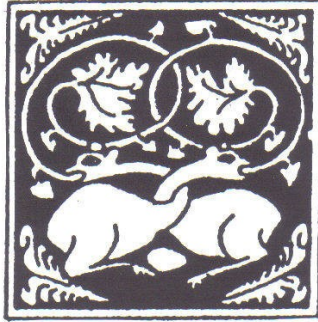


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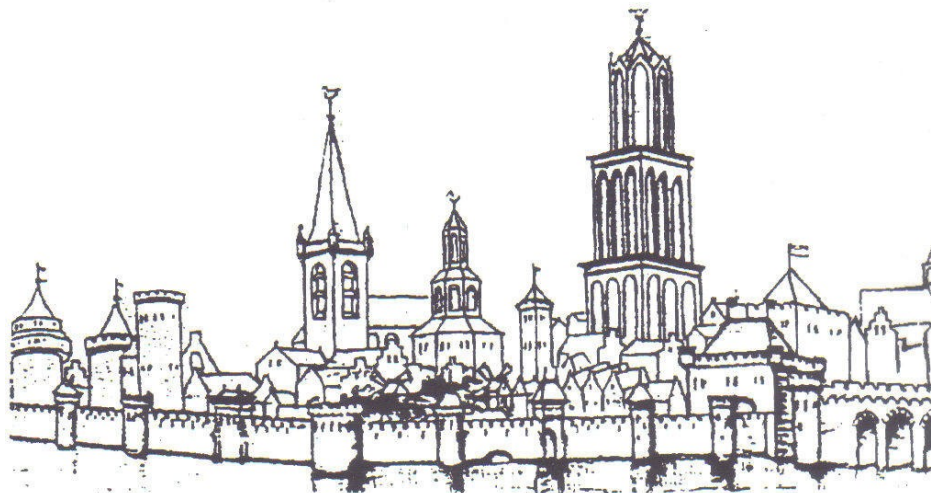
THE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLE

DIE MITTELALTERLICHE CHRONIK

LA CHRONIQUE MÉDIÉVALE

UTRECHT, 12 - 17 JULY 2002

ABSTRACTS



The Illustration of the Alexander Romance in the Persian Book of Kings

Firuz I. Abdullaeva

The Persian national epic, the *Shahnama* or Book of Kings, tells the story of Iran's legendary and historical past up to the conquest by the Muslim Arabs in the early seventh century AD. It was completed by the poet Firdausi in around 1010. His poem, in about 60,000 verses, became a model for the genre of verse epic and its pervasive influence can be seen in the large number of dynastic chronicles and semi-historical romances written in the same metre throughout the subsequent centuries. Unlike prose chronicles, many of these verse epics were illustrated regularly, a trend that started in the Mongol period (13th century), usually associated with court patronage and reinforcing the aim of the text to create a lavish and even luxurious image of the imperial power.

Alexander the Great, as conqueror of Persia and the king responsible for the collapse of the Achaemenid dynasty and the destruction of Persepolis, has a strong presence in Firdausi's epic. As in medieval European literature, the story of Alexander was quickly romanticized, and scenes from the Alexander cycle were frequently illustrated. One of the earliest and the most dramatic representations of the story occurs in the famous Persian *Shahnama* of the later 1330s, produced at the Mongol court in Persia, certainly with the aim of drawing ideological links between the world conquests of Alexander and those of Chingiz Khan. This paper will explore this and other examples of the illustration of the epic, and some of the ideological purposes this served, as well as the iconography that was developed to put across the message in different manuscripts and at different royal courts.

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Sailing the Windy Seas of Signification:

The Quest for Literary and Political Legitimacy in Gutierre Díaz de Games' *Victorial*

Michael Agnew

Gutierre Díaz de Games' early fifteenth-century chivalric biography of the minor nobleman, Pero Niño, is a work in many ways without precedent in Castilian letters (though similar texts had been produced beyond the Pyrenees not long before), for its innovative incorporation of historical narratives, Arthurian material, theoretical statements on love and chivalric behavior, portraits of exemplary figures from the distant past, *et cetera*, all centered around the figure of the Count of Buelna. At the same time, the text remains conservative in various ways, not least of which is the role the author, outlined in a scholastic *accessus* composed by Díaz de Games himself.

In the traditional debate over arms and letters, Díaz de Games adopts a profoundly ambiguous stance. This ambiguity is reflected above all in the textual representations of the historian himself, both as *auctor* and as *signifer* (standard-bearer). While apparently asserting the incommensurability of the status of *orator* and *defensor* (according to the traditional division of medieval society), Díaz de Games proceeds to blur the lines between the two, ultimately placing the *orator* in a privileged, though not unproblematic, position as one who can indeed serve both functions. The narrative's climactic moment in this regard occurs in a victorious sea battle against English galleys in the English Channel, during which Díaz de Games describes himself serving as Pero Niño's standard-bearer, providing a stable point of reference for the Castilian soldiers.

His literary function as the narrator of Pero Niño's life is parallel to his role as standard-bearer: in forging a literary legitimation for the newly named Count's improved status, he serves as a stable point of reference in this story of social climbing. The authorial figure of the *Victorial* thus proves enormously complex, not only in his textual self-representations as character and narrator, but also (like the hero of his narrative) as a historical participant in the Crown's creation of new nobility, which would play a crucial role in the political turmoil of the century. Like his patron, whose court this chronicle would adorn, Díaz de Games turns to traditional models in a highly innovative legitimation as his new, prestigious role as historiographic *auctor*.

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The War of Grimbergen: Local Historiography versus International Politics

Janick Appelmans

[See **Local Historiography**]

**From the *Gesta* of the Counts to the *Chronicles* of the Kings:
The Political Role of Catalan Historiography of the 12th and 13th Centuries**

Jaume Aurell

In 1136, Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, married the daughter of King Ramiro of Aragon, a marriage which would finally open up for the dynasty of the Catalan Counts the chance of acceding to the title of king. In 1162, Alfons >the Chaste= inherited from his father both the county of Barcelona and the kingdom of Aragon. A few years later, in about 1180, one of the foundational texts of medieval Catalan historiography, the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensis*, was attaining its final form.

Half a century later, Jaume I >the Conqueror= (1213-1276) came to the throne. His reign was characterised by an ambitious policy of expansion which established the bases of the conquests of several cities then under Moorish domination, and which initiated the Mediterranean leaning of the Catalan-Aragonese crown. Towards the end of that monarch=s reign, circa 1280, another fundamental text of medieval Catalan historiography was being disseminated, the first of the four great chronicles of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon: the *Llibre dels Feyts* (the *Book of Deeds*), elaborated by Jaume I himself.

