conclusions about the perceived untrustworthiness of writing before the thirteenth century are correct, we should not be surprised that Wace admits oral testimony alongside his written sources and refuses to give the latter more credence than the former. It is more remarkable that the prologue to Part 3 should invite an audience of *laici* to witness and subscribe to the clerical author's profession of faith in the permanence and reliability of written documents. The problem of establishing authoritative testimony

which is foregrounded in the *Rou* may therefore be as much a sign of Wace's attempts to negotiate the difficult transition from oral to written as it is of his presumed objectivity as a historian.

---

**Temps, représentation, identité:  
l'image de la guerre dans les *Chroniques* de Froissart  
(ms. fr. 2643-2646 de la B.N.F., Paris)**

*Olivier Ellena*

La représentation du combat, naval ou terrestre, dans le manuscrit des *Chroniques* de Froissart (ms. fr. 2643-2646 de la B.N.F., Paris) enluminé à Bruges par Loyset Lyédet pour Louis de Gruthuse vers 1470-1480, relève de la rhétorique du miroir, dans laquelle l'image n'est pas seulement un reflet, mais le produit d'un idéal identitaire. En effet, les scènes de guerre ne sont ni de simples illustrations du texte, ni le fruit de pures conventions de représentation. Par sa place en tête de chaque chapitre, la miniature dans ce manuscrit est structurante. Elle l'est également dans le rapport qu'elle entretient avec le texte: l'image de la guerre propose une vision de l'histoire unissant passé et présent en un temps qui est celui de la représentation. Cette dernière est à la fois individuelle (celle du commanditaire et de son état), textuelle (le récit de Jean Froissart) et iconographique. Dès lors, narration, appréciation du poids historique et art de l'enlumineur enrichissent les fonctions de la miniature. C'est par la mise en relation de ces trois éléments que nous nous efforcerons de montrer comment l'iconographie de la guerre est un des lieux privilégiés de l'identification, tant sociale que politique, d'un grand seigneur flamand après la disparition de l'Etat bourguignon. Ainsi, dans ce manuscrit, l'image de la guerre, dans le rapport qu'elle entretient avec le texte, est un élément constitutif important du phénomène culturel que fut la Guerre de Cent ans.

---

**Why the Wolves Ate Nero**

*Daniel Embree*

Nearly everything the Middle Ages knew about Nero was derived from Suetonius at the beginning of the 2nd century. Nearly everything the Middle Ages thought was important about Nero was summed up by Martinus Polonus in the 13th century. Suetonius gives Nero a lavish and honorable funeral, but Martinus has wolves eat him.

I examine here how that happened, or, a little more broadly, how the story of Nero's life and death is transmitted across eleven and a half centuries by 17 chroniclers who lie between Suetonius and Martinus (Eusebius, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Jerome, Orosius, Prosper, Isidore, Paul the Deacon, Ado of Vienne, Marianus Scotus, Ekkehard, Hugh of St Victor, Otto of Freising, Godfrey of Viterbo, Sicardus, Gilbertus, and Vincent of Beauvais) or, more broadly still, what historiographical observations can be made about the transmission of historical material from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages.

My observations are these:

1. The history of Late Antiquity undergoes a gross simplification along moral lines as it passes into the Middle Ages. (Nero loses his few redeeming characteristics.)
2. Medieval chroniclers are much more prudish in the handling of sexual material, especially "sins against nature", than their Late Antique predecessors are. (Nero's orgies are too disgusting to talk about.)
3. Christian history is not only integrated into pagan history, but is made its motivating force. (Nero is punished for his persecution of Christians.)

4. Psychological analysis of character yields to spiritual analysis.

(Nero wasn't crazy; he was just plain evil.)

5. Historical facts are subject to moral necessity. (Nero gets eaten by wolves because he didn't deserve a funeral.)

### **Bibliography**

Ado of Vienne. *Chronicon in Aetates Sex Divisum*.

Aurelius Victor. *De Caesaribus*.

Ekkehard Uraugiensis. *Chronicon Universale*.

Eusebius. *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

Eutropius. *Breviarum Historiae Romanae*.

Gilbertus. *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum Romanorum*.

Godfrey of Viterbo. *Speculum Regum*.

Hugh of St. Victor. *Excerptiones Allegoriae*.

Isidore of Seville. *Chronica Maiora*.

Jerome. *Chronicon*.

Marianus Scottus. *Chronicon*.

Martinus Polonius. *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*.

Paul the Deacon. *Historia Romana*.

Orosius. *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*.

Otto of Freising. *Chronicon*.

Prosper. *Chronicon*.

Sicardus Cremonensis. *Chronicon*.

Suetonius. *De Vita Caesarum*.

Vincent of Beauvais. *Speculum Historiale*.

---

### **Die Vermischung der Gattungen in der mittelalterlichen Arabisch-Muslimischen Chronik: die Funktion der *Raḏazpoesie***

*Galina Evstatieva*

Die *Raḏazpoesie* ist eine eigenartige chronikalische Gattung, die in die historische Erzählung der mittelalterlichen arabischen Chronik über verschiedene Ereignisse und Völker eingeflochten wurde. Das *Raḏaz* funktioniert als Kurzaussagen in Versen, in denen der Versfuß *mustaf>ilun* dreimal wiederholt wird. Es ist eine spontane Äußerung der *Ruḏḏâz* bei der Beschreibung emotionaler Zustände und mit Hilfe dieses Metrums extemporierte man anlässlich verschiedener Geschehnisse.

Diese Dichtungsart, die oft Volkspoese gennant wurde, war zweifellos ein wichtiger Bestandteil des Beduinenlebens im vorislamischen Arabien und danach spielte sie eine spezifische Rolle im islamischen Kulturraum. Die mittelalterlichen Quellen stellen das *Raḏaz* als Vorbote der *Qasîdpoesie* dar, der bis zur Umayyadenzeit (661-751) fast unverändert geblieben ist. Später entwickelte sich der *Raḏazvers* in einer Koexistenz mit der hohen *Qasîdpoesie*.

Als ein chronikalisches Genre ist die *Raḏazpoesie* eine wichtige Tradierungsform in den mittelalterlichen arabischen Chroniken. Es ist zu bemerken, daß z. B. die Beschreibung der muslimischen Eroberungen in diesen Chroniken durch eine starke Präsenz von kurzen *Arâḏiz* gekennzeichnet ist. Da das *Raḏaz* von den Dichtern, die sich der hohen Poesie gewidmet haben, nicht hoch geschätzt wurde, kann es vorwiegend in den historiographischen Werke wie der berühmten Weltchronik *Târîh ar-rusul wa l-mulûk* von Muhammad ibn Jarîr at-Tabarî (gest. 923) entdeckt werden. Deshalb ist es sehr wichtig, die *Raḏazpoesie* als Problem der Vermischung der Gattungen in der Chronik

zu betrachten. Dieser Forschungsgesichtspunkt bezweckt zu verfolgen, wie die *Raḍazpoesie* dem prosaischen Haupttext dient. Auf diese Weise kann man auch einige ihrer funktionellen Bedeutungen für die mittelalterliche arabisch-muslimische Chronik feststellen.

---

**In Quest of Legitimacy:  
Muslim Dogma and State in the Medieval Arabic Chronicle**

*Simeon Evstatiev*

Chronicle is of paramount significance for the understanding of medieval Arabic-Muslim historical thought. That is why it should be studied in depth from the viewpoint of its correlation to the Islamic idea of history. The sources demonstrate that history in the framework of the theocentric monotheistic *Weltanschauung* of Medieval Muslims was to be considered as Allāh's plan for the salvation of humanity which attributes to the prophet Muhammad (d. AH 11/AD 632) a specific historic role. Although this idea exerted a considerable influence on Arabic historiography, the very rise of historical writing among the Arabs was first of all affected by the birth of the Islamic religious-political community (*umma*) and its subsequent development in the first few decades of Islamic history. Moreover the close relationship between Qur'ānic doctrine and Muslim dogma on the one hand and historical development and social practice on the other hand created a lot of problems which Islamic historical thought attempted to solve.

Religious-political legitimacy of the *umma* was undoubtedly one of the most important stimuli for the activity of early historians, particularly after the first civil war (*fitna*) between >Alī ibn Abī Tālib and Mu>āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (36/656-40/661) and the second between the Umayyad caliph >Abd al-Mālik and the counter-caliph Ibn az-Zubayr (65/685-73/692). In the very beginning the historical interest of Muslim scholars (>*ulamā'*) was devoted to the preservation of prophetic practice (*Sunna*) and the adaptation of pre-Islamic Arabic historical-genealogical lore to the demands of the new society. As a result the former led up to the rise of the enormous *hadīth*-corpus whereas the latter manifested itself in the collection of *akhbār*. Subsequently, these historical and quasi-historical reports were incorporated into a type of chronicle which had to order and summarize the events of both Islamic and pre-Islamic history. Furthermore, the historical development of Muslim society and state was to be included into the wider framework of Islamic idea of history, which was inextricably bound up with the Muslim dogma derived from the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*. Chronicle appears thus to have been called upon to evaluate the past according to the revealed divine ideal in order to present a legitimate past of Islamic state.

In the chronicles as the *Aworld@-histories* of al-Tabarī (d. 310/923), al-Ya>qûbī (d. c. 284/897) and al-Mas>ûdī (d. 345/956) this quest of legitimacy for the *umma* can be traced on two levels - explicitly and implicitly. Explicitly, the very historiographical presentation of certain events by the chroniclers is the necessary subject of study. On the implicit level the structure of historiographic works and the method of arrangement of the historical material do need a more detailed investigation. Sometimes the influence of Muslim dogma on Arabic-Muslim chronicle could be observed in the very proportions of historiographical works. For example, a third of al-Tabarī's *Tārīkh ar-rusul wa l-mulūk* deals with the eight decades which cover the life and prophetic mission Muhammad, the Muslim conquests, and the first fundamental conflicts within the *umma*. Medieval Arabic chronicle evidences that the awareness of the Muslim chroniclers in their quest of legitimacy for the Islamic statehood depended on the development of both Muslim society and dogma. Thus chronicle contributed to the establishment of the notion of superiority of the *umma* to the other nations.

**'Romanhafte Erzählung' vs. 'deutschsprachige Chronik'?**  
**Fiktion und Historie in der volkssprachlichen *Historia Teutonica* (Mainz, ca. 2. Hälfte d. 14. Jhdts.) am Beispiel der Passagen zu *Ezel* und *Dagebrecht***

*Uta Goerlitz*

Das Paper versteht sich als Beitrag insbesondere zum Schwerpunktthema 1: 'Die Chronik: Historie oder Literatur?', aber auch zu Aspekten des Schwerpunktes 3 ('der fiktive Charakter der Historie'). Im Blickfeld liegt ein vergleichsweise kurzer volkssprachlicher Prosatext des 14. Jahrhunderts, der C vordergründig gesehen C die Vergangenheit der Stadt Mainz bis in das 13. Jahrhundert hinein thematisiert und im Humanismus als Mainzer *Historia Teutonica* rezipiert wurde.

Es handelt sich um eine Schrift, die in der Forschung bislang aus verschiedenen Gründen zu Unrecht kaum beachtet wurde, wenn man sie auch in jüngster Zeit immerhin im bekannten *Verfasserlexikon zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (VL<sup>2</sup>) kurz verzeichnet hat. Während sie in dem literarhistorischen Standardwerk als "deutschsprachige Chronik" C mit dem Zusatz "historiographische Fiktion" (K. Graf) C charakterisiert wird, erschien sie dem Historiker des 19. Jahrhunderts als faktenferne "romanhafte Erzählung" von "fabelhafte[m] Gehalt" (C. Hegel), die man allenfalls noch in den Anhang des betreffenden Bandes der Quellen-Reihe der 'Chroniken der deutschen Städte' aufnehmen konnte.

In den zitierten schlagwortartigen Bezeichnungen deuten sich ebenso zeitlich wie fachlich divergierende Zugriffsweisen auf die anonyme Schrift an, die zu einer genaueren Betrachtung und Zuordnung des Textes auffordern. Vor dem Hintergrund der in letzter Zeit unter verschiedener Perspektive in der Mediävistik verstärkt geführten Diskussionen um das Verhältnis von Fiktion und Historie, von Faktizität und Fiktionalität soll anhand insbesondere der Passagen zu den Königen *Ezel* und *Dagebrecht* nach Verständnishorizont und Funktion des Werkes in seinen genetischen Bezügen gefragt werden.

**Bibliographie**

- Ursprung der Stadt Mainz* [Fragment]. Hrsg. v. Carl Hegel. In *Die Chroniken der mittelhochdeutschen Städte*. Mainz. Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1882 (= *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*. 18). 239-43.
- Graf, Klaus (1996). 'Ursprung der Stadt Mainz'. In *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Begründet v. Wolfgang Stammeler, fortgeführt v. Karl Langosch. 2., völlig neu bearb. Aufl. Hrsg. v. Kurt Ruh. Berlin/New York. Bd. 10, 1. Sp. 130f.

-----  
**The Memoirs of Obadiah the Proselyte:  
A Hebrew Chronicle of Crusading Times**

*Norman Golb*

Fragments of the Memoirs of Obadiah the proselyte (b. ca 1060, d. ca 1130) have been discovered by several scholars amongst the Cairo Genizah papers housed in Cambridge, Oxford, Budapest and New York. The fragments do not form a connected whole, and the opening folio or folios have never been found; nevertheless, a coherent picture of the sense and purpose of the chronicle does emerge from a careful perusal of its extant portions.

Obadiah, originally named Johannes, was one of twin sons born to Maria the wife of Dreux the Norman lord of Oppido Lucano, in the Basilicata region of southern Italy. (The older of the twins was named Roger, later mentioned in the *Catalogus Baronum Neapolitano* as the baron Rogerius de Oppido.)

The personal nature of the chronicle is revealed already in its first few extant folios: Obadiah states, inter alia, that he caused his mother great physical pain at birth, that unlike Roger (who became a knight), he himself eventually came to be immersed in book-learning, and that, while still a youth in his parents' home, word reached his family from Bari that the incumbent archbishop of that city, Andreas, had converted to Judaism and fled to Constantinople C an event that, so Obadiah writes, caused shame among "the [church] sages of Greece and Rome." He also records a mystic dream he experienced at puberty, and describes in some detail the horrors experienced by European Jews at the outset of the First Crusade.

While other topics were also discussed by Obadiah in the opening pages of his chronicle C as, for example, the topography of the region surrounding Oppido Lucano C it appears that his main concern was to explain to his readers, at the outset, what were the major causes of his decision to leave the priesthood and convert to Judaism, which he did in 1102, probably in Bari itself if not a neighboring port city. That he later fled thence to Aleppo (ca 1103) is evident from the contents of a letter of recommendation, preserved in the Bodleian Genizah collection, that was written on his behalf by the eminent Barukh ben Isaac of that same city in Syria, in which details of Obadiah's background and actual conversion have been recounted.

The ensuing extant portions of the chronicle are devoted to Obadiah's experiences in the Near East C during a period of intense Crusader activity C and to his descriptions of earlier historical events in the life of Jewish communities of that region. He experienced, inter alia, the siege of Aleppo (described by him in graphic detail), warfare in the upper Mesopotamian region, difficulties in Baghdad (where he first studied Hebrew), and a debate with a Karaite in Banias. His negative descriptions of Messianic pretenders and careful portrayal of earlier historical events imply a rationalist mentality, and yet he occasionally appears obsessed by the mystical implications of dreams of his own that he recounts. His adaptation of Beneventan musical notation to Hebrew liturgical poetry (fragments in Cambridge and New York) is indicative of a highly creative personality. The memoirs and other literary remains of Johannes/Obadiah reveal an individual unique amongst writers of the chronicle genre.

---

## The Jewish Chronicles of the Twelfth Century as Martyrological Writings

*Simha Goldin*

In the summer of 1096, during the expedition to the Holy Land, the Crusaders traveled through the areas of the Rhine Valley inhabited by Jews, leaving devastation and ruin in their wake. The Jews wrote several chronicles and *piyyutim* during the fifty years following these events, i.e., up to the time of the Second Crusade. We have available to us three chronicles of this type, in manuscripts dating from the fourteenth century, as well as *piyyutim*, which were C in the main C incorporated in the Jewish prayer book, and memorial books written for individuals, families, and communities. Up to now scholars studying these chronicles have mainly been asking questions such as when were they written, by whom, and to what extent are they factual. Recently, researchers have begun to examine the connection between the chronicles and the Jews living in the twelfth century, for whom they were written.

In my opinion, the chronicles are a Jewish attempt at creating a tradition of writing Jewish martyrological liturgy. I shall describe this genre as a new type of literary endeavor by the Jews of that period. This 'martyrological genre' is influenced by Christian writing, however, it develops in a different manner, using Jewish traditions and literary sources that have inspired the authors. My research examines the type of chronicle, as well as the connection between its function as a historical document with a message and the literary influence that shaped it. The question regarding the classification of the different types of chronicles is interesting since, of the three chronicles we have, one seems to be a description of historic events, the second, a martyrological work whose aim is to convey a message to

subsequent generations, while the third is a summary of the second one, whose author (writing in the first half of the twelfth century in Germany) incorporates *piyyutim* in the prose description. I also examine the tension and the mutual influence between various types of literary genres, i.e. between the chronicles and the *piyyutim*, poems intended for inclusion in the Jewish prayer books, as well as the memorial books, which commemorated those who were killed and their families, according to the date and place of their deaths.

For the past five years I have been studying the Jewish sources, the chronicles, that describe the Crusader's expeditions through the Rhine Valley during the First Crusade and the great destruction which they brought upon the Jewish communities in that area. I would like to present the conclusions of my research on these chronicles at the conference.

At the upcoming conference, I would like to propose another way of looking at and understanding the chronicles, from the point of view of the works themselves as well as their references to other sources.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary sources***

Neubauer, A., and M. Stern (1892). *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin.

Eidelberg, S., ed. and trans. (1977). *The Jews and the Crusaders*. Wisconsin.

### ***Secondary Literature***

Abulafia, A. S. (1982). 'The Interrelationship between the Hebrew Chronicles on the First Crusade.' *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27: 221-39.

Chazan, R. (1978). 'The Hebrew First-Crusade Chronicles: Further Reflections.' *AJS Review* 3: 79-98.

CCC (1994). 'The Facticity of Medieval Narrative: A Case Study of the Hebrew First Crusade Narrative.' *AJS Review* 16: 31-56.

Cohen, G. D. 'The Hebrew Crusade Chronicles and the Ashkenazic Tradition.' In *Minhah le-Nahum*. Ed. M. Brettel and M. Fishbane. 38-53.

Daube, D. (1972). 'The Linguistics of Suicide.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1: 387-437.

Delooz, P. (1983). 'Towards a sociological study of canonized sainthood in the Catholic Church.' In *Saints and their Cult*. Ed. S. Wilson. Cambridge. 189-216.

Fishbane, M. (1994). *The Kiss of God; Spiritual and Mystical Death in Judaism*. Washington.

Freehof, S. (1965). 'Hazkarat Neshamot.' *HUCA* 36: 179-90.

Goldin, S. 'The Role of Ceremonies in the Socialization Process.' *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 95: 163-78.

CCC. (1997). 'The Socialization for Kiddush ha-Shem among Medieval Jews.' *The Journal of Medieval History* 23: 117-38.

Marcus, I. G. (1982). 'From Politics to Martyrdom C Shifting Paradigms in the Hebrew Narratives of the 1096 Crusade Riots.' *Prooftexts* 2: 40-52.

---

## **Le symbolisme du pouvoir centralisateur dans la *Storia d'Italia* de Guicciardini: Un Italien face à l'absolutisme français et espagnol**

*Martin Gosman*

La présence des Français et des Espagnols dans la Péninsule italique occasionne non seulement des conflits politiques et militaires plus ou moins sérieux, il confronte aussi les spectateurs italiens avec les manifestations d'une idéologie 'absolutiste' qui se traduit surtout dans les entrées royales/impériales, le

cérémoniel administratif et politique ainsi que dans les prétentions et exigences des envahisseurs français et espagnols. Dans sa *Storia d'Italia* Francesco Guicciardi (1483-1540) enregistre et commente les activités des princes étrangers dans l'Italie des premières décennies du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle. Comme les activités des derniers sont censées trouver leur motivation dans des conceptions politiques absolutistes, le compte rendu de Guicciardini est un témoignage précieux, indirect, de la façon dont le pouvoir centralisateur s'établit définitivement dans la France des Valois et l'Espagne des Habsbourg.

Dans son discours l'historien italien prend ses distances vis-à-vis des pouvoirs étrangers, qu'il considère hostiles aux traditions de l'Italie. Puisque sa perception du symbolisme rituel et propagandiste si cher aux autorités française et espagnole, ainsi qu'à ceux qui les servent, n'est aucunement conditionnée par l'idéologie des Valois et des Habsbourg, la présentation des faits dans la *Storia d'Italia* s'annonce et distante et (relativement) fiable. Elle est distante, parce que c'est un Italien qui note ce qui se passe dans la péninsule; elle est (relativement) fiable, parce que Guicciardini n'est pas contraint de sacrifier sur l'autel de la propagande Valois et Habsbourg. C'est ce qui explique la valeur de son témoignage dans l'histoire de l'absolutisme princier.

### **Bibliographie**

- AA.VV. (1940). *Francesco Guicciardini nel IV. centenario della morte*. Florence: Centro Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento.
- Cochrane, E. (1981). *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*. Chicago/Londres: U of Chicago P.
- Fryde, E. B. (1983). *Humanism and renaissance Historiography*. Londres: Hambledon.
- Gilbert, F. (1965). *Machiavelli and Guicciardini. Politics and History in sixteenth-century Florence*. Princeton: UP.
- Mazzali, E., éd., E. Pasquini, intr. (1988). *Francesco Guicciardini. Storia d'Italia*, 3 vol. Milan: Garzanti.
- Simon, Chr. (1996). *Historiographie. Eine Einführung*. Stuttgart: Ulmer.
- Spiegel, G. (1997). *The Past as Text*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP.

---

### **Information on Veche in the older and younger editions of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle***

*Jonas Granberg*

The city-parliament of Novgorod, the Veche, has been given a lot of attention by Russian scholars. This institution has also been the focus of research by German scholars as Zernack and Leuschner. In my lecture I will analyse and discuss what the older and younger editions of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle* (NPL), the most important sources on this institution, actually tell us about the Novgorodian Veche. Information on the Novgorodian Veche is scarce in other sources than the chronicles, there is some mentioning of Veche in letters and treaties from the 14th and 15th centuries.

Only one manuscript is preserved of the older edition of the NPL, this manuscript (the Synodalnyi), covering the period 1016-1333, is also the oldest extant manuscript among the Russian chronicles, compiled during the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th century. The younger edition, existing in six different manuscripts compiled between the beginning of the 15th century and the 1820's, continues up to 1446, and also covers the period before 1016.

The general view is that the Veche was an institution originally existing in all Russian principalities, and that Mongolian sovereignty was a main factor behind its disappearance in all the other Russian principalities. The Veche institution is considered to have blossomed in the Novgorodian city-republic of the 14th and 15th centuries.



In my contribution I discuss what the NPL really tell us about this important political institution. The traditional view is that the Novgorodian Veche functioned as a city parliament and the highest political institution of mediaeval Novgorod, responsible for political decisions and appointments of officials such as prince, archbishop and mayor, and holding legislative powers.

This traditional view of the Veche does not correspond well with the picture we get when analysing the direct mentioning of Veches in NPL. There is no direct mentioning of the Veche appointing a prince, bishop or mayor, neither are there references to legislative activities in the Veche gatherings figuring in the NPL.

The indications are that the Veche in the NPL denote some kind of public gathering, of ad-hoc character, often triggered by social and/or political unrest. A couple of examples show groups of political adversaries gathering at Veches before they clash. We also find examples where mobs, or what seems like mobs, assemble Veches to punish or lynch someone.

### **Bibliography**

- Leuschner, Jörg (1980). *Novgorod. Untersuchungen zu einigen Fragen seiner Verfassungs- und Bevölkerungsstruktur*. Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen. Reihe I. Gießener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens. Band 107. Berlin.
- Martyshin, Orest Vladimirovich (1992). *Vol'nyi Novgorod. Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo feodal'noi respubliki*. Moscow.
- Zernack, Klaus (1967). *Die Burgstädtischen Volksversammlungen bei den Ost- und Westslaven. Studien zur verfassungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Veche*. Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen. Reihe I. Gießener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens. Band 33. Wiesbaden.

---

## **'Por ce que mielz l'entendent': The Vernacular Reshaping of Baldric of Dol's *Historia Jerosolimitana***

*Peter Grillo*

The *Siege d'Antioche ovesque le conquest de Jerusalem* - to cite the designation provided by one of the two full manuscripts C identifies the Old French adaptation, in some 15,000 verses, of Bishop Baldric of Dol's *Historia Jersolimitana*. It was composed during the reign of Philip Augustus by an anonymous writer from the Western region of langue d'oïl. The *Siege* has remained relatively little studied since Paul Meyer brought it to light more than a century ago, but a critical edition is now well underway.

Baldric's *Historia* belongs to the so-called "second-generation" of chronicles of the First Crusade; it has usually been described as a stylistically-enhanced rendering of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, as it seeks to place the new phenomenon of the Crusade on firm theological bases.

How does the *Siege* author, in revamping his chronicle source, treat the reality and the myth of the Crusade? Beyond his choice of linguistic medium to ensure wider accessibility to a credible account of the First Crusade, he uses, as we shall see, distinctive narrative strategies and discursive features, stemming from a wide acquaintance with *chanson de geste* and romance texts.

### **Bibliography**

#### ***Primary sources***

- Baldric of Dol. *Historia Jerosolimitana*. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux. Vol. 4. Paris, 1879. 10-110. [Another edition in the *Patrologia latina* 166, cols. 1057-1153.]
- Duparc-Quioç, S., ed. *La Chanson d'Antioche*. Vol. 2. Paris, 1978.

### **Secondary literature**

- Bender, K.-H. (1986). 'Un récit en vers français de la première croisade fondé sur Baudri de Bourgueil: une histoire de la première croisade en laisses.' In *Les Epopées romanes*. T. 1/2, fasc. 5. Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters 3. Heidelberg. 81-83.
- Grillo, P. R. (1996). 'Vers une édition du texte français de l'*Histoire Jerosolimitana* de Baudri de Dol.' In *Autour de la Première Croisade*. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995. Byzantina Sorbonensa 14. Paris. 6-16.
- Meyer, P. (1876). 'Un Récit en vers français de la première croisade fondé sur Baudri de Bourgueil.' *Romania* 5: 1-63.

---

## **Ungarn in Augen der mittelalterlichen polnischen Chronisten und Annalisten**

[This paper will be presented in English under the title:  
**Hungary as seen by the Medieval Polish Chroniclers and Annalists]**

*Ryszard Grzesik*

Die Nachbarschaft ermöglicht eine beiderseitige Erkenntnis. In der Zeit der langen Jahrhunderten entstehen oft ständige Ansichten über die Nachbarn, die sich oft in die nationalen Stereotypen umgestalten. Ein bis heute in Polen, Ungarn und in der Slowakei lebendiger positiver Stereotyp ist die Meinung über die traditionelle, polnisch-ungarische Freundschaft. Trotz des populären Sprichwortes über 'zwei Neffen', ist das Wissen über die Geschichte der gegenseitigen Beziehungen sehr begrenzt. Besonders gering wurde das Problem der Gestaltung der polnischen frühmittelalterlichen Vorstellungen über Ungarn erforscht. Die Historiker interessierten sich nur für einige Nachrichten der polnischen erzählenden Quellen über das Nachbarland, besonders im Kontext der Rekonstruktion der historischen Wirklichkeit. Man analysierte also die Identifizierung der Ungarn mit den Hunen bei Gallus Anonimus (Karajan 1863: 493; Brückner 1924: 90-92), die Beschreibung Gallus des hochmütigen Benehmens des ausgefluchten Bo»es»aw des Kühnen in Ungarn (Marczali 1882: 155-56, Brückner), die polnisch-ungarische Rivalität um Hali»ler Rus' im Licht der Großpolnischen Chronik (Kosáry 1951: 47, 49, 51, 108; Homza 1998), die Beschreibung der ungarisch-polnischen Grenze im Lichte der Ungarisch-polnischen Chronik (Marczali 1882; Divéki 1936: 36; Grzesik 1998: 147-66), man versuchte auch zu prüfen, ob der erste polnische Chronist Ungarn näher kannte (Plezia 1947, 1959: 285-95; Kovács 1973) und ein geheimes Bazoarium, wo - laut Gallus - König Peter von Orseolo eine prächtige Basilika gebaut habe (Labuda 1969: 161-70; Györffy 1973: 267). Praktisch unbeachtet ließ man die Nachrichten der polnischen Annalen über Ungarn (man analysierte meistens Überlieferungen über den Aufenthalt in Polen des Kronprinzen Emerich). Nur Dowiat (1965: 8) und Homza (1995: 211) bemerkten, daß große Menge der ungarischen Nachrichten in den polnischen Annalen streng mit dem Aufenthalt von drei Söhnen Vazuls verbunden ist.

Ich möchte in meinem Vortrag einige Nachrichten der polnischen Chroniken und Annalen über Pannonien und Ungarn besprechen (eine Überlieferung der polnischen Annalen, die - mittels der deutschen Annalistik - aus der karolingischen Erbe einholten, über die Streite des Karl des Großen gegen die Avaren; ungarische Einfälle gegen Westeuropa, ethnische Zuordnung der Ungarn zu den Slawen von den Chronisten, polnisch-ungarische Beziehungen in den ersten Jahren der Existenz beider Staaten - sie wurden der Ungarisch-polnischen Chronik im 13. Jh. übernommen). Ich beende meinen Vortrag mit einem Versuch einer Darstellung, wie sich in mittelalterlichem Polen ein Wissen über Ungarn gestaltete. Ich meine, daß mein Vorschlag am besten in dem Abteil 3: Die Chronik und die Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit Platz findet.

## Bibliographie

- Brückner, Aleksander (1924). 'Ungarn und Polen.' *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 4: 90-92.
- Divéki, Adorján (1936). 'Stosunki polsko-węgierskie za Arpadów i Piastów.' In *Polska i Węgry. Stosunki polsko-węgierskie w historii, kulturze i gospodarstwie*. Hg. Károly Huszár. Budapest-Warszawa.
- Dowiat, Jerzy (1965). 'Bela I węgierski w Polsce (1031/32-1048).' *Przegląd Historyczny* 56.
- Grzesik, Ryszard (1998). 'Przebieg granicy polsko-węgierskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu w świetle Kroniki węgiersko-polskiej.' *Studia Historyczne* 41: 147-66.
- Györffy, György (1973). Im Werk: *Budapest története az Űskortól az Árpád-kor végig*. Hg. László Gerevich. Budapest.
- Homza, Martin (1998). Im Werk: Homza, Martin, und Stanisław Sroka. *Študie z dejín stredovekého Spiša*. Krakov.
- CCC (1995). 'Vzt'ahy stredovekého Spiša a Malopol'ska od najstarších Űias do roku 1138.' *Historický Űlasopis* 43.
- Karajan, Th. v. (1863). 'Über den Leumund der Österreicher, Böhmen und Ungern in den heimischen Quellen des Mittelalters.' *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 42: 493.
- Kosáry, Domonkos (1951). *Bevezetés a magyar történelem forrásaiba és irodalmába*. T. 1. Budapest.
- Kovács, Endre (1973). *Magyarok és lengyelek a történelem sodrában*. Budapest.
- Labuda, Gerard (1970). 'Bazoar Anonymus Gallus krónikájában. Azonosítási kísérlet.' *Századok* 104: 173-77.
- CCC (1969). 'Bazoar w Kronice Anonima Galla. Próba identyfikacji.' *Studia Historyczne* 12: 161-70.
- Marczali, Henrik (1882). *Ungarns Geschichtsquellen im Zeitalter der Árpáden*. Berlin. S. 155-56.
- Plezia, Marian (1947). 'Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku.' *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności* 71. CCC (1959). 'Ungarische Beziehungen des ältesten polnischen Chronisten.' *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7: 285-95.

---

### **Is the Chronicle of the Logothete a 'Metaphrastic' chronicle? On the stylistic reworking of a Byzantine chronicle from the 10th century**

*Daniel Gustafson*

I am currently working on my PhD-thesis with the preliminary title *Studies in the Chronicle of the >Logothete'*. My contribution to the conference will fit mainly into the second main theme >The Function of the Chronicle>. In my paper I will discuss the language of the >Logothete> chronicle, written in the middle of 10th century, most likely in Constantinople by a high-ranking court official, Symeon the Logothete. The chronicle exists in two versions: A and B. B is written somewhat later probably in the 960s and in a stylistically reworked fashion. Thus, I will speak about the technique of style reworking in these two versions of the chronicle, and about differences in style. My aim is to investigate whether the same models of re-working used in Byzantine hagiography from the same period is used also in historiographical works. This investigation is supposed to lead to new knowledge about the social context and the audience of the chronicle(s).

During the second half of the 10th century much hagiographic literature was re-worked by a group of people led by a certain Symeon Metaphrastes. Several Byzantinists have suggested that this literature exhibits >historiographical> traits. The angle of this paper, however is the opposite: to investigate if the historiography exhibits hagiographical traits. Thus, in a way it also relates to the first main-theme and its

questions about genre confusion. I have investigated and compared the two versions use of verbs with prefix, prepositions, and foreign words.

### **Foreign words**

In the so-called *Metaphrastic Menologium* there is marked decrease of loan words, mainly those of Latin extraction. Is it the same with the two versions of the Logothete chronicle? Yes, my study shows such a tendency. This must - I infer - mean one of two things: a) the audience is the same, since it exhibits the same demands on style; or b) the re-workers are the same, since they exhibit a similarity of technique. Perhaps there is no real opposition between a) and b).

### **Key phrases**

Again the *Metaphrastic Menologium* contains a number of characteristic phrases as demonstrated by Henric Zilliacus (1937).

### **Prose-rhythm**

It is possible that I will include a section on prose-rhythm in my paper as well, but it is a current investigation, so I do not really know where it will end.

### **Bibliography**

- Efthymaidis, Stephanos (1996). 'The Byzantine Hagiographer and his Audience in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.' In *Metaphrasis*.
- Høgel, Christian, ed. (1996). *Metaphrasis. Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*. KULTs skriftserie No. 59. Bergen.
- CCC (1996). 'The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes: Literary aspects of the Metaphrastic martyria.' In *Metaphrasis*.
- Hunger, Herbert, and Ihor Sevchenko (1986). *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Basilikos Andriàs und desen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes*. Wiener Byz. Studien, Band 18. Vienna.
- Rosenqvist, Jan-Olof (1996). 'Changing Styles and Changing Mentalities: The Secondary Versions of the Life of St Philaretos the Merciful.' In *Metaphrasis*.
- Schiffer, Elisabeth (1996). 'Metaphrastic Lives and Earlier metaphrâseis of Saints' Lives.' In *Metaphrasis*.
- Zilliacus, Henrik (1936). 'Lateinische Lehnwörter in Byzantinischer Hagiographie.' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37.
- CCC (1937). 'Zur Stilistischen Umarbeitungstechnik des Symeon Metaphrastes.' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 38.

---

## **La diffusion du *Roman des roys* avant la Guerre de Cent Ans: l'exemple du manuscrit BnF fr. 10132**

*Isabelle Guyot-Bachy*

L'objet de la communication est d'examiner la diffusion du *Roman des roys* achevé par Primat en 1274, et autrement connu sous le nom de *Grandes chroniques de France*, dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, période pour laquelle peu de témoins sont connus. Le manuscrit BnF fr. 10132, commandé en 1318 au libraire parisien Thomas de Maubeuge par Pierre Honoré de Neufchâtel-en-Bray présente le triple intérêt de porter le nom du commanditaire, d'être richement illustré et d'offrir une continuation du texte jusqu'en 1329, soit quelques mois après l'avènement de Philippe VI de Valois.

L'identification du commanditaire et la reconstitution de sa carrière, jusqu'ici non connues, permettent de situer le personnage parmi les officiers domaniaux de Charles de Valois, frère de Philippe le Bel. Le manuscrit paraît avoir été commandé à l'apogée de la carrière de Pierre Honoré, à un moment où le comte de Valois lui confie d'assez hautes responsabilités. L'examen de la continuation allant de 1223 à 1329 permet la mise en évidence du recours à diverses sources: chronique française amplifiée de Guillaume de Nangis, traduction du *Memoriale historiarum* de Jean de Saint-Victor et enfin, composition d'un texte original couvrant les années 1323-1329. Si l'anonymat de l'auteur de cette dernière partie ne peut être levé, il est néanmoins possible de situer le milieu de la rédaction: l'entourage de Charles de Valois et/ou celui-ci de son fils, Philippe, d'abord comte de Valois puis roi de France à partir de 1328. A cette date, le chroniqueur appartient vraisemblablement au groupe des notaires de la chancellerie royale.