The objective of the present undertaking is to effect a comparison of the different aspects of these two historiographical texts, so as to establish some interesting relationships between them and their contexts. The *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensis* responds to the need of that nascent monarchy to set out its genealogy with care, and to make a connection as far back as to the legendary origins of the founder of the dynasty, Count Guifré of Barcelona. The *Llibre dels Feyts*, for its part, proceeds from other motivations altogether, which are continuous with the different political context of the time in which the work is inscribed. The aim now is to show the greatness of a monarch in all his splendour, by detailing his conquests in an heroic and chivalrous style.

The present undertaking intends to detail the way the authors of both texts use a different literary style, different grammatical forms, and even a different language, in order to attain the objectives that prompted the writing of these texts. It is no mere chance, for instance, that the *Gesta* should have been written in Latin and the *Llibre dels Feyts* in a Romance language. Nor is it coincidental that the *Gesta*, despite being based on preceding epic poetry, should be one of the first Catalan historical texts written in prose. The prose of the *Llibre dels Feyts*, on the other hand, enjoys full literary autonomy.

Finally, the all-important fact that the *Gesta* were written in the cloister of the monastery of Ripoll will be highlighted: the *Llibre dels Feyts* offers another contrast in that it was created in, and issued from, a context which was unequivocally that of the court. At the same time, it is no small coincidence that the *Llibre dels Feyts* should be practically contemporaneous with the *Grandes Croniques de France* cycle, as well as with other similar texts which make their appearance in Europe in the second half of the 13th century.

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The National Past and Universal History in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Scandinavian Historiography

Sverre Bagge

When the cultures of the northern and eastern European periphery took to writing (roughly during the period c. 1000-1300), they were given the opportunity to make a lasting record of more or less recent local events. But they were also given in one stroke C by the very act of being schooled in Latin letters C a much more extensive past, i.e. the biblical and Roman past as it had emerged in Late Antiquity and was presented to the High Middle Ages as a >patristic package= through the fundamental textual transmission of the Carolingian age.

An important aspect of this encounter concerns >national identity=, i.e. tracing the origin of a particular people back to a mythic past which brings the people in question into the mainstream of universal history. Most important in this respect is the attempt to link one's own people to the Romans and find parallels between its history and that of the Romans.

Further, historiography was written both in Latin and the vernacular in medieval Scandinavia, with a marked preference for Latin in Denmark and the vernacular in Norway and above all in Iceland. Swedish historiography only starts in the fourteenth century and is thus outside the scope of my paper.

I shall deal with the various attitudes to the national past and its relationship to universal history in medieval Scandinavia: the national past as part of the history of salvation in clerical historiography or as either originating in or an equivalent to Roman history in more secular traditions. I shall discuss the relative importance of these attitudes in the various countries and milieux and to what extent there is a correspondence between the choice of language for historical writings and attitudes to the relationship between national and universal history.

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**Retrospektive Legitimierung der Macht des Herrschers in Mitteleuropa im 12. Jh.
Zusammenhänge zwischen der polnischen und ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung des
12. Jh.**

Daniel Bagi

Es ist seit langem bekannt, dass die Anfänge der mitteleuropäischen (tschechischen, ungarischen und polnischen) Geschichtsschreibung an die Jahrhundertwende des 11-12. Jh. zu setzen sind. Ebenso interessant ist in den ersten historischen Werken in Ungarn und Polen, d.h. in der polnischen Chronik des Gallus Anonymus und der letzten Legende des Stefan des Heiligen der Versuch der retrospektiven Legitimierung der Macht des Herrschers.

In diesem Vortrag wird einerseits versucht, zu erläutern, aufgrund welcher Absichten die Vergangenheit, näher die Persönlichkeit des ersten Königs von Ungarn bzw. Polen beim Gallus Anonymus bzw. dem Verfasser der dritten Stefanlegende dargestellt wird, und andererseits vorgestellt, ob die Vergangenheitsanschauung des polnischen Chronisten nicht auf ungarische Vorereignisse zurückzuführen sind.

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Fictionality vs. Historiography in the Chronicle of Don Pero Niño

Diane Beeson

The confluence of multiple literary genres found in chronicles all over Europe in existence in the fifteenth century, knit together with the use of expected European chivalresque and particular Spanish historiographical patterns has long made *EL Victorial*, for literary critics and historians alike, a difficult prose to unravel and classify.

These literary genres and historical underpinnings added to generations of literary criticism, each one from a different viewpoint, has made the final understanding of the story behind Pero Niño's feats a very slippery task and therefore, a proper classification elusive.

The aim of this paper is to address the hybrid nature of the chronicle in light of fictional and historical categories represented and review the past attempts of classification. Then, a re-organization of the composite structures clears the way for a re-definition of a generic classification.

To that end, and in order to unwind the techniques that, to modern readers, belie the author's intent, this paper revises the patterns supporting the multiple literary structures in the form of an underlying historiographical prose elaborated by the author; examines the historical references inserted throughout the work to create a resulting historiographical function to the biography; and analyses the consequent re-construction of the past as a message of intent woven into the historiographical biography by the author as an explanation of the life of Pero Niño through the author's interpretation of historical awareness.

All of these points are then re-considered in an attempt to re-classify this type of chronicle within the widened horizons as discovered in the past two Conferences.

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Kleine Geschichten als ein Konstruktionsfaktor der Chronikalischen Narration

Piotr Bering

Besonders oft enthalten die spätmittelalterlichen Chroniken viele Episoden, kleine Erzählungen und Geschichten, Anekdoten usw., die heutzutage in der Literaturwissenschaft als `kleine Formen@ definiert und benannt werden. Sie spielen verschiedene Rollen. Häufig lenken sie die Aufmerksamkeit der Leser, oder erleichtern einige Einzelheiten zu verstehen. Nicht selten möchte der Chronist mit derer Hilfe eine Atraktivität seines Werkes hervorheben. Auch die

Absicht eine bloße Unterhaltung anzubieten, kann ein weiterer Grund für eine Platzierung dieser Formen sein. Diese unterschiedlichen Funktionen üben natürlich einen Einfluß auf die Textstruktur aus.

Die beschriebenen Ereignisse können chronologisch, sachlich oder nach einem anderen Prinzip geordnet werden. Man trifft auch einfache Aufzählungen. Eine Erscheinung der Episode, die nicht notwendig ist, bedeutet eine Lockerung der Textkohärenz. Dieses Verfahren findet im Satz- oder Abschnittniveau statt. Jedoch gleichzeitig wird die Kohärenz der Narration in höheren Niveaus der Textorganisation verstärkt. Das ist möglich, weil eine vom Chronisten gewählte und angewandte Textkomposition den Leser die Gedanken des Chronisten nachzufolgen zwingt. Auf dieser Stufe bilden die lockeren und scheinbar ungebundenen Geschichten eine klare Gesamtheit.

Diese Strategie verlangt eine aktive Teilnahme des Lesers im Prozess der literarischen Kommunikation. Er muß die Verfasser=s Intentionen und Meinungen präzise und zutreffendweise rekonstruieren. Der Empfänger erscheint sich also als ein wichtiges Mitglied des literarischen Werkes.

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Perspectives in *Islendinga saga* by Sturla Thordarson

Úlfar Bragason

Islendinga saga is the nucleus of *Sturlunga saga*, the compilation of contemporary sagas which is believed to have been collected around 1300. The saga has not, however, survived independently, and it is likely that it was originally conceived as part of a larger work (see Jón Jóhannesson 1946: xxxviii). *Islendinga saga* tells of conflicts between chiefs and families in 13th-century Iceland. These narratives bring together many stories and biographies, for generation after generation. One of the principal families in the saga is the Sturlungs, and hence the saga has generally been known by that name. Sturla Thordarson (1214-1284), nephew of

Snorri Sturluson the historian, is regarded as the author of the saga, according to the so-called Foreword to *Sturlunga saga*.

It has often been stated that *Islendinga saga* tells of people and events "so rankly, openly and impartially" that it is remarkable and admirable (Magnús Helgason 931:113). And historians have been of the opinion that *Sturlunga saga*, as far as it goes, gives a generally true picture of Icelandic society in the 12th and 13th centuries (see e.g. Gunnar Karlsson 1972:7-8). This conclusion is based upon the fact that the writers are generally writing about contemporary or recent events. This view is also, however, partly attributable to the narrative method of the sagas, which is very "modern." As in more recent historical texts, Apersonal production is suppressed in favor of seemingly neutral and distanced description; the use of impersonal linguistic conventions promotes a seeming transparency to the past@ [Berkhofer 1995:160].

Historians have, however, pointed out instances of bias in the contemporary sagas, and Jón Jóhannesson believed that the objective exposition of the sagas should not be interpreted to mean that the sagas were impartial (Jón Jóhannesson 1946:xiii). Jón made a clear distinction, as is natural, between how the stories are told, and the views expressed in them. And we should not forget that no clear demarcation existed in the Middle Ages between true accounts and mythical ones. The historical writings were not about national history but stories of people, "about individuals; their valour or villainy, their memorable sayings, their good and bad luck" [Lewis 1964: 182]. *Islendinga saga* is no exception (cp. Jón Jóhannesson 1946:xii).

Historian Robert F. Berkhofer jr. has said: "it is only by taking a point of view that historians create in the first place historical narrative or interpretation as such. Taking a viewpoint provides the very way of "seeing" the past as history. A viewpoint enables selection of facts and gives coherence to the narrative. It excludes as it includes. A viewpoint offers the unity in diversity that overcomes the paradox of time traditional to historical discourse@ [Berkhofer 168]. Berkhofer emphasises the point that, although "point of view is usually presented in ocular terms, it is a conceptual as well as perceptual position in terms of which the narrated situation and events are presented [165]." He distinguishes between four types of perspective:

- 1) the literal level or perceptual plane of viewpoint;
- 2) the conceptual level or the worldview, ideology or conceptual system from which the world is understood;
- 3) the evaluative level or the vantage point of interest, well-being, profit or value-system represented;
- 4) the emotive level, or how does the implied author or narrator feel toward the actors, events, and institutions in the discourse.

In view of this division of perspective into categories, it is not only necessary to consider how the narrator observes the events of *Islendinga saga*, but also how his consciousness and knowledge are expressed (conception), what values he emphasises and how his interests are expressed (evaluation) and what feelings he expresses in spite of the superficial neutrality of the narrative (emotion). In fact, the author of *Sturlunga saga* refers to all these issues in the brief description of Sturla's historical writing in the foreword to the compilation, in which he discusses his sources, wisdom and judgement of what to tell. The question is, whether he was right. In my paper I shall consider the exposition of *Islendinga saga*, with special reference to the point of view in its discourse. I will emphasise that the author constructs the past by adhering to rhetorical devices.

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The Matter of Armorica in Vernacular Middle English Chronicles

Elizabeth J. Bryan

This paper studies the mouvance of a particular subject matter, the colonization narrative of the ancient British conquest of Armorica, in its varying treatments by *Brut* histories written in Middle English. These texts include La3amon's *Brut* (1189-1236), Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Chronicle* (1338), Castelford's *Chronicle* (after 1327), and the Middle English prose *Brut* (14th-15th centuries). Building on an argument that La3amon developed what I call a *Atrope of Armoriche* from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace's histories in the historical context of Angevin empire building, the paper looks at the independent treatments of the same material for later Middle English reading audiences, with some emphasis on the Middle English prose *Brut* in its various manuscript versions. One question at stake is whether the medieval chronicles' constructions of the conquest of Armorica, and related events having to do with Brittany in the *Brut* historical narratives, is a historical influence on 16th-century and 17th-century English readers' thinking about English "discovery" and colonization efforts of America.

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The Typology of Jean Froissart's Historical Writings: A Reassessment

Godfried Croenen

In 1973 B. Guenée analysed in his seminal article >Histoire, annales, chroniques: essai sur les genres historiques du Moyen Âge= the typology of the main historical genres of the Middle Ages on the basis of the vocabulary used by the medieval tradition and the medieval authors themselves, a theme to which he returned in 1980 and 1986. In all these publications, an important part of the discussion is devoted to the historical writings of Jean Froissart, who, according to Guenée, clearly thought of his oeuvre as a "Chronique". In this paper I will not re-examine Guenée's whole argument but focus instead on his analysis of Froissart's writings. I will propose that Froissart's vocabulary is much more subtle than Guenée allowed for and that it seems to indicate that Froissart himself thought of his oeuvre rather as an "Histoire" than as a "Chronique". I will conclude by showing how the traditional name of Froissart's historiographical writing was arrived at and by which traditions it was fixated.

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An Eyewitness Account of the Civil War in Prague (1611) from a Contemporary Hebrew Chronicle

Abraham David

A contemporary Hebrew chronicle sheds new light on the civil war in Prague in 1611 between followers of Passau bishop Leopold and supporters of Matthias for the Bohemian monarchy, known as the Passauer Kriegsvolkes. This anonymous Hebrew chronicle C published in 1984 in Hebrew and in 1993 in English translation C contains a short, impartial, and accurate description

of the events in Prague in the context of this struggle. Its author describes the background to the struggle between Emperor Rudolf and his brother Matthias and follows the course of events from compromise to open warfare to the coronation of Matthias as king of Bohemia. He also covers the situation of the Jews of Prague during the warfare, emphasizing that they remained unharmed during the warfare due to special protection provided by the city council, and that Emperor Rudolf ordered his supporters to leave the Jews unharmed. Information regarding an averted attack on the Jews of Prague has been preserved both by the chronicle and in the form of three penitential prayers for the 2d of Adar, the Hebrew date on which the attack was warded off. The chronicle also notes that Jews were allowed to carry weapons for protection and that they did so even on the Sabbath. This authentic account of events in Bohemia, and in Prague in particular, in the early seventeenth century is confirmed by Bohemian royal documents. To the best of my knowledge it is the sole Jewish chronicle source that treats these events.