L'identité du commanditaire et le milieu d'élaboration de la continuation invitent donc à reconsidérer la diffusion extra-curiale dont on pensait que ce manuscrit témoignait dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. En revanche, il est dès lors possible de le replacer à l'intérieur du groupe des livres commandés ou ayant appartenus à Charles et à Philippe de Valois et d'envisager à travers leur comparaison quelle image ils offrent de ces deux personnages et quelle lecture ils donnent de l'avènement de 1328. Dans cette double perspective les enluminures sont également mises à contribution. L'examen de la présentation de l'hommage de 1329 est enfin l'occasion d'observer le décalage existant entre le texte du BnF 10132, élaboré très peu de temps après cet événement, et la version qui en sera donnée en 1379 dans un autre manuscrit des Grandes chroniques de France, réalisé pour Charles V.

### **Bibliographie**

- Allmand, Ch. (1988). *The Hundred years War. England and France at War c. 1300-1450*. Cambridge UP.
- Bautier, R.-H. (1964/5). 'Recherches sur la chancellerie royale au temps de Philippe VI (1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> parties).' *BEC* 123 et 124.
- Cazelles, R. (1958). *La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe VI de Valois*. Paris.
- Couderc, C. (1896). 'Le manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois.' *Etudes d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiées à Gabriel Monod*. Paris. 415-44.
- Guenée, B. (1986). 'Les grandes chroniques de France. Le roman aux roys (1274-1518).' *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Ed. P. Nora. II. *La Nation*. Paris. 189-214.
- Guyot-Bachy, Is. (1996). *Jean de Saint-Victor, un historien au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. [à paraître]
- Hedeman, A. D. (1991). *The Royal Image. Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France (1274-1422)*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford.
- Petit, J. (1900). *Charles de Valois*. Paris.
- Surprenant, A. (1990). 'Unes petites croniques abregées sur Vincent: nouvelle analyse du manuel dit "de Philippe VI de Valois".' *Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Age*. Ed. M. Paulmier-Foucart, S. Lusignan, A. Nadeau. Bellarmin/Montréal. 439-65.

---

### **Echte Chroniken in unechten Urkunden**

*Reinhard Härtel*

Urkundenfälschungen des Mittelalters implizieren naturgem Dimension im Denken des Fälschers und haben mit der Chronik von vornherein die Einordnung von Ereignissen in einen umfassenderen historischen Kontext gemein. Das zeigt sich keineswegs nur in den eigentlich historisch-erzählenden Teilen der Urkunde, sondern auch ganz allgemein durch die in urkundlichen Fiktionen ganz besonders

ausgeprägte Einbindung urkundlicher Fiktionen in den Fluß der Zeit, gegebenenfalls auch in den göttlichen Heilsplan überhaupt, und ohne daß der jeweilige Anlaßfall (nach unseren Begriffen) dies nötig erscheinen ließe. Diese wie die im folgenden genannten Zusammenhänge werden schwergewichtsmäßig anhand von Materialien aus dem bayerischen, österreichischen und nordadriatischen Raum exemplifiziert. Im Verhältnis zwischen Urkundenfälschungen und Chronistik gehen die Verwandtschaften jedenfalls viel weiter als bis zur bloßen personalen Identität von Urkundenschreibern, -fälschern und Chronisten. Sogar die Imitation von älteren Schriftformen kommt nicht nur bei Urkundenfälschern, sondern auch bei Chronisten vor. Entfaltung von historischem Bewußtsein und Urkundenfälschungen gehen nicht zufällig zeitlich Hand in Hand. Ein die Gattungsgrenzen verwischendes Bindeglied zwischen Historiographie und Urkundenfälschungen bilden zudem fiktive Briefe etc. in literarischen Texten, ein gemeinsamer Zweck ist die oft gegebene Absicht zu moralischer Belehrung, und die zeitgenössische Betrachtung vieler Urkunden als *exempla* rückt diese, oder zumindest viele unter ihnen, abermals in die Nähe historiographischer Erzeugnisse, unter gleichzeitiger Infragestellung ihres Charakters als rechtssicherndes 'Wertpapier'. Die Anlässe zu historiographischer Betätigung und zu Urkundenfälschungen bestehen oft genug in krisenhaften Situationen. Eine bedeutende Zahl von Urkunden und insbesondere von Urkundenfälschungen ist daher gleichzeitig in die nächste Nähe der Chronistik zu rücken, wenn nicht sogar ihr zuzurechnen, und die stärkere Beachtung dieses Rand- und Übergangsbereiches seitens der historiographisch orientierten Forschung mag zu vertieften Erkenntnissen zur Chronistik überhaupt geeignet sein, so wie zweifellos auch die Urkundenforschung durch die Einbeziehung der chronistischen Elemente Bereicherungen erfährt, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die viel diskutierten Fragen nach einem eigenen und spezifischen mittelalterlichen Wahrheitsbegriff einerseits und nach der Kritikfähigkeit der mittelalterlichen Zeitgenossen andererseits.

---

**Dreaming Among the Ruins:  
History and Memory in a Fourteenth-Century Roman Chronicle**

*Jennifer Heindl*

Cola di Rienzo is one of the great characters of fourteenth-century Rome, as is his 'biographer', the Anonimo Romano, author of the vernacular chronicle that is, along with letters by both Petrarch and Cola himself, the major contemporary source for those who would unravel a famously chaotic and bizarre period of Roman history. A grammarian and a student (like his author) of Livy, Cola can read the ancient city, deciphering its inscriptions and declaiming its ancient glory. He is as deeply immersed as his creator in the alternately vivid and moribund reality of Rome; a reality which, because it is Rome's, must always include the dreams and ruins of the past. It may not be too much to say that Cola is his creator's alter-ego, his bigger, gaudier, more tragic (more classical, more Livian?) self. As the Anonimo's chronicle is framed by historical narratives from Isidore and Livy, so Cola spans history, reading and interpreting ancient inscriptions while composing his own messages to the world in mysterious allegorical murals which, along with his oratorical skills, briefly make the city and its people his.

In this paper I propose to explore briefly the relationship between the Anonimo and Cola di Rienzo, his creation. Central to any understanding of the dynamic between author and character is the city of Rome, a space that is, for both, in its physicality, a text to be read and interpreted, edited and rewritten. Cola comes to power through the manipulation of memories and ruins scattered throughout the city and his reign is described by the Anonimo in terms of re-inscribing the city in an effort to recapture the past and recreate the ancient glory described in the marble engravings which he had deciphered and dreamt over.

**Bibliography**

### **Primary sources**

- Anonimo Romano. Ed. *Cronica*. Giuseppe Porta. Milan: Adelphi, 1979.
- Aristotle. On Sleep and Dreams: A Text and Translation with Introduction, Notes and Glossary. Translated and edited by D. Gallop. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1996.
- Codice topografica della città di Roma*. Ed. G. Zucchetti and R. Valentini. 4 vols. Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1940-53.
- Cola di Rienzo. *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*. Ed. K. Burdach and P. Piur. 4 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1913-28.
- I fatti di Cesare, testo di lingua inedito del secolo XIV*. Ed. L. Banchi. Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1863.
- Historiae Romanorum. Codex 151 in scrin. de Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*. Ed. O. Pacht and T. Brandeis. Frankfurt am Main: Propylaen, 1974.
- Livy. *Titi Livi ab urbe condita*. Ed. R. S. Conway. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.
- Petrarca, Francesco. *Rime triomfi e poesie latine*. Ed. R. Neri et al. Milan: R. Riccardi, 1951.
- CCC. *Sine nomine. Lettere polemiche e politiche*. Ed. U. Dotti. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1974.
- Storie di Troie e de Roma*. Ed. Ernesto Monaci. Rome, 1920.
- Valerius Maximus. *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*. Hildesheim and New York: George Olms, 1976.

---

## **The System of Names in the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle***

*Martin Homza*

This work is based on the thesis that the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* was entirely written at one of the Hungarian royal courts in the early 13th century, most likely at the court of Koloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia and Croatia. Primarily, the Chronicle is an ideological work that aims to legitimize the rule of the Arpads dynasty over the Carpathian Basin as well as its foreign political aspirations over the neighboring territories as for instance Galicia. The character of the whole work is adjusted to this purpose making use of a whole series of means to achieve it. The basic epic pillars of the Chronicle are three main stories: the settlement of ancient Hungarians in their new motherland led by Arpad (in the Chronicle named Aquila=Atila); a variant reading of the Life of St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary, and the destiny of his expelled sons. A whole range of different narrative methods such as the apparition of supernatural beings, miracles, etc. has been interlaced into these three stories with the same purpose.

Of vital importance in order to understand the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* is the system of names created by the author. These names are precisely the reason for which the Chronicle is often considered to be a not very trustworthy historical source. However, there is a quite simple explanation for this. The system of names used in the Chronicle was not meant to match historical reality but, primarily, to sacralize the ruling dynasty of the Arpads and then to legitimize its territorial acquisitions. That is why the mythical ancestor of St. Stephen had to be not Arpad but Aquila (Atila) *C flagellum Dei*. Consequently his father is not Gejza but Yesse, the ancestor of the house of David, that is the ancestor of David the King and therefore of Jesus Christ as well, and his mother is then Atheita, a name that relates the Arpads dynasty with the most important dynasty of the Abendland C the Carolingians, and through Adelajda, the wife of Oto I, also with the Liudolfings of Saxony.

This method is developed further at a lower level in the Chronicle. The most important is the condensation of the names of heroes in which one name usually represents more than one historical, real figure. For instance Polish Meschco represents not only Meschco himself, but his son Boleslaus the Brave as well; then Boleslaus as both Boleslaus; Aquila is Hunnish Atila himself, Avarian Bajan and Hungarian Arpad all together; Kasimirus is Moravian Mojmir, Croatian Kresimir, Zvonimir as well as Polish Kazimir the Restorer, etc. Another method commonly used with the same purpose is name

alteration: Atila = Aquila, Adelajda = Athleita, etc., or the addition of new names, otherwise completely unknown, into the genealogical chain of the Arpads dynasty.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources**

- Cosmae pragensis. *Chronica Boemorum*. Ed. B. Bretholz. MGH SR NS 2, Berlin 1923.
- Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*. Ed. B. Karácsonyi. Acta Historica Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae 26. 1969.
- Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima* 1. Ed. G. Györffy. Budapestini: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992.
- Dlugossii, I. *Annales seu Cronice incliti Regni Poloniae*. 1-2. Ed. I. Dłbrowski, V. Semkowicz-Zaremba. Varsaviae: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1964.
- Fortunatus, V. *De Vita Sanctae Radegundis libri duo*. Ed. B. Krusch. MGH SRM 2, 2. Hannover, 1984.
- Galli Anonymi cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*. Ed. K. Maleciński. MPH NS 2. Kraków, 1952.
- Magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur. *Gesta Hungarorum*. Ed. Ae. Jakubovich. SRH 1. Ed. E. Szentpetéry. Budapestini, 1937.
- Povest' vremennykh let*. Ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1950.

### **Secondary sources**

- Balzer, O. (1985). *Genealogia Piastów*. Kraków.
- Banaszkiewicz, J. (1986). *Podanie o Piałcie i Popielu. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Bornscheuer, L. (1968). *Miseriae regum: Untersuchung zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in der herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-salischen Zeit*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Cameron, A. (1976). 'The Empress Sophia.' *Byzantion. Revue internationale des études Byzantines* 45: 5-21.
- Corbert, P. (1986). *Les saints Ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil*. Sigmaringen.
- Folz, R. (1992). *Les saintes reines du moyen âge en Occident VIe-XIIIe siècles*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes. 9-55.
- Hoffmann, E. (1975). *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern*. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag.
- Graus, F. (1965). *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.
- Grzesik, R. (1999). *Kronika węgiersko-polska*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo poznańskiego Towarzystwa przyjaciół nauk.
- Györffy, G. (1994). *King Saint Stephan of Hungary*. Trans. P. Doherty. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Holum, K. G. (1982). *Theodosian Empresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Homza, M. (1997). 'The Role of Saint Ludmila, Doubravka, Saint Olga and Adelaide in the Conversions of their Countries (the Problem of *Mulieres Suadentes*, Persuading women).' In *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*. Ed. P. Urbańczyk. Warszawa. 187-202.
- Kłtrzyński, S. (1961). *Polska X-XI wieku*. Ed. A. Gieysztor. Warszawa: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe.
- Klaniczay, G. (1990). 'From Sacral Kingship to Self-Representation: Hungarian and European Royal Saints.' In *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*. Ed. K. Margolis. Cambridge: Polity Press. 79-94.
- Kristó, G. (1996). *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged: Középkorász Műhely.



- Labuda, G. (1992). *Mieszko II król Polski (1025-1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*. Kraków.
- Macartney, C. A. (1953). *The medieval Hungarian Historians. A critical and analytical guide*. Cambridge: UP.
- McNamara, J. A. (1996). 'Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship.' In *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*. Ed. S. Sticca. New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. 51-80.
- Mitterauer, M. (1998). *Ahnen und Heilige. Namensgebung in der europäischen Geschichte*. München: Beck.
- Moravcsik, Gy. (1970). *Byzantium and the Magyars*. Trans. S. R. Rosenbaum. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Ridyard, S. J. (1988). *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West-Saxon and East Anglian Cults*. Cambridge: UP. 16-44, 50-61, 82-92.
- Vajay, Sz. (1962). 'Großfürst Geysa von Ungarn C Familie und Verwandtschaft.' *Südostforschungen* 21: 45-101.

---

### **Mythological time as reflected in the *Chronicler of the GrandDuchy of Lithuania and Samogitia***

*Vladimir Kananovich*

The aim of my paper is to present the idea of time as revealed in the *Chronicler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Samogitia (Letopisets' Velikovo knyastva Litovskovo i Zhomoïtskovo)*.

The *Chronicler*, which is commonly considered as a written monument of the political ideology of the "old" aristocracy in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (henceforth GDL), has been compiled in Ruthenian in the 1520s in the milieu close to the kindreds of Gastolds and Holszanskis. The story, the earliest version of which is contained in the so-called *Chronicle of Krasinski*, deals with the ancient past of Lithuania through the history of its ruling dynasty and the most powerful aristocratic families (Gastolds, Holszanskis Monivids and Dovoynas).

To begin with, as a myth the narrative introduces the so-called mythological time. Accordingly, the principle of the atemporal symbolism that fits into the nature of myth dominates the whole story.

Like many medieval writers the anonymous author of the *Chronicler* starts his story directly from the time of the Incarnation of Christ, which according to the writer took place in the year of 5526 (sic) *ab initio mundi*. The author's consideration of Christ's Incarnation as a turning point in the history of humankind expresses clearly his position towards sacred time as the time superior to earthly time. The latter is regarded in the context of the eschatological process, the final point of which must be the Second Coming of the Saviour.

By mentioning Emperor August as Christ's contemporary, the author links up the evangelical story with ancient history. The Roman origin is attributed to the Lithuanian ruling dynasty (according to the author it had originated from Nero's relative, duke Palemon) in order to give it greater splendour. Also, by this means the Lithuanian past was placed in the context of the universal history. Simultaneously, the presence of Lithuanians within the Christian Community was stressed.

The author, while describing the subsequent events of Palemon's kindred, follows the generative order, that is, indicates the succession within the family, from father to son, from one generation to another. Reigns of sequent rulers constitute single historical periods which are usually expressed by the words *panuyutshy yemu* (he was ruling), *i tshasu panovanya ...* (during the rule of ...), and the like. The writer, while speaking about the succession in Palemon's genealogy, uses sentences like the following: *a po nyem natsha knyazhiti ...* (he was succeeded ...), *i potshnyem syn yevo panovati ...* (and his son started to rule ...).

In some places the chronicler tries to make the chronology more precise by employing phrases like: *panoval mnogo let, knyazhil ... mnogye leta* (ruled for many years), *knyazhatshi ... nemnogo let*

(ruling not many years), *knyazhatshi ne malo* (ruling not for little time), etc. Sequential events in the chronicle are often connected by the words *po malykh tshasekh* (a little later), or *potom* (afterwards, then).

Sometimes the author interrupts his description of ongoing events in order to concentrate on another topic; his intention to return to previous events is always expressed by the appropriate phrases, namely...*i navrativshisya vospak*, or...*za tym v'zrativsyia v'spak* (...then came back to the previous one).

The chronicler tries to synchronize the events from the Lithuanian past with those from universal history or from the history of neighbouring peoples. The emigration of Palemon in a company of five hundred Roman nobles was caused by the tyrannical rule of the emperor Nero. According to the author, the Tatar invasion of Ruthenia took place in the reign of Palemon's son Kunos (in later versions it was his grandson Montvil).

The fact that within the time from Christ to Batu's attack of Ruthenia only four generations of the Lithuanian rulers are placed does not demonstrate a lack of historical perspective as to the author's perception of the past. Such a composition of the story is clearly defined by its genre as a myth in which past and present are functioning as a whole.

However, afterwards attempts were made to introduce a dating which turned the legend into an account of events. Thus gradually an atemporal myth assumed the features of a temporal story. Also, the time from Palemon to Batu was filled up with new personages in order to provide a more or less convincing description.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources**

*Letopis Krasinskogo [The Krasinski chronicle]*. Ed. N. N. Ulashchik. Vol. 35. Moscow: Nauka, 1980.

### **Secondary literature**

Banaszkiewicz, J. (1979). *Kronika Dzierzwy. XIV Bwieczne Kompendium Historii Ojczyznej [The Dzierzwa chronicle as fourteenth-century compendium of national history]*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków- Gdansk.

Borst, A. (1995). *Der Turnbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*. Vol. II/1. München: DTV.

Geremek, B. (1971). 'Wyobraznia czasowa polskiego dziejopisarstwa sredniowiecznego [Temporal perception of Polish medieval historiography].' *Studia Zrodloznawcze* 22.

Le Goff, J. (1980). 'Merchant's Time and Church Time in the Middle Ages.' In *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Trans. A. Goldhammer. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Gurevich, A. (1972). *Kategorii srednevekovoj kultury [Categories of medieval culture]*. Moscow: Mysl.

Hübner, K. (1996). *Istina mifa [Die Wahrheit des Mythos]*. Trans. Kasavin. Moscow: Respublika.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1983). *Strukturnaja Antropologija [Anthropologie Structurale]*. Moscow.

Likhachev, D. (1987). 'Vremia v proizvedenijakh russkogo folklora [Time as reflected in the Russian folklore].' In *Izbrannyje Raboty*. Leningrad.

Ulashchik, N. (1985). *Vvedenije v izuchenije belorussko-litovskogo letopisanija [Introduction to the Study of Belorussian-Lithuanian Historiography]*. Moscow: Nauka.

---

## **Function and Importance of the Bulgarian Chronicles from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century**

*Miliyana Kaymakamova*

In the paper the problem of the origin of the Bulgarian chronicles from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is studied. Following this principle two major groups could be outlined:

1. translated Byzantine chronicles of the world history, represented by the chronicles of John Zonaras, Constantine Manasses, Symeon the Logothete, and *A Short Chronicle from Adam to Manuel Palaeologos*.
2. Bulgarian chronicles compiled on the grounds of Byzantine and Bulgarian sources, represented by *The Short Bulgarian Chronicle*, incorporated in the text of the *Chronicle of Manasses*, the *Anonymous Bulgarian Chronicle* from the early fifteenth century.

Their emergence in medieval Bulgarian historiography is explained by the following:

- a) the traditional literary connections between Byzantium and Bulgaria;
- b) the dissemination of the ideas of the Byzantine political humanism in medieval Bulgarian culture and in the other countries of *Slavia Orthodoxa*;
- c) the enlarging of the cultural and educational functions (both didactic and cognitive) of the chronicles in the educated circles of Bulgarian society;
- d) the use of chronicles as a major instrument to enrich the Bulgarian state and political ideas in the fourteenth century, and to disseminate the main political ideas on larger social grounds.

Accordingly, the function of the Bulgarian chronicles (original and translated) both in reconstructing the events as well as in tracing the relation between the present and the past has been particularly well researched. Especially the latter was an implication deliberately sought by the chroniclers, one which was achieved through certain techniques and methods when translating texts or producing chronicles of their own. There was a certain connection between the authors' historical notions and the peculiar creativity they showed when compiling chronicles or translating Byzantine ones. It can be observed in the evaluation and specifications of the data (presented without transgressing authenticity) of Bulgarian history in the Byzantine originals as well as in the selection of the facts, the events and the people to express the point of view on history of the chroniclers and that of a particular social group.

The notions of their own, medieval time the authors had and conveyed to society are also presented in my paper. They are supported by several quotations pointing at differences between the original chronicle and the translation. The examples demonstrate that the majority of the differences are in the use of ethnic names, toponyms (e.g. names of towns, areas, states etc.), and in the titles of the rulers, especially of the Bulgarian ones.

Since the translation of Constantine Manasses' world chronicle was very popular in medieval Bulgaria and in other Balkan countries in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, as well as in Russia, its function is examined in detail. The stress in the study is on the importance of this chronicle for reconstructing the facts of Bulgarian history according to the Byzantine original and its Slavonic translation. The emergence of a compiled Bulgarian chronicle based on the translated text is also studied in my paper. The intentional connection between text and image made by the anonymous compiler of the Vatican recension of the chronicle through giving his headings to the miniatures is examined as well.

The importance of the Bulgarian chronicles from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is sought in two directions. They are evaluated as a major means to enhance historical knowledge of the medieval Bulgarians and to establish their own concepts of the unfolding of the world and Bulgarian history. On the other hand the dissemination of the Bulgarian models in Wallachia, Serbia and Russia in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries is outlined. It bears testimony to the growing interest in the Bulgarian chronographs in the above mentioned countries and the Bulgarian contribution to the development of that genre in the literature of the Balkan and the other Slavic countries.

## **Bibliography**

- Beck, H. G. (1963). 'Zur Byzantinischen Mönchschronik.' *Speculum historiale*: 188-97.  
Gjuzelev, V. (1985). *Učitelista, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanja v Bulgaria (III - IV v.)*. Sofia. 213-27.  
Dostalova, R. (1982). 'Vizantijskaja Chronografija.' *Visantijskij vremenik* 43: 22-34.

- Dujchev, Iv., M. A. Salmina, O. V. Tvorogov (1988). *Srednebolgarskij perevod chroniky Konstantina Manasij v slavijnskich literaturach*. Sofia.
- Hunger, H. (1970). *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*. München.
- Istrin, V. (1912). *Chronika Georgia Amartola v drevnem C slavijano-ruskom perevode*. Text, Isledovanie i slovarar. 2 vols. Petrograd.
- Jacobs, A. Zwnara-Πείραξ (1970). *Die Byzantinische Geschichte bei Johannes Zonaras in slavischer überzetzung*. München.
- Kajmakamova, M. (1990). *Bulgarska srednovekovna istoriopis*. Sofia.
- Krumbacher, K. (1897). *Geschichte der Byzantischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischer Reiches (527-1453)*. 219-408.
- Obolensky, D. (1971). *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500-1453*. London.
- Ostrogorsky, G. (1932). 'Slavjanskij perevod Chroniky Simeona Logofeta.' *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5.
- Samodurova, Z. G. (1962). 'K voprosu o malich vizantijskich chronikach.' *Vizantijskij vremennik* 21: 127-47.
- Tvorogov, O. V. (1975). *Drevnerusskie Chronografy*. Moskva.
- Schreiner, P. (1975). *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*. I. *Einleitung und Text*. Wien.
- Wiengard, M. (1922-23). *Prehled a rasbor filologicky*. Vol. 1 of *Byzantske kroniky v literature cirkevne-slovenske*. 2 vols. Bratislava.

---

### **Chivalric Celebration or Martial Menace?**

#### **Accounts of the Role of brigata Festivities in the Civic Calendar of Medieval Florence**

*Catherine Keen*

This paper examines ambivalences in the records of the formation and activities of the semi-aristocratic brigata associations of Duecento and early Trecento Florence in contemporary historiography, especially in Giovanni Villani. It examines the way in which the brigata societies themselves, and the chroniclers' presentation of them, are influenced by chivalric literature, and discusses the function that this has in expressing social and cultural aspirations within their society. It draws both on chronicle evidence, and that of literary or legal sources, of an historiographical nature.

The paper treats the example of the brigade as a case-study to investigate tensions within the presentation of Florentine political ideology in the city's myths of origin. It takes such mythology to include not only that of the town as a whole, but also that of its individual corporations, such as the brigade. It argues that at one level, the courtly inspiration of brigata activities enhanced patriotic mythology about Florence's nobility; at another, unease about the place of knighthood and magnate families in Florentine society gave the associations a disturbing aspect discernible in chronicle references. The study investigates tensions in the chroniclers' assessments of the brigade's contributions to the public life of the city, especially to the calendar of public celebration.

It examines the implicit connections between this unease over a particular, contemporary manifestation of chivalric activity, and the more general ambiguities inherent in the mythology of the cult of Mars and the descent of the Florentines from equestrian or knightly families in their various renderings of the Florentine foundation legends.

As in all studies of Florentine political thought, Nicolai Rubinstein's seminal essay of 1942 provides an essential referent, as does the work of Charles Davis on Villani. The paper also draws on studies of the brigade by scholars including Richard Trexler and Franco Cardini. More particularly, the study concentrates on less familiar aspects of the historiography of Florentine social forms, in which cultural aspirations involving conflicting discourses appear within the accounts of brigata activities, and

reveal tensions of emphasis and interpretation lying beneath the narrative of Florentine historical achievement offered by chroniclers like Villani. The topic pursued in this research fits most closely with the conference theme of 'reconstruction of the past' (theme 3), as it examines the way in which historical information and literary associations are manipulated to enhance claims about the way that the city's ancient history should be understood, and the way that this history in turn is taken to explicate tensions within the culture of contemporary Florence.

## **Bibliography**

### **Sources**

- Alighieri, Dante. *La Commedia secondo l'antica volgata*. Ed. G. Petrocchi. Verona, 1966-67.
- Boncompagno da Signa, Cedrus. *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des Elften bis Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Ed. L. Rockinger. Munich, 1863.
- Cronache dei secoli XIII e XIV*. Ed. A. Gherardi. Florence, 1876.
- Chronica de origine civitatis*. In *Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Stadt Florenz*. Ed. O. Hartwig. Marburg, 1875.
- Contini, Gianfranco, ed. *Poeti del Duecento*. Milan, 1995.
- Corsi, G., ed. *Rimatori del Trecento*. Turin, 1969.
- Schiaffini, A., ed. *Testi fiorentini del Duecento e dei primi anni del Trecento*. Florence, 1954.
- Villani, Giovanni. *Nuova cronica*. Ed. G. Porta. Parma, 1990-91.

### **Secondary sources**

- AA. VV. (1983). *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana tardo comunale*. Florence.
- AA. VV. (1982). *Nobiltà e ceti dirigenti in Toscana nei secoli XI-XIII*. Florence.
- Artusi, L., and S. Gabbriellini (1976). *Feste e giochi a Firenze*. Florence.
- Cardini (1992). *Guerre di primavera*. Florence.
- Chiffolleau, J., et al., eds. (1994). *Riti e rituali nella società medievale*. Spoleto.
- Davidsohn, R. (1956-68). *Storia di Firenze*. Florence.
- Davis, Charles (1984). *Dante's Italy and other essays*. Philadelphia.
- CCC (1988). 'Topographical and historical propaganda in early Florentine chroniclers and in Villani.' *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 2.
- Gasparri, S. (1992). *I milites cittadini: studi sulla cavalleria in Italia*. Rome.
- Green, L. (1972). *Chronicle into History: an essay on the interpretation of history in Florentine fourteenth-century chronicles*. Cambridge.
- Le Goff, J. (1980). *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Trans. A. Goldhammer. Chicago.
- Marti, M. (1965). 'Costume, cronaca e storia comunale nelle rime del tempo di Dante.' *Studi Medievali* 6.
- Rubinstein, N. (1942). 'The beginnings of political thought in Florence: a study in mediaeval historiography.' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5.
- Trexler, Richard (1980). *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. New York.
- Wieruscowski, H. (1971). *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy*. Rome.

---

## **The Arthurian Story in the Chronicle of Jehan de Waurin**

*Edward Donald Kennedy*

This paper will examine the Flemish chronicler Jehan de Waurin's treatment of the final battle between Arthur and Mordred in his enormous chronicle *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la grant*

*bretaigne*. The paper is related more broadly to recent concern with intertextual relationships between romance and chronicle and to the nature of the sources that a chronicler might turn to.

Jehan followed Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur fairly closely until he reached the conclusion, at which point he borrowed heavily from the French Vulgate romance *Mort Artu*. Like a number of chroniclers (e.g., Mannyng, Hardyng among the English, Jean d'Outremeuse in Flanders) he borrowed details from romance to enhance his account, in part to appeal to those interested in chivalric literature and in part to present an exemplum against treason. His treatment of this material suggests that he, like many authors on the Continent and some in England at this time, did not take the story of Arthur seriously as history and therefore felt he could manipulate it freely to drive home moral points. But it also suggests that a chronicler might also turn to romances that may have elements of truth, derived from rumor or oral report, that were unknown to earlier chroniclers. Jehan de Waurin later changed the scope of his chronicle to bring it down to the time of Edward IV. His sympathetic account of Arthur, though deviating in its final parts from the standard English chronicle versions, would undoubtedly have appealed to Edward, who made known his descent from the Welsh and his respect for the Arthurian story.

---

## Le drame de Krbava dans le bréviaire de 1495

*Antonia Zaradija Kiš*

Le 9 septembre 1493 eut lieu une des plus sanglantes batailles que connut le territoire croate au Moyen Age. Le combat, qui opposait les Croates aux Ottomans, se déroula dans la plaine de Krbava. La meilleure et unique description de cette bataille, écrite en vieux-slave de rédaction croate et en caractères glagolitiques, est parvenue jusqu'à nous dans un manuscrit de 1495, connu parmi les slavistes sous le nom de *2ème bréviaire de Novi Vinodol* (N<sub>2</sub>). Ainsi un texte apparenté par son genre à la chronique, extrêmement pittoresque, sensible et patriotique, trouve sa place dans un livre liturgique (à la fin du *proprium de tempore*, fol. 267a-267c). Son auteur, prêtre copiste, était Martinac de Grobnik (Istrie), travaillait à l'époque pour l'église et le couvent pauliniens de Notre Dame de Novi.

De par sa fonction de transmission d'un héritage et d'un témoignage sur un événement funeste pour tout le peuple croate, ce texte est dédié aux futures générations. C'est une oeuvre originale par sa forme et sa destination. L'endroit où elle est placée dans le bréviaire indique qu'elle était lue et commentée devant l'auditoire nombreux (dans l'église) d'une population qui ne savait ni lire ni écrire, mais pouvait apprendre et transmettre à ses descendants ses connaissances sur cet événement historique, en cultivant ainsi leurs sentiments patriotiques. La destination précise de ce message unique est confirmée par le fait qu'il est écrit en caractères glagolitiques (authentique écriture médiévale croate) et en slavon croate, langue du peuple croate très riche et bien développée à cette époque. La manière dont est rédigée cette chronique nous montre quelle était autrefois sa fonction, son style témoigne de l'existence d'une littérature médiévale croate très développée et son écriture oralisée indique qu'elle était le moyen de communication et d'information le plus rapide, le plus efficace et le plus durable.

Le but de notre étude est d'expliquer l'importance de cette chronique placée dans un corpus liturgique médiéval croate, et imbriquée dans le contexte historique du Moyen Age européen.

### Bibliographie

- Adamčĕk, J. (1989). 'Pavlini i njihovi feudalni psjedi.' In *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.  
Bratulić, J. (1989). 'Književna djelatnost hrvatskih pavlina.' In *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.  
Doškaal, K. *Grada za povijest pavlinskih samostana u Hrvatskoj I-III*. Manuscrit dans les Archives de HAZU.  
Fališevac, D. (1980). *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna proza*. Zagreb.

- Hercigonja, E. (1971). 'Liber Judith@ i Martiŕev zapis ?Suprotiv Turkom@ iz Novljanskog II brevijara.' *Radovi Zavoda za slavensku filologija* 12. Zagreb.
- CCC (1975). *Srednjovjekovna knjiŕevnost*. T. 2 de *Povijest hratske knjiŕevnosti*. Zagreb.
- Jembrih, A. (1997). 'O Krbavskom boju (1493) u suvremenim zapisima i hratskim kronikama.' In *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice*. Zagreb.
- Klaiŕ, V. *Povijest Hrvata*. T. 4. Zagreb.
- Kruhek, M. (1989). 'Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana u Hrvatskoj.' In *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.
- Lukeŕiŕ, L. (1988). 'Kultura povijest Grobinŕtine.' *Grobniŕki zbornik*. Rijeka.
- Miculiniŕ, S. (1988). 'Grad Grobnik.' *Grobniŕki zbornik*. Rijeka.
- Monŕaninŕ, N. (1997). 'ŕivot Jakub paŕo, poblednika na Krbavi.' In *Krbavskaa bitka i njezine posljedice*. Zagreb.
- II Novljanski brevijar*. Fototipsko izdanje. Ed. Marija Panteliŕ i Anica Nazor. Zagreb. 1977.
- Olesnicki, A. A. (1938). 'Boŕnjak Hadum Jakub, pobjednik na Krbavskom polju g. 1493.' *Rad JAZU* 264. Zagreb.
- Panteliŕ, M. (1977). 'II. Novljanski brevijar iz god. 1495.' Introduction dans l'éditoin phototypée de II. Novljanski brevijar. Zagreb.
- Periŕ, O. (1997). 'Krbavska bitka u pismu Jurja Divniŕa. In *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice*. Zagreb.
- Raŕki, F. (1877). *Documenta historiae periodum antiquam illustrantia*. MSHSM JAZU 7. Zagreb.
- Sekuliŕ, A. (1989). 'Pregled povijesti pavlina.' In *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb.
- Vajs, J. (1910). *Najstarŕi breviá ŕ hrvatsko-hlaholsk'y*. Praha.

---

**The Russian Chronicle as Phenomenon in Church Slavonic Language.  
Concerning the Relative Character of the Language Norms of Russian Chronicles**

*Olga Kiyanova*

Russian chronicles are an outstanding phenomenon of the world Medieval culture (Russian in particular) on the one hand and the Russian literary language on the other. It is very interesting that Russian chronicles are not the same things as Byzantine ones, they are partially concerned with annals, in which the narrative was organized by years, both annals and chronicles were created by groups of authors, and their creative work was anonymous.

But Russian literature is unique, because it has such an enormous corpus of texts of this genre. Besides, in the later Medieval epoch both chronicles and annals were rare in the West and they were not widely spread in general as in Russia. In Russia (where the Middle Ages were longer than in Europe, namely until the seventeenth century) chronicles (*letopisi*) lived during the period of the 11th to the 17th centuries and were closely connected with political and social life. And they were not only sociopolitical texts, but also original samples of fiction. Apart from this they are unique phenomenons of literature and language.

From the very beginning of its existence letopis had a very complicated stylistic structure, that is not only every year stories (so-called *pogodyne zapisi*) were included in the text but also parts of hagiographic texts, documents, stories about ancient battles and folklore legends were there. But the specific gravity of these elements of genre was not the same in different centuries and it depends on the peculiarities of every epoch.

Practically all Russian chronicles are big collections and they cover the history of the state from the very beginning till the time of the creation of the chronicle. The scale of letopis is very wide and every new letopis is closely connected with the previous texts of this genre created earlier.

As far as the language of Russian chronicles is concerned, it is obvious that Russian and Church Slavonic forms are mixed into a language of this type of texts in all levels of language. That is why it is very important to specify the status of the language of chronicles in the sphere of literary monuments of Old Rus. From our point of view the language of Russian chronicles is simple Russian Church Slavonic, which was based on the South Old Slavonic and was enriched by East Slavonic language elements (the native language of the chroniclers). The results of our investigation of the language of chronicles show that the language of part of a text does not depend on its genre (for example, hagiography C Church Slavonic, story about the battle C East Slavonic). But the language of the chronicle develops from the beginning to the end of the narration; in the part which was reworked from the previous text the norms of language are more correct, while in the part created by the chronicler himself language includes many East Slavonic elements (for example, the *Prince of Moscow Chronicle* of 1479 in the handwritten copy of the 16th century).