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Monks Writing Urban Historiography: The Chronicles from St Martin=s Abbey in Tournai (12th B15th Centuries)

Pieter-Jan De Grieck

[See: **Local Historiography**]

Orality or False Orality in Agnellus of Ravenna

Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis

Agnellus of Ravenna wrote the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (LPR) in the 830's and 840's. While Agnellus often speaks of >putting pen to parchment=, indicating that he thought of the work as a written composition, he includes many phrases and passages which imply that he is reading the LPR aloud to a group of Ravennate clergy and citizens, and that he is writing the work at their request. Furthermore, Agnellus refers many times to the >elders= who have provided him with information; these statements are generally taken to mean that oral legend was one of his sources. The references to orality are somewhat unusual in form, and are moreover somewhat ambiguous. For example, much of the information attributed to >elders= can be traced to written texts used by Agnellus.

In the scholarly literature on the LPR from the nineteenth century to the present, these statements are almost always taken at their face value, and indeed several scholars have attempted to identify the "lectures" of which the LPR was composed, or the oral sources which he used. In this paper, I will consider to what extent Agnellus' references to orality are literally true, and, if they are false, why they are included. We will see that Agnellus deliberately blurs the distinction between oral and written in both of the contexts mentioned above. I will suggest that statements of orality, rather than providing definite information, imply the opposite. Oral testimony, rather than representing a reliable source of information, may actually be an indication of uncertainty as to attribution, of doubt as to accuracy, or of outright deception, especially when contrasted with the certainty of inscriptions and named written sources. Indications of oral performance, used to refer to the specific literary genre of the sermon collection, also serves to disguise lack of continuity in composition. There is thus a deliberate tension between oral and written in the LPR, created by Agnellus for reasons specific to the subject of the text, the way in which he wrote it, and the sources on which he relied for information.

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The Three Redaction Problem of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*: Evidence from his Account on the Battle of Sluys

Kelly DeVries

Certainly a case can be made that Jean Froissart was the consummate medieval chronicler. Not only did this master of historical narrative compose one of the most intricate and detailed

chronicles of the Middle Ages, covering the years 1325 to 1400, he also rewrote and revised his own chronicle adding to it new historical information which he had learned or remembered. It is, however, the consummate nature of Froissart=s chronicles which is most confusing to modern historians. Few modern historians bother to differentiate at all between the various redactions of Froissart=s *Chroniques*, choosing instead to use either the most convenient edition or to use the latest, usually abridged, translation of the work. Those historians who do attempt to analyze the various redactions of the *Chroniques* soon find themselves engaged in a debate which has persisted since the mid-nineteenth century (even the two nineteenth-century editors, Henri Marie Bruno Joseph, Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove and Simeon Luce, differed on this issue): in what order were the various redactions of the *Chroniques* written, and under whose patronage were they written?

Froissart=s narrative on the battle of Sluys, fought in 1340, is markedly different in all three redactions and suggests not only a solution to the problem of the order of these redactions, but also the identity of Froissart=s patrons during their composition. By studying Froissart=s commentary on this battle, this paper will confirm Luce=s theory on the order and patronage of the redactions of the *Chroniques*, discounting alternate theories such as those put forward by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Paul Saenger and J. J. N. Palmer.

The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: Portrayals of Vikings in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*

Clare Downham

This fragmentary compilation survives only in a seventeenth-century transcript. It combines short annalistic entries with lively pseudo-historical narrative. The text has been plausibly dated to the mid-eleventh century by its latest editor. I wish to explore how the portrayals of different groups of vikings were engineered in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* to preserve and enhance the reputation of its Irish royal hero: Cerball of Osraige (r. 842-888). The study highlights how ninth-century history was re-written and to suit eleventh-century circumstances. It provides a perspective on the structure of this text. In addition, I hope to explore how this chronicle has influenced historians perceptions concerning the identities of different viking groups in Ireland. Some long held views represented in this text have only recently come under attack. It is therefore necessary to question the extent that vikings' portrayals in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* represent eleventh-century construct rather than ninth-century reality.

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The English Chronicle in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Historical Context of the so-called Continuation of the Annals of Nicholas Trevet

Seán Duffy

The ineffectual rule of England's Edward II (1307-27) inspired few chroniclers to record the events of his reign. One of the few who did is the anonymous continuator of the annals of Nicholas Trevet, covering the period 1307-18, of English West Country provenance and generally thought to be a local Dominican. I hope to show that the chronicler is instead a secular clerk attached to the diocese of Bath and Wells. The chronicle has a hint of hindsight about it and seems to have been constructed at a slightly later date, but certainly before 1340, from earlier drafts.

The unidentified author is preoccupied with the fate of Edward II's government (although no admirer of the king) and has access to behind-the-scenes accounts of proceedings at parliament or council such as only someone close to the centre of power could provide. He is privy even to the largely covert details of negotiations between the king and his baronial opposition. He has a good deal to say too on the subject of Edward's war with Robert the Bruce of Scotland and on the invasion of Ireland by Robert's brother Edward, much more than might otherwise be expected from a Somerset-based chronicler. One is tempted to conclude that the writer had the confidence of someone C or was himself C involved in the prosecution of the war.

He has an important account of Edward II's disastrous campaign in Scotland in 1314, but what distinguishes his description of the battle of Bannockburn from that of other chroniclers is his punctiliousness in recording the names of every one of the English barons, bannerets, and knights killed or captured by the Scots (about seventy-five in all) upon which he could lay hands. The same quite remarkably scrupulous litany dominates his report on the battle of Faughart in Ireland, at which Edward Bruce was killed and the Scots invasion crushed, naming the leading Scots and Anglo-Irish who fell on the losing side (this time some twenty-nine in total). It is almost as if his only interest in either event is in recording as accurately as possible such a casuality list, or that his informant was an individual whose duties required him to preserve the names of those who did not walk off the field of battle. But the identity of his source remains a mystery.

The only individual for whose soul the chronicler prays is the Somerset baron Simon de Montecute (d. 1317) who claimed lordship of the Isle of Man and who, for almost all the period covered by the chronicle, was admiral of the English fleet in the Irish Sea. I suggest that herein lies the explanation for our chronicler's concern with the execution of the Anglo-Scottish war and the Scots invasion of Ireland.

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Annales Cambriae and Easter

David N. Dumville

The Welsh chronicle named *Annales Cambriae*, >Annals of Wales=, by its first editor occupies an unusual position in the history of chronicling. It survives in a manuscript written about 1100 in northwestern Europe, but whether in the Low Countries, Normandy or England is disputed. It has been interpolated, in the following company of a set of Welsh royal genealogies, into a well known narrative history. It offers a discontinuous and thin annalistic record of 533 years; the annals are simply marked *an'* and are numbered once every ten years, 10-530. A.D. dates can be supplied, 445-977: the chronicle=s record extends from 453 to 954, being contemporaneous with events from about 800.

What gives this record its peculiar status (apart from being the only Welsh chronicle of the pre-colonial period) is its series of associations with the celebration of Easter. These extend from records of significant events in the history of paschal celebration (453-768) to the whole frame in the shape of a Dionysiac Great Paschal Cycle. The text seems to have been abstracted from the margins of such a cycle but also contains evidence that at least part of it was once based on a type of paschal cycle presumed to have been abandoned in Wales in the second half of the eighth century.

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Die *wîlsælde* Disputation in der *Kaiserchronik*

Graeme Dunphy (Regensburg)

(Note: this paper will be delivered in German)

The Middle High German *Kaiserchronik* is one of the earliest German vernacular world chronicles, tracing the history of emperors from the foundation of Rome till the early 12th century; it was written in Regensburg in the 1140s or 50s. An unusual feature is the use of a series of disputations, reported in a dialogue form, between early Christians (Peter, Clement, Sylvester) and representatives of "heathen" or Jewish world views, which accompany the history of the growth and ultimate victory of Christianity, and lay down a philosophical basis for the Christian world view. The legend of St Clement is told at some length in the *Kaiserchronik*, and

includes a lengthy disputation between on the one hand Clement and his brothers, aided by St Peter, and on the other an old man who turns out to be the father of the three. The topic is *wilsælde*, fate, which the *altman* espouses as the governing principle of the world, as opposed to the Christian principle of providence. This paper looks afresh at the form, argumentation and function of the *wilsælde* passage.

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Chronicles of the Canary Islands: Late Medieval Constructions of the Pre-Spanish Past

Mike Eddy

The European invaders of the Canary Islands described their exploits in the archipelago in a series of historical accounts known collectively as chronicles. The chronicles can be broadly divided into two types C the chronicles of conquest, accounts of the fifteenth-century occupation of the Canaries by mainly Spanish conquerors; and the post-conquest Achronicles@, commentaries on the process of conquest written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a group, the Canary Island chronicles represent a transition from the chronicle *sensu stricto* to historical analysis. They also form a corpus of ethnohistorical evidence relating to pre-conquest island populations.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how the Canarian chroniclers interpreted the pre-Spanish past of the islands and how they placed that past in their own intellectual and social frames of reference. The Canary Islands had been settled at some time in the past (between 500 BC and 0AD is the generally accepted date of first settlement) by people of North African origin. The paper will focus on the portrayal of the islanders and their culture; the European concept of the pre-Spanish past; and the contemporary political imperatives of the chronicle writers. Examples will be drawn from:

- *Le Canarien*, the earliest chronicle of conquest, which celebrated the incorporation of Lanzarote, Fuerteventura and El Hierro into the kingdom of Castile by the French adventurer, Jean de Bethencourt (Major 1872);
- the related *Matritense/Lacunense/Ovetense* chronicles covering the conquest of the major islands in the late fifteenth century (Morales Padrón 1993)
- Abreu Galindo=s *Historia* (Cioranescu 1977), written roughly a century after the fall of Tenerife, the last island to lose its independence;
- and Marin y Cubas=s *Historia* (Ossorio Acevedo 1993), written some two centuries after the fall of Tenerife.

It will be argued that contemporary politics were of primary importance to the portrayal of the pre-Spanish islanders in the chronicles. The paper will develop and up-date some of the

arguments sketched out at a meeting of the Maghreb Studies Association held in Madrid in 1992 (Eddy 1992).

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Peindre l=Histoire : illustration et réécriture Le témoignage des *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Grenoble, B.M., ms. 407)

Olivier Ellena

Entreprise royale, les *Grandes Chroniques de France* connaissent un succès considérable. Recopié, complété, le texte évolue avec l=histoire de la monarchie française. Le manuscrit 407 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble s=arrête au début du règne de Philippe VI de Valois, après la rupture dynastique consécutive à la mort des fils de Philippe le Bel. Cet exemplaire des *Grandes Chroniques* est emblématique de l=usage médiéval des textes historiques par sa rédaction, sa provenance, sa destination et par le rapport des images au texte.

Provenant des ateliers d=un libraire parisien, cet exemplaire doit être rapproché par son texte et par les artistes qui le décorent de deux autres manuscrits (Paris, B.n.F., ms. fr. 10132 ; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 5) destinés à l=entourage immédiat de la nouvelle dynastie royale, c=est-à-dire à la clientèle curiale des Valois. La mise en évidence de ce groupe permet de réviser la datation du manuscrit 407, habituellement fixée aux alentours de 1350, pour la situer dans les années 1330.

L=illustration du manuscrit 407 témoigne d=un souci constant : la continuité du pouvoir pour ancrer naturellement les Valois dans la lignée royale par le sang et l=image. Cette ligne éditoriale de la peinture passe par la démonstration visuelle d=une véritable synthèse visuelle de l=histoire royale française, une histoire du passé certes, mais une histoire ouverte, qui s=écrit encore. Or, l=écriture de l=histoire est un exercice encadré, et ce qui est vrai pour le texte l=est aussi pour l=image, comme en témoignent les figures tracées dans les marges à destination des enlumineurs. Ces instructions laissées aux peintres pour des épisodes particuliers montrent qu=une orientation idéologique nouvelle est donnée au texte, destinée à démontrer le droit naturel des Valois au trône. Les *Grandes Chroniques de France* de Grenoble sont ainsi exemplaires de la fonction de l=image dans la chronique : la réécriture visuelle de l=histoire.

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The Chronicle as a Tool for the Establishment of Orthodoxy in Medieval Islam: The Case of Al-Andalus (8th-10th Centuries AD)

Simeon Evstatiev

In the second half of the tenth century the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba have been probably the largest and the most powerful of all the states in the western Mediterranean region. Chronicles written in Arabic are one of the most important sources for the history of al-Andalus in the period since the conquest of the Iberian peninsula (711 AD) until the end of the Umayyad dynasty (1031 AD). The paper is based on the thesis that the Andalusian chronicle is one of the tools for the establishment of orthodoxy in Muslim Spain.