Especially the chronicles created during the period of the second part of the 16th to 17th centuries and unknown to science should be analyzed and classified. This group of chronicles is a very special corpus of texts. In general, chronicles created in the 17th century are so far from earlier ones that classification of these text as chronicles in both cases is rather suspended. As far as the language of the later chronicles is concerned it is plain that they are also written in 'simple' Russian Church Slavonic (see Siberian cycle of Chronicles) which is influenced by business language.

---

### **Migrationism in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle***

*Harald Kleinschmidt*

Due to the scarcity of extant contemporary primary written records on the Migration Age, recent historians have frequently been induced to rely on the evidence provided by early medieval historiographers, such as the Venerable Bede, Paul the Deacon, Widukind of Corvey, and, first and foremost, upon the extant versions of annalistic and chronicle sources. Obviously, except as sources for their own time, such narrative sources obtain their evidential value only through what is ascertainable as the knowledge by their authors of what may have happened in the Migration Age. However, assessing the reliability of the knowledge on the past available to authors of early medieval narrative sources, has become a serious problem, not only, but manifestly for those celebrated accounts of the Migration Ages as those provided by Bede and the compilers of the so-called *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC).

In many cases, it is difficult to judge at present to what extent the 8th- and 9th-century compilers of the ASC could themselves draw on then extant primary sources of the Migration Age. Such difficulties are virulent also with regard to one core statement which forms a stock phrase in most of early medieval narrative sources on the Migration Age, namely that the geographical distribution of gentes, as they existed in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, was the result of migration processes which apparently took place during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. Doubts about the truth of such contentions have been raised by the absence of genuine gentile traditions in most of the early medieval narrative sources. Only in a minority of cases where, such as with the Goths, the Lombards, and, perhaps, the Franks, such originally orally preserved gentile traditions may, at least in some versions, have been entered into written texts, has it been possible to describe the changes that occurred from the structures of the migrating groups to those structures of those groups settling in the areas in which the narrative sources were ultimately composed. But for many other cases, among them the Alamans, the Bajuvars, the Burgundians, the Gauts, and the groups migrating into late- and sub-Roman Britain, it cannot be ascertained from narrative sources whether and, if so, to what extent such changes took place.

Remarkably, in the extant works of the historiographers of the 6th century, memories of the migration of gentes feature much less prominently than in the narrative sources of the 8th, 9th and 10th



centuries. Thus Gregory of Tours was irksomely constrained in commemorating Frankish migrations, and Jordanes presented no more than a tell-tale account of what may have been current as memories of migration among the 6th-century Goths in Italy. Instead, Paul the Deacon allowed Lombard traditions of the migration to take a conspicuous place in his narrative, and, first and foremost, Bede did not hesitate to claim that the entire distribution of the insular Germanic gentes of his own time was an immediate result of a brief period of immigration at about the middle of the 5th century. Finally, Widukind of Corvey's story of the Saxon immigration across the sea bears signs of conventionality, as if he or his audience believed that immigration across the sea belonged to the stock of traditions of a prestigious gens.

Thus, seemingly paradoxically, migration seems to have loomed larger in the retrospective later early medieval narrative sources on the Migration Age than in those sources which were closer in time to the actual migrations. Archaeologists and anthropologists have shown that such changes in migratory consciousnesses are not uncommon, and they have established the concept of migrationism in order to describe an attitude whose practitioners employ memories of migration as preferred modes of historical explanation. In this sense, Bede was a migrationist, because he took it for granted that the *Angli*, *Saxones* and *Iutae* as he saw them in existence in his own time were the direct descendants of the same gentes who members had immigrated to Britain than more than 250 years ago. For present historical scholarship, the problem is that it is difficult to ascertain whether or not Bede's migrationism was more than an early 8th-century ideology.

Such doubts are not minimized by the observation that the 8th- and 9th-century compilers of the ASC did not only reproduce Bede's migrationism, but even radicalized it in their entries for the years between 449 and 547. In the ASC, Bede's immigration story was filled up with elements of heroic land-taking (*landnama*) of which there is no record in Bede and which cannot be confirmed by archaeological and place-name sources. Instead, a close scrutiny of the relevant entries reveals their inconclusiveness and suggests that it was made up from migrationistic beliefs which had much to do with 8th- and 9th-century Wessex politics, but little or nothing with the Migration Age. Specifically, it seems to be arguable that the basic contention of both, Bede and the ASC, is untenable that the immigrating gentes were the kinds of groups which were represented as three *Angli*, *Saxones* and *Iutae* of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries.

---

**Rhetorical Historia:  
Medieval Historiography between Rhetoric, Literature and Truth**

*Joachim Knape*

My lecture will deal with essential questions of acting by writing as a special phenomenon of medieval historiography. Rhetoric is nothing but the method of successful strategic communication of a person. The lecture will discuss the practical methodological and theoretical implications of this basic definition of rhetoric concerning the textual production of medieval historia and concerning modern analysis of these historiae.

**Bibliography**

***Primary sources***

Otto von Freising. *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*. [12th century]

*Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*. [12th century]

***Secondary literature***

- Copeland, Rita (1991). *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic traditions and vernacular texts*. Cambridge studies in medieval literature II. I Medieval literature. Cambridge: CUP.
- Knappe, Joachim (1984). *Historie in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Saecula spiritalia 10 .Baden-Baden.
- CCC (1999). 'Historiae, Textuality and Episteme in the Middle Ages.' In *Historia. Concept and Genres*. Ed. Tuomas Lehtonen, Päivi Mehtonen. Helsinki. [in print].
- CCC (1999b). *Was ist Rhetorik?* Stuttgart. [in print]
- Murphy, James J. (1974). *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages. A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*. Berkley/Los Angeles/London.

---

## Joinville et les conversions

*Aurélie Kostka*

La seconde partie de la *Vie de saint Louis* de Joinville relève de la chronique, dans la mesure où elle respecte l'*ordo temporum*, en expliquant les causes et les circonstances de la Septième croisade. Si l'absence ponctuelle de repères chronologiques précis rend difficile l'analyse de certains passages, tel n'est pas le cas du récit du débarquement en Egypte. Les données de Joinville sont particulièrement précises: le chroniqueur indique, entre autres exemples, que la flotte embarque pour Limassol le vendredi avant la Pentecôte (21 mai), puis qu'elle débarque à Damiette le vendredi avant la Trinité, soit le 28 mai 1249. Cependant ces dates ne concordent pas avec celles qui sont mentionnées par les autres sources, lesquelles situent l'embarquement pour Limassol le 13 mai, jeudi de l'Ascension, et l'arrivée à Damiette le 5 juin. Les critiques ont été surpris par ce décalage, décalage que Jacques Monfrin explique par une confusion, lors de la conversion des quantités en dates liturgiques, entre le calendrier de 1249 et celui de 1250. Pour brillante qu'elle soit, la justification des erreurs chronologiques ne résout pas la question de la distorsion temporelle que ce récit implique, Joinville condensant trois semaines en une. Par ailleurs, la confusion entre le jeudi de l'Ascension et le vendredi avant la Pentecôte paraît étrange, compte tenu de l'importance de la première fête au regard de la seconde. Le récit de l'embarquement pour l'Egypte semble, en réalité, être axé autour de l'évocation de la Pentecôte. La simultanéité de la référence au départ de la Septième croisade et du premier contact avec les Sarrasins peut inviter à lire le passage comme une réécriture littéraire d'un espoir historique: la conversion des Sarrasins au christianisme.

### *Le désir converti*

Les Croisés ont débarqué en Egypte le 5 juin 1249, soit le samedi après la Trinité, or Joinville situe cet épisode le vendredi avant la Trinité (' 150). Ce décalage est généralement attribué à une erreur de conversion. Le déroulement de la Septième croisade permet toutefois de formuler une autre hypothèse. C'est, en effet, le 12 juin 1248 C vendredi après la Pentecôte C que saint Louis est parti de Paris, après avoir pris l'oriflamme, l'écharpe et le bâton à Saint-Denis. La coïncidence entre la date du départ et celle du débarquement confère au récit une dimension symbolique, dimension que les références à l'enseigne de Saint-Denis semblent confirmer. L'enseigne n'est mentionnée qu'à trois reprises dans la *Vie de saint Louis* et toutes les occurrences se trouvent dans le récit du débarquement à Damiette (" 155, 161, 162). Le témoignage de Joinville dépasse ainsi le cadre de la reconstitution historique pour développer un réseau de parallélismes entre le départ et l'arrivée et consacrer ainsi l'aboutissement de la première année de croisade. Le récit de la traversée de Chypre à Damiette reproduit cette circularité: l'embarquement est censé avoir eu lieu le vendredi avant la Pentecôte, le débarquement le vendredi après la Pentecôte. Les erreurs supposées du sénéchal semblent, en fait, être le fruit d'une réécriture du trajet vers la Terre Sainte: les réminiscences d'un départ qui a frappé les contemporains du roi, et d'une traversée mouvementée, sont ordonnées autour de l'évocation de la Pentecôte.

### *La conversion désirée*

Les nombreuses références à la Pentecôte peuvent, par ailleurs, être interprétées à la lumière de la signification religieuse de la fête collective des Apôtres. Les Actes des Apôtres relatent cette scène de glossolalie qui aboutit à la conversion de trois mille personnes au christianisme (2, 1-41). Le souhait, caractéristique du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, d'une chrétienté universelle conduit au désir de convertir. Ainsi, l'objectif de l'expédition d'Egypte est double: reconquérir la Terre Sainte en menant la guerre contre les Sarrasins, mais aussi convertir les païens. Cette dualité est sensible dans le récit de l'arrivée à Damiette. Bien que Joinville considère les Sarrasins comme des ennemis, leur apparition suscite son émerveillement (' 148). La vision semble gâtée par le vacarme des cors sarrasins, mais ce même tintamarre annoncera la superbe arrivée de la galère du comte de Jaffa (" 158-59).

'La noise que il menoient de leur nacaires et de leurs cors sarrazinoiz estoit espouventable a escouter.' Le regard critique de Joinville ne se limite pas aux Sarrasins: il est capable de dénoncer l'attitude de certains chevaliers, comme celle du roi. L'inconscience du Sarrasin qui se jette au milieu des hommes qui débarquent de la galère portant l'enseigne de Saint-Denis n'a d'égale que celle de Gautier d'Autrèches. L'écho entre les deux épisodes reflète les similitudes entre chrétiens et païens. Ainsi, le vacarme des cors sarrasins annonce l'arrivée de la galère du comte de Jaffa. Le récit instaure un rapprochement entre les païens et les chrétiens par le biais de diverses anecdotes: l'inconscience du Sarrasin qui se jette au milieu des hommes qui débarquent de la galère portant l'enseigne de Saint-Denis (' 161) n'a d'égale que celle de Gautier d'Autrèches (' 175). Le parallélisme établi entre les Sarrasins et Croisés annonce les péchés des chrétiens (' 166) et l'échec de la Septième croisade. Le récit rétrospectif dénonce ainsi le caractère utopique de la paix universelle: la conversion des païens ne saurait être sans une 're-conversion' des chrétiens.

Le récit du débarquement à Damiette traduit la réalité historique car il transcrit les espoirs de la Septième croisade et consigne les illusions des Croisés au moment de leur arrivée en Terre sainte. Son caractère littéraire est cependant sensible, tant dans la mise en scène de l'arrivée des galères, que dans la réorganisation de l'épisode autour de la Pentecôte, célébration rituelle qui marque à la fois un commencement et le renouvellement du passé héroïque dans les œuvres de fiction médiévales.

### **Bibliographie**

#### *Édition de référence*

Jean de Joinville. *Vie de saint Louis*. Ed. Jacques Monfrin. Classiques Garnier. Paris: Dunod, 1995.

#### *Ouvrages et articles*

Contamine, Philippe (1997). 'Joinville, acteur et spectateur de la guerre d'Outremer.' *Le prince et son historien*, études recueillies par Jean Dufournet et Laurence Harf. Paris: Champion. 33-49.

Le Goff, Jacques (1996). *Saint Louis*. Bibliothèque des Histoires. Paris: Gallimard.

Monfrin, Jacques (1976). 'Joinville et la prise de Damiette.' *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*: 268-85.

Perret, Michèle (1981). 'A la fin de sa vie ne fuz-je mie.' *Revue des Sciences humaines* 183: 17-37.

Zink, Michel (1978). 'Joinville ne pleure pas mais il rêve.' *Poétique* 33: 28-45.

CCC (1985). *La subjectivité littéraire*. Écriture. Paris: PUF. 218-39.

---

### **The Hungarian Anonymus, Simon de Keza's *Gesta Hungarorum* and a Probable Relationship between Otto of Freising, Matthew of Paris and the *Chronicon pictum***

Z. J. Kosztoľnyik

Next to royal legislative acts and diplomas, and remains of correspondence of the Hungarian court with the papal curia, or with western (that is, German and French), or southeastern (that is, Byzantine) courts, it is three chronicle texts written in Latin that may serve as C primary C sources of political and diplomatic history of the Árpád age (from the late ninth century to 1301). The *Gesta Hungarorum* by the Hungarian Anonymus in the late twelfth century, in the late thirteenth century Simon de Keza's *Gesta Hungarorum*, and the *Chronicon pictum*, written C one may say: edited C during the mid-fourteenth century, are these sources, whose authors (compilers) had relied upon an earlier, now lost, historical ur-source when composing their *opera*. Keza and the author C rather: editor(s) C of the *Chronicon pictum* most probably had referred to the same ur-source: the traditional text of historical *gesta* (a national epic) that, according to Bálint Hóman, dated back to the late eleventh century, the age of Ladislas I the Saint of Hungary (1077-95). The problem with both Keza and the Chronicle is, however, that their texts that came down to posterity are sketchy, more outlines than finished versions, and the researcher has to wonder whether the author(s)/editor(s) of the texts had to rely upon several works in piecing their narrative together.

It is to be concluded from this observation that the available medieval Hungarian historical texts, written in Latin, remain omissive; therefore, information dealing with Hungarian history in the works of outsiders, such as Otto of Freising, and Matthew of Paris, may provide additional data on the historical background that can only partially be known from the Hungarian chronicles. And yet, Otto of Freising, who wrote contemptuously about the Italians, spoke of the Hungarians with such contempt and hatred C as, for instance, when he mentioned that the Hungarians "*eo tempore tam inmanis, tam beluina fuisse dicitur, ut crudis carnibus utens humano quoque sanguine potaretur*" (*Historia de duabus civitatibus* vi:10); or, when he referred to Hungary as a land like the paradise of God, ... but (stated that) "the Hungarians were barbarous and ferocious, and, one is marveling at divine patience that has exposed so delightful a land to

such caricatures of men" (*Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* i:32) C that the Hungarian chroniclers must have felt compelled to respond to those remarks that created a savagely bad impression of their people. That is the reason why Anonymus proudly stated that he did not believe in the false tales of peasants, "*de falsis fabulis rusticorum vel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum ... audiret, valde indecorum et satis indecens esset*" (Anonymus, *Gesta Unszarorum*, prologue), nor did Keza, who was determined to collect all available evidence to disprove wrong statements that had been made about the Magyars' history: "*Cum nostro [recte: vestro] cordi ... adiaceret Hungarorum gesta cognoscere, ... in volumen unum redigere, ... non imitatus Orosium, qui ... multa in libellis suis apochrifa confingens [=contingens?] ex daemonis incubis Hungaros asseruit generatos*" (Keza, *Gesta Hungarorum* c.21).

As for the author/editor(s) of the Chronicle, he (they) frankly explained that additional historical data were needed for presenting a correct narrative of the nation's history: "*incepta est ista cronica de gestis Hungarorum antiquis et novissimis, ... collecta ex diversis cronicis veteribus ... falsitatem omnino refutando*" (*Chronicon pictum* c.1). For instance, because the record about the 1241-42 Mongol invasion of Hungary and the explanation of its causes remained too briefly stated in the Chronicle, one needs C besides official correspondence, and the historical *Carmen miserabile* by Canon Rogerius of Várad C to turn to Matthew of Paris, *Historia maiora*, for details, who reported on intercontinental historical events of his age, and displayed an interest in the hardship eastern Europe and the Hungarians had suffered during the Mongol invasion. Therefore, one is to draw the conclusion that Hungarian history of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries cannot be researched in Hungarian sources alone; in order to gain a whole picture, the researcher must have access to documents and to the chronicles of western Latin, and eastern secular and religious authors as well.

In the recent past this author has researched and written on Árpáadian Hungary during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and is now working on a project, *Hungary Under the Early Árpáds, the 890s to 1063*; he is quite familiar with the issues that involve Hungarian historiography of the ninth through the thirteenth centuries, as he is currently dealing with them.

---

## Eine Weltchronik aus dem 15. Jahrhundert mit umfangreicher Glossa über die Tataren

Zofia Kowalska

Unter den zahlreichen Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana befindet sich der Kodex Vat. Lat. 8086, entstanden gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. Es ist eine Sammlung zusammengesetzter Texte, die von mehreren Kopisten geschrieben wurden. Einer von ihnen ist *Chronica mundi* (*Chronologia brevis ab origine mundi*) mit der Glossa *de Tartaris*, 1483 in Perugia, in lateinischer Sprache verfaßt. Der Auftraggeber war ein Mitglied der perugianischen Großfamilie Baglioni. Die nähere Untersuchung der Handschrift läßt die Feststellung zu, daß sie zu den zahlreichen Universalchroniken gehört, die das abendländische Mittelalter hervorbrachte, des weiteren wurde sie aus früherer Chroniken (aus dem 13.-14. Jahrhundert) von einem anonymen Autor kompiliert, der mit seiner Arbeit einen bestimmten Zweck verfolgte. Besonders interessant erscheint, die zum Schluß hinzugefügte umfangreiche Glossa über die Herkunft und Geschichte der Tataren.

Diese Weltchronik wird im Vortrag ausführlich dargestellt, wobei diese Darstellung zwei Ziele verfolgen soll: erstens, die Gründe herauszufinden, die zu einer solchen Kompilation der *imago mundi* am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts geführt hatten, zweitens, die Frage zu beantworten, welchen Zweck die Glossa über die Tataren hatte, denen man um diese Zeit kaum Aufmerksamkeit schenkte. Dabei wird auch ein Versuch unternommen, die *Chronologia brevis* einer Chronikgattung unterzuordnen und der Frage nachzugehen, ob sie nur eine Kompilation früherer Chroniken ist und ob sie bewußt der Epoche angepaßt wurde, in der sie entstand (vor allem im Hinblick auf die äußere Form z. B. Randzeichen, Registern etc.).

### Bibliographie

- de Baglion, L. *Pérouse et les Baglioni*. Paris, 1909.  
Bauer, A. *Ursprung und Fortwirken der christlichen Weltchronik*. Graz, 1910.  
von den Brincken, A.D. 'Die lateinische Weltchronistik.' In *Mensch und Weltgeschichte. Zur Geschichte der Universalgeschichtsschreibung*. Hrsg. A. Randa. Salzburg-München, 1969.  
CCC. *Die Nationes Christianorum Orientalium im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Köln-Wien, 1973.  
Classen, P. 'Res gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse. Visions of Past and Future.' *The Renaissance of the 12th Century*. Ed. Larry D. Benson and Giles Constable. Oxford, 1983.  
Kaegi, W. *Chronica mundi. Grundformen der Geschichtsschreibung seit dem Mittelalter*. Einsiedeln, 1954.  
Krüger, H. *Die Universalchroniken*. Tournhout, 1967.  
Schmieder, F. *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*. Sigmaringen, 1994.

---

## William of Tyre's *Historia Hierosolymitana* and the Bible

E. Langille

Whether one's interest lies in crusader historiography or in literary study, the case of William of Tyre's *Historia Hierosolymitana* is of unique interest. For not only is William, Archbishop of Tyre (c.1136-1186), considered the most learned intellect to have come out of the Latin Kingdom of

Jerusalem, his masterful chronicle has come to be regarded as the greatest work inspired by the Crusades.

*Historia Hiersolymitana* is the story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1094 to 1184. Relating substantial background material, including the collapse of Eastern Christendom, a brief version of the expansion of Islam, a history of the Seljūk dynasty, and descriptions of the Holy Land, Books 1-8 tell the story of the First Crusade. Books 9-23 meanwhile develop the story of the Franks in Palestine. Because of its monumental length (over 1000 pages in the most recent modern edition), William's Chronicle has most often been seen as a mine of information rather than as a treasure of historical literature. Indeed, excepting two articles by Vessey (1973, 1976), almost no attention has been given to the literary influences which shaped William's perceptions or, for that matter, to the *Historia's* overall stylistic framework. The result has been that little has been written about William's art as historian. Hence the present proposal.

The argument which I hope to present is that the Bible (and especially the judeo-christian tradition of biblical prophecy) hold the key to understanding not only William's version of the Crusade but, more generally, his notion of history itself. To put things simply, the medieval mind understood that time and thus history were ordained by God. Man, inspired by divine grace, was merely and instrument of divine will. Events, happy or otherwise, were seen as part of a plan, as the fulfillment of things foretold in sacred writings.

For obvious reasons, the Crusades lent themselves almost by definition to this sort of interpretation. The notion that the Latin Kingdom was a sort of *Novus Israël* that the Crusaders, as Christians, the new chosen people, had inherited the old covenant was so pervasive that, writing his version of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, William writes: "It seemed to all that the words of the prophet had been accomplished in history" (8.24.23-4). Looking at the biblical story of ancient Hebrews and that of the Crusaders, it is possible to draw many similar parallels. Finally, I shall show that William conceived his *Historia* as a natural continuation of biblical narrative.

### **Bibliography**

- Willelmi Tyensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*. Ed. R. B. C. Huygens. Identification des sources historiques et détermination des dates par H.E. Mayer et G. Rösch. 2 vols. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A. Turnhout, 1986.
- Edbury, P., and J. G. Rowe (1988). *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East*. Cambridge: UP.
- Vessey, D. W. T. C. (1973). 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography.' *Medieval Studies* 35.
- CCC (1976). 'William of Tyre: Apology and Apocalypse.' In *Hommages à André Boutemy*. Lotomus, Vol. 145.

-----

**'This book, attractively composed to form a consecutive and orderly narrative':  
The Ambiguity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie***

*Sjoerd Levelt*

From the time of its creation in the first half of the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* has been constantly discussed and diversely interpreted. As John Gillingham writes in an article in which he discusses the political purposes of the text in the context of the Welsh rebellions of 1136,

Covering almost two thousand years and the reigns of ninety-nine kings it is so full of material of different kinds that almost anyone who reads it with a particular interest in mind will be able to pick out passages which support their own interpretation. [...] The History (HRB) is particularly susceptible of myriad interpretations since it is shot through and through with ambiguity.

Myriad interpretations have indeed been offered in both late medieval and early modern reception, and in modern scholarship, too. In my paper I will not propose another one. Instead, I will show how this text in particular is so susceptible to different, and often contradictory, explanations.

Ambiguity is essential to Geoffrey's history. I will approach the ambiguity of the text mainly through Geoffrey's use of his Latin sources, and the explicit, often explicitly contradictory, information about his sources that he provides to his audience. Geoffrey writes in a historiographical tradition that is mainly founded on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. However, he chooses to challenge this same tradition in some of its main characteristics. Geoffrey questions the reliability of the historical tradition in which he writes by stressing the ambiguity of his own history. Examining Geoffrey's approach to his Latin sources, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, the *De Excidio Britanniae*, and the *Historia Brittonum*, can yield a better understanding of the total project of the *Historia Regum Britannie*.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's history has exerted an enormous influence on the European historiographical, political, and literary tradition after him, in both Latin and the vernaculars, on both sides of the Channel. Historians such as Henry of Huntingdon, William of Newburgh, Gerald of Wales, Ordericus Vitalis, historiographical poets such as Gaimar, Wace, La3amon, Jacob van Maerlant, and political philosophers such as John of Salisbury all use his history; every one of them interprets the text differently. For an understanding of the different interpretations provided in the different adaptations of the *Historia Regum Britannie*, understanding Geoffrey of Monmouth's construction of his history as an almost infinitely interpretable text is essential.

### **Bibliography**

- Crick, Julia C. (1991). *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV. Dissemination and Reception in the later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Curley, Michael (1994). *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Twayne Publishers, New York.
- Flint, Valerie I. J. (1979). 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Parody and its Purpose. A Suggestion.' *Speculum* 54: 447-68.
- Gillingham, John (1990). 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*.' In *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII. Proceedings of the Battle Conference*. Ed. Marjorie Chibnall. 99-118.
- Tatlock, John S. P. (1950). *The Legendary History of Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and Its Early Vernacular Versions*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Wright, Neil (1982). 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas.' In *Arthurian Literature II*. Ed. Richard Barber. 1-40.
- CCC (1985). 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas Revisited.' In *Arthurian Literature IV*. Ed. Richard Barber. 155-63.
- CCC (1986). 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede.' In *Arthurian Literature VI*. Ed. Richard Barber. 27-59.

---

### **Crusading Ideology in the Swedish Chronicles**

*Thomas Lindkvist*

In the vernacular Swedish chronicles, notably the Erik chronicle (from the 1320's or 1330's) and the Sture chronicle (late 15th century) there are several descriptions of Swedish so-called crusades in Finland and in other parts of the Eastern Baltic region. By tradition, based partly upon the chronicles, it is assumed that present Finland became integrated into the rest of the medieval kingdom of Sweden through warfare and conquest. These martial activities are sometimes described as crusades, aiming at the

conversion of pagan tribes in Finland Proper, in Häme (Tavastland) and in Karelia. The archaeological evidence partly contradicts this, indicating the presence of Christianity in Finland before the crusades. Later wars and conflicts at the eastern Swedish frontier, with Novgorod and/or Muscovy, esp. in the middle of the 14th century and in the 1490's were also regarded as crusades.

The first crusades were aimed to convert pagans (or supposed pagans), but later wars were directed against the Russians. The concept of crusade was widened and redefined, to include the adherents of the 'schismatic' Eastern church among the enemies of Christianity.

The crusading ideology, to motivate and to legitimate war, was mainly formulated in the 1290's, when the Swedish kingdom initiated an aggressive policy to gain control over Karelia and the estuary of the river Neva.

Earlier wars and minor military conflicts in Finland were then, and as retrospection, interpreted as crusades. A Swedish crusading tradition was more or less invented.

The promotion of a Swedish crusading ideology in the late 13th century and early 14th century is to be regarded in connection with the formation of a Swedish chivalric order.

### **Bibliography**

Christiansen, Eric (1980). *The Northern crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic frontier 1100-1525*. London.

Lind, John (1991a). 'Early Russian-Swedish rivalry. The battle on the Neva in 1240 and Birger Magnusson's second crusade to Tavastia.' *Scandinavian journal of history*.

CCC (1991b). 'Magnus Eriksson som birgittinsk konge i lyset av russiske kilder.' In *Birgitta, hendes værk og klostre i Norden*. Ed. Tore Nyberg. Odense.

Lindkvist, Thomas (1992). 'När blev Finland svenskt? Om svenska behov av korståg mot Finland.' *Finsk tidskrift*.

CCC (1996). 'Med Sankt Erik konung mot hedningar och schismatiker. Korståg och korstågsideologi i svensk medeltida östpolitik.' In *Väst möter öst. Norden och Ryssland genom tiderna*. Ed. Max Engman. Stockholm.

Mikander, Kaj, ed. (1968). *Kring korstågen till Finland*. Helsingfors.

Nordstam, Gisela (1990). 'En kritisk läsning av Erikskrönikans första korstågsepisod.' *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*.

Nyberg, Tore (1983). 'Deutsche, dänische und schwedische Christinisierungsversuche östlich der Ostsee im Geiste des 2. und 3. Kreuzzuges.' In *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christiansierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes*. Ed. Zenon H. Nowak. *Ordines militares*, 1. Torun.

---

## **Géographie et épopée dans la chronique du pseudo-Turpin**

*Santiago López*

La chronique de Turpin, texte latin du XIIe siècle intégré dans le *Liber Sancti Iacobi*, raconte la libération du chemin de Saint-Jacques par l'empereur Charlemagne. Le parcours du territoire au long de la croisade montre une géographie réelle, mais certaines des villes mentionnées sont imaginaires, et parfois empruntées à la géographie fantaisiste des chansons de geste françaises. Le narrateur, Turpin de Reims, archevêque qui meurt à Roncevaux dans la chanson de Roland, est ici épargné pour raconter l'aventure épique, et ainsi combler les lacunes des chroniques de Saint Denis.

La critique a établi cependant l'existence d'une double croisade, la première développée au long des cinq premiers chapitres, et la deuxième jusqu'à la fin de la chronique. Dans chaque cas, le territoire est conçu différemment. La première croisade, conçue comme un combat personnel de l'empereur Charles, s'achève par la description de monuments fantastiques et historiques, ces derniers



annonçant la suite de l'aventure. Cette deuxième croisade, plus intégrée que la première dans l'univers de l'épopée, exploite, à l'aide des textes épiques en langue romane, différents motifs qui mettent en relief l'importance du Poitou, en France, et de la Navarre, et La Rioja, en Espagne, où sont placés plusieurs ennemis de l'empereur. L'ennemi sarrasin, Aigolandus, est identifié, tandis que dans la première partie les Sarrasins n'étaient qu'un ennemi collectif.

Toutefois, cette deuxième partie introduit une différence de plus. La guerre contre Aigolandus continue en France, à travers Agen et Saintes, pour terminer devant les portes de Pampelune, qui subit un deuxième siège. La ville de Saint Jacques de Compostelle est libérée deux fois, et Charlemagne comble d'honneurs la ville de l'Apôtre Jacques, mais il fait de même avec Saint Denis.

L'importance de la bataille de Roncevaux dans la tradition épique européenne force la présence du massacre des Francs dans la chronique latine, épisode cependant inspiré d'une version différente de celle du manuscrit d'Oxford de la Chanson de Roland.

### **Bibliographie**

- Boutet, D. (1992). *Charlemagne et Arthur ou le roi imaginaire*. Genève.
- Burger (1948-9). 'La légende de Roncevaux avant la *Chanson de Roland*.' *Romania* 70: 433-73.
- Combarieu, M. de (1979). *L'idéal humain et l'expérience morale dans les chansons de geste*. Aix-en-Provence.
- Díaz y Díaz, M. C. (1988). *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago. Estudio codicológico y de contenido*. Saint-Jacques de Compostelle.
- Horrent, J. (1951). *La chanson de Roland dans la littérature française et espagnole au Moyen Âge*. Paris.
- Labbé, A. (1993). 'Itinéraire et territoire dans les chansons de geste.' In *Terres médiévales*. Ed. B. Ribémont. Paris. 159-201.
- Mandach, de (1961). *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe*. I. *La geste de Charlemagne et de Roland*. Genève.
- CCC (1960). 'L'ouvrage de Turpin est-il vraiment une chronique en prose?' *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 3: 71-75.
- Moisan, A. (1989). 'L'exploitation de l'épopée par la Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin.' *Le Moyen Âge* 45: 195-224.
- CCC (1992). *Le livre de Saint Jacques*. Paris.
- Subrenat, J. (1981). 'Saint Jacques, ses pèlerins, son chemin dans les chansons de geste françaises.' In *VIIIe Congrès de la Soc. Rencesvals*. Pamplona. 505-11.

---

### **Using the Past to Defend the Present: Alfonso XI and the *Crónica de tres reyes***

*Purificación Martínez*

The text known by critics as the *Crónica de tres reyes* C Alfonso X, Sancho IV and Fernando IV C written in Castile between 1344 and 1350 by an unknown author, begins with a prologue correctly identified as a more modest version of the one used by Alfonso X at the beginning of his *Estoria de España*. While the use of such an illustrious source would seem to indicate that this chronicle merits a place in the historiographic tradition of medieval Castile, no scholar has yet bothered to study how this prologue may be used to map the coordinates that guided the historiographic efforts carried out in the court of Alfonso XI. Of primary importance among these coordinates were the idea that the fundamental purpose of history is to offer a model of behavior to future men; the tacit recognition that the person who determines what is to be recorded and in what manner is the writer's patron and not his intended audience

(if one can even speak of such a thing); the equivalence established between events that occurred and events that occurred to the kings, since only these are worthy of being recorded; and the implicit affirmation that what is narrated is the truth, what really happened.

This paper analyzes two aspects of the coordinates outlined above. First, it traces the sources, both classical and medieval, that inspired the author's concept of history. It then examines how this concept of history is transformed as it abandons many of its original presuppositions. It will be demonstrated that the narrator artfully manipulates events, converting this chronicle into one of Alfonso XI's most effective tools for assuring himself an eminent place in posterity. Based on the medieval premise that the good king is the successful king, and that this success depends fundamentally on the king's own personal merit, the narrator implicitly contrasts the personalities and deeds of Alfonso's predecessors with those of the later king. Passing off his lack of commentary as objectivity, the chronicler carefully makes clear that Alfonso's predecessors leave much to be desired with respect to the kingly ideal. By means of describing in his narrative what a monarch should not be, the chronicler creates expectations in the reader that will only be fulfilled upon the arrival of Alfonso XI himself, the only model worthy of imitation by future generations.

Little did it matter to the narrator that to reach his ideological goal it would be necessary to subvert that historical truth to which he pays lip service in the prologue. After all, as Guenée has observed: "l'historien, au Moyen Age, n'eut pas simplement le pouvoir de réinterpréter le passé; il eut celui de le réinventer" (1980: 351). This study thus contributes to two of this conference's main themes by shedding light on the chronicler's motives as he embarked on his project of reinvention.

### **Bibliography**

*Crónica del rey don Alfonso décimo. Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla.* Biblioteca de autores de España LXVI. Madrid: Imprenta de los sucesores de Hernando, 1919.

---

## **The Anglo-Norman Prose *Brut*, King Arthur, and the Rejection of Romance**

*Julia Marvin*

In the 1996 Utrecht conference, I gave an overview of the social concerns and narrative techniques of the Anglo-Norman prose *Brut*, in order to help introduce this most popular of English chronicles to a broader scholarly audience. The prose *Brut* has been neglected in modern scholarship, despite its immense contemporary popularity, but study of the manuscripts has now reached a point at which it is possible to investigate the matter of the chronicle in its different versions, and I am among the first scholars to do so. In this paper, I focus on the oldest Anglo-Norman *Brut*'s vexed relation to the genre of romance, particularly in its representation of King Arthur. The paper relates most clearly to the conference's first theme C history or literature? C but also to that of the chronicle and the reconstruction of the past.

The legendary portions of the prose *Brut* derive largely from Wace's *Roman de Brut*, a work that literally and figuratively romanticizes Geoffrey of Monmouth by means of translation into Anglo-Norman, versification, and elaboration of the warlike and adventurous aspects of its source. But far from following the model of romance, the maker of the prose *Brut*, I argue, breaks away from it, and in so doing offers hints as to what he thinks chivalric romance is, and why he rejects it.

The *Brut*'s shift from verse to prose itself testifies to generic awareness, to a move towards the authority of prose and away from the oral and fabulous associations of verse. Such a change might conceivably be regarded as simply cosmetic, were it not for the significant revisions that the text also makes to its sources. The prose *Brut*'s rewriting of Wace speaks to a serious engagement with moral and social problems posed by romance, particularly that of its chronic violence, but also that of the isolation

and individualism of the adventurous, glory-seeking knight. The *Brut*, I argue, offers an alternative exemplar, one embodied in its own idiosyncratic King Arthur.

I will discuss the prose *Brut's* Arthur and his significance in an analysis of the chronicle's treatment of Arthur's Pentecost feast and his combat with the giant of Mont-St.-Michel, episodes that in their first Galfridian form could be said to be the foundation for subsequent Arthurian romance. I hope not only to illuminate the question of contemporary generic awareness, but also to suggest some implications of this Arthur for modern understandings of the literary and intellectual history of late-medieval England; after all, although the Arthur of the prose *Brut* has been obscured by time (and perhaps our own generic blinkers), he was the one most widely available to vernacular readers of the day and may well have been the Arthur they knew best.

### **Bibliography**

#### ***Manuscripts of the oldest Anglo-Norman Prose Brut***

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: MS fonds français 14640, MS nouv. acq. 4267.

British Library, London: Additional MS 35092.

Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Douce 120, MS Wood empt. 8.