The rise of historical knowledge (*ilm at-ta'rikh*) in al-Andalus has its roots in the Muslim East. There historical awareness originated in the 7th century AD being inextricably bound up with the Islamic science of Tradition (*ilm at-hadith*) the subject of which was in the same time one of the main sources of Islamic law (*fiqh*). This determined the forms of the later historiographic works which followed the principle of the chronological order of the events. The Arabic chronicle therefore appeared in the specific milieu of the pre-Islamic tribal tradition (*akhbar*), biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*sira*), the history of early Islam, the history of the central lands of the Caliphate, the biographical classes (*tabaqat*) and genealogy (*nasab*). All of these branches and aspects of chronological historiography were transmitted also to Muslim Spain. They contributed to the shaping of the two main types of historical writing in al-Andalus. The first one is presented in the chronicles dealing with the political or with the universal history composed by scholars like 'Abd al-Malik b. Habib (d. 853), Ahmad al-Razi (d. 955), 'Isa al-Razi (d. 989), 'Arib b. Sa'id (d. 980) and Ibn Qutiyya (d. 977). They are among the main sources of the chronicles of Ibn Hayyan al-Qurtubi (d. 1076) and Ibn 'Idhari (d. early 14th century). The second main genre of the chronological historiography in al-Andalus are the bio-bibliographical dictionaries.

The rise of the Andalusian chronicle coincided with both the introduction of *hadith* in Muslim Spain and the dynastic consolidation of the Umayyad caliphate. As an expression of the emerging Andalusian religio-political consciousness chronicle was to legitimate not only the Umayyad political rule but also the domination of Malikism within Andalusian Islam. The image

of al-Andalus as a Astate without heretics@ has been traced by M. Fierro from the viewpoint of the science of Tradition and Islamic law. I argue that the creation of this image should also be studied within historiography. Analyzing texts from the chronicle *Al-Muqtabis min anba = ahl al-Andalus* of Ibn Hayyan and putting them into the respective social, cultural and religious context I am trying to outline the ways in which chronicle encouraged the establishment of the interpretation of the official Islamic dogma. This is one of the possible approaches to the further understanding of the religious and social life of al-Andalus.

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Chronik und Mystizismus: Funktion der Sufi-Terminologie in der Weltchronik von Ibn al-Athir

Galina Evstatieva

Die arabische Weltchronik *al-Kamil fi t-tarikh* von >Izz ad-Din Ibn al-Athir (gest. 1233) ist ein origineller Versuch in den Rahmen der Annalenform mittels eines eleganten Erzählungsstils die Konzeption von dem Universalkalifat wieder aufzuleben. Die bedeutungsschweren Punkte in der Darstellung der Ereignisse sind die emotionalen Auslegungen des Historikers in bezug auf die größten Tragödien für die Araber, Muslime und für die ganze Welt.

Ibn al-Athir schreibt seine Universalgeschichte unter der Schirmherrschaft der Zangi-Dynastie der Atabegs von Mosul und veröffentlicht inzwischen sein Werk über die Lokalgeschichte der Zangiden in seiner Heimatstadt. In *al-Kamil* beruht er sich auf früheren Geschichten und insbesondere auf at-Tabari (gest. 923), aber absichtlich erwähnt er keine Quellen und verzichtet auf die Ordnung und die Begründung der Überlieferung nach festen Überlieferungsketten (*isnad*). Dieses bewußte Streben nach der Befreiung von der traditionellen Methode der Geschichtsschreibung rief den Zweifel an der Zuverlässigkeit der historischen Tatsachen in der Weltchronik von Ibn al-Athir hervor.

Trotzdem bleibt *al-Kamil fi t-tarikh* eine der Hauptquellen für die Geschichte der arabisch-muslimischen Welt zwischen dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert. Nämlich während dieses Zeitraums war der islamische Mystizismus (Sufismus) weit verbreitet und wuchs der Einfluß der Sufi-Prediger und Wanderasketen auf die herrschenden Dynastien der Seldschuken und Zangiden an. In diesem Zusammenhang thematisiert dieser Vortrag die Frage nach der Funktion der Sufi-Terminologie in dem spezifischen Wirken des Historikers Ibn al-Athir als vermittelnde, kommentierende und wertende Instanz. Es handelt sich um eine Form der Deutung der Ereignisse, die meiner Meinung nach außergewöhnlich für das arabisch-muslimische geschichtliche Denken zu dieser Zeit war.

Die Termini *technici* der literarischen Sufi-Tradition, die mit dem AEntschleiern@ (*kasf*), mit der Ausstrahlung göttlichen Lichtes (*israq*) und dem wahren Wesen (*al-haqiqa*) verbunden sind, begannen allmählich in den historischen Diskurs von Ibn al-Athir einzudringen. Er ist von der Auffassung des Sufismus beeinflusst, daß man kein vollständiges Verstehen für die Gegenwart erreichen kann. Deshalb unterstreicht der Historiker bei der Deutung der Geschichte und bei der Darstellug dramatischer Ereignisse seiner Zeit den Kontrast zwischen dem Aussehen und der Realität, zwischen der Fiktion in der vergänglichen Welt und der göttlichen Wahrheit, wodurch man wahre Kenntnisse über die Geschichte erwerben möge.

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Ecclesiastical Nationalism

Olle Ferm

I intend briefly to draw attention to Ericus Olai=s *Chronica regni Gothorum* (ca 1470), known in particular in Sweden for the idea that the original home of the Goths was Sweden, or more specifically that part of Sweden known as AGötaland@, >the land of the Goths=. It has long been argued that this work was written three times at the behest of Karl Knutsson, king of Sweden in the mid-fifteenth century, to increase the country's renown and reputation abroad. My own theory is different: the work was written for the church archdiocese of Uppsala with the specific purpose of strengthening the independence of the Swedish nation against the Danish kings who formally ruled Sweden, while at the same time promoting the position of the Uppsala diocese within the Swedish kingdom.

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Chronikschreibung an der königlichen/fürstlichen Höfe in Mitteleuropa

Márta Font

Im Vortrag wird der Begriff *Mitteleuropa* betrachtet wie ein Gebiet zwischen zwei christlichen Grossmächten (Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation und Byzanz) in den 11. - 12. Jh. Auf diesem Gebiet entstanden neue politische Einheiten ("Staaten") um 1000: d.h. die Regierung von Premysliden, Piasten, Arpeden und Ruriken. Mit der Christianisierung wurde auch die Schriftlichkeit an den königlichen / fürstlichen Höfen verbreitet, wozu die Chronikschreibung als eine der ersten Gattungen gehörten.

Die neue Dynastien wollten auch durch die Schriftlichkeit ihre Legitimation verstärken, deswegen hatten sie die Chronikschreiber unterstützt. Dank dem Mäzenatentum der Dynastien wurden einige Elemente der Vergangenheit in der Chroniken dem dynastischen Interessen entsprechend interpretiert. Fast gleichzeitig wurden die ersten Produkte der Geschichtsschreibung an verschiedenen Höfen geschrieben. Die Arbeiten von Anonymus Gallus, Cosmas von Prag, Sylvester aus Vydubichi und unbekannte Autoren der königlichen Hofes von Arpaden spiegeln die Mentalität und Meinungen des Königs und der Fürsten.

Aufgrund der Komparatistik werden im Vortrag die erwähnten Chroniken analysiert, und gezeigt, wie die Chronikschreiber das Selbstbewusstsein der Dynastien unterstützen konnten. Gleichzeitig gibt es wesentliche Unterschiede in der Vergangenheit-Interpretation.

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Vita Edwardi Secundi: evidence of historiographical synthesis

Susan Foran

My research thus far has concentrated on treating of the *Bruce* (a Scottish epic romance poem written in c. 1375 during the reign of Robert II by Archdeacon John Barbour to glorify the reign of Robert I) and the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, a contemporary or near-contemporary account of the reign of Edward II of England by the anonymous Monk of Malmesbury, as pieces of historiographical synthesis. Traditionally classified as a chronicle, the *Vita* is more interesting for its self-conscious blending of the annalistic with the literary-historical than for subscribing to any one specific genre. However, it is through a discussion of the *Vita* within the contemporary tradition of chronicle writing in which it was composed that the layers of intertextuality within the text can be deconstructed. The Monk of Malmesbury used the tradition of the chronicle both consciously in the models he consulted and unconsciously in perpetuating the predominant ideologies of his time. The rhetorical devices applied by the author to ensure a consistent flow of

narrative are more insightful when considered for their moral and political purpose than for their aesthetic intention. The *Vita*'s edificatory aim allows for a concentration on the personalities of the reign of Edward II rather than recording purely constitutional issues. The Monk of Malmesbury adopted a homiletic tone to ensure that it was the *exempla* of susceptibility to vice among the personalities of the period and, in particular, with Edward II himself, that was to be chronicled for posterity. Thus truth was made subject to linguistic constructions; narrative tropes allow the *Vita* to function as a promotional sermon for the moral and political rules that should be adhered to. It is the historical consciousness and moral obligation felt by the Monk of Malmesbury that blurs both the boundary between truth and fiction within his narrative and the lines between chronicle and history that prevent its classification into a specific genre.

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The Use of Chronicles in Late Medieval English Government

Chris Given-Wilson

This paper will begin by examining three important moments in late medieval English history when the government sought to use evidence from chronicles in order to justify political action:

- (i) Edward I's claim to the overlordship of Scotland in 1291;
- (ii) Henry of Lancaster's usurpation of the English throne in 1399;
- (iii) the duke of York's claim to the English throne in 1460.

On the first two occasions at any rate, there is clear evidence that chroniclers were ordered to bring their chronicles to court so that they could be scrutinized for evidence to support the claim in question. And, since chronicles thus seem to have been used to support political programmes, this raises a number of questions about the purposes behind their compilation and the constraints which might have existed on what they wrote.

There were also several other occasions when individual chroniclers are known to have been ordered to bring their chronicles to court to be searched for evidence. Sometimes we know why, sometimes we can only speculate.

>Local= monastic chronicles were also used, apparently quite routinely, in government, usually with reference to the pedigrees which they included. For example, they were commonly cited in >proof of age= cases, to determine whether or not a landholder was old enough to inherit his ancestor's lands.

The paper will conclude by trying to assess the motives which underlay the writing of different kinds of chronicles in the late middle ages. To what extent did chroniclers envisage a specific >use= for their chronicles (rather than simply recording interesting facts for posterity)? It will also examine the role of the chronicle in the government of the kingdom, in relation to the growing number of other types of written document in the late middle ages.

The Eleventh-Century Western Chronicles as Sources to Contemporary Pilgrimages to the Holy Land

Aryeh Grabois

Due to the notable absence of pilgrims= accounts of their travels to the Holy Land and of their visits to the Sacred places of Christendom, the research of the eleventh-century pilgrimage must rely on other sources, such as *Vitae sanctorum* and various narrative texts compiled in Western Europe, which include stories both about individual pilgrims and larger group pilgrimages.

The purpose of the present paper is the study of narrative materials included in the eleventh-century chronicles from the different countries of Western Europe, especially in Germany, France, Normandy and Anglo-Saxon England. But, interested in the contemporary events and societies, these chronicles were not focused on the phenomenon of pilgrimage and the descriptions of the Holy Land; therefore, their mention is sporadic and they do not represent any systematic attempt to narrate neither the pilgrim=s life nor to describe the Holy Land pilgrimage. However, Hugo of Flavigni=s *Chronica et vita Ricardi Abbatis* and the *Anonymous Vita sancti Almanni, Pataviensis episcopi* represent an important exception to this

rule, because the pilgrimages are the core of their respective stories. The present paper aims at the discussion of chroniclers' contributions to our knowledge of pilgrimage in that particular epoch, whose importance as preceding the Crusades needs no emphasis.

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Searching their Own Place in the Earth. The Medieval Chronicles about the National Prehistory

Ryszard Grzesik

The national communities, which originated in the Middle Ages around the state-idea, looked for the definition of their being and of the place in the known world, which was identified with Christianity. The chronicle-stories about the most ancient history of the community, which created the state, were the expression of such efforts. They had the legitimisation character: they proved the rights of a community to the territory, which was occupied by it, they shown its genealogical relations with other Christian peoples and its antiquity, which found its roots in the Biblical or Ancient history. We find similar efforts in the East-Central and East-European historiography, which flourished later as in the West (Carolingian) Europe. The first chronicles appeared only at the turn of the 11th century there. In my lecture I would like to describe, how the Central-European chroniclers reflected their own past and place.

- 1 I think that in the earliest stage of the chronicle writing two models were occurred: once of them, typical for the settled people, showed their deep connection with their homeland. We can define it as a peaceful and find in the chronicles of Gallus Anonymus and Cosmas. The second one was the occupation of a new territory thanks to the military incursion. It was the case of the Hungarians and the Southern Slavs (the Chronicle of Priest of Dukla and the Hungarian chronicles).
- 2 The main problem of the sources of the first group was to legitimise the dynastic power (story of Piast and Přemysl). Thanks to chorographical description it showed, also, the place of the country in the group of the neighbours.
- 3 The chronicles described the military incursion used another arguments for the territorial power of their peoples, as well. It was a Hunnish tradition of the Hungarians (descending from Attila, Attila as a Hungarian ruler). An important role in the Hungarian mentality played two tales: of the marriage of the Hungarian dauphine with the daughter of the

- Slavonic prince and the tale of a white horse presenting the sell of the territory by the Hungarians. Both of them are of the Hungarian, and not Slavonic (Great-Moravian) origin.
- 4 We observe the echoes of these tales in the Hungarian medieval historiography. Especially interested is the narration of the Hungarian-Polish chronicle, where the Amarrriage tradition@ was connected with South-Slavonic tales of the aliens= incursion and of the death of the last King of Croatia.
 - 5 Later Polish chronicles (of Vincent Kad;ubek, of Dzierzwa and the Great-Polish Chronicle in its interpolated version) added the scholarly tradition of prehistory of the Poles and the Slavs. According to their stories the Poles were the ancient people, equal to Greeks and Romans (similar to the Huns-Hungarians of the Hungarian Chronicles), Pannonia was a cradle-land of the Slavs, and the Hungarians were the descendants of the Slavonic tribe of Wkrzanie. Thanks to these stories the Poles could find their eminent place between other Central-European people.