#### ***Primary Sources***

*The Brut; or, the Chronicles of England*. Ed. F. W. D. Brie. 2 vols. Early English Text Society, OS 131, 136. London, 1906, 1908.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. *Historia Regum Britannie*. Vol. 1, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568. Ed. Neil Wright. Cambridge: Brewer, 1984.

Wace. *Le Roman de Brut*. Ed. Ivor Arnold. 2 vols. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1938.

#### ***Secondary Sources***

Brie, F. W. D. (1905). *Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik, "The Brut of England" oder "The Chronicles of England"*. Marburg: Friedrich.

Crane, Susan (1986). *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith, and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kennedy, Elspeth (1994). 'The Knight as Reader of Arthurian Romance.' In *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend*. Ed. Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley. Albany: State University of New York Press. 70-90.

Matheson, Lister (1998). *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle*. Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies.

Putter, Ad (1994). 'Finding Time for Romance: Mediaeval Arthurian Literary History.' *Medium Aevum* 63: 1-16.

Spiegel, Gabrielle M. (1993). *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taylor, John (1986). 'The French Prose *Brut*: Popular History in Fourteenth-Century England.' In *England in the Fourteenth Century*. Ed. W. M. Ormrod. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell. 247-54.

Vising, Johan (1923). *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

-----

### **History and Fiction: William Caxton as Chronicler and as Reviser of Malory's *Morte Darthur***

*Lister M. Matheson*

The present paper will first outline briefly William Caxton's involvement with medieval chronicle texts and then, in the context of such involvement, attempt to show how Caxton deliberately revised portions of Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* (especially the third book) in order to bring that work more into line with what was considered the authentic history of King Arthur and his reign.

William Caxton is well known as the first printer in England in the late fifteenth century, who published a wide array of texts, including the first historical chronicles (the *Chronicles of England* [1480, 1482] and the *Polychronicon* [1482]). In a previous study (Matheson 1985), I have shown that the substantial concluding portions of both of these printed chronicles were in fact compiled by Caxton himself. I have also discovered a long, unpublished chronicle in a manuscript at Lambeth Palace Library that may well be a compilation written by Caxton in his own hand (which is otherwise unknown) or, at least, by a member of the printer's circle of acquaintances. These works, together with comments in various prologues and epilogues to other editions, indicate the great respect that Caxton held for truthful historical narrative.

I will argue that this concern for historical veracity deeply affected Caxton's approach to the text of Malory's *Morte Darthur*, which he printed in 1485. Since the discovery in 1934 of the single extant manuscript of Malory's work, the substantial editorial changes that Caxton made in his edition have caused considerable controversy among scholars. Some have argued that Caxton altered his copytext for aesthetic reasons, while others have argued that Malory himself was responsible for the revised text.

However, the true reasons for Caxton's changes become clear when the revised text is compared with the printer's earlier chronicle publications. What Caxton has done is to adapt and alter Malory's text to conform more closely to what was considered the genuine and canonical accounts of King Arthur that were presented in the standard historical works that Caxton had printed a couple of years earlier. Convincing proof can be found not only in the general shape of the revised account but also on a verbal level, where Caxton has substituted words, phrases, and sentences from his printed chronicles for material written by Malory.

Apart from determining how and why Caxton revised the *Morte Darthur*, his methods and comments in his prologue to the printed edition illuminate late medieval concepts of historical writing and the relationship between history and fiction in the watershed period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in England.

## **Bibliography**

### **Sources**

- [Harding, John]. *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*. Ed. Henry Ellis. London: F. C. and J. Rivington, [etc.], 1812.
- [Higden, Ranulph]. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*. Ed. Churchill Babington and Joseph R. Lumby. 9 vols. Rolls Series 41. London, 1865-86.
- Malory, Sir Thomas. *Le Morte D'Arthur*. Printed by William Caxton, 1485. Introd. Paul Needham. London: Scholar Press, 1976. Facsimile.
- [Malory]. *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. 3 vols. Ed. Eugène Vinaver. 1947; 3rd ed., rev. P. J. C. Field. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Caxton's Malory*. 2 vols. Ed. James W. Spisak. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

### **Secondary literature**

- Blake, N. F. (1976). 'Caxton Prepares his Edition of the Morte Darthur.' (1976). Rpt. in N. F. Blake. *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991. 199-200.
- Cawley, A. C. (1948). 'Relationships of the Trevisa Manuscripts and Caxton's Polychronicon.' *London Medieval Studies* 1 (1948, for 1939): 463-82.
- Hellinga, Lotte (1982). *Caxton in Focus: The Beginning of Printing in England*. London: The British Library.

- CCC, and Hilton Kelliher (1977). 'The Malory Manuscript.' *The British Library Journal* 3: 91-113; a revised version of Hellinga's section is: Lotte Hellinga. 'The Malory Manuscript and Caxton.' In *Aspects of Malory*. Ed. Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981. 127-41.
- Housman, John E. (1947). 'Higden, Trevisa, Caxton, and the Beginnings of Arthurian Criticism.' *Review of English Studies* 23: 209-17.
- Kennedy, Edward D. (1969). 'Malory's Use of Hardyng's Chronicle.' *Notes and Queries* 214: 167-70.
- Ker, N. R. (1976). 'Introduction.' *The Winchester Malory: A Facsimile*. EETS SS 4. London.
- Kretzschmar, William A., Jr. (1992). 'Caxton's Sense of History.' *JEGP* 91: 510-28.
- Lumiansky, R. M. (1987). 'A Different View of the Winchester Manuscript of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*.' *Notes and Queries* 232: 153-54.
- CCC (1987). 'Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, 1947-1987: Author, Title, Text.' *Speculum* 62: 889-96.
- Matheson, Lister M. (1985). 'Printer and Scribe: Caxton, the *Polychronicon*, and the *Brut*.' *Speculum* 60: 593-614.
- CCC (1998). *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle*. Tempe: MRTS.
- Matthews, William (1975). 'Who Revised the Roman War Episode in Malory's *Morte Darthur*?' Posthumous paper at the Eleventh International Arthurian Congress, University of Exeter, August 14, 1975. [Read by Roy F. Leslie].
- McCarthy, Terence (1973-74). 'Caxton and the Text of Malory's Book 2.' *Modern Philology* 71: 144-52.
- Meale, Carol M. (1996). '"The Hoole Book": Editing and the Creation of Meaning in Malory's Text.' In *A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer. 3-17.
- Moorman, Charles (1987). 'Caxton's *Morte Darthur*: Malory's Second Edition?.' *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 12: 99-113.
- Nakao, Yuji (1987). 'Does Malory Really Revise His Vocabulary? C Some Negative Evidence.' *Poetica* 25-26: 93-109.
- Noguchi, Shunichi (1977). 'Caxton's Malory.' *Poetica* 8: 72-84.
- CCC (1984). 'Caxton's Malory Again.' *Poetica* 20: 33-38.
- Taylor, John (1966). *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulph Higden*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid (1995). *The Two Versions of Malory's 'Morte Darthur': Multiple Negation and the Editing of the Text*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Wilson, Robert T. (1970). 'More Borrowings by Malory from Hardyng's "Chronicle".' *Notes and Queries* 215: 20-10.
- Withrington, John (1992). 'Caxton, Malory, and The Roman War in *The Morte Darthur*.' *Studies in Philology* 89: 350-66.

---

**Geistlicher Stand und Ordnung der Zeit bei Otto von Freising:  
`Geschichte der zwei Staaten' und `Taten Friedrichs' im Kontrast?**

*Elisabeth Mégier*

Meine Überlegungen gehen aus von einer Stelle in Ottos zweitem historischen Werk, den *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, Buch II Kap. 26. Otto läßt hier die Geistlichkeit der von Friedrich belagerten Stadt Tortona mit einer langen Rede zu Wort kommen, in der sie den Kaiser um freien Abzug bittet. Die Redner distanzieren sich, als Diener Gottes, von den Angelegenheiten der irdischen Politik: *nihil ad nos de tirannis terre*, vor allem aber wünschen sie die Zeit zurück, in der diese Politik mit ihren blutigen

Exzessen gar nicht existierte: *Atque o utinam felix nimium prior etas atque aurea Saturni redirent secula*

...

Diese Stelle steht zumindest dem Anschein nach im Widerspruch mit Ottos Sicht der Geistlichkeit, und der Zeit, in der Chronik. Auch dort wird zwar ein Anfang von Krieg und Waffengewalt angenommen, und zwar nicht mit Kain sondern mit Ninus, was für eine vorausgehende Zeit des Friedens Raum läßt; eine solche wird aber von Otto nicht thematisiert, schon gar nicht als *aurea aetas*, und die Geistlichkeit, in erster Linie die Mönche, werden nicht mit einer Friedenszeit am Anfang assoziiert sondern mit der Ruhe am Ende. Diese kann innerhalb der historischen Zeit vorweggenommen werden, sogar so weit daß die Vorwegnahme das wirkliche Kommen des Endes hinauszuschieben imstande ist.

In meinem Beitrag C der also mit der Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit und insbesondere mit dem Verhältnis zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (bezw. zwischen Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft) zu tun haben wird C möchte ich untersuchen, ob es sich hier um einen wirklichen oder scheinbaren Kontrast handelt; es wird dabei C für jedes der beiden Werke C im allgemeinen auf Ottos Ordnung und Orientierung der Geschichte und die dazu herangezogenen Schemata einzugehen sein, und im besonderen auf die Rolle, die die Geistlichkeit C oder das 'Geistliche' C als Stand, und als Aspekt oder Teil der historischen Wirklichkeit, in ihnen spielen. Ich werde mich vor allem mit Hans-Werner Goetz auseinandersetzen haben, der seiner zusammenfassenden Studie über Otto von Freising die Annahme zugrundelegt, daß die beiden Werke Ottos von einer identischen Geschichtsschau getragen sind. Als Ausgangspunkt werden mir zwei meiner eigenen Arbeiten dienen (Mégier 1990 und 1996); weiterzukommen hoffe ich vor allem durch ein genaueres Eingehen auf die Art in der Otto für seine Interpretation der Geschichte die Methoden und Denkmodelle der biblischen Exegese einsetzt.

### **Bibliographie**

- Goetz, H.-W. (1984). *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Vorstellungswelt und zur Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Köln/Wien.
- Mégier, Elisabeth (1990). "'Tamquam lux post tenebras", oder: Ottos von Freising Weg von der *Chronik* zu den *Gesta Friderici*.' *Mediävistik* 3: 131-267.
- CCC (1996). 'L'Ordine cistercense: novità storica o realtà escatologica? I punti di vista di Ottone di Frisinga e di Orderico Vitale.' *Rivista Cistercense* 13: 281-97.

---

## **Herrschertopoi in den illustrierten Handschriften des Otto von Freising**

*Claudia Annette Meier*

In den frühen Handschriften der berühmten *Chronika sive hitoria de duabus civitatibus* des Bischofs Otto von Freising wurden wohl spätestens in der ersten Rezeptionsstufe nach der frühesten Textfassung, dem *Codex Jenensis Bose quarto 6* (Universitätsbibliothek Jena), bereits gezeichnete Textillustrationen beigegeben. Im Sinne eines sich entwickelnden *Chronicon Pictum*, einer zunächst sehr schlichten Bilderzählung, begleiten diese narrativen Sequenzen aus einfachen, unspektakulären Federzeichnungen Buch um Buch den Text der Jenenser Weltchronik.

Während sich die Entwicklung zum Ereignisbild im Sinne einer exakten Wirklichkeitswiedergabe in den Handschriften der *Chronica* zunächst nur in ersten Ansätzen nachweisen läßt, bediente sich der Illustrator andererseits fester Bildformeln, sogenannter *images stéréotypes*, also bildlicher Topoi einer festgefügt, bereits standardisierten Herrscherikonographie. Diese bildlichen Herrschertopoi des Königs als thronender Herrscher, als Lehnsherr, als christlicher Streiter und Eroberer, als Städtegründer etc., die in der Weltchronik des Otto von Freising und in ihren Kopien erstmals in größerer Anzahl im

Sinne einer profanen *word-and-image*-Korrespondenz angelegt worden sind, wird der Vortrag in einer knappen Übersicht vorstellen.

## **Bibliographie**

### **Quellen**

Otto von Freising. *Chronik oder Die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*. übersetzt von Adolf Schmidt, hrsg. von Walter Lammers. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Bd. XVI. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe. Hrsg. von Rudolf Buchner. Darmstadt, 1980.

### **Sekundärliteratur**

Goetz, Hans Werner (1984). *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Vorstellungswelt und zur Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Hft. 19. Köln.

Nilgen, Ursula (1994). 'Die Illustrationen der Weltchronik Ottos von Freising.' In *Freising, 1250 Jahre Geistliche Stadt. II. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte der altbayerischen Bischofsstadt*. Kataloge und Schriften des Diözesanmuseums für christliche Kunst des Erzbistums München und Freising, Bd. 12. Hrsg. von Friedrich Fahr, Hans Ramischer und Peter B. Steiner). München/Dillingen. S. 79-123.

Meier, Claudia Annette (1998). 'Chronikillustrationen im hohen Mittelalter. Zur Entstehung des Ereignisbildes im Bild-Text-Bezug.' In *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriographischer Quellen*. Hrsg. von Hans-Werner Goetz. Berlin. S. 357-76.

CCC (1994). 'Vom Wort zum Bild, Chronicon Pictum, Von den Anfängen der Chronikenillustration zu den narrativen Bilderzyklen in den Weltchroniken des hohen Mittelalters.' Habilitationsschrift Mainz. [Druck In Vorbereitung]

---

## **Persian Panel Abstract**

### **Medieval Persian Chronicles: Mapping the Historiographical Landscape**

*Judy Scott Meisami - Charles Melville - Sholeh Quinn - Ernest Tucker*

In comparison with its European counterparts, medieval Persian historiography remains little studied. The participants on this panel, all working on different periods of this historiography, are jointly producing the first synthetic book-length analysis of medieval Persian chronicles from the 9th to the 18th centuries AD. Their papers will discuss the evolution of styles and trends in historical writing from the reemergence of Persian as a literary language until the twilight of traditional chronicle production.

Persian chronicles, like other Middle Eastern histories, value imitation in themes and styles. These papers, taken as a whole, will explore important paths of imitation that link works through several centuries, probing the historical and literary contexts in which the works were produced.

Despite the high value attached to imitation, each period also witnessed new developments in historical writing, among which were the increasing use of an ornate, "artificial" prose style for all or certain passages of the work (which has generally been regarded as detrimental to the factual content of the works), new structural forms in the arrangement of the material (and particularly in chronological organisation), and a greater use of historiography as a tool of the temporal powers. The papers will treat these questions across the whole time period both discretely and continuously.

Finally, by combining these discussions of imitation and innovation, the papers will seek to begin to map the historiographical landscape depicted in these works--the territories of medieval Persian

historians--in ways that establish connections and divergences between styles as they arose within the matrix of historical events.

---

## History as Literature

*Julie Scott Meisami*

What does it mean to speak of 'history as literature'? It means, first, to acknowledge that history is not merely a record of 'facts' but a written artifact, in the construction of which the historian has recourse to devices generally considered 'literary': narrative structures, use of direct discourse for dramatic effect, rhetorical embellishment, and so on. Considerable research has been done on the 'literary' aspects of historiography in pre-modern Western literatures: classical Greek and Latin, medieval and Renaissance; and many studies have demonstrated the importance of attending to the literary and rhetorical aspects of historiography as a means of elucidating the historian's intentions and the meaning of his text.

In the field of Islamicate historiography, however, it is only recently that 'literary-critical' methods have been applied to the study of historical texts, and this chiefly by historians of the Islamic world (and especially of the early Islamic period) whose primary concern is still the traditional one of separating 'fact' from 'fiction'. A. Noth and L. I. Conrad, for example, have identified various 'topics' and 'schemes' present in texts dealing with the early Islamic period, and consider their presence to be an indication of the text's historical unreliability. In her study of the 11th-century Persian historian Bayhaq, Marilyn Waldman argued for considering Bayhaq's history as a 'display text' containing a certain element of 'fictionality'. K. Allin Luther, writing on late Saljuq rhetorical historiography, considered such texts as Ruzbihan's history of the Saljuqs (c.1204) as having been written to demonstrate the author's rhetorical competence, with a view to gaining him a position at the court of the Saljuqs of Rum. Moreover, the consensus of scholars in the field of both Arabic and Persian historiography is that the increasing 'literarization' of history (as seen, e.g., in Ruzbihan, Jarrah ibn Muhammad [c.1209], the Mongol historian Juvayni, and others) represents a decline in the discipline.

This paper will argue that from its beginnings in the tenth century Persian historiography was already highly 'literary'; that changes in political conditions and in patterns of patronage greatly influenced the development of a more overtly 'rhetorical' style from the late twelfth century onwards; that the use of 'literary' devices was seen by historians as an effective means of conveying the meaning of history itself, and that to approach historical texts from a literary-critical viewpoint will enable us better to perceive how the historians themselves conceived their task.

### Bibliography

- Breisach, Ernst, ed. (1955). *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University.
- Luther, K. Allin (1990). 'Islamic Rhetoric and the Persian Historians, 1100-1300 A.D.' In *Studies in Near Eastern Culture and History in Memory of Ernest T. Abdel-Massih*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies. 90-98.
- Meisami, Julie Scott (1999). *Persian Historiography to the End of the 12th Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Noth, Albrecht (1994). *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*. 2nd edn, in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad. Trans. Michael Bonner. Princeton: Darwin Press.
- Bal'azuni, Abu al-Faraj (1994). *Tarikh-i Bal'azuni*. Muammad Rawshan. 3 vols. 3rd edn. Tehran: Alburz.
- Bayhaq, Abu al-Fal (1995). *Tarikh-i Bayhaq*. Ed. Akbar Fayyaz. Tehran: Ilm.



R~vand§, Muammad °Al§ (1921). *The Ráat-u-udúr wa áyat-us-surúr*. Ed. Muammad Iqb~l. London: Luzac; Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Waldman, Marilyn Robinson (1980). *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

---

## **Persian Historiography of the Turko-Mongol Period: The Historian and his Sources**

*Charles Melville*

It is generally agreed that Persian historiography, though cultivated on a modest scale before the Mongol invasions of the early 13th century, thereafter became "the most exuberant branch of Persian learned literature" (Tauer 1968: 438; cf. Spuler 1962: 131). While the reasons for this have not been fully explored, there can be no doubt that the period of Turko-Mongol political dominion in Iran, which could be taken in its broadest sense to continue till the late 19th century, is served by a remarkable profusion of historical literature.

One aspect of this literature, which is in many ways very conservative (thanks to the ranks from which the authors came), is its continuity with forms from earlier periods (in Arabic and in Persian); there is an awareness of models developed by previous authors and an articulation of the science of history, with particular emphasis on authority, accuracy, and the value of a proper record of the past. Nevertheless, there are also some fresh developments, reflecting the changing status of history vis-à-vis the political establishment.

This paper concentrates on two related topics, namely the authors' attitude to their sources and the compilation of chronicles that were essentially continuations of the works of earlier historians. While chroniclers frequently give prominence to the value of written authority, when it comes to narrating the history of their own times, it is evident that priority is given to reliable oral or eye-witness information. It is only rarely that one has any sense of written or documentary evidence being used. The oral nature of 'primary' source material has not been sufficiently explored in the Middle Eastern context, nor its transformation into literary text. Meanwhile, the lists of works that sometimes appear in the introductory prefaces in effect merely serve to set out the literary tradition in which the author is situating himself. Nevertheless, they do permit us to identify the changes of emphasis, in either form or content, that later authors make when reviewing the history of past ages, which in turn might indicate either personal biases (sectarian or geographical), or a more general shift in perception of the past and its relevance for the present.

The presentation will briefly consider the work of several historians in this light, in chronicles of different scope C from 'universal' histories to those concentrating on a particular locality or dynasty C and in particular the work of authors who were most influential in forming a record of the Turko-Mongol period for succeeding generations. Among these are Jovayni, Rashid al-Din, Hamd-Allah Mustawfí, Hafiz-i Abru and Mirkhwand, whose work spans the whole period under consideration.

### **Bibliography**

Browne, E. G. (1920). *A Literary History of Persia*. III. *The Tatar Dominion (1265-1502)*. Cambridge.

Clanchy, M. T. (1992). *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. London.

Farah, C. E. (1968). *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography*. American Oriental Series 6. New Haven, Ct.

Genet, J.-P., ed. (1991). *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*. Paris.

Rosenthal, F. (1968). *A History of Muslim Historiography*. Leiden.

- Spuler, B. (1962). 'The evolution of Persian historiography.' In *Historians of the Middle East*. Ed. B. Lewis and F. M. Holt. London. 126-32.
- Tauer, F. (1968). 'History and Biography.' In *History of Iranian Literature*. Ed. Jan Rypka. Dordrecht. 438-63.
- Woods, J. E. (1987). 'The Rise of Timurid Historiography.' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46: 81-107.

---

## The Origins of Safavid Historiography

*Sholeh A. Quinn*

Persia (Iran) was ruled by the Safavid dynasty from 1501-1722. The Safavids inherited a rich historiographical tradition in which the most common form of historical writing was the chronicle. Safavid chronicles contain numerous elements and features that date back at least to the 14th century. The purpose of this paper will be to examine some of the primary aspects of this historiographical tradition, emphasizing how Safavid chroniclers from the 16th and 17th centuries narrated the origins of their dynasty.

Safavid chroniclers used a number of sources for their sections on the dynasty's origins. These can be categorized into three main groups: pre-Timurid, Timurid, and early Safavid. This paper will examine one or two key events in a representative text from each group, in order to isolate the main features of Safavid chronicle writing.

The most important text from the first category is Ibn Bazzaz's *Essence of Purity (Safvat al-safa)*, a hagiographical work dating to the 14th century that describes the spiritual life of Shaykh Safi al-Din, founder of the 14th-century mystical religious order that eventually transformed itself into the Safavid ruling dynasty of the 16th century. Later Safavid historians extensively used this text in their efforts to narrate the 14th-century origins of the Safavid dynasty, utilizing the historiographical methods and conventions prevalent at the time. In addition to Ibn Bazzaz's hagiography, Safavid chroniclers of the 16th and 17th centuries were also heirs to the historiographical tradition established by the earlier Timurid dynasty (1370-1506) in Iran. A succession of Safavid chroniclers, writing in the Timurid cultural center of Herat (in present-day Afghanistan), used the same conventional elements in their histories as their Timurid predecessors, which in turn shaped the form and content of the Safavid histories. The most important of the Timurid histories to influence the Safavids was Mirkhvand's *Rawzat al-safa*. The conventions apparent in Mirkhvand's preface to this work were imitated by later Safavid historians.

Mirkhvand's maternal grandson, Khvandamir, was one of the first Safavid historians to narrate the dynasty's history in his history, the *Habib al-siyar*. He thus serves as the historiographical bridge between the two dynasties, and was heavily influenced by his grandfather's work.

Khvandamir's version of early Safavid origins, based on the above-mentioned *Safvat al-safa*, became the established narrative which later Safavid historians imitated and rewrote in their own histories.

### **Bibliography**

#### **Sources**

- Amir Mahmud ibn Khvand Amir. *Iran dar ruzgar-i Shah Isma'il va Shah Tahmasb Safavi*. Ed. Ghulam Riza Tabataba'i. Majmu'ah-i intisharat-i adabi va tarikhi, 31. Tehran: Bunyad-i Mawqafat-i Duktur Mahmud Afshar, 1370 [1991].
- Khvand Amir. *Tarikh-i habib al-siyar*. 4 Vols. Ed. Jalal al-Din Huma'i. [Tehran]: Kitabkhanah-i Khayyam, 1333 [1954].
- Mir Khvand. *Tarikh-i rawzat al-safa*. 7 Vols. [Ed.] 'Abbas Parviz. [Tehran]: Khayyam, 1338 [1959].

Tavakkul ibn Isma'il, ibn Bazzaz. *Safvat al-Safa*. Ed. Ghulam Riza Tabataba'i Majd. Ardabil: G. Tabataba'i Majd, [1373] 1994.

### **Secondary literature**

- Meisami, Julie Scott. (1993). 'The Past in Service of the Present: Two Views of History in Medieval Persia.' *Poetics Today* 14: 247-75.
- Poliakova, E. A. (1984). 'The Development of a Literary Canon in Medieval Persian Chronicles: the Triumph of Etiquette.' *Iranian Studies* 17: 237-56.
- Quinn, Sholeh A. (1996). 'The Dreams of Shaykh Safi al-Din and Safavid Historical Writing.' *Iranian Studies* 29: 127-42.
- CCC (1996). 'The Historiography of Safavid Prefaces.' In *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*. Ed. Charles Melville. London: I. B. Tauris. 1-25.
- Waldman, Marilyn Robinson (1980). *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography*. Columbus: Ohio State UP.
- Woods, John E. (1987). 'The Rise of Timurid Historiography.' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46: 81-107.

---

## **Imitation and Invention in an 18th-Century Persian Baroque Stylist: Mirza Mahdi Khan's *Tarikh-i Jahangusha-yi Nadiri* and *Durrah-yi Nadirah***

*Ernest Tucker*

This paper will examine two works of the eighteenth-century Persian chronicler Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Khan Astarabadi, the *Tarikh-i Jahangusha-yi Nadiri* and the *Durrah-yi Nadirah*, in order to explore how Mahdi Khan conceived of the links between his chronicles and those of preceding eras. Mahdi Khan served as court historiographer to Nadir Shah, who seized power from the Safavids and ruled Iran from 1736 to 1747. The *Tarikh-i Jahangusha-yi Nadiri* (TJN) is Nadir's court history. Mahdi Khan wrote *Durrah-yi Nadirah* (DN), long regarded as one of the most difficult works in Persian, as a verse parallel to his prose court chronicle.

Mahdi Khan's work certainly displays the influence of earlier models. The TJN imitates the *Timurid zafarnamahs* of Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi and Nizam al-Din Shami both stylistically and structurally. The DN is apparently modeled on the Mongol-era *Tarikh-i Vassaf*. Mahdi Khan's debts to these earlier works are particularly evident in his poetic asides as well as in his stylized accounts of battles.

Imitation is not Mahdi Khan's sole agenda, though. Both the TJN and the DN clearly aspire to transcend their models as uniquely perfect exemplars of two established genres: the annalistic court chronicle and the 'high style' literary history. He attempts to undermine the structural and contextual frameworks of these models by overimitating them to the point of almost destroying them, thus creating something new.

This paradox of asserting originality through overcomplex imitation identifies Mahdi Khan as a 'Baroque' stylist. In a manner reminiscent of the 'Sabk-i Hindi' ('Indian Style') poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Mahdi Khan creates a literary apparatus that comes perilously close to collapsing of its own weight. In the TJN, this is most evident in his elaborate descriptions of spring, in which he attempts to situate events of a given year that he will narrate into a complex cosmic order through the use of astronomical and botanical portents.

The *Durrah-i Nadirah* is marked by the pyrotechnic use of language throughout the work. Mahdi Khan's point seems to be to create a literal *durrah-i nadirah* (a 'rare pearl'), a unique showcase of every known syntactical, grammatical and lexicographical trick in Arabic and Persian.

This obsession with uniqueness may ultimately parallel one of the important tenets of his patron's political ideology: Nadir's attempt to prove his unique, God-given right to rule, in the face of a strong lingering sense of Safavid legitimacy. Such a need to justify rule was nothing new in Islamic chronicles; indeed, Mahdi Khan borrows directly from Timurid-era models of praising the ruler's kingly prowess through the history of his deeds. However, he does seem to be attempting to transcend chronicle traditions more self-consciously than previous historians, trying to set an unacceptably high standard for any successors. In fact, the works of Mahdi Khan did signal the end of 'traditional' Persian chronicle writing, since those who came after him in the Qajar period began to abandon historiographical norms and conventions stretching back to the tenth-century revival of Persian as a literary language.

### **Bibliography**

- Astarabadi, Mirza Muammad Mahdi Khan. *Durrah-i Nadirah*. Ed. Ja'far Shahidi. Tehran, 1962.  
 CCC. *Tarikh-i Jahangusha-yi Nadiri*. Ed. Sayyid `Abdullah Anvar. Tehran, 1962.  
 CCC. *Sanglax: A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language*. Ed. Sir Gerald Clauson. London: Luzac, 1960.

---

## **Pope Clement V: History, Propaganda and Stereotypes in Contemporary Chronicles**

*Sophia Menache*

Clement V led the Church during nine critical years, 1305-1334. Elected two years after the outrage committed upon Boniface VIII at Anagni, the pope saw as his main goal the restoration of harmonious relations with the kings of France and England, the leading monarchs of Christendom at the time.

Analysis of contemporary sources, however, evinces the difficulties of fourteenth-century chroniclers in perceiving, let alone supporting papal policy. Many of them actually echo a biased approach to Clement V and his policy. The trial of the Templars and of Boniface VIII, coupled with the pope's absence from Rome and what appeared to be a growing reliance on France and its king, often acquired the weight of unquestionable proof in turning Clement's pontificate into a main factor in the collapse of the medieval papacy. The criticism of Clement V includes also the scandalous reputation of the papal curia, a characterisation that Petrarch encapsulated in his well-known expression 'Babylonian captivity of the papacy'.

This lecture attempts to re-evaluate the pontificate of Clement V while giving a new perspective of analysis of fourteenth-century chronicles. The use of geographical criteria is of some help in overcoming methodological problems. In many cases, the various reactions to papal policy could be classified according to location, making it possible to speak of prevailing attitudes in some areas of France, England, and Italy. Yet, the prevailing local patriotism, which in Italy assumed significant political weight, presents serious obstacles to any attempt at a prosopographical classification of the sources according to 'national' criteria. To solve such impediments, a constant reference to and comparison between theory and practice have to be made.

### **Bibliography**

- Aux origines de l'état moderne: Le fonctionnement administratif de la papauté d'Avignon*. [No ed.]. Rome, 1990.  
 Caman, Emile (1931). *Papes et antipapes a Avignon*. Avignon.  
 Dupré-Théseider, Eugenio (1961). *Problemi del papato avignonese*. Bologna.

- Guillemain, Bernard (1953). 'Punti di vista sul papato avignonese.' *Archivio storico Italiano* 111: 181-206.
- CCC (1962). *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309-1376). Étude d'une société*. Paris.
- Langlois, Charles Victor (1889). 'Notices et documents relatifs a Bertrand de Got, Clement V.' *Revue historique* 40: 48-54.
- Menache, Sophia (1998). *Clement V*. Cambridge.
- Mollat, Guillaume (1912). *Les papes d'Avignon (1305-1378)*. Paris.
- CCC (1917). *Étude critique sur les Vitae Paparum Avenionensium d'Étienne Baluze*. Paris.
- Stengel, E. E. (1930). *Avignon und Rhens: Forschungen zur Geschichte des Kampfes um das Recht in der ersten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*. Weimar.
- Thier, Ludger (1973). *Kreuzzugsbemühungen unter Papst Clemens V. (1305-1314)*. Franziskanische Forschungen Bd. 24. Werl-Westf.
- Waley, Daniel (1974). 'Opinions of the Avignon Papacy: A Historiographical Sketch.' In *Storiografia e Storia: Studi in onore di Eugenio Duprè-Theseider*. Rome. 175-88.
- Wenck, Karl (1882). *Clemens V. und Heinrich VII.: Die Anfänge des französischen Papsttums*. Halle.
- Zutsch, Patrick N. R. (1987). 'Some Early Letters of Pope Clement V (1305-14) in the Public Record Office.' *Archiv für Diplomatik* 33: 323-35.

-----

**From Pamphlet to Origin Theory:  
The Establishment of Lithuanian Dynastic Tradition**

*Giedre Mickunaite*

This paper focuses on the invention of a tradition through three texts: a speech and two passages from the annals. All these date to the late fourteenth century and are examples of propaganda efforts made by Vytautas (b. ca. 1350, grand duke from 1392, d. 1430) when he was struggling for authority over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The speech (*Dis ist vitoldes sache*) was recorded during Vytautas' escape to the Teutonic Order in Prussia. It accuses the duke's cousins and rivals, Jogaila and Skirgaila, of depriving him of his patrimony. The two passages from the annals, one in Latin (*Origo regis Jagyelo et Wytholdi ducum Lithuanie*) and the other in Ruthenian (*Letopis = velikikh kniazej litovskikh*), are nearly identical in content and structure to the speech. All three texts introduce Gediminas' dynasty, present the succession pattern, and describe the exercise of the grand ducal office.

Initially planned to create a recognizable background for Vytautas' claims to the grand ducal seat, the pamphlets were widely circulated and became an integrated part of the annals. This demonstrates their popularity and, thus, the success of Vytautas' efforts. Moreover, functioning as part of historical narratives, these texts became the origin theory of the grand dukes and established the dynastic tradition.

The influence of the passages may also be illustrated by the fact that they were one of the targets in the Lithuanian-Muscovite dispute over the Russian territories in the sixteenth century, when the Muscovite version of ducal origin appeared.

An inquiry into these texts as well as into their medieval and early modern perception can be used to shed light on the formation of a national sense of history and to demonstrate how actual political aims could be transformed into a commonly accepted tradition.

**Bibliography**

***Primary Sources***

- 'dis ist witoldes sache wedir jagaln vnd Skirgaln.' In K. Alminauskis. 'Vytauto skundas' [The complaint of Vytautas]. *Archivum Philologicum* 8 (1939): 204-15.
- 'Letopisets velikykh kniazei litovskikh [The annals of the Lithuanian grand dukes].' In *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej [The full collection of Russian annals]*. Ed. B. A. Rybakov. Vol. 35 of *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie [The Belorussian-Lithuanian annals]*. Ed. N. N. Ulashchik. Moscow: Nauka, 1980. 61-67.
- 'Lietuvos metraščių trumpasis sąvadas' (The short collection of Lithuanian annals). Trans. and commented by Albinas Jovaišas. In *Metraščiai ir kunigaikščių laišakai [Annals and the letters of the dukes]*. Ed. Donata Linčiuvienė. Senoji Lietuvos literatūra 4. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1996. 262-347.
- 'Origo regis Jagyelo et Wytholdi ducum Lithuaniae.' In *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej [The full collection of Russian annals]*. Ed. B. A. Rybakov. Vol. 35 of *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie [The Belorussian-Lithuanian annals]*. Ed. N. N. Ulashchik. Moscow: Nauka, 1980. 115-17.
- 'Poslanie Spiridona Savy' [The message of Spiridon Sava]. In *Skazanie o kniaziakh vladimirsakikh [The legend of the dukes of Vladimir]*. Ed. R. P. Dmitrieva. Moscow and Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1955. 159-70.

### **Secondary literature**

- Alminauskis, K. (1939). 'Vytauto skundas' (The complaint of Vytautas). *Archivum Philologicum* 8: 182-224.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., and Terence O. Ranger, eds. (1992). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: UP.
- Jovaišas, Albinas (1996). 'Lietuvos metraščių sąvado literatūrinės ypatybės ir paslaptys' (The literary characteristics and secrets of the short collection of Lithuanian annals). In *Metraščiai ir kunigaikščių laišakai [Annals and the letters of the dukes]*. Ed. Donata Linčiuvienė, 222-61. Senoji Lietuvos literatūra 4. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1996.
- Jučas, Mešislovas (1957). 'Lietuvos didįju kunigaikščių metraštis' [The annals of the Lithuanian grand dukes]. *Lietuvos TSR Mokslu akademijos darbai. Serija A 2*: 111-21.
- CCC (1968). *Lietuvos metraščiai [The Lithuanian annals]*. Vilnius: Vaga.
- Samuel, Raphael, and Paul Thompson, eds. (1993). *The Myths We Live By*, London and New York: Routledge.

---

## **In Search of the Landesgeschichte: Aeneas Silvius on Austria and Bohemia**

*Rolando Montecalvo*

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was one of the greatest social climbers of the 15th century: his career saw him rise from the family farm to the papal throne, which he ascended in 1458 as Pius II. He was celebrated as a poet, diplomat, and as a refined humanist scholar. It is a lesser-known fact that he spent two decades north of the Alps, first at the Council of Basle and then as secretary to the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick III. During his long tenure in the imperial chancery a trying time that he viewed as exile among an uncouth people a Aeneas became a keen observer of Central European politics. He also wrote several historiographic works that played a significant role in propagating a new, classical style of history-writing in Germany. Among these were the *Historia australis* and the *Historia bohemica*, written within a few years of each other in the 1450s. These two texts seem quite different at first glance: the former is a motley work that experienced several revisions but was never completed; it covers a varied assortment of topics, but centers on the political events witnessed by Aeneas while in Frederick's service, ranging from the imperial bid for control of Milan to Frederick's journey, wedding and coronation in Italy, from his humiliation at the hands of the rebellious Austrian nobility in 1452 to indiscretions about

his wedding night. The *Historia bohémica*, on the other hand, is a much more sober and scholarly work that became a model for the modern *Landesgeschichte*. It chronicles the origins and early history of the Bohemian nation, and concentrates on the important contemporary events of which Aeneas had first-hand knowledge: the Hussite wars and their political consequences. This paper will attempt to show that Aeneas' two histories were in fact two attempts at the latter successful, the former not at the same literary product, reflecting an ongoing search on the author's part for an appropriate form for history.

This preoccupation with an ideal historical form suggests that Aeneas envisioned a specific function for his chronicles: their narratives were devised to accommodate political commentary on the present, making Aeneas' work a paragon of humanist historiography in the 15th century.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary sources**

Aeneas Silvius. *Opera*. Basle, 1551.

CCC. *Historia australis* or *Historia Friderici III imperatoris*. In *Analecta monumentorum omnis aevi vindobonensia*. Ed. Adam F. Kollar. Vienna, 1762. German translation by Theodor Ilgen in *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, vols. 85 and 87. Leipzig: 1889.

*Pii II orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. J. D. Mansi. Lucca, 1755.

*Deutschland. Der Brieftraktat an Martin Mayer*. Trans. Adolf Schmidt. Cologne, 1962.

*Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Ed. Rudolf Wolkan. Vienna, 1909.

### **Secondary literature**

*Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo. Atti del I convegno internazionale, 1989*. (1991). [n.ed.]. Milan: Guerini e Associati.

Bayer, Victor (1872). *Die Historia Friderici III imperatoris des Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini*. Prague: Tempsky.

Berg, Alfred (1901). *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini (Papst Pius II) in seiner Bedeutung als Geograph*. Halle: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses.

D'Amico, John F. (1988). *Theory and Practice of Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus Between Conjecture and History*. Berkeley: UC Press.

Dales, Richard Clark (1952). 'Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini: His Historical Works and His Influence on German Historiography.' M.A. thesis. University of Colorado at Boulder.

Fueter, Eduard (1911). *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg.

Grafton, Anthony, and Lisa Jardine (1986). *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP.

Herrmann, Max (1898). *Die Reception des Humanismus in Nürnberg*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

Joachimsen, Paul (1910). *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

Kallen, Gerhard (1939). *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini als Publizist in der Epistola de ortu et auctoritate imperii romani*. Cologne: Petrarca-Haus.

Kaminsky, Howard (1959). 'Pius Aeneas among the Taborites.' *Church History* 28: 281-309.

Kisch, Guido (1967). *Enea Silvio Piccolomini und die Jurisprudenz*. Basle: Helbing & Lichtenhahn.

Kramer, Hans (1931). 'Untersuchungen zur "Oesterreichischen Geschichte" des Aeneas Silvius.' *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 45: 23-69.

Lhotsky, Alphons (1965). *Aeneas Silvius und Oesterreich*. Basle: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn.

Nederman, Cary J. (1993). 'Humanism and Empire: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Cicero and the Imperial Ideal.' *Historical Journal* 36: 499-515.

Palacky, Franz (1896). *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtschreiber*. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag.

- Paul, Ulrich (1936). *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*. Berlin: Verlag Emil Ebering.
- Rinaldi, Rinaldo (1990). 'Pio II e il soggetto nella storia.' In *Storia della civiltà letteraria italiana*. Ed. G. Barberi Squarotti. Torino: UTET.
- Rothe, Hans (1988). 'Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini über Böhmen.' In *Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern*. Ed. Hans-Bernd Harder, Hans Rothe. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.
- Strnad, Alfred A. (1996). 'Die Rezeption von Humanismus und Renaissance in Wien.' In *Humanismus und Renaissance in Ostmitteleuropa vor der Reformation*. Ed. Winfried Eberhard, Alfred Strnad. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.
- Toews, John B. (1968). 'The View of Empire in Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.' *Traditio* 24: 471-87.
- Voigt, Georg (1856). *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini und sein Zeitalter*. Berlin: Georg Reimer.
- Weiss, Anton (1987). *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. Sein Leben und Einfluss auf die literarische Kultur Deutschlands*. Graz: Ulrich Moser.
- White, Hayden (1978). 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact.' In *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*. Ed. Robert and Henry Kozicki Canary. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- CCC (1987). *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP.
- Widmer, Berthe (1960). *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II*. Basle: Benno Schwabe.
- Worstbrock, Franz Josef (1989). 'Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius (Papst Pius II.)' In *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. Berlin.
- Zippel, Gianni (1981). 'E. S. Piccolomini e il mondo germanico.' *Cultura* 19: 267-350.

---

### Die livländischen Chroniken des 13. Jahrhunderts

*E. Mugurevics*

Die livländische Chronik Heinrichs von Lettland (*Heinrici chronicon Livoniae*) ist die älteste und umfassendste schriftliche Quelle zur Geschichte des Ostbaltikums am Ausgang des 12. Jh. und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jh. Die in der Chronik geschilderten Ereignissen, vor allem die von der römisch-katholischen Kirche unterstützte Kreuzzüge und damit verbundenen Veränderungen im Baltikum, umfassen zwar nur etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert, doch ist die Darstellung dieser Ereignisse so lebhaft wie in keiner anderen Geschichtsquelle jener Zeit. An Glaubwürdigkeit und Ausführlichkeit übertrifft sie die damaligen russischen, dänischen und deutschen Chroniken.

Die älteste livländische Reimchronik ist neben Heinrichs Livländischer Chronik die zweite wichtigste Quelle über die Kreuzzüge im Baltikum und die Freiheitskämpfe der örtlichen Völker im 13. Jh. Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Beschreibung der in der Chronik dargestellten Schlachten wird dadurch verstärkt, dass der Autor nicht scheut, auch die Niederlagen der Kreuzritter zu anerkennen und mitunter den heldenhaften Heiden sogar Sympathien zu bekunden.

---

### Making their Own Sweet Time: Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian Chronicles

*Jennifer Neville*

This paper is part of an ongoing study of issues of identity and 'nationalism' in Anglo-Saxon England and the Carolingian Empire. In this paper I propose to examine some of the narratorial voices in texts



including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Fredegar's *Chronicles*, Gregory's *History of the Franks*, the *Royal Frankish Annals*, the *Annals of Fulda*, and the *Annals of St Bertin*. In previous papers I have looked at these texts as vehicles for 'myths of origins'; in this paper I shall pursue in more detail the different textual strategies that chronicle-writers and other creators of history adopted with respect to time.

Time, especially the passing of time, is, of course, the central structure and imperative of the chronicle. Its format proclaims the discrete progression of events in one direction, from past to present; although there may be cause-and-effect connections between the events of one year and those of the following year, the form itself does not demand them. Chronicle-writers may deny, ignore, suggest, or insist upon such connections, but their format in itself suggests a series of events whose relationships with each other are merely chronological. References to occurrences in the distant past of far-distant societies reinforce the impression of a discrete sequence of events.

Chronicle-writers are not, of course, disinterested recorders of individual events, and thus they employ a number of different strategies which manipulate the structure of time suggested by their format. Their most basic strategy is to create out of their list of discrete events a continuous time-line, a narrative in which the events marked as belonging to a particular year become part of a larger time-unit: the story of a king and his heirs, for example. In such cases it is clear that some events have been selected to contribute to a plot while others have been omitted. It is also clear that some point of origin for the plot has been chosen. This paper proposes to glance briefly at the origins to which chronicle-writers seek to anchor their plots and then examine some of the ways in which they establish links between events along the way.

The creation of a unified time-line, however, is just the beginning. References to far-distant societies and the distant past betray strategies through which chronicle-writers write their characters and plots into larger and grander narratives. Thus Fredegar inserts his Franks into world history and the realm of classical epic by making their story a sub-plot continuing on from the Fall of Troy and the establishment of the Macedonian and Roman Empires. Bede similarly makes the story of his Anglo-Saxons a sub-plot of the Old Testament: the originally continental Anglo-Saxons are the Israelites journeying to the Promised land, a new, Christian Chosen People committing errors and thus enduring trials just as the Israelites did. The stories of the exalted past are fed into the plots created out of the events of the nearer past and present; chronicle writers thus contribute to a cultural memory which not only creates identity but also makes the 'historical' events of the chronicle luminous with potential meaning (even if this meaning is not explicitly described). The events recorded by the chronicle-writer may become not merely a continuous time-line but part of a myth or divine plan.

The greater significance of events recorded by chronicle-writers is not always addressed, but its potential allows yet another manipulation of the linear progression of time inherent in the chronicle-format. When history becomes divine history, the past may be subjected to exegetical interpretation: characters may become types; events may become prophecies. Thus Gregory, like Fredegar, describes his Franks as destined for Empire, and the exploits of Clovis are seen not only as reminiscent of Constantine and Augustus but also as guaranteeing the dominion of the Frankish race in the future.

Despite their linear form, chronicle-writers pursue strategies of time which contribute to the complex issues of identity which underlie their creation of history.

### **Bibliography**

- Davidse, Jan (1982). 'The Sense of the Past in the Works of the Venerable Bede'. *Studi medievale* 3rd ser. 23: 647-95.
- Gilbert, Paul (1996). 'The Idea of a National Literature'. In Horton and Baumeister (1996). 198-217.
- Goffart, Walter (1988). *The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

- Hanning, Robert W. (1966). *The Vision of History in Early Britain from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth*. New York and London: Columbia UP.
- Horton, John, and Andrea T. Baumeister, eds. (1996). *Literature and the Political Imagination*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hunter, Michael (1974). 'Germanic and Roman Antiquity and the Sense of the Past in Anglo-Saxon England.' *Anglo-Saxon England* 3: 29-50.
- Levison, Wilhelm (1946). *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Schrader, Richard J. (1993). *Old English Poetry and the Genealogy of Events*. Medieval Texts and Studies 12. East Lansing: Colleagues Press.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. (1950). 'The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century: Some Common Historical Interests.' *History* 35: 202-18.
- CCC (1952). *The Barbarian West 400-1000*. London etc.: Hutchinson's University Library.
- CCC (1962). *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History*. London: Methuen.
- CCC (1971). *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Wormald, Patrick (1977). 'The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its Neighbours.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 27: 95-114.
- CCC, and Donald Bullough and Roger Collins, eds. (1983). *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- CCC (1994). 'Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance.' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7: 1-24.
- CCC (1995). 'The Making of England.' *History Today* 45.2: 26-32.

---

## Historiographische Elemente in Martyrologien

### *Meta Niederkorn*

Im Rahmen meiner Habilitationsschrift bearbeite ich Quellen zur Liturgiegeschichte in Salzburg, die vor 850 entstanden sind. In diesem Zusammenhang und vor allem im Hinblick auf das Thema der Tagung möchte ich ein Martyrologium vorstellen, das bisher nicht in Edition vorliegt.

Der Text wurde zwar im Rahmen der Edition des sog. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* mitunter als Beleg genannt, aber keineswegs ausreichend berücksichtigt. Vor allem dann, wenn im Salzburger Text singular belegte Namen auftauchen, sucht man diese oft in der Edition Quentins vergeblich. Der Text wurde von Quentin auch in seiner großen Arbeit über die Martyrologien (*Martyrologes historiques*) und auch jüngst von McCulloch und Arno Borst (*Karolingische Kalenderreform*, 1998) im Rahmen ihrer Arbeiten kurz besprochen, aber nicht in seinem Stellenwert hinsichtlich der Entwicklung der sog. historischen Martyrologien beurteilt. Dieser Text, den ich vorstellen möchte, bietet aber nicht nur im Zusammenhang mit der Heiligenverehrung interessante Informationen, sondern auch immer wieder historische Nachrichten, die mitunter später bei Hrabanus Maurus wiederzufinden sind, in manchen Fällen aber singular bleiben. Dies betrifft vor allem solche Passagen, in denen es um die Papstgeschichte geht. Hier beruht die Information des Autors naturgemäß in erster Linie auf dem *Liber Pontificalis* und auf diversen *Itineraria*, den sog. Pilgerführern für Rombesucher.

Insgesamt werde ich den Text schließlich in seinem Überlieferungsumfeld einordnen und vor allem vorstellen, welche Texte schließlich auf den Autor dieses Martyrologium Einfluß nehmen konnten.

### **Bibliographie**

- Bischoff, Bernard (1980). *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*. II.
- Böhne, Winfried (1977). 'Das älteste Lorscher Kalender und seine Vorlagen.' In *Die Reichsabteit Lorsch. Festschrift zum Gedenken an ihre Stiftung 764*. Hg. Friedrich Knöpp. II, 171-222.
- Borst, Arno (1998). *Die Karolingische Kalenderreform*. MGH Schriften 46.

- Bullough, David A. (1991). *Carolingian Renewal. Sources and Heritage*.
- Dopsche, Heinz (1983, 1984). *Geschichte Salzburgs*. I.1 (zweite Auflage) und I.3.
- Dubois, Jacques (1978). *Les martyrologes du moyen-âge latin*. Typologie des sources du moyen-âge occidental, fasc. 26.
- CCC (1990). *Les martyrologes*.
- de Gaiffier, Bernard (1961). 'De l'usage de la lecture du martyrologe. Témoignages antérieures au XIe siècle.' *Analecta Bollandia* 79: 40-59.
- McCulloch, John M. (1979). 'Martrologium excarpsatum. A New Text from the Early Middle Ages.' In *Saints, Scholars and Heroes. Studies in Medieval Culture in Honor of Charles W. Jones*. Hg. Margot King und Wesley M. Stevens. II, 179-237.
- Netzer, Nancy (1994). *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century. The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach*. Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 3.
- Quentin, Henri (1908). *Les martyrologes historiques*.
- Wolfram, Herwig (1995). *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Ragoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*. MIÖG Bd. 31.

---

### Eyewitnesses of the Fourth Crusade: Villehardouin, Clari and Nicetas

*Peter Noble*

The chronicles of the Fourth Crusade were written by participants in or victims of the Crusade, and a comparison of the chronicles offers striking evidence of the motives and perceptions amongst those involved. The two Frankish accounts were written by crusaders who took part in the sack of Constantinople, while Nicetas Choniates was a high official in the Byzantine Empire who suffered severely at the hands of the crusaders. Within the ranks of the crusaders Villehardouin and Clari represent two different sections of the army. Villehardouin as one of the leaders of the army and writing with hindsight to justify an event which had shocked many in the West, presents the capture of Constantinople as the inevitable outcome of the treachery of the Greeks. The Crusaders had no choice, according to him, and he minimises the suffering of the fighting by concentrating on the political dimension and normally avoids any mention of the individuals. Clari, on the other hand, lacks the overall vision of Villehardouin. Instead he brings out the feats of individuals like his brother and reveals details of the hand-to-hand fighting. His own inquisitive and naive outlook is revealed in his account of the wonders of Constantinople when he acted like a tourist after the successful capture of the city. More significantly he reveals the resentment felt by the lower ranks at the greed and duplicity of the leaders who cheated them out of their share of the booty. Nicetas provides a personal account, detailing the terrible suffering inflicted by the crusaders on the inhabitants of the city, the horrors of life under these people whom he saw as barbarian invaders. Whereas the Franks saw the capture of Constantinople as a major triumph, the start of a new Empire to form part of a united Christendom, the Greeks saw the end of an era, the decline of a great civilisation which was no longer able to defend itself because of its internal divisions and the failure of its ruling elite to govern with wisdom and honesty. A comparison of these chronicles reveals different attitudes of the crusaders and the total lack of understanding between the Greeks and the Franks. It helps to explain why the capture of Constantinople took place and did so with horrific cruelty.

#### **Bibliography**

##### *Texts*

- Choniates Nicetas. *O City of Byzantium*. Trans. H. G. Margoulias, Detroit, 1982.
- Robert de Clari. Ed. P. Lauer. CFMA 40. Paris: Champion, 1924.

Geoffroy de Villehardouin. *La Conquête de Constantinople*. Ed. Jean Dufournet. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1969.

### **Secondary sources**

- Angold, M. (1984). *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*. London.
- Bagley, C. P. (1971). 'Robert de Clari's *La Conquête de Constantinople*.' *Medium Aevum* 40: 109-15.
- Brand, C. M. (1968). *Byzantium confronts the West 1180-1204*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP.
- Dufournet, J. (1973). *Les Ecrivains de la IVe croisade: Villehardouin et Clari*. Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement supérieur.
- Faral, E. (1936). 'Geoffrey de Villehardouin: la question de sa sincérité.' *Revue Historique* 167: 530-82.
- Morris, C. (1968). 'Villehardouin as Historian of the 4th Crusade.' *History* 53: 24-34.
- Nicol, D. M. (1988). *Byzantium and Venice*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Pauphilet, A. (1928). 'Robert de Clari et Villehardouin.' In *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à Monsieur Alfred Jeanroy*. Paris.
- CCC (1931). 'Sur Robert de Clari.' *Romania* 57: 281-311.
- Queller, D. F. (1978). *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople 1201-1204*. Leicester UP.

---

## **The Chronicle of Richard Fox: A Presentation**

*Dominique Nonnet*

Woburn Abbey 181, the study and edition of which I am currently involved in, is a parchment codex privately owned by the Duke of Bedford, that has never been printed. Composed of about 225 folios, it preserves a Middle English prose chronicle on the history of Britain from the accession of Alfred to the end of the siege of Rouen, directly followed by an account of the deposition of Richard II and articles from the Parliaments of Bury St Edmund and Westminster later added by the same hand. The last folios contain a short article on cook-fee regulations in 16th-century London and a memoranda by different, later hands, that provides indications on the circulation of the manuscript in the century following its completion. A colophon situated at the end of the main text indicates that, for its part, the chronicle was completed at St Albans in 1448 by Richard Fox, a steward of the abbey, to whom a compilation of devotional texts preserved in CUL Kk.1.6 is also attributed (on the study of CUL K.k 1.6 and Fox's identity, see Barratt 1995: xiii-xl). Both manuscripts actually appear to be autographs, a feature which on its own deserves some special attention.

The chronicle in WA 181 is a compilation which can be divided into two main parts following the way Fox made use of its major sources: the paralleled chronicles of Peter Langtoft and Robert Mannyng of Brunne for the period 872-1307, and the *Brut* or *The Chronicles of England* from 1307 onwards. Recent research has shown however that other materials entered the elaboration of the text, thereby conferring the chronicle a specific status among the *Brut* manuscripts, while making the question of its filiation more complex. Original anecdotes have been found which suggest that Fox had materials at his disposal which we may ignore, and that he resorted to oral accounts of events chronologically close to him (see Kennedy 1989: 2640-41). As Lister Matheson has been able to demonstrate in his recent article on the peasant's revolt of 1381 (Matheson 1998), a careful study of the text might therefore reveal pieces of information of some historiographical interest, once the edition completed. At this stage of my research however, and in the context of the paper, I will turn to another central point worth investigating: the textual links between the chronicle and the major sources cited above. As far as the first part of the account is concerned, Fox's rejection of the *Brut*, on the one hand, and of the mythological material found in Langtoft and Mannyng, on the other, reveals some kind of intention on his part as regards the genre of his compilation and of its final quality. Writing in a house famous for its long historiographical

tradition, Fox was likely to venerate historical accuracy, but his borrowing from semi-fictional works as well as his preference for the vernacular suggests that he was also aware of the growing demand for more accessible literature at a time characterized by significant social and cultural changes. In what measure his work achieved an equilibrium between historicity and narration has thus to be determined, as well as the question of Fox's direct audience, since it appears that WA 181 remained in his possession after completion, and that no copy of it is known.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Manuscripts***

Woburn Abbey 181, privately owned by the Duke of Bedford.

Cambridge University Library Kk.1.6. [A miscellany of devotional texts compiled by Richard Fox, including Eleanor Hull's version of The Seven Psalms]

### ***Editions***

Barratt, A., ed. *The Seven Psalms: A Commentary on the Penitential Psalms Translated from French into English by Dame Eleanor Hull*. EETS OS 307. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Brie, Friedrich W. D., ed. *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*. 2 vols. Part I: EETS OS 131. London, 1906; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. Part II: EETS OS 136. 1908; rpt. Millwood: Kraus, 1987.

Stepsis, R., ed. 'An Edition of Part II of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Chronicle of England.' Harvard, 1967. Unpublished Ph.D. Diss. Harvard, 1967.

Wright, T., ed. *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*. 2 vols. Rolls Series 47. London, 1866-68.

### ***Secondary literature***

Kennedy, E. D. (1989). *Chronicles and Other Historical Writings*. Vol. 8 of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*. Gen. ed. Albert E. Hartung. Hamden City: Archon Books to the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Kingsford, Charles L. (1913). *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Legge, M. D. (1963). *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Madden, F. (1856). 'Prose Chronicles of England Called the Brute.' *Notes and Queries* 2nd series, 1: 1-4.

Matheson, Lister M. (1984). 'Historical Prose.' In *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. Ed. A. S. G. Edwards. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers UP. 209-48.

CCC (1998). 'The Peasants' Revolt through Five Centuries of Rumor and Reporting: Richard Fox, John Stow and Their Successors.' *Studies in Philology* 95: 121-51.

Owst, G. R. (1929). 'Some Books and Book-Owners of Fifteenth-Century St. Albans.' *Transactions of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society* 179: 176-95.

Stepsis, R. (1972). 'Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle: An Essay in Medieval Historiography.' *Medievalia & Humanistica* N.S. 3: 51-73.

---

## **Style and meaning in La3amon's *Brut*: a pragmatic approach to a reading of British Library Manuscript, Cotton Otho C.xiii**

*Lucy Perry*

La3amon's *Brut* is extant in two stylistically different versions in two separate manuscripts, British Library manuscripts Cotton Caligula A.ix and Cotton Otho C.xiii. Until recently the latter, apparently a

redaction of the original poem, to which Caligula is considered a closer relation, has been neglected and this paper hopes to go some way to redressing the balance of research.

In the context of the *Brut* tradition, from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Robert Mannyng of Brunne, the paper will examine the narrative and stylistic differences between the two texts of La3amon's *Brut*, focussing on the use of speech-acts. Direct speech is consistently used by La3amon for amplification of Wace's narrative and the dramatic effect of the speeches and their enhancement of an overall sense of action have not gone unnoticed. This paper will build on previous commentaries of the Caligula text and some recent discussion of Otho's style by applying a pragmatic theoretical model. It will consider what effect the Otho redactor's textual excisions, stylistic changes, and lexical substitutions have on the 'meaning of the utterance', and will draw some comparisons with the craft of some of the other 'translators' in the tradition. The paper will use as its focus three episodes from the pre-Arthurian section of La3amon's *Brut* in which speech-acts demonstrate particular dramatic qualities and in which the differences (or not, as the case may be) between the two versions are most telling: the Belin and Brenne episode which culminates with the Britons' subjugation of Rome, the Cassibellaune episode where an internal conflict of Britain leads to Julius Caesar's conquest of the island, and the treacherous reign of Vortigern.

Finally, the paper will attempt to assess what might have been the redactor's motivation in preparing his 'edition' of this verse chronicle. Thus, this paper should contribute fittingly to discussions related to the second of the main themes of the conference: the function of the chronicle.

### **Bibliography**

- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The Historia Regum Britannie*. I. Bern. Burgerbibliothek, MS 568. Ed. Neil Wright. Cambridge: Brewer, 1985.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The Historia Regum Britannie*. II. *The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*. Ed. Neil Wright. Cambridge: Brewer, 1988.
- La3amon's "Brut". Edited from British Museum MS Cotton Caligula A.ix and British Museum MS Cotton Otho C. xiii. 2 vols. Ed. G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie. EETS OS 250 and 277. London: Oxford UP, 1963-78.
- [Mannyng]. Robert Mannyng of Brunne. *The Chronicle*. Ed. Idelle Sullens. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 153. 1996.
- [Wace]. *Le Roman de Brut de Wace*. 2 vols. Ed. I. Arnold. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1938-40.

---

## **German Episcopal Historiography in the Late Middle Ages and the Question of Genre**

*Oliver Plessow*

Past research on episcopal historiography focused mainly on early and high medieval examples equating episcopal historiography with a distinguished set of texts, the *gesta episcoporum*. In his contribution to the *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*, Michel Sot has pointed out the basic structural principles after which these *gesta* were fashioned. Reinhold Kaiser has added to the picture by stressing the broad variety of texts subsumed under the term and by his attempt to position them between the two modes of historical representation known from the antiquities: the (re)counting mode of the *chronici* and the narrative mode of the *historici*.

Lately, however, it has been argued, that the concept of the *gesta episcoporum* as a coherent genre which was derived from early medieval *gesta* has obstructed the view onto the late medieval diversification of episcopal historiography. Because of the lack of a uniform type of historical writing on

bishops, the value of a generic description has been called into question. Changes in the character of the episcopal office in the 12th and 13th centuries, the bishops' new role as territorial princes are assumed to form too great a barrier to support the notion of a continuous historiographic genre C if ever one existed.

The starting point of my inquiry will be the question whether it is feasible to relinquish questions of genre altogether when regarding the range of episcopal historiography in late medieval Germany. Geographically, my paper will focus on North Germany. Thematically, it will focus on the tension between norm and variation. Was there a norm, a 'genre' *gesta episcoporum* in the late middle ages? What is a 'genre', and can this term contribute to the interpretation of specific texts? The impression that in spite of the diversity there are core patterns in the formation of episcopographical texts which follow a certain, rather rigid scheme should be weighed against the hazards of a purely formalist view.

First, it has to be asked whether the restricted medieval nomenclature and the lack of a discourse on elaborated distinctions between historiographical subgenres is a general argument against a typology. Should it prevent us from wondering if there is a rule, and where it applies?

Second, I should like to cast a view onto the methodological consequences of a conceptual decision regarding the question of 'genre'. The decision for any one concept entails specific views on the relation between text and context, contents, form, and social background.

Finally, I want to give an example how a dynamic understanding of 'genre' which concentrates on the interaction between conceptional prerogative and social demand leads to alterations in the interpretation of episcopal chronicles and their variations: A peculiar aspect of the late medieval development in North Germany is what could be called the urbanization of episcopal historiography in some of the Hanse cities in the 14th and 15th centuries. Here one must ask in how far the recourse to certain forms of episcopal historiography in the North can be seen in analogy to the well established embedding of urban history into an evolving Reichs-ideology in southern towns (and in Lubeck). Did this civic resort to episcopal historiography amount to restrict the cities' attempt to develop an independent ideological stand?

### **Bibliography**

- Hofmann, Heinz (1987). 'Artikulationsformen historischen Wissens in der lateinischen Historiographie des hohen und späten Mittelalters.' In *La Littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*. Grundriß der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, vol. 11. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Kaiser, Reinhold (1994). 'Die Gesta episcoporum als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung.' In *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*. Ed. Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter. Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg. 459-80.
- Müller, Markus (1998). *Die spätmittelalterliche Bistumsgeschichtsschreibung. Überlieferung und Entwicklung*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, vol. 44. Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau.
- Schlochtermeyer, Dirk (1998). *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters. Die politische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.
- Sot, Michel (1981). *Gesta episcoporum. Gesta abbatum*. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, Fasc. 37, A-1.4. Turnhout: Brépols.

---

### **Catalan Mediaeval Chronicle as a Biblical Icon of Political Power**

*Alfons Puigarnau*

Between the XIIIth and the XIVth centuries the so called *Quatre grans cròniques* (Four Great Chronicles) are written in Mediaeval Catalonia. Three of the four authors of these documents show the historical facts as connected with and allowed by the Divine Providence. They develop a concept of

History in which Space and Time are categories necessarily moved by a supernatural force that gives them a reason for being, and the possibility of a free self-development. The only one who seems to be independent to the Providence, is Bernat Desclot in the way of writing the historical fact at the *Llibre del rei en Pere* (1283-1288). But the *Llibre dels feits*, presumably written by the King Jaume I, the *Crónica* of Ramon Muntaner and the *Crónica* of the King Pere el Cerimoniós, are all within the frame of the Teocratic concept of Power which dominates Theory and Practice of political Power in the rest of Medieval Europe. If we analyse these three major documents we will check an attempt of legitimate political power through a comparison between the present authority and the historical authority of the Jewish Kings of Israel, mainly David and Salomon. This is the 'Icon of Political Power' that Catalan medieval chroniclers want to reproduce. As if they were descendents of the People of Yahweh, they expose and develop the evolution of facts, with a feel of fulfilling the Will of God that protects them above space and time. Using a 'Biblical Icon of Power', so to say, the Visual Authority of God on earth, they take military, political and social decisions in order to guide their peoples to a kind of Promised Land, recalling the long trip of the Jewish People in Exodus. In this context, the Chronicle works as a mechanism of legitimation of royal power in which a religious tradition is re-employed in order to explain the present or the recent facts. The allusion to the ascendants of Christ, David and Salomon, makes more 'Christian' the historical fact and gives more prestige to the image of the King. This is a nice example of one of the functions of the Mediaeval Chronicle in Catalonia as a document conceived to increase and consolidate the power of kings through a religious ideology that contributes to create new and useful 'Biblical Icons of Power'.

### **Bibliography**

- Alphandéry, P. (1929). 'Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade.' *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99: 139-57.
- Arquillière, H. X. (1972). *L'augustinisme politique. Essai sur la formation des théories politiques du Moyen-Age*. Paris: Vrin.
- Bardy, G. (1926). 'La monarchie dans la tradition patristique.' *Bibbia*.
- Bisson, T. N. (1980). 'Feudalism in Twelfth Century in Catalonia.' En *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'occident méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe s.)*. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, n° 588. Éditions du CNRS. Paris.
- Bouman, C. A. (1957). *Sacring and Crowning*. Bijdragen van het Instituut voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 30. Groningen-Djakarta.
- Chydenius, J. (1958). *The Typological Problem in Dante*. Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 25, 1. Helsinki-Helsingfors.
- CCC (1965). *Medieval Institutions and the Old Testament*. Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 37, 2. Helsinki-Helsingfors.
- D'Abadal, R. (1972). *Pere el Cerimoniós i els inicis de la decadència política de Catalunya*. Barcelona, Edicions 62.
- Daniélou, J. (1951). *Bible et liturgie*. Paris.
- Guichard, P., M. T. Lorcin, J. M. Poisson, M. Rubellin (1994). *Papauté, Monachisme et Théories politiques*. I. *Le pouvoir et l'institution ecclésiastique*. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon.
- Jaeger, H. (1969). 'Les doctrines bibliques et patristiques sur la royauté face aux institutions monarchiques hellénistiques et romaines.' *La monarchie: Recueil de la Société Jean-Bodin* 20.
- Morrison, K. F. (1985). *Holiness and Politics in Early Medieval Thought*. London, Variorum Reprints.
- Riché, P. (1984). 'La Bible et la vie politique dans le haut Moyen Age.' En *Vivre la Bible*. Ed. M. de Riquer. Vol. 1 of *Historia de la literatura catalana*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Salrach, J. M., J. P. Rubiés. (1991). 'Entorn de la mentalitat i la ideologia del bloc de poder feudal a través de la historiografia medieval fins a les *Quatre Grans Cròniques*.' En *Symposium Internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII-XI)*. Comissió del mil·lenni de Catalunya. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. 467-510.



Tierney, B. (1982). *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought, 1150-1650*. Cambridge etc.

Ullmann, W. (1983). *Historia del pensamiento político en la Edad media*. Barcelona: Ariel.

---

### **The Origins of Safavid Historiography**

*Sholeh A. Quinn*

[For this abstract, see under Meisami]

---

### **French and English Views of History: A Comparison between MSS Rylands French 54 and Rylands French 99**

*Raluca Radulescu*

My paper consists in a descriptive comparison of two fifteenth-century French roll chronicles, both containing an 'Histoire Universelle': Rylands French 54 and Rylands French 99. Both MSS contain the genealogy of the Popes in Rome, of the Roman Emperors, of the Kings of France and of the Kings of England respectively. French 99 is a larger and more impressively decorated roll than French 54. French 54 on the other hand has many representations of churches, as the text of the chronicle often refers to their establishment in connection with kings and historical events.

In both MSS the history of the Kings of England appears to be a summary of a *Brut*, especially the pre-Conquest part. There are additions to French 54, which seem to have been made by an English scribe with a pro-Lancastrian view. To the same person is ascribed the pedigree of the Kings of England and their families on the back of the roll. In French 99 the history of the Kings of England finishes with Henry IV, although the Kings of France are mentioned up to 1461. However, the final comment on Henry IV in this MS is definitely against the Lancastrian cause: "Et fut henry de lenclastre couronne roy dangleterre le quel a fait mourir des plus nobles du royaume dangleterre. Sicomme les croniques le dient plus a plain. Explicit."

An interesting comparison may be made between the two MSS in terms of their presentation of King Arthur. Both of their versions of the Kings of England are taken from "croniques dangleterre", which seem to have been versions of the *Brut*. The text of the two MSS rolls is surprisingly similar, focusing specifically on Arthur's nobility and honourable birth (both chronicles stress that Arthur was conceived after the death of Ygerne's first husband, Gorlois). Whereas French 99 has illustrations of many of the kings and/or an important event during their reign, including one of King Arthur killing the traitor Mordred, French 54 only contains four figures, of which King Arthur's is the most elaborate.

My comparison of the two MS rolls is meant to highlight the political use of such chronicles and the changes which subsequent owners operated on these MSS in order to make them suit their purposes. In the context of the power struggle in the middle decades of the fifteenth century these changes reflect the propaganda put forth by the two opposing factions: the Yorkist and the Lancastrian.

#### **Bibliography**

##### ***Primary sources***

Rylands French 54

Rylands French 99

### **Secondary literature**

- Allan, Alison (1979). 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the "British History" in the Reign of Edward IV.' In Ross (1979). 171-92.
- Griffiths, Ralph A. (1981, 1988). *The Reign of Henry VI*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
- CCC (190. 'The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI.' In Ross (1979). 13-36.
- Matheson, Lister M. (1984). 'Historical Prose.' In *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. Ed. A. S. G. Edwards. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. 209-48.
- Ross, Charles, ed. (1979). *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*. Gloucester: Allan Sutton.
- Rowe, B. J. H. (1933). 'King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem.' *The Library*, 4th series, 13: 77-88.

---

## **Die Geschichte westslawischer Stämme im Spiegel mittelalterlicher Chroniken**

*Heike Reimann*

[This paper will be presented in English under the title:

**The History of the West Slavonic Tribes as Described by Medieval Authors]**

Die Zeit, in der sich die Kontakte der westslawischen Obodriten und Lutizen (ansässig im Gebiet des heutigen deutschen Bundeslandes Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) zu ihren westlichen Nachbarn, insbesondere zum sächsischen Herzogtum, auf gelegentliche kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen beschränkten, ist dem heutigen Mediävisten nur über Schriftquellen aus nichtslawischen Gebieten zugänglich. Außerdem ist eine interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit insbesondere mit Archäologen und Namenforschern unverzichtbar. Eine aus dem mecklenburgisch-westpommerschen Raum stammende schriftliche Überlieferung setzt erst mit dem Aufkommen von Urkunden gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts ein, also zu einem Zeitpunkt, da die Christianisierung in diesen Räumen erfolgt oder noch im vollen Gange war. Für Untersuchungen zur Geschichte bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt, aber auch beim Versuch, von den frühen Urkunden unbeantwortete Fragen zu klären, sind wir auf die Schilderungen von Chronisten angewiesen, die die Geschichte der slawischen Stämme als Fremde wahrnahmen und beschrieben. Daher sind bestimmte Fragen, die bei der Bewertung mittelalterlicher Chroniken generell eine Rolle spielen, für die Beurteilung der Werke des Adam von Bremen, Arnold von Lübeck, Thietmar von Merseburg und ganz besonders des Bosauer Pfarrers Helmold von zentraler Bedeutung. Im Mittelpunkt steht das Problem, woher die Autoren ihr Wissen bezogen, was sie selbst wissen konnten und wie zuverlässig ihre Informanten waren. Dazu kommt der Komplex von Parteilichkeit der Autoren und tendenziösen Schilderungen. Vor dem Hintergrund der sehr kontroversen Beurteilung der Rolle von Deutschen und Slawen in den Prozessen des hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Landesausbaus durch Historiker des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts ist es heute von entscheidender Bedeutung, die Nachrichten der mittelalterlichen Chronisten so unvoreingenommen wie möglich zu erfassen und zu interpretieren. Bei genauerer Betrachtung sind selbst die scheinbar gegen die Slawen gerichteten Äußerungen der genannten Chronisten vielmehr auf die Unkenntnis des Fremden und auf die Ablehnung alles Heidnischen zurückzuführen. Eine Spezialuntersuchung zu diesem Thema der mecklenburgisch-pommerschen Geschichte fehlt bis heute.

### **Bibliographie**

Kritische Angaben zu den betreffenden chronikalischen Nachrichten sind zu finden in:

Lübke, Christian (1984-1988). *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder*. 5 Bde. Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen. Reihe I: Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, Bd. 131. Berlin. [Vom Jahre 900 an]

Darstellungen des Problems der Erforschung der Geschichte der mittelalterlichen deutschen Ostsiedlung in: Piskorski, Jan Maria (1991). 'Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters in der Entwicklung des östlichen Mitteleuropa. Zum Stand der Forschung aus polnischer Sicht.' *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 40: 27-84.

CCC (1997). 'Die mittelalterliche Ostsiedlung C ein alter Streit und neue Ergebnisse.' In *Transit. Brügge C Novgorod. Geschichte einer Straße durch Europa*. Hrsg. Ulrich Borsdorf, Heinrich Theodor Grüttner, Ferdinand Seibt. Bottrop. 194-203.

Reimann, Heike (1998). 'Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters C Mythos und Wirklichkeit.' In *Mare Balticum '97*. Travemünde. 86-91.

---

### **Paideia: God's Design in World History according to the East Syrian Monk John bar Penkaye**

*G. J. Reinink*

The *Ktâbâ d-Rês Mellê* ('Book of the Salient Points', viz. of world history), written by John bar Penkaye, is the first example of the genre in the East Syrian ('Nestorian') tradition. The work was composed in about 687 A.D. at the request of Sabrisho<sup>c</sup>, the abbot of the monastery of John of Kamul in North Mesopotamia, where John was a monk.

John's world history is divided into 15 *mêmrê* ('discourses'); the first part (*mêmrê* 1-9) deals with the history from the Creation to the advent of Christ, the second part (*mêmrê* 10-15) treats the time from Christ to John's own days. Up to now only the second part has been published by A. Mingana in his *Sources Syriacques* II (Mosul 1908). Only *mêmrâ* 15 is accessible in a modern language: a French translation by Mingana and an English translation by S. Brock. The Syriac text is preserved and accessible in a number of manuscripts in Western Europe and the Near East.

There is no systematic study of John's world history. The present paper, therefore, will focus on one central issue of the work, which in particular is connected with the third main theme of the conference: 'The chronicle and the reconstruction of the past'. This issue concerns John's conception of history and the view of the past which he develops in his work with the purpose to provide his community with a theological-philosophical explication of the political and social topics of the present. John lived in a time of great political and social instability and disorder during the Second Arab Civil War (680-692). By writing his "history of the past and the present facts in this transient world" John seeks to demonstrate that the trying present times reflect a recurrent pattern in human history. This pattern is determined by God's Providence which aims at His will to bring human race *in a continuous educational process* to the Knowledge of the Truth. The present paper also intends to expose the roots of John's interpretation of history by comparing the leading motives in the 'Book of Salient Points' with the Antiochene conception of history, which during the sixth century was developed in the famous 'Nestorian' School of Nisibis in North Mesopotamia.

A special interest of John bar Penkaye's work consists in the fact that it represents one of the earliest Christian responses to the end of the Byzantine power and the fall of the Persian empire in the Near East and the rise of Islam.

---

### **Some Aspects of Robert of Gloucester's Borrowings from the *South English Legendary***

It is a well known fact that beside the Latin historical sources for the *Chronicle* attributed to Robert of Gloucester, which include Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, the author also makes extensive use of the *South English Legendary*. This vernacular collection of saints' lives was written in the same metrical form and originates from the same area as the *Chronicle* and therefore was a suitable source from which the author could lift long passages into his own work. The author uses sections from the *Legendary* throughout his work, including borrowings from the Lives of St Kenelm, St Dunstan, Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket.

In the process of borrowing text from the *South English Legendary* the chronicler crosses the genre boundary between the Saint's Life and the Chronicle. Composition of the Chronicle involved lifting whole blocks of narrative out of the context of the Saint's Life genre which were subsequently integrated without much alteration into the Chronicle genre. What happens to the text in the process of crossing a genre boundary? How does the selection of lines, the context they are placed into, and the manner of integrating them into the main body of narrative influence the character of the text?

This paper explores how narrative changes in the context of different genres. The question is approached through several aspects of change. Special attention is given to the perspective of time.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary sources***

*The South English Legendary*. Ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna Mill. 3 vols. EETS OS 235, 236, 244. London: Oxford University Press, 1956, 1959.

*The Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*. Ed. W. A. Wright. London: Rolls Series, 1887.

---

## **Berichten, Bewerten und Beurteilen. Schlesische Geschichte aus der Perspektive von Peter Eschenloers *Geschichten der Stadt Breslau***

*Gunhild Roth*

Die zunächst lateinisch verfaßte, dann ins Deutsche übersetzte und bearbeitete Chronik des Breslauer Stadtschreibers Peter Eschenloer (gest. 1481) umfaßt die Jahre 1444-1479 und ist zum größten Teil aus der Rückschau geschrieben.

Nach der Wahl des Hus-Anhänger Georg von Podiebrad zum böhmischen König erwachsen Probleme zwischen Papst und König einerseits, Untertanen und König andererseits. Besonders die Einwohnerschaft Breslaus war gegen Georg von Podiebrad eingestellt, während Rat, Bischof und Domkapitel eher gemäßigte Positionen einnahmen. Durch eine Bewertung der gerade berichteten Ereignisse hinsichtlich ihrer Folgen für die Zukunft C das ist die Gegenwart der Abfassungszeit C wird dieser Bürgerschaft von Eschenloer in seiner Chronik ein Spiegel vorgehalten und ihr gezeigt, daß sie an der Misere C das heißt vor allem an Kriegsfolgen und -kosten C selbst schuld gewesen ist. Dabei sind die Kommentare Eschenloers teilweise sehr persönlich gefärbt; er bedauert z.B. aufs heftigste, daß die Bürgerschaft nicht auf ihre gewählten Vertreter vertraute, sondern sich von "den Predigern" manipulieren ließ.

Der Vortrag soll darlegen, welche Position die Kommentare Eschenloers innerhalb des Berichteten einnehmen, inwieweit sie die reale Geschichte (auch fehl-) interpretieren und inwieweit sie (auch für heutige Leser) zum Verständnis der Geschichte beitragen. Ein weiterer Aspekt wird der Vergleich mit der lateinischen Fassung sein: ist diese 'objektiver'?

Das Referat fügt sich so, unter den Aspekten 'Historisches Bewußtsein des Autors' und seine 'Deutung der Geschichte', in den dritten Themen-Schwerpunkt der Konferenz, 'Die Chronik und die Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit' ein. Dabei ist das Besondere an Eschenloers Chronik, daß aus einer sehr persönlichen Sicht die detailliert ausgeführte Geschichte einer eng begrenzten Region C Schlesien bzw. Breslau C für einen überschaubaren Zeitraum (rund 40 Jahre) geboten wird, die weniger einen historischen Rückblick bringen soll als vielmehr Lehre und Ermahnung zu bürgerlicher Eintracht und Rücksicht auf das Gemeinwohl: "Adir C do got vor sey C wirt yn dir [= Breslau] czwetracht herschen, wirt dy trawe zu dem gemeynem gute erleschen, das iczlich dein burger seinen eigen nucz vnd fromen wil suchen: du wirdest fallen yn dy vorstorunge [...]."

### **Bibliographie**

*Historia Vratislaviensis*. Ed. Hermann Markgraf. *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum* 7. Breslau, 1872.  
*Geschichten der Stadt Breslau*. 2 Bde. Ed. J. G. Kunisch. Breslau, 1827-28. Neuausgabe durch Gunhild Roth i.V.

---

## **The Sources for the Latin Chronicle of Durham Priory from British Library MS Harleian 3860**

*Lisa M. Ruch*

This paper is a sequel to the paper I delivered in 1996. At that time, a colleague and I were preparing an edition and translation of the Latin chronicle found in British Library Harleian MS 3860. This text, now titled *The Latin Chronicle of Durham Priory*, is currently going to press. Written at the behest of Edward I to prove his sovereignty over Scotland, the chronicle clearly displays its interest in the political conflicts in the north of England. The chronicle's indebtedness to Geoffrey of Monmouth is indisputable. C passages from the text clearly indicate the *Historia Regum Britannie* as a principle source. However, other sources of the Durham chronicle are not so clear. While the chronicler cites William of Newburgh, Roger of Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, and the *Chronicle of the Romans* (perhaps Marianus Scotus) as sources, these citations simply may be copied from the actual exemplar at hand.

In this paper, I will discuss the sources known to be available to scholars in Durham in the early fourteenth century C the time of Edward's request for justification of his Scottish campaigns C and the indications in the Durham chronicle that such sources were used.

I will discuss the documented holdings of the Durham library, the texts known to be held in the Priory's surrounding locales, and the relationship between these texts and the episodes recorded in the Durham chronicle. To conclude, I will suggest which chronicles are believed to be the true inspirations for the text compiled by the Durham chronicler to satisfy Edward I's wish for proof of his dominion over Scotland.

### **Bibliography**

*The Latin Chronicle of Durham Priory from Harleian MS 3860*. Edited and translated by Craig E. Bertolet and Lisa M. Ruch. [To be published by Boydell and Brewer as part of their series of Medieval Chronicle Texts].

Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Wallace Papers*. Maitland Club, 1841. [Edition of third portion of the chronicle in British Library Harleian MS 3860]

---

## **Chroniclers and the 'Spin' of Episcopal Resignation in Anglo-Norman England**

Just as 'spin doctors' today mold reports of high-level activities, so too did the Anglo-Norman chroniclers of eleventh- and twelfth-century England mold their versions of recent events. The particular 'spin' of resignation often colored intricate ecclesiastical issues of the time, issues complicated by attempts to reform the English church and strengthen its episcopal sees. Although some chroniclers held up the act of resignation as one pressed solely by spiritual motivation, others presented it as an effective tool in explaining the acts of a bishop whose acts might have been less than spiritually generated. Overall, the renditions of resignation in the chronicles shed light on how the writers attempted to create episcopal models by advancing important issues and agendas.

Many chroniclers, themselves monks, held up the monastic life as superior to that of episcopal leadership. Therefore, retreat to the monastery often colored their explanations of activities that in other sources indicate included attempts to increase spheres of influence and aggrandizement of power. Herman of Ramsbury, we are told, sought to leave office because illness and old age were pressing him to retire to the monastic life. However, when he received permission to move his see to a more prestigious and profitable area, as he earlier had requested, the pleas for resignation ended. Chroniclers also attribute the attempted abdications of the two archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm, to monastic sensibilities and dislike of official office. Yet in both instances, the specific requests to resign came at crucial points of conflict with the pope or the king. Whatever the reality of their desires and how they well may have wanted to escape the headaches of administrative travail the particular spin of the chroniclers features monastic refuge.

Other chronicles, pressed by the growing ideas of Church reform in England and concerns for purity of episcopal office, focused on resignation as a means to cleanse positions that had been gained through questionable efforts. Reports of the elevations of Remigius of Lincoln and Herbert of Norwich focus on how they had to travel to Rome to lay down their offices, tainted by simony, in order to be canonically reinstated. In this way, the chroniclers, relentless of those who disregarded reform policy, censured those involved and related what they saw as the only recourse for absolution. The dichotomy they present between the sinful simoniacs and the restored bishops clearly demonstrate contemporary attitudes toward the efficacy of resignation in restoring the bishop to a life of virtue and reestablishing the proper model.

In each case, the account of resignation explained circumstances within accepted norms and beliefs of the time. The 'spin' provided by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers acutely reflected their concerns for and standards of model episcopal behavior.

## **Bibliography**

### **Sources**

- Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church.* 2 vols. Ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett and C. N. L. Brooke. Oxford: 1981.
- Domesday Book.* 2 vols. London: Record Commission, 1783,
- Eadmer. *Historia novorum in Anglia.* Ed. Martin Rule. London: Rolls Series, 1884.
- Florence of Worcester. *Chronicon ex chronicis.* Ed. B. Thorpe. London: English Historical Society, 1848-49.
- Giraldus Cambrensis. *Vita Remigii.* Ed. J. F. Dimock. London: Rolls Series, 1977; rpt. 1964.
- Goselin of St. Bertin. *Liber Confortatorius.* Ed. C. H. Talbot. Rome: Studia Anselmiana, fasc. 37, 3rd series, 1955.
- The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury.* Ed. Marjorie Chibnall. London: Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1956.
- Hugh the Chantor. *The History of the Church of York 1066-1127.* Ed. and trans. Charles Johnson. London: Nelson Medieval Texts, 1961.

- The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*. Ed. and trans. Margaret Gibson and Helen Clover. Oxford: Clarendon press, 1979.
- Symeon of Durham. *Opera omnia*. Vol. 2 of *Historia regum*. Ed. Thomas Arnold. London: Rolls Series, 1885.
- William of Malmesbury. *De gestis regum*. Ed. William Stubbs. London: Rolls Series, 1887.
- CCC. *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*. Ed. N. S. E. A. Hamilton. London: Rolls Series, 1970.
- William of Poitiers. *Historie de Guillaume le Conquérant*. Ed. and trans. Raymonde Foreville. Paris, 1952.

### **Secondary literature**

- Alexander, James (1969). 'Herbert of Norwich, 1091-1119: Studies in the History of Norman England.' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6.
- Barlow, Frank (1963). *The English Church, 1000-1066*. London: Longman.
- CCC (1983). *William Rufus*. Berkeley: U. of California Press.
- Benson, Robert L. (1968). *The Bishop Elect*. Princeton.
- Douglas, David C. (1964). *William the Conqueror*. Berkeley: U. of California Press.
- Gibson, Margaret (1978). *Lanfranc of Bec*. Oxford.
- Hefele-Leclereq. *A history of the Councils of the Church*. Edinburgh, 1883; rpt. 1972.
- Southern, Richard (1963). *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*. Cambridge.
- Van Houts, Elizabeth M. C. (1988). 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror.' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10.

---

## **Giovanni Villani and the Aetiological Myth of Tuscan Cities**

*Francesco Salvestrini*

The paper I propose for the Conference (3rd Section, The chronicle and the reconstruction of the past), refers to the interpretation of the historical and mythical past to celebrate the present in the work of a civic merchant-chronicler among the most important writers in Late Medieval Italy. The paper is part of a study concerning political, institutional and cultural structures of Florence during the communal and early Renaissance period, based on legislative and literary sources.

Giovanni Villani (Florence, ca. 1276-1348) is undoubtedly one of the chief exponents of the Florentine historiography of the Fourteenth Century. His *Cronica*, especially dedicated to the history of the city, by the same way re-proposes and renews the characters of universal Chronicle of the first Middle Ages and of the Mendicant orders tradition, expounding the events of Florence, Italy and Europe from the Tower of Babel until 1346. Many studies have been devoted to Villani's chronicle. The text, still abundantly consulted by scholars as a source of political and economic history of Fourteenth-Century Florence, received important critical examinations. About it have been especially underlined the elements of realism, and the 'bourgeois' mentality of the author, interested in the economic activities of his contemporary city. In fact Villani presents in many chapters concerning the years 1300-1340 the Florence wealth as an important motivation of pride for the city, much more considerable than the presence of holy relics and religious memories.

Less attention has devoted, on the contrary, to the first part of the *Cronica*, centred on the origins of the Christian world and the ancient history of Florence, a part considered less interesting, less trustworthy and not original, in comparison with the following one. Yet in this section of his work the chronicler describes the foundation of many cities, especially Tuscan, and gives his explanation of local aetiological traditions. These first chapters are maybe the most important of the whole chronicle to

understand Villani's vision of the past and underline the function of it in his historical narration and celebration of the present.

The aim of my paper is to underline the importance of mythical and historical (inextricably connected in the text) narration of the origins as functional elements of the following development of Villani's chronicle. A limited space will be devoted to the old and long discussions concerning the acknowledgement of the sources of the chronicler. In fact the first aim of the report is to show the way Villani dealt with the aetiological tales of Tuscan cities in relation to his vision of history as epiphany of Florence's greatness.

The stated aim of the Florentine chronicler was to tell his fellow-citizens the glorious past of their city; a city which, during the first half of the Fourteenth Century, was one of the richest and most populated of the whole continent. The writer explained the historical 'mission' of Florence following the tradition of the new Rome. Yet his way to link up the birth and the development of the city with the history of the Urbs is quite original. Villani doesn't introduce Florence as a daughter of the Imperial Rome, but as heir of the republican one. Furthermore he does not think about his city as a chief of Tuscany by the political point of view. He speaks about an emerging commune which enjoys God's favour for the economic wealth and the loyalty to the papacy and to the Guelph Party. Money and trade of her merchants, together with the fidelity to the Church, are the main elements of the greatness of Florence and of her important 'mission' in the European context.

The origins of Pisa, Arezzo, Siena, Lucca, Fiesole, Cortona, Perugia in Villani's *Cronica* must be seen by this point of view. These cities weren't born to be submitted by Florentine people. We don't find in Villani an 'ideology' of territorial State. Nevertheless the antiquity of such a civitates (for instance the Etruscan tradition), or their political stress are shown by the chronicler just to underline the noble rise of Florence. Tuscany was an old and civilized country, and Florence was the most important city of it.

The paper will provide two different sections:

- 1 - the vision of the past in Villani's chronicle, with a brief historiographic examination of the literature concerning the chronicler and the so called 'Florentine Myth';
- 2 - a comparative analysis of the *Cronica's* chapters dedicated to classic or early-medieval origins of Tuscan cities, to underline the municipal and Florence-centred imprinting of the Villani's aetiology.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary sources***

Giovanni Villani (ca. 1276-1348). *Nuova Cronica*. Ed. G. Porta. Parma: Guanda, 1991.  
Ricordano Malispini. *Storia Fiorentina*. Ed. V. Follini. Firenze, 1816. Rpt. Roma 1976.

### ***Secondary literature***

- Benvenuti, A. (1995a). "'Secondo che raccontano le storie": il mito delle origini cittadine nella Firenze comunale.' In *Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana*. Pistoia. 205-52.
- CCC (1995b). 'Libellum fesulanum e il mito delle origini fiorentine.' In *Un archivio, una diocesi, Fiesole nel Medioevo e nell'età moderna*. Firenze.
- CCC (1998). 'Introduzione.' In H. C. Peyer. *Città e santi patroni nell'Italia medievale*. 2nd ed. Firenze. (Italian translation of Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron im Mittelalterlichen Italien*. Zurich, 1955).
- Bordone, R. (1991). 'Il passato storico come tempo mitico nel mondo cittadino italiano del medioevo.' *Società e storia* 14: 1-52.
- Cochrane, E. (1981). *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*. Chicago/London.
- Green, L. (1967). 'Historical Interpretation in Fourteenth-Century Chronicles.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 28: 161-78.
- CCC (1972). *Chronicle into History. An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-Century Chronicles*. Cambridge.



- Hyde, J. K. (1966). 'The Italian Social Chronicle in the Middle Ages.' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49: 107-32.
- CCC (1993). *Literacy and Its Uses. Studies in Late Medieval Italy*. Ed. D. Waley. Manchester.
- Klein, F. (1980). 'Considerazioni sull'ideologia della città di Firenze tra Trecento e Quattrocento (Giovanni Villani B Leonardo Bruni).' *Ricerche storiche* 10: 311-36.
- Maissen, Th. (1994). 'Attila, Totila e Carlo Magno fra Dante, Villani, Boccaccio e Malispini. Per la genesi di due leggende erudite.' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 152: 561-639.
- Mehl, E. (1927). *Die Weltanschauung des Giovanni Villani. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Italiens im Zeitalter Dantes*. Leipzig.
- Ragone, F. (1991). 'Le scritture parlate. Qualche ipotesi sulla redazione delle cronache volgari nel Trecento dopo l'edizione critica della "Nuova Cronica" di Giovanni Villani.' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 149: 783-810.
- Weinstein, D. (1968). 'The Myth of Florence.' In *Florentine Studies. Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*. Ed. N. Rubinstein. London. 15-44.

---

**The Necrology of the Birgittine Abbey, Mariënwater,  
Rosmalen, near 's-Hertogenbosch**

*Ulla Sander Olsen*

The Dutch Necrology of the North Brabantian Birgittine 'double' monastery Mariënwater, has been preserved in a copy made in 1648 and from then on kept up-to-date until our times, after 1713 by the Birgittine nuns in Maria Refugie, Uden, a direct continuation of Mariënwater. The manuscript, Uden MR, MS E:1, is in a very bad condition, caused by severe damage by moisture, when it during World War II was hidden in the ground in a not properly closed box. Fortunately, two copies, Uden MR, MSS E:3 & E:5, made before the War can help fill the gaps, where the text has become almost illegible or has disappeared altogether. The nuns' Necrology, can be supplemented by the monks' Latin Necrology, preserved in an eighteenth century copy in the State Archives in Antwerpen, Fonds Birgittijnen Hoboken, MS 9; a nineteenth century copy is found in Uden MR, MS F:Ho 2, Boek Hoboken.

Mariënwater was founded in about 1438; from that year date the first entries. At the first sight a necrology is 'only' a list of names, but a closer look at the small comments now and then attached to the entries, sporadically confirmed and/or supplemented by other sources, makes it clear that quite a lot of information can in fact be derived about the foundation and building history of the monastery, the first pioneers, the amount and qualities of the first candidates, their genealogical and geographical derivation, the religious and social life inside the enclosure, the relations between the female and male community, the properties and economy, the relations to the outside world, to the ecclesiastical authorities and to family, friends and benefactors, to daughter foundations and to other Birgittine houses.

Valuable supplementing sources to the Mariënwater Necrology are, for the first century of its existence, the so-called Bossche Protocolen (The Journals of 's-Hertogenbosch) preserved in the Municipal Archives there, and the Chronicle of abbess Marie van Oss from Dendermonde (Köln, Stadtarchiv, MS GA 178), which among other things also gives most interesting information on the foundation story of Mariënwater and its seven daughter houses, e.g. the pioneers, the founders and the economy. As for the sixteenth century the monks' above-mentioned Latin Necrology gives more detailed information on the single members of the two communities of monks and nuns, such as their personal qualities and their offices.

For lack of the factual Chronicle, lost at some time or other in the course of the turbulent history of Mariënwater, so much can be derived from the above-mentioned documents that the lost chronicle may,

as it were, be reconstructed, although, of course, day by day accounts of all events cannot possibly be expected.

Several preserved late medieval, beautifully illuminated manuscripts, executed in Mariënwater, together with pieces of art (paintings, sculptures, church silver, embroidery etc.) having belonged to this monastery bear witness of its high cultural standard.

Only the first one and a half century of Mariënwater's existence will be relevant at this conference on the medieval chronicle. To perfect the picture I shall, however, very briefly, at the end, sketch the history of Mariënwater until its final suppression in 1713.

The edition of the Necrology of Mariënwater and of the Chronicle of Abbess Maria van Oss from Dendermonde, both in my opinion the most important sources to the history of the Birgittine Order in the Low Countries, is being prepared, in connection with the history of the five Birgittine settlements in the archdiocese of Utrecht.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Unprinted sources***

Antwerpen. Rijksarchief. Fonds Birgittijnen Hoboken. MS 9.

Cologne. Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. MS GA 178.

's-Hertogenbosch. Bisschoppelijk Archief. Fonds Mariënwater. MS A.M.Frenken, Het klooster Mariënwater, alias Koudewater.

's-Hertogenbosch. Gemeentearchief. De Bossche Protokollen, 15th century.

Uden, Maria Refugie, MSS E:1, E:3, E:5, E:18, E:20, F:Ho 2.

### ***Secondary literature***

Hermans, C. R. (1848). *Verzamelingen van kronyken, charters en oorkonden betrekkelyk de stad en meijerij van 's-Hertogenbosch*. I. 's-Hertogenbosch: P.Stokvis.

Koldewey, A. M., ed. (1990). *In Buscoducis 1450-1629. Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch. De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance*. Tentoonstellingscatalogus Noordbrabants Museum, s-Hertogenbosch. Maarsen: Gary Schwartz/SDU.

Liebergen, L. C. B. M. van, ed. (1986). *Birgitta van Zweden 1303-1373. 600 jaar kunst en cultuur van haar kloosterorde*. Tentoonstellingscatalogus. Uden: Museum voor Religieuze Kunst.

Mudzaerts, Dionysius (1624). *Oorsprongh, begin ende vervolgh van het gheloof ende de kerckelycke geschiedenissen in onse Nederlanden*. Antwerpen.

Nyberg, Tore (1965). *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*. [Diss. U. Lund, 1964.] Bibliotheca historica Lundensis 15. Lund: Gleerup.

Poelman, J. C. M. (1968). 'Van klooster tot psychiatrisch ziekenhuis.' *Ad Aquas frigidias*. Supplement 1-3. Rosmalen: Coudewater.

Sander Olsen, Ulla (1977). 'Et klosterbibliothek û Mariënwater û fra ca. 1434-1713. Forsøg pø en rekonstruktion.' København: Danmarks Biblioteksskole. [unpublished]

CCC (1995). 'Handschriften uit het Birgittinessenklooster Mariënwater te Rosmalen bij 's-Hertogenbosch.' *Serta devota in memoriam Guilielmi Lourdaux*. II. Ed. Werner Verbeke e.a. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia 1:21. Leuven: Leuven UP. 225-54.

Schutjes, L. H. C. (1876). *Geschiedenis van het bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch* 5. St. Michielsgestel: Bisdom van 's-Bosch.

Stooker, Karl, and Theo Verbeij (1997). *Middelnederlandsche handschriften uit kloosters en semi-religieuze gemeenschappen in de Nederlanden*. 1-2. Miscellanea neerlandica 15-16. Leuven: Peeters.

Strang, Elke (1995). 'Das Kloster Marienforst bei Bad Godesberg von seiner Gründung im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Auflösung 1802.' Diss. U. Bonn. Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Bonn. Bonn: Stadtarchiv.

- Veenendal, Alie van (1989). 'Decoratie en illuminatie in de laat-middeleeuwse handschriften van het klooster Mariënwater te Rosmalen.' Doctoraalscriptie Kunstgeschiedenis. KU Nijmegen. [unpublished]
- Zwijssen, C. J. (1922-23). 'Uit de doodenlijst (Obituarium) van Mariënwaeter of Couwater.' *Bossche bijdragen* 5: 187-96.
- CCC (1923). 'Coudewater.' *Taxandria* 30: 198-201.

---

### *La Chronique de L'Empereur Clarimundo*

*Rosário Santana Paixs*

Quand j'ai regardé le programme de ce Forum j'ai tout de suite pensé au texte du XVIème siècle que j'étudie depuis quelques années et qui a été le principal sujet de ma thèse de doctorat. Ce texte s'appelle *Chronique de L'Empereur Clarimundo*. Ce texte a été écrit par un des grands historiens des Découvertes portugaises, Joo de Barros. Mais avant de se célébriser comme historien il a écrit dans sa jeunesse ce livre, dont je vais vous parler, qui s'insère dans un genre (de la Péninsule Ibérique) très à la mode à cette époque: ce sont les livres de chevalerie (*libros de caballerias*). Ce genre littéraire, et particulièrement la *Chronique de L'Empereur Clarimundo*, posent des problèmes narratifs qui ont à voir, directement, avec les thèmes principaux de cette conférence.

*Clarimundo*, tel que d'autres livres de chevalerie qui l'ont précédé en Espagne (et je dit en Espagne parce que celui-ci est le premier livre de chevalerie écrit par un portugais) est intitulé par son auteur *Chronique* et la narration se développera comme une histoire fictionnée des origines du Portugal. Le héros, Clarimundo, fils des Rois de Hongrie et successeur de l'Empereur de Constantinople, aurait été le grand-père du comte D. Henrique, qui a été de son côté, le père du premier roi du Portugal, D. Afonso Henriques. C'est à dire qu'en poursuivant toutes les aventures fantastiques et merveilleuses de cet héros, Clarimundo, un chrétien aidé par le magicien Fanimor tout au long de sa vie, on est invité à croire au grand destin des portugais, dont les grands faits des Découvertes seront, d'ailleurs, présentés déjà comme des proficies.

La valeur mytique de cet antecesseur pourrait expliquer, au XVIème siècle, la valeur du peuple portugais et de la noblesse portugaise au temps où les portugais s'affirmaient de plus en plus dans le monde.

On voit que le texte souligne des problèmes qui nous intéressent. Si on commence par le titre on sait que ce terme, *Chronique*, est employé, à l'époque, sans rigueur historique dans un moment où la frontière entre fiction et histoire était encore vague. Mais ce genre, les livres de chevalerie, et particulièrement ce livre dont je vous parle, exploite cette situation jusqu'à la limite. En effet toute l'histoire vit de cette fusion/confusion entre le littéraire, la fiction et l'historiographie; à ce propos on pourra constater que même les sources sont fictionnées. Dans le cas de *Clarimundo* l'histoire aurait été transmise à l'auteur dans la cour du roi D. Manuel, par un gentilhomme étranger qui l'a lue en Hongrie et gardait dans la mémoire l'original des faits tels qu'ils se sont passés. Il s'agit d'un 'topos' de ce genre littéraire (d'autres exemples vous seront donnés) où les auteurs utilisent la même stratégie pour mieux 'travailler' l'illusion historique. Fiction vs. véracité historique sera, alors, un des thèmes fondamentaux de cette oeuvre et ce genre en général, d'où émergent d'autres également importants, à savoir:

- la fonction de la chronique dans un contexte social et littéraire très précis
- la conscience historique de l'auteur
- la fonction du passé pour le présent de l'auteur

Pour terminer j'aimerais ajouter à ma communication une référence aux images utilisées pour illustrer quelques uns de ces livres, miniatures qui nous présentent l'imaginaire plus fort de l'époque (des

châteaux, des combats, des tournois, des chevaliers et des dames dans la cour, scènes de courtoisie, le départ et l'arrivée entre la terre et la mer, l'île...).

Ces dessins, très proches de la bande dessinée, soulignent les frontières très tenues entre la réalité et la fiction.

## **Bibliographie**

### **Sources primaires**

Joo de Barros. *A Primeira Parte da Cronica do Emperador Clarimundo, donde os Reys de Portugal descendem*. Lisboa, por António Alvarez, 1601. (Coimbra, Biblioteca da Universidade, R28-21)

CCC. *Crónica do Imperador Clarimundo*. Com prefácio e notas de marques Braga. Vols. I, II, III. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1953.

### **Bibliographie secondaire**

Cacho Blecua, José Manuel (1979). *Amadis: Heroismo Milico Cortesano*. Madrid: Cupsa Editorial.

Eisenberg, Daniel (1982). *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age*. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta.

Marín Pina, María del Carmen (1993). 'La História y los primeros libros de caballerias españoles.' In *Medioevo y Literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la A.H.L.M.* Vol. III. Ed. Juan Paredes. Granada. 183-92.

Santana Paixs, Rosário (1999). 'Mémoire Et Idéal Historique: L'Imaginaire Des Sources Dans Les Livres De Chevalerie Ibériques Au Début Du XVIe Siècle.' In *Le Topos Du Manuscrit Trouvé. Actes du colloque international, Louvain-Gand, 1997. Études présentées par Jean Herman et Fernand Hallyn*. Louvain-Paris: Éditions Peeters. 27-33.

---

## **Gegenwart und Vergangenheit in der Sicht Fredegars**

*Georg Scheibelreiter*

Nachdem vor drei Jahren auf dem Kongreß von Utrecht am Beispiel des sogenannten Fredegar der Begriff 'Chronik' zur Diskussion gestellt worden ist, soll nun das historische Bewußtsein jenes unbekanntem Geschichtsschreibers untersucht werden.

In einer Übergangszeit, in der die Mentalität der Zeitgenossen einem sichtbaren Wandel unterliegt, in der traditionelle Lebensauffassungen fragwürdig werden, und neue, verpflichtende Formen des menschlichen Verhaltens erst im Entstehen sind, ändert sich auch die Sicht der Vergangenheit in beträchtlichem Maße.

Wie sieht demnach ein Autor des 7. Jahrhunderts die Geschehnisse des fünften und sechsten? Steht er in einer Kontinuität oder empfindet er einen historischen Bruch? Klaidet er die Vergangenheit in das Gewand der eigenen Zeit oder behandelt er die Gegenwart nicht anders als die vergangenen Jahrhunderts? Macht er bei der Wiedergabe der Ereignisse keinen Unterschied C erzählt er also ohne eigentlichen zeitlichen Horizont C oder finden sich bei ihm Ansätze eines histori(sti)schen Bewußteins?

Um diese Fragen einer Antwort näherzubringen, müssen Vorlagen, die Fredegar für seine Chronik benützte, zu bestimmten Themen vergleichsweise herangezogen werden. Zugleich soll auf zeitgenössische Charakteristika seiner Schilderungen aber auch auf die dabei wichtigen Probleme der historiographischen Gattung hingewiesen werden.

Ziel der Ausführungen ist keine 'Patentlösung'; es soll jedoch versucht werden, den Einfluß der sich neu formierenden Gesellschaft und ihrer Mentalität auf den Chronisten aufzuzeigen und dadurch dessen Abstand von den Werken seiner Vorgänger verstehbar zu machen.

## Historiographisches und romanhaftes Erzählen in deutschsprachigen Alexanderromanen

Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn

Eine gattungsbezogene Betrachtung mittelalterlicher Alexanderromane im Problemfeld 'history or literature' steht vor mehreren methodischen Schwierigkeiten. Auf der einen Seite ist eine systematische Definition von Historiographie und Fiktion im Mittelalter schwierig, auf der anderen Seite besteht weitgehende Unsicherheit über die Gattungszugehörigkeit der Alexanderromane, die trotz des C traditionell üblichen C Begriffs immer wieder verschiedenen Gattungsmustern zugewiesen wurden und werden.

Da solche eindeutigen Zuordnungen zu literarischen Großgattungen in ihrer relativen Starrheit den Möglichkeiten des Umgangs mit dem Alexanderstoff kaum gerecht werden können, orientierte ich mich an dem von Hugo Kuhn entworfenen Modell einer Theorie der Gattungen des 15. Jahrhunderts.

Angesichts der Schwierigkeiten, diese Literatur im herkömmlichen Gattungsraster unterzubringen, versucht Kuhn mit der Unterscheidung von einerseits Inszenierungs- und andererseits Funktions- bzw. Strukturtypen (auch Faszinationstypen genannt) ein flexibleres Unterscheidungsmodell zu entwerfen. Die Texte sind dann jeweils Kombinationen eines gegebenen Faszinationstyps (religiöser Bereich, Alltagspraktiken, Staat, Recht, Geschichte, Liebe, Gesellschaft etc.) und eines Inszenierungstyps (ein spezifischer Formtypus, eine zusammenhängende Überlieferung; im konkreten Fall: Historiographie und Roman).

Es ist nun nicht zu erwarten, daß ein Alexanderroman in genau einem Inszenierungstyps C historiographisch oder romanhaft C aufgeht. Stattdessen ist von einer Mischung beider Typen in je verschiedenen Verhältnissen und einer mehr oder weniger umfassenden Realisierung der Möglichkeiten auszugehen, in die die spezifischen Interessen und der historischen Stand der jeweiligen Literaturverhältnisse einfließen.

Die Bestimmung der Faszinationstypen, die den Alexanderroman ausmachen, ist zunächst einfacher, aber nicht weniger komplex. Im weitesten Sinne beschäftigen sich die Alexanderromane mit dem Problem der Macht, daß in verschiedenen Faszinationstypen reflektiert wird C Staat, Geschichte, Religion, Liebe etc. Auch im Bereich der Faszinationstypen ist also von einer je nach Interesse und historischer Problemlage komplexen Überlagerung von Typen auszugehen.

Die Kombination und Entfaltung vor allem der beiden Inszenierungstypen Historiographie und Roman möchte ich an den Alexanderromanen Rudolfs von Ems (13. Jh.), Seifrits (14. Jh.) und Johannes Hartliebs (15. Jh.) vorführen.

### Bibliographie

#### Quellen

Johann Hartliebs *Alexander*. Hrsg. Reinhard Pawis. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 97. München/Zürich, 1991.

Rudolf von Ems. *Alexander. Ein höfischer Versroman des 13. Jahrhunderts*. 2 Bde. Hrsg. Victor Junk. Leipzig, 1928; Neudruck in einem Band: Darmstadt, 1970.

*Seifrits Alexander*. Aus der Straßburger Handschrift hrsg. v. Paul Gereke. DTM 36. Berlin, 1932.

#### Sekundärliteratur

Cary, George (1956). *The Medieval Alexander*. Ed. D. J. A. Ross. Cambridge; rpt 1967.

Ehlert, Trude (1989). *Deutschsprachige Alexanderdichtung des Mittelalters. Zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Geschichte*. Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe I, Bd. 1174. Frankfurt a.M.

Gumbrecht, Hans-Ulrich, und Ute Link-Heer, Hrsg. (1983). *Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*. XI/1. *La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*. Heidelberg.

Kuhn, Hugo: Versuch (1980). 'Über das 15. Jahrhundert in der deutschen Literatur.' In *Literatur in der Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters*. Hrsg. Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht. Heidelberg. 19-38.

---

## Conflicting Legends: Snorri, Saxo, and the Origins of Scandinavian History

*Betsy Springer*

In this paper, I will examine the different stories arrived at by two thirteenth-century historians, both from a Scandinavian background, who both set out to write a history of Scandinavia. Snorri Sturluson, from an Icelandic chieftain's family, framed a history of Norway, rather grandly named *Heimskringla* (Circle of the World), based on native Icelandic saga models and in his native language; he later met his death attempting to bring Iceland under Norwegian dominion. Saxo Grammaticus, working in association with the Danish court and church, envisioned his *Gesta Danorum* along classical lines, writing in Latin and basing it on classical models but using Scandinavian mythology in its origins.

The medieval royal houses of Scandinavia stemmed from two royal lines, whose roots reached back into the far distant legendary past. The kings of the Ynglings and Skjldings, who were also mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf*, were descended from euhemerized pagan gods, and the heroes in their retinues, became nearly mythical figures. The stories that crystallized around these figures and the quasi-historical battles they fought are the common material Snorri and Saxo have to work with to give an account of the origins of their people. Both historians also highlight the connections these early kings have with the gods Óðinn (battle, death) and Freyr (fertility), kingly ideals that did not fade away after the North was Christianized. A close study of Saxo's and Snorri's uses of the famous characters in the Scandinavian past will reveal much about the intentions of the authors in late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Europe. By examining examples of where Snorri and Saxo are working on the same heroes and events, in the light of the extant sources they are known to have used, I hope to demonstrate the two historians' divergent ideas about the origins of the emerging Scandinavian kingdoms.

### Bibliography

#### Sources

Saxo Grammaticus. *Gesta Danorum*. I. Ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder. Munksgaard: Fr. Bagge, 1931.

*Saxo Grammaticus' The History of the Danes*. Vols. I and II. Trans. Peter Fisher. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1979.

*Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1911.

*Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. Trans. Lee M. Hollander. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

#### Secondary literature

Ellehøj, Svend (1965). *Studier over den ældste norrøne historieskrivning*. Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 26. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Evans, David A. H. (1981). 'A King Agni: myth, history, or legend?' In *Speculum Norroenum: Norse Studies in Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre*. Ed. Ursula Dronke et al. Odense: Odense UP. 89-105.

Guðnason, Bjarni (1963). *Um Skjöldungasögu*. Reykjavík: Bókaútgafa Menningarsjóðs.

Lönnroth, Lars (1986). 'Dómaldi's death and the myth of sacral kingship.' *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature: New Approaches to Textual Analysis and Literary Criticism*. Ed. John Lindow et al. Odense: Odense UP. 73-93.

## Die Funktion der Illuminationen in den mittelalterlichen Chroniken in Böhmen

Milada Studnišková

Der Beitrag untersucht die Funktion und Typus der Illuminationen in der Verhältnis zum Charakter des Textes und zu der Stellung des Auftraggebers der Handschriften. Man kann beobachten, daß das Milieu der Geistlichkeit forderte bei gestalterischen Präsentation des Landes die Abbildung der heiliggesprochenen Mitglieder des Herrscherhauses (*Dalimil-Chronik, Cronica Bohemorum*), ein anderer Ausschmückungssystem mit dem Akzent auf die Repräsentation des Herrschers charakterisiert dann die Handschriften für den König (*Chronik des Přibík von Radenín, ...*), oder für die Mitglieder des böhmischen Adels. Nach der Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts finden wir schon auch die Wiedergaben der historischen Ereignisse. Es wird versucht werden den Grund zu finden, warum keine Chroniken des Typs der *Grandes chroniques de France* mit umfangreichen Bildzyklen in Böhmen entstanden sind, selbst wenn die 'offizielle Historiographie', d.h. die mit der politischen Macht verbundene geschichtlichen Werke, bestanden sind.

Bei den einzelnen Handschriften wird auch der Stil des Malers und der historische Kontext der Entstehung des Denkmals untersucht werden.

### Bibliography

- 'A művészeti élet és kapcsolatai Pozsonyban, Zsigmond király uralkodásának idején (Art in Bratislava under the Reign of King Sigismund).' *Ars Hungarica* 12 (1984): 29-49.
- 'Ceremónia és reprezentáció a Richental-krónikában (Ceremony and Display in the Chronicle of Richental); Olmütz város jogkönyve (Book of Law of Olomouc); Martinic-biblia (Bible of Martinic). Cseh nyelvű ótestamentum (Czech Old Testament); Schellenberg-biblia (Schellenberg Bible). Hanuš z Kolovrat psaltériuma (Psalter of Hanus of Kolovrat).' In *Catalogue Művészet Zsigmond király korában (Art in the Time of King Sigismund)*. Ed. E. Marosi, L. Beke, T. Wehli. Budapest, 1987. 32-42; 51-52; 107-12.
- 'Uminí v dobí Zimunda Lucemburského (Art in the Time of Sigismund of Luxembourg).' *Uminí* 38 (1990): 266-69.
- 'Hoforden der Luxemburger.' *Uminí* 40 (1992): 320-28.
- 'Illuminierte mittelalterliche Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Klosters in Osek.' With H. Hlaváková. In *800 Jahre des Klosters in Osek (1196-1996)*. Katalog der Ausstellung. Osek-Praha, 1996. 22; 23-30.
- 'Las iluminaciones del Martirologio de Usuardo.' In *Martirologio de Usuardo*. Volumen de estudios. Ed. M. Moleiro. Barcelona, 1998. 93-162.
- 'Aquila imperatoris. Das Motiv des zweiköpfigen Adlers bei den Luxemburgern.' In *King John of Luxembourg and the Art of his Era*. Ed. K. Benešová. Praha, 1998. 132-42.

---

### Robert Bruce: An Outlaw and a Gentleman

Thea Summerfield

The depiction of Robert Bruce, later King Robert I of Scotland, in John Barbour's *The Bruce*, written c. 1375, has much to delight the modern reader. Barbour presents us with a down-to-earth hero-in-the-making, a man of flesh and blood, vulnerable in body and in spirit, who at the same time overtly displays many of the features considered necessary for an ideal prince. Yet the ideal king does not, as does Robert Bruce, make a fool of himself in attire and behaviour. The juxtaposition of ideal and buffoonery results

from the successful combination of Barbour's "epic largeness" and colourful vignettes (Bennett 116-117). Some of the latter carry clear overtones of other, contemporary literary compositions.

Historical events indisputedly determine the skeletal framework of the story of Robert Bruce's progress from rebel to king. However, a framework does not make a story, least of all one with such lasting appeal. Moreover, Barbour wrote with hindsight, and possibly an educational purpose; by the time the *Bruce* was finished, Robert Bruce had been dead for nearly fifty years. The way in which the skeleton was fleshed out by Barbour is an intriguing aspect of the *Bruce*.

It has never been possible to pinpoint Barbour's sources, which are usually taken to have consisted of unidentified, now lost chronicles, and oral sources such as ballads and anecdotes. To these may perhaps be added echoes of other textual compositions (I shall refer to them as 'antecedents'), which affected Barbour's story, such as outlaw tales and abusive songs. In the course of the fourteenth century the Scots had acquired a reputation for violence and sustained outdoor living which Barbour had to negotiate. It shall be my aim to show the way in which Barbour's text reveals, in its structure and lexis, the indirect influence of such texts.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Editions***

John Barbour. *Barbour's Bruce*. Ed. M. P. McDiarmid and J. A. C. Stevenson. Scottish Text Society, 1981-85.

CCC. Ed. A. A. M. Duncan (with parallel translation). Edinburgh, 1997.

### ***Secondary literature***

Bennett, J. A. W. (1986). *Middle English Literature*. Oxford.

Born, E. K. (1928). 'The perfect prince.' *Speculum* 2: 470-504.

Brie, F. W. D. (1937). *Die nationale Literatur Schottlands*. Halle.

Ebin, Lois (1971-72). 'John Barbour's *Bruce*: Poetry, History and Propaganda.' *Studies in Scottish Literature* 9: 218-42.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1969). *Bandits*. London.

Summerfield, Thea (1997). 'The Political Songs in the *Chronicles* of Pierre de Langtoft and Robert Mannyng.' In *The Court and Cultural Diversity*. Ed. Evelyn Mullaly and John Thompson. Cambridge. 139-48.

---

## **Latin literature, Spanish memory, Historical source: Three (different) chronicles of the last medieval war in the Pyrenaic border**

*Pascual Tamburri*

The main limit of the researches conducted until now on the end of the Spanish Middle Ages has been the lack of new sources of information. Even if the re-organisation of the archives and the publication of documents has proved to be extremely useful for the shaping of new possibilities of research, the chronicles edited and studied are, more or less, the same as twenty years ago. More important from the medievalists' point of view, even these chronicles need to be revisited, and their diffusion, mutual and external influence and internal structure have to be determined. In the case of the kingdom of Navarre, the problem is still more pressing, since there the end of the Middle Ages signified the final step in the incorporation to the Spanish Crown, and the debates of the historians are still disturbed by the polemics between the politicians. Again, the social function of the historian depends on the information provided by the chronicler, and the question requires all our attention.



While the Modern Navarrese chronicles have been followed to the letter until very recently (for instance, the Moret - AlesCn chronicle), the Medieval testimonies have often almost been forgotten. Navarre does not lack a particular tradition of chronicles, but new research on its role among the Aragonese and Castillian Medieval historiographies is necessary.

On the one hand, it has to be considered to what extent there exists a national Spanish tradition of chronicles in the late Middle Ages. On the other, it has to be examined whether Navarre could be included into this or not.

In this paper I would like to trace the 'biography' of three chronicles of the war which cancelled the Navarrese independence. First of all, the Castillian chronicle of Luis Correa, referred only to the war itself; secondly, the Latin chronicle of the war by Elio Antonio de Nebrija, that has often been published but seldom seriously studied; finally, an unpublished, anonymous chronicle, today preserved in the National Library, Madrid.

My aim is to determine whether they could be considered 'Medieval' chronicles or not, which were their (common?) sources, and which kind of relations can we presume to have existed between the authors of the chronicles. All these questions should lead to a critical edition of the sources, and to a new consideration of their use as information for the historians.

### **Bibliography**

- Alesón, F. de (1969). *Annales del reyno de Navarra*. 5. Biblioteca de la Gran Enciclopedia Vasca. Bilbao.
- Boissonnade, P. (1975). *Histoire de la réunion de la Navarre à la Castille. Essai sur les relations des princes de Foix-Albret avec la France et l'Espagne (1479-1521)*. Paris, 1893; rpt. Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, Genève.
- Campión, A. (1923). *Después de la Conquista (...)*. 'Euskariana' 7, Pamplona.
- Correa, Luis (1513). *La conquista del reyno de Navarra, dirigida al ilustre y muy magnífico señor don Gutierre de Padilla, comendador mayor de la Orden de caballería de Calatrava, presidente de las Órdenes de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara, del Consejo Secreto de la reina nuestra señora*. Toledo, Juan Varela.
- Jornadas Históricas 475 Aniversario Conquista de Navarra*. S. E. V. 'Cuadernos de Sección. Historia-Geografía' 11. San Sebastián, 1989.
- Floristán Imízcoz, A. (1986). 'Incorporación a Castilla y desarrollo institucional.' In Vázquez de Prada (1986). 25-54.
- CCC (1987). *La Historia de Navarra en la Edad Moderna (1512-1750). Primer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra*. 'Príncipe de Viana' 48, anexo 6. Pamplona. 167-93.
- Góngora y Torreblanca, G. de [Juan de Sada y Amézqueta] (1628). *Historia apologética y descripción del reyno de Navarra y de su mucha antigüedad, nobleza, calidades, y reyes que dieron principio a su Real Casa y procuraron sus acrecentamientos, y de la duración della, y susessos y hechos heroicos y famosos de sus naturales, en armas y conquistas*. Pamplona: Labayen.
- Lacarra, J. M. (1973). *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*. Vol. 3. Pamplona: Aranzadi.
- López de Palacios Rubios, J. (1576). *De obtentionis retentionisque regni Navarrae justitia*. Lyon.
- Pérez, J. (1988). *Isabel y Fernando. Los Reyes Católicos*. Madrid: Nerea. 287.
- Ruano Prieto, F. (1989). *Anexión del reino de Navarra en tiempo del Rey Católico*. Madrid: Tello.
- Sánchez Alonso, B. (1952 -). *Fuentes de la Historia española e hispanoamericana*. Madrid.
- Suárez Fernández, L. (1984). *Fernando el Católico y Navarra*. Madrid: Rialp.
- Tamburri Bariain, P. (1994). 'Luis Correa, un testimonio coetáneo de la conquista de Navarra.' In *Tercer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra, septiembre de 1994*. Published on CD-ROM.
- Yanguas y Miranda, J. (1843). *Historia de la conquista del reino de Navarra por el Duque de Alba*. Pamplona: Imprenta de Longás y Ripa.

Vázquez de Prada, V. (1986). 'Conquista e incorporación de Navarra a Castilla.' In *Cuestiones de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de Navarra*. Ed. V. Vázquez de Prada et al. Pamplona. 11-24.

-----

### **Mythe et Histoire dans les chroniques d'Italie du sud (ixe-xiie siècles)**

*Huguette Taviani-Carozzi*

A la suite de Paul Diacre, rédacteur de l'*Histoire des Lombards* vers la fin du VIIIe s. au Mont-Cassin, des historiens de l'aire culturelle cassinienne et lombarde, se réclamant de son exemple, ont voulu continuer à écrire les 'gestes' du peuple des Lombards restés, en Italie méridionale, hors d'atteinte de la conquête carolingienne mais divisés et affaiblis face aux ambitions impériales d'Aix-la-Chapelle et de Byzance, de la Rome pontificale également. A l'instar de leur modèle, ils ont ouvert leurs récits par la reconstitution d'un 'temps des origines' mythique, une histoire exemplaire destinée à éclairer le temps présent, les événements vécus ou plus proches de leur mémoire personnelle. Mais si le 'temps des origines' du peuple lombard, tel qu'il a été reconstruit par Paul Diacre, répondait d'abord au désir de fixer par écrit les mythes et épopées véhiculés par la tradition orale, il n'en fut pas exactement de même pour les 'continuateurs' de l'*Histoire des Lombards*, le moine Erchempert auteur d'une *Brève Histoire des Lombards de Bénévent* (fin IXe s.) ni pour l'abbé Radoald en qui nous avons identifié l'auteur de l'*Histoire de Salerne* (fin Xe s.), dite sous l'appellation de *Chronicon Salernitanum*. L'un et l'autre, en effet, ont reconstruit un 'âge d'or' des Lombards de Bénévent et de Salerne pour forger des modèles de souverains et de gouvernement et pour critiquer parallèlement, voire pour tourner en dérision, certains acteurs de l'histoire 'contemporaine', empereurs, pontifes de Rome, quelques princes lombards aussi.

Les débuts de l'historiographie normande, produite en Italie méridionale dans la même aire culturelle, se situent dans cette continuité rhétorique et idéologique. Chez Aimé du Mont-Cassin, rédacteur vers la fin du XIe s. d'une *Histoire des Normands* connue par sa version française du XIVe s., chez Alexandre de Telese qui prend Aimé pour modèle en écrivant son *Histoire du roi Roger de Sicile* vers 1140, le mythe des origines de la conquête ou de la royauté normande sert un même plaidoyer, en faveur des nouveaux maîtres de l'Italie méridionale.

Les 'mythes d'origines' dans l'historiographie latine de l'Italie méridionale, du IXe au XIIe siècle, restent la meilleure expression d'idéologies politiques qui clairent, de manière originale, l'histoire de l'Occident médiéval.

### **Bibliographie**

#### **Sources**

- Aimé du Mont Cassin. *Ystoire de li Normant (Storia dei Normanni)*. Ed. V. de Bartholomeis. FSI 76. Rome, 1935.
- Alexandre de Telese. *Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie, Calabriae atque Apulié*. Ed. L. de Nava. Commentaire D. Clementi. FSI 112. Rome, 1991.
- Chronicon Salernitanum*. Ed. U. Westerbergh. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia III. Stockholm, 1956.
- Erchempert. *Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventum Degentium*. Ed. G. Waitz. MGH SS RR LL. Hanovre, 1878. 231-64.
- Geoffroi Malaterra. *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*. Ed. E. Pontieri. RIS Muratori V, 1. Bologne, 1927-28.
- Guillaume de Pouille. *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*. Ed. M. Mathieu. Palerme, 1961.
- Léon d'Ostie (=Leo Marsicanus), Pierre Diacre. *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*. Ed. H. Hoffmann. MGH SS 34. Hanovre, 1980.
- Paul Diacre. *Historia Langobardorum*. Ed. L. Bethmann, G. Waitz. MGH SS RR LL. Hanovre, 1878. 12-187.

## Études

Taviani-Carozzi, H. (1992). *La Principauté Lombarde de Salerne*. 2 vol. Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 152. Rome.

CCC (1996). *La Terreur du Monde. Robert Guiscard et la conquête normande en Italie*. Paris.

CCC (1998). 'Le mythe des origines de la conquête nonnaride en Italie.' In *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di L. R. Ménager*. Ed. E. Cuozzo, J. M. Martin. Bari. 57-89.

---

### Yūsuf B. ʿabīd al-Idrīsī

*Amin Tibi*

Yūsuf B. ʿabīd al-Idrīsī, Moroccan mystic (Ḥfī) claiming Idrīsīd descent, was born c. 966/1559. After studying for six years at the *madrasas* of Fas and in the meantime visiting leading Moroccan Ḥfīs, he proceeded in 990/1582 to Egypt to meet the leader of the Bakriyya Ḥfī order, shaykh Muammad b. al-Hasan al-Bakrī. Eventually Yūsuf arrived at adramawt and, in 1036/1627, at the age of seventy, he dictated at Mariama *Multaat al-rila*, an account of his journey from Morocco to adramawt, in which he gave the reasons for his departure to the East and his decision to settle in adramawt.

Nearly three quarters of the MS (120 folios, found in the Great Mosque of Tarīm in adramawt) deals with social and cultural life in Morocco during the reign of the Saʿdid sultān Amad al-Manūr. Yūsuf describes, at some length, the curricula at the various *madrasas* in Fas as well as the numerous Ḥfī orders (*arḥas*) in Morocco. He also briefly describes the defence measures taken on Morocco's Atlantic coast to ward off Portuguese attacks.

In Cairo, Yūsuf b. ʿabīd attended *tawḥīd* (dogmatic theology) lectures at al-Azhar Mosque delivered by shaykh Makhḥf al-Maghrbī, who informed him that Abū Bakr b. Sīm, adramawt's leading Ḥfī, was expecting a young *sharḥ* from Fas. "If you are a *sharḥ*," shaykh Makhḥf said to Yūsuf, "go to him, for he is your man." Yūsuf thereupon visited shaykh Abū Bakr b. Sīm in ʿAyn-t near Tarīm in adramawt, where the shaykh gave him a warm welcome and named him a teaching shaykh.

When Abu Bakr died eight months later (992/1584), Yūsuf thought of returning to Morocco, but he changed his mind as shaykh Abū Bakr had urged his disciples to learn *ʿilm al-tawḥīd* at his hands, since adramawt was devoid of this *ʿilm*. At Sayʿun mosque, Yūsuf lectured on al-Sanūsī's *al-ʿAḥḍa al-ughr* and became famous throughout adramawt for his lectures on *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*. Yūsuf gives his reasons for settling in adramawt as follows: earning a living, destiny, wives, offspring, and mutual benefits to the adramīs and to himself.

The picture depicted of Yūsuf b. ʿabīd in the MS is that of a Ḥfī with a great thirst for knowledge and a fervent desire to meet prominent Ḥfī leaders in Morocco and the East. The impression that comes across in the MS however, is that of a second-rate writer who lacks style and originality.

## Bibliography

Yūsuf b. ʿabīd al-Idrīsī. *Multaat al-rila*. Ed. and annotated, with full introduction and bibliography by Amin T. Tibi. Casablanca, 1988.

*Die alder excellenste cronyke van Brabant* (Antwerpen, Roland vanden Dorpe, 1498), a hitherto relative unknown chronicle, can be characterized as a synthesis of the medieval historiographical tradition in Brabant. The Middle-Dutch chronicle consists of two parts: the first part contains a geographical description of Brabant, the so-called >etymology of Brabancia= (an etymological explanation of the nine letters of the word Brabancia) and 36 chapters containing vitae of Brabantish saints. The second part is actual the chronicle-part tells in 65 chapters the history of the dukes of Brabant, beginning with the creation, progressing through the Troyans via the legendaric lineage of Brabon Silvius the Swanknight, the Merovingians and Carolingians and closing with the coronation of Maximiliaan I in 1485. In chapter 4 is given a imposing view of the genealogy of the dukes of Brabant, parallel to the genealogical line of the French kings.

In the paper this relative unknown but not insignificant chronicle will be introduced and presented. Furthermore, a description will be given of the relation of the work to the preceding historiographical tradition in Brabant and also of the intended function of the chronicle. This conservative chronicle seems to join the nationalistic tendense in the Brabantish historiography at the beginning of the fifteenth century as a reaction to the >Bourgondisering= of the Netherlands. The lives of saints in the first part of the work is a significant difference with the preceding tradition, what leads to the question what function can be ascribe to the first part. In the text of the chronicle the singularity of Brabant is emphasized: the Brabantish territorium is the centre of the Carolingian territory and the land and people of Brabant are presented as the most eminent on earth. The question is wich circumstances did lead to the realization of this chronicle; how does the political vision verbalized in the chronicle relate to the real political situation of the duchy Brabant on that moment?

### **Bibliography**

- Ampe, A. (1977). 'Walter Bosch, monnik van Affligem, en zijn twee bewerkingen van Jan van Boendale's Brabantsche Yeesten.' *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 60: 3-84.
- Anrooij, W. van (1993). 'Hennen van Merchtenen en de lof op BRABANCIA.' *Spiegel der Letteren* 35: 153-57.
- CCC (1994). 'Zwaanridder en historiografie bij Hennen van Merchtenen.' *Spiegel der Letteren* 36: 279-306.
- Stein, R. (1994). *Politiek en historiografie. Het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*. Miscellanea Neerlandica X. Leuven.

---

### **Genese und Kommunikative Funktion der Nestorchronik**

*Iliana Tschekova*

Die chronistische Tradition der mittelalterlichen Russ geht auf die Anfänge ihres Schriftums zurück. Die Chronik zählt zu den ersten Vorbildern der altrussischen Originalliteratur, sie beinhaltet das mittelalterliche historischen Wissen über die Vergangenheit der russischen Ethnos, den slavisch-byzantinischen Areal, den skandinavischen Norden, den asiatischen Osten und die biblische Archaik. Sie ist ein Teil der Literaturtradition der *Slavia Orthodoxa* und nimmt ihre historische Stellung unter den byzantinischen Chroniken und albulgarischen chronistischen Werken ein.

Es wird der Versuch unternommen die Mechanismen der Folklorwirkung abzuleiten, die den komplizierten Synkretismus der Poetik der *Nestorchronik* (*Povest' vremennyh let*) der 12. Jh. geprägt haben.

Die *Nestorchronik* stammt aus der Feder eines Schreibers, aber ihre zeitliche Gestaltung ähnelt in vielerlei Hinsicht der Entstehung eines Folklorwerkes. Die 'Älteste Kiever Fassung' (30 - 40 Jahre des XI Jh.) ist der Hauptkern, das 'Bekante', das immer wieder modifiziert und mit dem 'Neuen' (der späteren Information) bereichert wird.

Die Fragmente über die Gründung der russische Staatlichkeit, über die Fürsten Oleg, Igor, Olga, Swetoslav und Vladimir präsentieren die 'Mündlichkeit' der *Nestorchronik* am besten. Die Dialogizität im weitesten Sinne als Erscheinungsform des mündlichen kommunikativen Aktes ist für die behandelten Fragmente der *Nestorchronik* eigentümlich. Darin spiegelt sich die der Folklore eigene Kommunikationsart (z. B. Intonation, Geste, Handlung).

Die Lotmanische Definition der Folklore als 'Ästhetik der Idenität' eröffnet methodologisch einen Zugang zum Verständniss der Poetik der Chronik. Innerhalb der chronikale Narration realisiert sich dieses Prinzip durch den Folklore eigenen Pleonasmus C die Repetition und das Transponieren des Motivs auf eine andere Ebene mit anderen Gestalten und in anderer Situation. Beispielhaft ist das Paradigma der 3 oder 2 Brüder in der Mythologischen Deutung des Weltalls (Sem, Ham Japhet; Kain und Abel), des Ortes (Kij, Stek, Horiv; Radim und Wjatko) und der Staatlichkeit (Rjurik, Sineus, Truwor; Oleg, Jaropolk, Wladimir; Swjatopolk, Boris, Gleb und Jaroslav) und andere.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich sagen, daß die *Nestorchronik* mehrere Eigenschaften des mündlich-poetischen Textes in sich birgt: das Variable, das Kollektive und das Kommunikative. In der vorgenommenen Interpretation sind diese jeweils der (1) Entstehung der *Nestorchronik*, (2) Verbreitungsweise und (3) Rolle des Verfassers zugeordnet. Diese Merkmale lassen sich in der Poetik der einzelnen Abschnitte, sowie in der Chronik als Ganzheit, in der Hervorhebung des 'Bekanntes', des dem Leitmotiv Ähnlichen und im Verständnis von Fiktion finden.

Im Lichte der Theorie von Bachtin für die Redegenre (Bachtin, 1979) kann man die *Nestorchronik* als eine Redeeinheit des Makrogenres betrachten.

### **Bibliographie**

- Bachtin, M. (1979). 'Problema retschewych zhanrow. Problema teksta w lingwistike, filologii i drugich gumanitarnych naukach.' In *Estetika slowesnogo twortschestwa*. Moskau.
- Lotman, J., und R. Trautmann (1931). *Die altrussische Nestorchronik*. Leipzig.
- Nasonova, A. N. (1950). *Die russische Nestorchronik*. Moskau/Leningrad.
- Tschekova, I. (1997). 'Die chronistische Erzählung über den Fürsten Oleg und das skandinavische Epos.' *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 37: 5-16.
- Schachmatov, A. (1908). *Rasysskanija o drevnejschich russkich letopisnych swodach*. Sankt Peterburg.

---

### **Imitation and Invention in an 18th-Century Persian Baroque Stylist: Mirza Mahdi Khan's *Tarikh-i Jahangusha-yi Nadiri* and *Durrah-yi Nadirah***

*Ernest Tucker*

[For the abstract of this paper, see under Meisami]

---

### **The application of quantitative methods to the historiographic production of medieval benedictine authors:**

## **new opportunities for the reconstruction of the monastic world-view**

*Steven Vanderputten*

The project 'Monastic historiography in the Middle Ages: social positioning and self-image', which is supported by the 'Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Vlaanderen' has been set up in order to analyse the attitudes of the medieval monastic historiographer, with emphasis on new methods developed in the last decennies. A co-operation between the Universities of Gent and Leuven, the Royal Library and the General Archives in Brussels has made it possible to enlarge the array of questions and to develop the research at different levels. The searchers of the department of medieval history in Gent are especially concerned with the large-scale analysis of sources by means of quantitative methods. Their aim is mainly to retrieve information about the working methods of the historiographer, and to study to what extent the medieval monks from the Southern Netherlands showed interest in the outside world and how they represented themselves as part of a 'cosmic setting'. Thanks to the online repertory Narrative Sources ([\\_ HYPERLINK "http://www.lib.rug.ac.be/" \\_\\_http://www.lib.rug.ac.be\\_](http://www.lib.rug.ac.be/)), the result of another project of the FWO which still undergoes updating, problems of prospection can be reduced to the minimum. Of course these objectives exclude detailed case studies for every historiographer in the Middle Ages, but a broader analysis will allow us at least to reveal structures that correspond as much as possible to the perceptible outlines of the mentality of the monastic historiographer. Can it be rightfully assumed that his historical experience was an emanation of the monastic perception of liturgical *memoria*? Were his insights intrinsically aimed at the negation of secular aspects of time and history, or were they, on the contrary, part of a social construction? As demonstrated in the past, it is quite certain that from the eleventh and twelfth century onwards the word *historia* was used to design facts from the past as well as selection and representation. This implies a certain level of consciousness with the authors regarding their influence on the transmission of knowledge. The unexpected indications that theodicy did not have a central role in medieval historiography can only be rejected as false, refined or blandly accepted by means of verification using parameters open to objectification.

Thanks to the ascending impact of informatics and the spreading of a new idiom among historians that bases itself on computer processed data, it will be possible to have a closer look at sources that passed through the hands of hundreds, if not thousands of searchers. To make the paradox complete, we can say that the abstractions that have to be made due to the scale of this study are a genuine blessing. Most historians who attempted to give a survey of medieval historical thought and practice have lost themselves either in pure theories from theologians or in discussions about the individual characteristics of the historians. Structures of monastic historiographic thought have not yet been described with the aid of verifiable data, which makes it difficult to go beyond the level of the pure anecdote. The conception that exact time and space are exclusive determinants for the interpretation of structures within the text has prevented large-scale interpretations, apart from some interesting examples that are valuable in their own right, but have had little response. It seems clear to us that there were enough problems to speak of a methodological deadlock, perhaps the start of a new, yet to be developed, paradigm.

In our study we focused on the possibilities of applying serial analysis of thematic variations to monastic historiography, aimed on the reconstruction of mentalities. The method was conceived primarily to be applicable to all sorts of historiographic genres, including variations in time, space and environment. The development of computer-assisted dataprocessing makes this option realistic, with the advantage that the technique of handling these units was created outside our discipline and without any preconceptions about the sources. Relatively simple data bases in ACCESS, combined with the graphical and calculatory faculties of EXCELL, have proved to be quite useful tools to categorise the interests of the author as an individual and as a member of a social group and to provide historians with comparable results.

It seems quite clear that this contribution will be most at its place in the third theme, 'The Chronicle and the reconstruction of the past', mainly because this method has its merits towards attempts

to understand attitudes concerning the world as well as the past and its description. This application was made on several clusters of sources and can be represented with graphs. A simple comparison with the existing literature about the historiographic production in the medieval monasteries and the integration of monastic thought in the praxis of these authors will confirm our statements that a descriptive approach is not fully satisfying and that a two-way model (with attention being paid to the relation source-continuations but also to the internal structure of the historiographic tradition within monasteries) will provide new insights into the study of these sources and their authors.

### **Sources and Bibliography**

The ideal source repertory is the beforementioned data base 'Narrative Sources' which can be consulted for free. A new update was launched a few months ago and searchers are still preparing corrections and additions. One can consult this site to retrieve information about the authors, the time wherein the source was written, editions, literature, filiations with other sources and so on. In a few years' time it will make the old repertories obsolete, considering the opportunity of regular updating.

A few titles from influential authors are worth mentioning:

- Coleman, J. (1992). *Ancient and medieval memories. Studies in the reconstruction of the past.* Cambridge.
- Guenée, B. (1985). 'L'historien et la compilation au XIIIe siècle.' *Journal des Savants*: 119-35.
- Goetz, H. W. (1993). 'Verschriftlichung von Geschichtskennntnissen.' In *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter.* Ed. U. Schaefer. Tübingen. 223-53.
- Pranger, M. B. (1994). 'Monastieke toekomstverwachting. Een beschouwing over de geschiedopvatting van Bernard van Clairvaux.' *Millennium* 8: 18-34.
- Struve, T. (1992). 'Die Wende des 11. Jahrhunderts. Symptome eines Epochenwandels im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung.' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 112: 324-65.
- Vaughan, R. (1986). 'The past in the middle ages.' *Journal of Medieval History* 12: 1-14.
- White, H. (1987). *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore and London.

---

### **From *De Rebus Hispanie* to the *Estoria de los Godos*: The Romanisation of the Toledano**

*Carol Ann van der Walt*

This paper focuses on the historiographical tradition of the vernacular traditions of Rodrigo Jiminez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispanie*. Spanish translations of this Latin chronicle finished in 1243 appeared as early as the mid 13th century and as late as 1989, often in amplified or interpolated form and producing a discrete vernacular tradition distinct from the Latin one. This paper explores the issues of the relationship between the vernacular manuscripts within the context of the move from Latin to the vernacular in the Iberian peninsula during the reign of Alfonso X.

My paper will deal with the translation known as the *Toledano Romanzado*, an important text 'in between' the Latin original and the subsequent Alfonsine creations, and will offer a detailed comparison between the Latin text and its vernacular scion.

---

### **The Chronicle of Peter van Os**

In the beginning of the 16th century Master Peter van Os, one of the four town secretaries of 's-Hertogenbosch, wrote a chronicle, mainly in Dutch, about the Duchy of Brabant and the city of 's-Hertogenbosch. The original manuscript has been preserved and consists of some 400 folios. Besides, there is one 18th century copy.

### **The function of the chronicle**

It is unknown why Van Os wrote the chronicle and who commissioned him but it is suspected that he worked under the authority of the city council.

Around 1500, 's-Hertogenbosch, fourth capital of Brabant, got into serious financial problems because of the war with the Duchy of Gelre. Therefore the city was gradually forced to give up its independence in favour of the Duke of Brabant. In those days the centralizing Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty was entitled to this function.

With the chronicle the aldermen could have defended the city's autonomy. The sources used also indicate this function of the chronicle. Van Os did not mention his sources but through analysis of the text the two main ones were discovered: firstly the historiographical source *Die Alderexcellenste Cronyke van Brabant* and secondly a documentary source, a cartulary. *Die Alderexcellenste Cronyke van Brabant* was printed in 1497. Van Os used the first reprint with its addendum from 1512. He copied freely but selectively. This selection he mixed with records from his very interesting second source, the cartulary. This cartulary, which has also been preserved, was compiled by Van Os himself. The cartulary contains well over 400 charters, mainly dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, which he all included in his chronicle. In his short description of the event he would refer to the folio number in the cartulary in which the whole charter could be found. On the basis of the two sources Van Os wrote a city chronicle in which especially those facts were mentioned that refer to the legitimization of the power of the Dukes of Brabant and to the privileges granted to 's-Hertogenbosch by these same Dukes. By means of the reference system the city council of 's-Hertogenbosch and any other users had quick and easy access to any formal information required.

### **The chronicle and the reconstruction of the past**

In his introduction, which consists of the first 40 folios, Van Os relied completely on *Die Alderexcellenste Cronyke van Brabant* including the legends of Troy, the Swan Knight, etc, to explain the ancestry of the Dukes of Brabant.

In the following part Van Os applied two dating systems: the period of government of the Dukes of Brabant and the aldermen years of the city of 's-Hertogenbosch. By means of this he clearly shows that the lawful descent of the Dukes of Brabant and the independent functioning of the city had his special attention. In this part Van Os only took the actual events concerning the Dukes and the Duchy as a whole from *Die Alderexcellenste Cronyke van Brabant*. He left out interpretations and moralising parts as well as events in other cities that had nothing to do with 's-Hertogenbosch. The events concerning 's-Hertogenbosch he took from the cartulary. The factual, straightforward story did not become more personal until contemporary history, especially when narrating the Gelder war.

### **Bibliography**

*Die alderexcellenste cronyke van Brabant*. Antwerpen, 1497 o.s.

*Die alderexcellenste cronyke van Brabant, Hollant, Seelant, Vlaenderen int generael met vele nieuwe addicien dye in die ander niet gheweest en zijn, gheprent thAntwerpen int iaer ons Heeren MCCCCC ende XII in octobri*. Antwerpen, 1512.

Ampe, A. (1977). 'Walter Bosch, monnik van Affligem, en zijn twee bewerkingen van Jan van Boendale's Brabantsche Yeesten.' *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 60: 3-84.



- Bijsterveld, A.-J. A., J. A. F. M. van Oudheusden, R. Stein, eds. (1998). *Cultuur in het laatmiddeleeuwse Noord-Brabant. Literatuur - Boekproductie - Historiografie*. 's-Hertogenbosch.
- Blockmans, W. (1998). 'Functies van een Bossche stadskroniek.' In Bijsterveld et al. (1998). 139-42.
- Dijck, G. C. M. van (1998). 'Peter van Os ontmaskerd. Het drieluik van Boston.' In *De Brabantse Leeuw. Tijdschrift voor Genealogie* 47: 116-24.
- Ebels-Hoving, B. (1987). 'Nederlandse geschiedschrijving 1350-1530. Een poging tot karakterisering.' In *Genoehclieke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland*. Ed. B. Ebels-Hoving, C. G. Santing, C. P. H. M. Tilmans. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 4. Hilversum. 215-42.
- Hage, T. (1998). 'Van Zwanen en Trojanen. Laatmiddeleeuwse origografie in Noord-Brabant.' In Bijsterveld et al. (1998). 75-88.
- Houts, E. M. C. van (1995). *Local and regional chronicles*. Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental. Fasc. 74. Turnhout.
- Lith-Droogleever Fortuijn, A. M. van, J. G. M. Sanders, G. A. M. Van Synghel, eds. (1997). *Kroniek van Peter van Os. Geschiedenis van 's-Hertogenbosch en Brabant van Adam tot 1523*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Kleine serie nr. 87. Den Haag.
- Pleij, H. (1998). 'De late triomf van een regionale stadscultuur.' In Bijsterveld et al. (1998). 8-23.
- Sanders, J. (1998). 'De kroniek van Peter van Os: constructie en inhoud.' In Bijsterveld et al. (1998). 89-100.
- Stein, R. (1994). *Politiek en historiografie. Het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*. Miscellanea Neerlandica 10. Leuven.
- CCC (1998). 'De kroniek van Peter van Os en de Brabantse historiografie.' In Bijsterveld et al. (1998). 122-38.
- Synghel, G. van (1998). 'Het dilemma van de typologie: stadskroniek versus gewestelijke kroniek.' In Bijsterveld et al. (1998). 101-9.

---

**La reconstruction du passé dans la *Chronica universalis*  
de Sigebert de Gembloux (H1112):  
la *veritas evangelica* contre l'ère chrétienne de Denys le Petit**

*Peter Verbist*

Dans l'historiographie médiévale, les textes qui rejettent l'exactitude de l'ère chrétienne n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'une étude systématique. Pourtant, Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken a déjà montré que cette problématique complexe offre une belle occasion pour entrer dans le monde particulier des intellectuels médiévaux comme Marianus Scottus (H1082) et Heimo de Bamberg (H1139).

On découvre une telle réflexion sur l'ère chrétienne aussi chez Sigebert de Gembloux (H1112), qui a produit une critique fondamentale dans l'oeuvre la plus importante de sa main, la *Chronica universalis* (1084/1111). En ce qui concerne l'année de la passion de Jésus Christ, il confronte l'information chronologique des évangiles aux données computistiques qu'on peut retrouver dans le *Cyclus decemnovennalis* de Denys le Petit, le créateur intellectuel de l'ère chrétienne.

D'abord, Sigebert reproche Denys le Petit d'avoir appliqué l'ère chrétienne d'une manière inconsidérée (*inconsiderate*), qui s'écarte de la vérité évangélique (*discordat a veritate evangelii*). Puis, en se servant d'arguments bien rationnels, Sigebert prouve que l'ère chrétienne ne peut être correctement (re)construite. En plus, il cherche selon la *veritas evangelica* et selon les règles computistiques (*in ratione compoti*) l'année de la passion de Christ, qu'il retrouve dans la treizième année du cycle dionysien, qui est l'an 12 de note ère chrétienne:

Table: La reconstruction de l'année de la passion de Christ par Sigebert de Gembloux

| LA SEMAINE<br>SAINTE                 | 21/3                      | 22/<br>3 | 23/3 | 24/3                  | 25/3                    | 26/3                  | 27/3                   | 28/3                  |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| ~ <i>Veritas<br/>Evangelii (34)</i>  |                           |          |      | DO<br><i>luna xiv</i> | VR<br><i>luna xv</i>    | ZA<br><i>luna xvi</i> | ZO<br><i>luna xvii</i> |                       |
| ~ <i>Dionysius<br/>Exiguus (566)</i> | ZO<br><i>luna<br/>xiv</i> |          |      |                       | DO<br><i>luna xviii</i> | VR<br><i>luna xix</i> | ZA<br><i>luna xx</i>   | ZO<br><i>luna xxi</i> |

Cette conclusion de Sigebert n'est pas originale, étant donné que plus d'un siècle auparavant Abbon de Fleury (H1004) avait déjà daté la passion de Christ à l'an 12. Pourtant, il n'existe aucune indication que Sigebert aurait connu l'oeuvre chronologique de cet abbé de Fleury. Heureusement, on a pu identifier la source véritable de Sigebert, c'est-à-dire le *Chronicon* de Marianus Scottus (H1082), qui est explicitement cité dans une autre oeuvre de Sigebert, le *Libellus decennalis* (1092).

Néanmoins, cette découverte ne résout pas toutes les questions puisque Marianus Scottus a corrigé l'ère dionysienne avec 22 ans (et pas avec 21 ans comme Sigebert l'a fait!). À cause de cette curiosité, on ne peut donc plus exclure la possibilité théorique que Sigebert aurait bien connu l'oeuvre chronologique d'Abbon de Fleury. Ou est-ce qu'il faut résoudre la divergence entre Sigebert de Gembloux et Marianus Scottus en investigant l'an 0 (oublié?) de notre ère chrétienne?

### Bibliographie

- Cordoliani, A. (1949). 'Abbon de Fleury, Hériger de Lobbes et Gerland de Besançon sur l'ère de l'Incarnation de Denys le Petit.' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 44: 463-87.
- Van de Vyver, A. (1935). 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury.' *Revue bénédictine* 47: 125-69.
- Verbist, P. (1998). 'De "Epistola ad Hugonem" van Heriger van Lobbes (Æ1007): een belangrijk chronologisch traktaat.' *Millennium* 12: 30-42.
- Von den Brincken, A.-D. (1957). *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising*. Düsseldorf.
- ƧƧƧ (1960). 'Die Welt- und Inkarnationsära bei Heimo von St.-Jakob. Kritik an der christlichen Zeitrechnung durch Bamberger Komputisten in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts.' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16: 155-94.
- ƧƧƧ (1982). 'Marianus Scottus als Univeralhistoriker iuxta veritatem Evangelii.' In *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*. Ed. H. Löwe. Veröffentlichungen des Europa-Zentrums Tübingen: Kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe, I. 970-1009.
- Wiesenbach, J. (1986). 'Der Liber decennalis im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen Komputistik.' In *Liber decennalis*. Monumenta Germaniae historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 12. 31-168.

-----

**Shadows of History:  
Possible parallels between the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of  
Geoffrey of Monmouth and *De excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* of Gildas**

*Robert M. Vermaat*

To me, one of the more fascinating aspects of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* has always been that nagging question of historicity. Determining the real value of Geoffrey's work seems to be susceptible to the historical fashion of the moment. At times it is rejected as a complete falsification, or seen at best

as a pseudo-history. In the last few years, some sort of popular revival seems to be the case. This is due to the recent › discovery= of King Arthur in the person of the enigmatic Riothamus, who happens (for a change) to be a real historical person. Riothamus= career on the continent mirrors Geoffrey=s version of Arthur to such an extent, that it is hardly impossible to deny that the former was at least a blueprint of the latter. This of course raises the interesting questions; did Geoffrey (or his underlying source) even know what he was writing about? Did he know that his Arthur was once Riothamus (as we still are not sure about), of did he knowingly steal this man's career to build his own romance?

The same question, but not the same subject, relates to the subject of this paper. It seems that Geoffrey repeated this › unknowing= presentation of events in a somewhat changed context at other occasions. What reads as pure fiction, elaborated upon for the benefit of the readability, might in fact be a piece of genuine history, not recognized even by Geoffrey.

The part I refer to is an interesting, but still not much quoted string of events directly following the departure of the Romans from Britain. This is the story of archbishop Guithelinus, endowed by the people of Britain with the unenviable task of reorganizing the depleted defences of the island. He manages to secure troops from Armorica, under the leadership of Constantine, who receives the crown. At first value this part of Geoffrey's narrative seems to be an invention of his own.

Closer examination of the details however gives one that strange notion that it is somewhat familiar. This enigmatic account in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* seems to be echoed in Gildas= description of the events. Geoffrey is relying heavily for most of his material upon Gildas's *De excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* for the transfer from Roman authority to British independence. Both here and with Gildas, we have a man of some power yet not a king, who works through a kind of mandate from the sub-Roman authorities to save Britain from invading forces. Both men do so in inviting troops from the continent, who then fight the invaders successfully. Do we have here a warped duplication of the *Adventus Saxonum*? Or might it even be a shadow of the real historic event? The name of Guithelinus also appears elsewhere, twice in connection with Vortigern. Archaeology has found the possible proof of Roman military presence in Britain after than 410, whereas it searches fruitlessly for the keels of Hengist<sup>2</sup>

Of course, Geoffrey has been prone to exaggeration and fantasy for the sole benefit of pleasing his audience, mixing history and literature in the process. But in recent years, the notion has gained momentum that he just incorporated what others had written before him, without distinction. Where, for example, the *Historia Brittonum* states that more different stories of the same subject (e.g. the death of Vortigern) are known, Geoffrey manages to include both, seemingly unaware of the fact. In this case, Geoffrey follows up the story of Guithelinus with the well-known legend of Vortigern, Hengist and the *Adventus Saxonum*.

In this paper, that is based upon a study still in progress, I will go into the details of this possible duplication, that in the process could also shed some light on the question of Geoffrey=s sources. Might there have been a tradition, possibly from Brittany, that kept the real story of the *Adventus Saxonum* alive, whereas in Britain it was supplanted with the legend about Hengist, Horsa and Rowena? How much of this fiction is possibly veracity? Did Geoffrey really have no clue what he was writing about? And does that make his *Historia Regum Britanniae* more historical?

## **Bibliography**

- Bromwich, R., and A. O. H. Jarman, eds. (1991). *The Arthur of the Welsh, the Arthurian legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff; rpt. 1995.
- Crick, Julia (1991). *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV. Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge.
- Curley, Michael J. (1994). *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. University of Puget Sound.
- East, William Gordon (1974). *De Contemptu Britonum: a History of Prejudice*. New haven: Yale UP.
- Griscom, Acton (ed.) and Ellis Jones, R. (trans). *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. London, 1929; rpt. 1977.

- Hammer, Jacob, ed. *Geoffrey of Monmouth, Variant Version of his Historia Regum Britanniae*. Massachusetts, 1951.
- Jarman, A. O. H. (1991). 'The Merlin Legend and the Welsh Tradition of Prophecy.' In Bromwich and Jarman (1991). 117-46.
- Roberts, Brynley F., ed. *Brut Y Brenhinedd, Llanstephan MS I Version*. Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series V. 1971.
- ƧƧƧ (1991). 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*.' In Bromwich and Jarman (1991). 97-116.
- Rosenhaus, Myra J. (1983). *Britain between myth and Reality: The Literary-Historical Vision of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae"*. Indiana University.
- Tatlock, J. S. P. (1950). *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its Early Vernacular Versions*. Berkeley.
- Thorpe, L., trans. *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*. Penguin Classics, 1966.
- Wright, Neil (ed.). *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. I. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568. Cambridge, 1984.
- Wright, Neil (ed. and trans.). *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. V. *Gesta Regum Britannie*. Cambridge, 1991.

---

**Disjointed Narratives in Late Medieval Castilian Historiography:  
The *Estorias del fecho de los godos***

*Manolo Hijano Villegas*

The *Estoria del fecho de los godos* is a XVth century chronicle in Castilian whose content consists of a combination of the two seminal works of XIIIth century Castilian historiography: Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada=s *De rebus hispaniae* (through a translation known as *Toledano Romanzado*) and Alphonse X s the Wise=s incomplete *Estoria de España*.

In this paper I will illustrate how the study of this particular model of chronicle can illuminate on the reception of historical discourse within the Castilian late medieval society, with a special reference to the *Estoria de España*, the seminal work originating in the workshops of the XIIIth century Castilian king Alphonse X.

Such study of reception seems particularly relevant, given that the many Ƨ and brilliant Ƨ scholarly works that have dealt with Alphonse=s historical production have focused on establishing the original authorial versions of the *Estoria de España* (i.e. those in which the king played a part in their composition) and on the circumstances (historical, ideological) that surrounded their production.

For an approach centred on questions of authorship and author=s intention, a chronicle such as the *Estoria del fecho de los godos*, which fails to integrate the material of its sources into a coherent narrative that might accord to some identifiable ideological motivation, can only be of interest to the extent it might contain some new evidence on the authorial text.

However, in this paper a s vindication= of the value of this chronicle (and other similar ones) in the study of reception will be done, according to the two different lines of argument sketched below and which in the paper will be further developed.

The first one will follow the role of the *Estorias del fecho de los godos* in the construction of a representation of the past adequate to the political situation of the late XVth century Castile. It will suggested that the diffusion achieved in this period by this chronicle and other similar ones seem to point to a s revival= the *Æ* Histories of the Goths®, a model of historical narrative whose origin can be traced back to the VIII-IXth century. This is probably the most fertile and long-lived historical myth constructed in the Iberian Peninsula; according to it the Castilian royal lineage descend from the Gothic kings that

ruled over the whole territory of the Iberian Peninsula before the Muslim invasion broke that original unity. In the context of the XVth century and the union of Castile and Aragon under the rule of the Catholic Kings, it wouldn't be far reaching to interpret this narrative as a › myth of origin=: the monarchy constructs itself as the power with the right to rule over a geographical unit (*España*) inhabited by people that also share a common identity (› *los españoles*=).

The second line of discussion owes to an important work in the field of Hispanic studies by John Dagenais. It will be argued that an study of reception and the social dimension of chronicles should focus on the actual texts that were read by medieval audiences. Both literary and textual critics often banish from their analysis and editions manuscripts such as the ones of the *Estoria del fecho de los godos* due to their their incoherence, fragmentarity, indeterminacy and › hybridity= (the fact that they are a mixture of heterogenous elements); it will be argued that these features are inseparable from the medieval experience of reading. If we eliminate them for the sake of some idea of › text= more according to the printed page, we are eliminating codes that they had to negotiate with for the construction of meaning. The manuscripts of the chronicles have to be revisited paying special attention to those elements that are not exclusively › textual= but, in the terminology of Jerome McGann, › bibliographical= (scribal idiosyncracies, marginal annotations, jottings, cross-references, existence or not of miniatures, illustrations, initials, etc.)

In conclusion, it will be suggested that, rather than mere documents of the lost texts of XIIIth century works, the manuscripts of the *Estorias del fecho de los Godos*, are the extant *monuments* of Castilian historiography. As monuments, they were looked at by historians such as Valera (s. XVth), Zurita (XVI), Pineda (s. XVII) who would rewrite their narratives to elaborate their own representations of the past which would be so influential on our own.

## **Bibliography**

### ***Manuscripts***

Manuscripts of the *Estoria del fecho de los godos*:

*Bi*: 5/iv/22, University Library, Birmingham.

*D*: 9559, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

*B*: 9563, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

*F*: 1517, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid..

*T*: 6426, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Manuscripts of the *Estoria de España*:

*L*: 1298, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

*U*=: 6441, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Other chronicles:

*Egerton 288*: British Museum. *Crónica de Castilla*

*Egerton 289*: British Museum. *Crónica manuelina*

### ***Editions of medieval texts***

Alfonso el Sabio. *Primera Crónica General de España*. Ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. 2 vols. Madrid: Gredos, 1977.

CCG *Versión crítica de la Estoria de España*. Ed. Isabel Fernández Ordóñez. Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal-Universidad Autónoma, 1993.

*Crónica de España del arzobispo Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Tradújola en castellano y la continuó hasta su tiempo Don Gonzalo de la Hinojosa ....* Ed. Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle. Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España, CV-CVI. Madrid: 1893.

*Crónica de 1344*. Ed. Diego Catalan y María Soledad de Andrés. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de los hechos de España*. Ed. Juan Fernández Velarde. Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1989.

### **Secondary literature**

- Catalán, Diego (1962). *De Alfonso X al conde de Barcelos. Cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal*. Madrid: Gredos.
- GGG(1992). *La Estoria de España de Alfonso X: creación y evolución*. Madrid: Gredos.
- GGG(1997). *De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí. Códices, crónicas y cuadernos de trabajo*. Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal-Universidad Autónoma.
- Dagenais, John (1994). *The ethics of reading in manuscript culture. Glossing the >Libro de Buen Amor=*. Princeton: Princeton UP.
- Fernández Ordoñez, Isabel (1992). *Las A Estorias@ de Alfonso el Sabio*. Madrid: Istmo.
- Foucault, Michel (1997). *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Trad. A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Routledge.
- Gómez Pérez, José (1958). *La más antigua traducción de las crónicas del Toledano*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (1998). *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Linehan, Peter (1993). *History and historians of medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- McGann, Jerome J. (1991). *The textual Condition*. Princeton: UP.
- Martin, Georges (1992). *Les juges de Castille. Mentalités et discours historique dans l=Espagne médiéval*. Paris.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón (1956). *Los godos y la epopeya española: >chansons de geste= y baladas nórdicas*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- GGG(1923). 'Relatos poéticos en las crónicas medievales. Nuevas indicaciones.' *Revista de Filología Española* 10: 363-72.
- Sánchez Alonso, B. (1947). *Historia de la historiografía española*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- GGG (1925). 'Las versiones en romance de las crónicas del Toledano.' In *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*. I. Madrid. 341-54.
- Suárez Fernández, Luis (1975). *Nobleza y monarquía. Puntos de vista sobre la Historia política castellana del siglo XV*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.
- Tate, Robert (1970). *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*. Madrid: Gredos.
- GGG(1996). 'The rewriting of the historical past.' In *Historical Literature in Medieval Iberia*. Ed. Alan Deyermond. London: Queen Mary and Westfield College. 85-103.
- White, Hayden (1986). *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP.

---

### **Die Troja Sage C Slawo-byzantinische und romanische linguistische und kulturelle Beziehungen**

*Radka Vlahova*

Die Übersetzung der Troja Sage hat einem neuen Erzählstil hervorgebracht und die Literatursprache des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts um viele umgangssprachliche Besonderheiten bereichert. Die besonderen Merkmale der unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen und Interpretationen des Themas bieten eine Möglichkeit, nachzugehen, auf welche Weise dieses Motiv Bestandteil der Literatur verschiedener Nationen geworden ist. Darüber hinaus können wir kulturelle Parallelen entdecken, die auf der gemeinschaftlichen kulturellen Wahrnehmung und Mentalität des Mittelmeerraumes basieren.

Das Thema erreichte die bulgarische Kultur des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts auf Umwegen. Texte mit dem Motiv der Troja Sage sind für die Forscher slawo-byzantinischer und slawo-romanischer

Beziehungen von besonderem Interesse. Das Thema stammt aus dem alten Griechenland, verbreitete sich über die römische Kultur und wurde höchstwahrscheinlich vom Kroatischen ins Bulgarische übersetzt.

Wir möchten die Vorstellungen von Kultur, Geschichte und Gesellschaft, wie sie mit sprachlichen Mitteln in den verschiedenen Übersetzungen wiedergegeben werden, in ihrem Zusammenhang präsentieren. Diese Forschung kann einen Beitrag leisten zur Vorbereitung eines Thesaurus, der das gemeinschaftliche Wertemodell der Kultur des Mittelmeerraumes sowie dessen Vielfalt in einzelnen Bevölkerungsgruppen - den byzantinischen, romanischen und slawischen (im Vergleich zur germanischen Gruppe) darstellen wird.

### **Bibliographie**

[Only the titles in Latin alphabet have been given]

Capaldo, Mario (1973). *Il romanzo di Troja slavo meridionale*. Edizione critica e traduzione. Milan.

Mikloshich, F. (1871). 'Trojanska pricha.' *Starine* 3: 147-1888.

Ringheim, A. (1951). *Eine altserbische Trojasage*. Text mit linguistischer und literarhistorischer Charakteristik. Prag/Upsala.

Paclovoc, D. (1966). *Roman o Troji*. *Stara srbska knizevnost*. II. Novi Sad/Beograd. 83-109.

Vasilev, Chr. (1968). 'Das Verhältnis des Novgoroder Troja-Textes zum Vatikan Text.' *Zeitschrift für slavistische Philologie* 34: 35ff.

---

## **La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons: mémoire politique ou œuvre mémoriale?**

*Michel de Waha*

Édité sous le titre de *Chronicon Hanoniense*, le seul manuscrit ancien portant *Explicit Cronica Hanonie*, l'œuvre de Gislebert de Mons répond-elle à cette définition?

Gislebert ne rédige qu'après la mort de Baudouin V de Hainaut (décembre 1195). Pourquoi alors présenter cette *genealogia dominorum comitum Hanoniensium* de manière si étonnante, pourquoi rassembler sous cette forme des documents sur la période antérieure à Baudouin V? Pourquoi cette partie considérée comme non-chronologique et de peu de valeur puisque ne correspondant pas à la période pour laquelle Gislebert dispose d'une information de première main? Ces questions permettent de souligner quelques thèmes apparents ou sous-jacents de l'œuvre de Gislebert de Mons.

### **La généalogie**

La généalogie comtale ne couvre que la dynastie des Baudouins, mais Gislebert possède sur la période antérieure des renseignements précis. Tous les personnages ne reçoivent pas la même attention. La généalogie des ducs de Basse-Lotharingie est détaillée du côté féminin, pour insister sur "Raclinde", "la première comtesse de Namur", sur le conflit de dévolution de Bouillon et sur la mort de Godefroid de Bouillon sans héritier, qui marque la fin du duché. Très précise dès qu'il s'agit d'évoquer la famille de l'épouse de Baudouin IV, la généalogie s'accompagne d'un véritable traité consacré aux biens de la famille spécialement aux comtés de Namur et de Luxembourg.

Ces indications constituaient une documentation de tout premier plan, parfaitement ordonnée pour soutenir les revendications des comtes de Hainaut dans les négociations avec Frédéric I Barbarousse et son fils à propos de Namur.

### **Le duché de sainte Waudru**

Waudru exerce les fonctions de duc en Basse-Lotharingie. Cette version, qui n'est trouvée auparavant dans aucun document hagiographique lié au Chapitre montois, constitue une réponse hainuyère bien charpentée et étayée 'historiquement' et juridiquement à propos de la consistance du duché de Basse-

Lotharingie et des droits de l'empereur, du duc mais aussi de l'archevêque de Cologne. Gislebert remonte ici bien plus haut qu'en 1050, utilise, voire crée des éléments plus ou moins légendaires pour opposer aux prétentions de ses adversaires une construction savante et raisonnée. La position hainuyère au long des négociations et des conflits de la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle porte la griffe de Gislebert dont on apprécie ainsi mieux le rôle dans la construction et la justification de l'autorité comtale.

### **La législation**

Considéré comme la mise par écrit rétrospective des applications hainuyères du droit régalien de fortification, le chapitre 43 constitue l'innovation législative la plus audacieuse de Baudouin V, qui tente d'imposer ce droit pour une période limitée d'ailleurs à son règne. Il faut souligner la manière dont le chapitre est introduit, son contexte, sa place dans l'œuvre, qui permet à Gislebert de s'y référer comme à une vieille tradition pour justifier la politique comtale. La maîtrise de l'art de l'argumentation est parfaite, le contenu aussi bien pensé qu'exprimé sur le plan du droit, la réussite de formulation législative incontestable.

### **Conclusion**

L'essentiel de la Chronique ne réside pas dans la partie la plus narrative. Le but premier de Gislebert de Mons était de construire une œuvre de 'politique appliquée', contribuant à asseoir ou même à créer l'autorité du conte de Hainaut en accumulant les exemples historiques, justifiant son exercice par la tradition, l'usage de longue durée, mais aussi en soutenant les thèses comtales par des raisonnements solidement argumentés. Cette dimension dans l'histoire des doctrines politiques et de l'argumentation doit lui être reconnue.

### **Bibliographie**

Vanderkindere, L. *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*. Bruxelles: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1904.

---

## **The *Estoria de los Godos*: The First Castilian Chronicle?**

*Aengus Ward*

The *Estoria de los godos* is a thirteenth-century translation of Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae*, and is the only one of the early translations to have been edited. Despite this, little interest has been paid in the past to the chronicle, as it is generally passed over by those more interested in the translations which would have a role to play in the composition of the Alfonsine histories in the final quarter of the thirteenth century.

Nonetheless, the *Estoria* is undoubtedly one of the earliest historiographical productions in Castilian, and there are those who believe it to have been compiled in the lifetime, or at the very least soon after the death of, Ximénez de Rada. As such, the *Estoria* can provide an insight into the priorities of the first Castilian language historians. By careful comparison with the Latin original, and with particular reference to the work of Gabrielle Spiegel, I intend to demonstrate that the *Estoria* can be viewed in a very different light to that of its Latin precursor, and that it is possible to speculate on the motives for translating the text in the first place, and also on why it might have been translated in that manner.

Furthermore, I will examine in detail the one thirteenth-century manuscript which has survived with the aim of establishing some of the afterlife of the text. That is, the examination of the particular manuscript as generator of ideology as much as a reflection of the ideology which was responsible for its creation.



## **Bibliography**

### ***Primary Sources***

*Estoria de los Godos*. Ms 302, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

*Estoria de los Godos*. Ed. Lidfors. CODAIN, Vol. 88. Madrid, 1887.

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. *Historia de rebus hispaniae sive historia gothica*. Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis 72. Turnholti: Brepols, 1987.

### ***Secondary literature***

Martin, Georges (1992). *Les juges de Castile*. Paris: Université de Paris XIII.

Linehan, Peter (1993). *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Spiegel, Gabrielle (1993). *Romancing the Past*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sánchez Alonso, Benito (1925). 'Las versiones en romance de las crónicas del Toledano.' In *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*. Tomo 1. Madrid: Editorial Hernando. 341-54.

Catalán, Diego (1966). 'El toledano romanizado y las "estorias de los fechos de los godos" del siglo quince.' In *Estudios dedicados a James Homer Herriott*. Madison: University of Wisconsin. 9-102.

---

## **From chronicle and history to satire, travelogue and sermo; the decline of the monastic chronicle in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe**

*John Ward*

It is a commonplace amongst scholars that the twelfth century Renaissance witnessed a golden age of history-writing. What is less often appreciated is that historiography underwent important changes in the same period, from what Bernard Guenée has called "eloquent to erudite historiography", from "rhetoric" to "scholarship". R. W. Southern, as long ago as 1970, advanced the same suggestion. In a recent paper, following some interesting suggestions to be found in a book by Monika Otter, I have pressed this idea that one effect of the rise of what might be called 'secular literacy' in the twelfth century, was a much more careful distinction between 'history' and 'fiction', and examined in a preliminary way its consequences for the hitherto ubiquitous monastic pattern of history-writing. In the present paper I propose to take up directly the changes that are alleged to have come over history-writing in the twelfth century, to examine their nature and causes and to ask what their significance was, not only for the project of history-writing in the medieval period, but also for our own practice of that genre. What link was there between the 'new management' under the aegis of which Southern argues history-writing was practised after the bankruptcy in the twelfth century of the ancient, rhetorical mode, and our own practice of the art and how do we relate this 'new management' to the 'new management' that history-writing came under around 1500 A.D.? Has the contrast between 'rhetorical' history and 'new management' history been exaggerated?

In my examination of this topic I hope to point out why Walter Map, Gerald of Wales and Geoffrey of Monmouth (amongst the more puzzling of the 'new historians?') were not historians in our sense of the word, why history for them seemed an 'outmoded' discipline, and why and under what circumstances history-writing nevertheless carried on in its ancient manner: was the chronicling of Matthew Paris to be seen as but a continuation of that of William of Malmesbury, and if so, what happened to the concept of 'new management'? Was 'chronicling' (as distinct from 'history-writing') exempt from the principles of the 'new management'?

With reference, again, to our own day, the examination I propose will ask whether 'history' as traditionally practised will survive the 'new management' of the third millennium ('cultural studies',

'postmodernism', technological 'tomorrowism', 'the urgency of the present and the market' etc.). What similarities might there be between the pressure history is currently under and the pressures that Guenée, Southern and others have noted for the twelfth century? How valid is the comparison between the medieval monastery as an 'institutional bulwark of [Latin] historiography' and the modern university as a (last?) refuge of the traditional discipline of historiography?

In answering the above questions I will stress the importance of the social / institutional context: the world within and the world outside the monastery presented fundamental contrasts, despite the 'worldliness' of some monasteries. The changes that affected history-writing have much to do with the 'growing away' in the twelfth and following centuries of the intellectual interests of the secular schools from traditional historiography, though even within an order such as the Dominicans, the historical urge was pronounced: histories of St. Dominic himself abounded, and Jacobus de Voragine completed in the middle of the century (1260-67) one of the great historical products of the middle ages, the *Golden Legend*. The 'historical' exemplum flourished as never before. Important changes in production and consumption of historiography have been noted by leading historians. The market for chivalric historiography opened up in the fourteenth century. What do these phenomena have to do with the 'new management' of R. W. Southern?

### **Bibliography**

- Bagge, Sverre (1996). 'Ideas and narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*.' *Journal of Medieval History* 22: 345-77.
- Black, Robert (1987). 'The new laws of history.' *Renaissance Studies* 1: 126-56.
- Gransden, A. (1990). 'Prologues in the historiography of twelfth-century England.' In *England in the Twelfth Century: proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*. Ed. Daniel Williams. Woodbridge: Boydell. 55-81.
- GGG (1974). *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307*. London: Routledge.
- Guenée, Bernard (1980). *Histoire et Culture Historique dans l'Occident Médiéval*. Paris: Aubier.
- Haskins, Charles Homer (1927/1958). *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. 1927; rpt. New York: Meridian. 224-77.
- Hay, Denys (1962). 'History and historians in France and England during the fifteenth century.' *Bulletin of the [London] Institute of Historical Research* 35 (92): 111-27.
- Morse, Ruth (1991). *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: rhetoric, representation and reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Otter, Monika (1996). 'Inventiones': fiction and referentiality in twelfth-century English historical writing. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Ray, Roger (1996). 'Historiography.' In *Medieval Latin: an introduction and bibliographical guide*. Ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. C. Rigg. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 639-49.
- Southern, R. W. (1970). 'Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing. 1. The classical tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Series 5, vol. 20. 173-96.
- Spiegel, G. (1993). *Romancing the Past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- GGG (1997). *The Past as Text: the theory and practice of medieval historiography*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP.
- Vaughan, Richard (1958). *Matthew Paris*. 1958. rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979.

---

### **The Crusades as Seen by Arab Historiographers of the Mamluk Period: A Matter of Crucial Importance Or not?**

The importance of the Arabic sources for the history of the crusades has been recognized for some time now. Arabic sources, e.g. chronicles, are frequently used to complement European sources primarily with respect to details. On the other hand, the Arab sources are seldom discussed for a general appreciation of the Arab approach to the crusades.

The reign of Sultan Baibars I. (1260-1277) marks a turning point in Mamluk history (1250-1517). Egypt recovers under this powerful Sultan from its state of agony that had been caused by the Mongols and the unstable internal politics after the fall of the Ayyubid Dynasty. At the same time we find the onset of what in retrospect can be said to be the final decline of the Frankish States in the Near East.

It shall be discussed in how far the crusades were of interest to historians of the Mamluk period who wrote in Arabic. Baibars al-Mansuri (died 1324-25) and Ibn ad-Dawadari (died 1313-14) shall be taken as representatives of early Mamluk historiographers and al-Maqrizi (died 1441-42) and Ibn Iyas (died 1523-24) as examples for later Mamluk historiographers. By comparing these Mamluk sources of various periods we hope to show if and how far the crusades' importance increased or decreased in the eyes of Muslim historiographers.

At the same time this will help to illustrate developments of a more general nature in the method of Mamluk historiography.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Ibn ad-Dawādī dī rī , Abū Bakr. *Kanz ad-durar wa-ḥikmi al-ḥurur*. Vol. 8. Ed. Ulrich Haarmann. Kairo, 1971.
- Strauß, Eduard (=Ashtor, Eliahu). 'Baybars al-Manṣūrī und Ibn al-Furṭ als Geschichtsquellen für die erste Periode der Barṣ mamluken.' Unpublished PhD. thesis. Wien, 1936.
- al-Maqrīzī zī , Taqrī yaddī n Amd b. ʿAlī . *Kitāb as-sulḥ li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulḥk*. Ed. M. M. Ziyā da, S. ʿA. ʿī šī r. 4 vols. in 12. Kairo, 1934-73.
- Ibn Iyās, Muammad b. Amad al-anafī . *Badʿ az-zuhūr fī waqʿ ad-duhūr*. 5 Bde. Ed. M. Mostafa. 1960-15.

### Secondary literature

- Amitai-Preiss, Reuven (1995). *Mongols and Mamluks. The Mamlūk-Ḥānīd War, 1260-1282*. Cambridge.
- Haarmann, Ulrich (1969). *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*. Freiburg.
- Little, Donald Presgrave (1970). *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*. Wiesbaden.
- Rosenthal, Franz (1968). *A History of Muslim Historiography*. 2nd edn. Leiden.
- Thorau, Peter (1987). *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im 13. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden.

## **Legende und Historizität in den Heiligenoffizien des 12. Jh.: Überlegungen von Beispielen aus musik-liturgische Handschriften**

*Susana Zapke*

Anhand einer Auswahl an Heiligenkulte und verschiedene liturgische Gesänge des 12. Jh. aus Aragon (Nordspanien) soll die Einbeziehung historischer Daten in der Komposition neuer Offizien dargestellt werden. Vor dem Hintergrund der Spannungsverhältnisse der Reconquista und gleichzeitig der liturgisch-musikalischen Reform in den Königreich Aragón im Jahre 1071, entstehen neue Heiligenkulte, Prosatexte und Hymnen die diese sozio-politischen Verhältnisse widerspiegeln.

Aragón war die erste Enklave der Cluniacenser Reformbewegung im 11. Jh. Das Benediktinerkloster San Juan de la Pena fungierte als Paradigma des Wandlungsprozesses. Rom und Cluny, mittels aquitanischer Klöster, setzten Ihren liturgischen Vereinheitlichungsziel zunächst in Aragón, später in Kastilien und Galizien durch. Der aragonesische König Sancho Ramirez bedroht durch die Präsenz der Mauren in seinem Reich nutzte die geistliche Reform im politischen Sinne, jede neue Klostergründung war eine Art Stützpunkt im Zuge der Rückeroberung.

Die Heiligenoffizien des Indalecius, Nunilo et Alodia und Petrus u.a. zeigen verschiedene Schichten der Textkomposition. Archetipische Formeln der liturgischen Textdichtung mischen sich mit Realitätsbezogene Ereignisse.

Die Analyse der Texte zeigt ein ausgeprägtes historisches Bewußtsein seitens der geistlichen Autoren dieser Texte. Die Verwandtschaft mit der Literaturgattung der Exempla soll ebenfalls kurz angesprochen werden.

### **Bibliographie**

#### ***Quellen***

1. Antiphonarium monasticum, Sta. Cruz de la Serós, 12. Jh. (Jaca, Archiv der Benediktinerinnen von Sta. Cruz de la Serós, ohne Signatur)
2. Breviarium monasticum, El Escorial, ms. L. III.3, 12. Jh.
3. Breviarium monasticum, El Escorial, ms. F.IV.26
4. Prosarium-Troparium, Kathedralarchiv Huesca, ms. 4., 12. Jh.
5. Breviarium monasticum, El Escorial, ms. H.III.11, 12. Jh.
6. Breviarium Oscense et Jaccense imp. Caesar. 1505

#### ***Sekundärliteratur***

- Diaz y Diaz, M. C. (1979). *Libros y librerías de la Rioja altomedieval*. Logrono. 319.
- Duran Gudiol, A. (1995). 'El traslado de las reliquias de San Indalecio a San Juan de la Pena.' *Argensola, Huesca* 109: 9-19.

- Vazquez de Parga (1977). 'Textos hagiográficos referentes a San Urbez.' In *Homenaje a Don José M. Lacarra*. Vol. V. Zaragoza. 31-50.
- Zapke, S. (1996). *Das Antiphonar von Sta. Cruz de la Serós, XII. Jh.* Neuried: Ars Una Verlagsgesellschaft.