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Hugh of Flavigny and the Chronicle as Polemic

Patrick Healy

Hugh of Flavigny was born in the region around Verdun in 1065, and subsequently became a monk at the local monastery, St. Vanne. The abbot at St. Vanne was a certain Rudolf, and he was closely associated with Pope Gregory VII during that pope=s stormy pontificate (1073-1085). It was at this time that the so-called AInvestiture Contest@ broke out, a dispute between the pope and King Henry IV of Germany concerning their respective rights and prerogatives. In 1084, because of their papal affiliation, Abbot Rudolf and Hugh were exiled from Verdun by the local Bishop, the royalist Theoderic of Verdun. They took refuge in Dijon where they met some of the most eminent men of the AGregorian@ party, men like Abbot Jarento of Dijon and Archbishop Hugh of Lyons. Through their influence Hugh became abbot of Flavigny (in the diocese of Autun) in 1096.

It was to preserve the memory and reforming ideas of these men that Hugh composed his *Chronicon* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Scriptores* Vol.8, pp.280-503; J.-P. Migne *Patrologia Latina* Vol.154 pp.1-404/B). Hugh composed this incarnation chronicle between 1090 and 1102, and its purpose essentially was to show that Gregory VII=s measures against simony and lay investiture were legitimate and had precedents historically. The chronicle attempts also to show that dissension between popes and the secular power had existed in the past and had always been resolved in favour of the see of St. Peter.

In its manipulation and use of evidence (papal letters, excerpts from the canon law, historical *exempla*) Hugh's method is very similar to that found in the *Libelli de Lite* (published by the M.G.H. 1891-1897). These *Libelli* were polemics which attempted to support (depending on the perspective of the author) either a royalist or a papalist position. Because of the way these polemics adopted a very sophisticated attitude to the evaluation of sources, these *libelli* are considered vital to the development of the so-called Twelfth century renaissance.

In my paper I would like to discuss Hugh's knowledge and reception of these vital *libelli* and how, through the careful manipulation of sources Hugh was able to present a version of history that was acceptable to the Gregorian party. Accordingly the paper should fit most suitably in theme four of the conference: The chronicle and the reconstruction of the past.

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Textual Hybridity in Chronicles of the Reign of Enrique IV of Castile

David Hook

Although it has long been known that a number of post-medieval Spanish manuscripts contain hybrid texts based on Diego Enríquez del Castillo's chronicle of the reign of Enrique IV of Castile (1454-1474) together with elements drawn from sources such as Diego de Valera's *Memorial de diversas hazañas*, only recently has their collective similarity been recognised. They have still not been studied as a group even to determine whether they all represent the same hybrid chronicle redaction. The manuscripts concerned are British Library MS Egerton 298, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS 18219, Escorial MS M-I-23, Hook MS C-2 (olim Sir Thomas Phillipps MS 21848), and Hispanic Society of America, New York, MS B 1497. Not only have these texts not been studied in detail; they have generally received rather dismissive treatment from editors of the individual chronicles on which this hybrid tradition draws. This paper describes the characteristics and content of the MSS involved, and offers some preliminary considerations on their textual relationships, with the intention of determining

whether they should be seen as representing an identifiable >third generation= of chronicle compilation on this reign.

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Wiltenburg zwischen Friesen und Franken. Anfang der Geschichte von Utrecht und Holland in den Chroniken

Libuše Hrabová

Ein sehr kurioser AMythus der Anfänge@ erscheint in den holländischen Chroniken des 14.-17. Jahrhunderts. Der Utrechter Domherr Jan van Beka behauptet in seiner im Jahre 1346 beendeten Chronik, daß in der Umgebung von Utrecht im 5. Jahrhundert die Slawen lebten. Spätere Stadtchroniken, wie die Chronik von Gouda, Tiel, Utrecht und andere, verbreiteten das Gebiet, welches sie Slavia oder Slavenia nannten, auf ganz Holland und Gelderland oder auf ganz Batavien. ADie Slawen nennen sich jetzt Holländer@, schrieb die Alte Chronik von Gouda. Diese Slawen sind aber in keiner der holländischen oder friesischen Chroniken mit slawischen Völkern von Mittel- oder Osteuropa verbunden.

Jan Beka brachte die Slawen in die holländische Geschichte im Zusammenhang mit der Burg Wiltenburg bei Utrecht, welche auf den Ruinen der römischen Festung Antonina die slawischen Wilten gründen sollten. Eine Nachricht über Wiltenburg und Wilten brachte schon am Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts Beda Venerabilis, der Wiltenburg mit Utrecht identifizierte. Später sprachen darüber auch Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium und andere Chroniken und Legenden bis zu Sigibertus Gemblacensis im 11. Jahrhundert. Aber in keiner von diesen Nachrichten sind die Wilten als Slawen bezeichnet.

Die Wilten waren wirklich Slawen. Es war der Name eines slawischen Stammesverbandes zwischen mittlerer Elbe und Odermündung. Andere gemeinsame Namen dieser Stämme waren Veleten oder Liutitzen. In der Zeit von Bekas Chronik waren die Länder der Wilten-Liutitzen schon lange von den deutschen Fürsten besetzt, ihre Namen vergessen und waren als Markgraftum Brandenburg bekannt.

Jan Beka konnte in der Vita Caroli Magni von Einhard finden, daß die Wilten Slawen waren. Die Information konnte aber auch aus heimischer Tradition kommen, weil die breitere Umgebung von Utrecht im 10.-12. Jahrhundert zweifellos Kontakt mit den Liutitzen hatte.

Es ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß in der Zeit der slawischen Bewegung nach Westen irgendeine Schar von Wilten-Liutitzen bis zum Krümmen Rhein kommen konnte. Die slawischen Siedlungen sind im 10. Jahrhundert westlich von der späteren Sprachgrenze relativ weit bezeugt. Aber der Name Wilti könnte auch ein anderes AWildes@ Volk bezeichnen.

Das alles kann aber nicht die Frage beantworten, warum die Vorstellung von der slawischen Besiedlung des Gebietes zwischen Friesen und Franken in der niederländischen Geschichtsschreibung so lange bewahrt wurde. Vielleicht liegt ein verstecktes Motiv in der Abneigung der Bürger von reichen und selbstbewußten Städten gegen den Gedanken, das ihre

Vorfahren Franken oder Friesen waren. Und darum waren sie gern, daß sie in den Chroniken die slawischen Wilten als die ursprünglichen Bewohner des Landes finden konnten.

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The Normans and their Origins in Medieval Chronicles

Ewan Johnson

The Normans of the eleventh and twelfth centuries could be considered the most historically productive people of medieval Europe. They produced a wealth of historical writing, not just in Normandy itself but also in the areas they conquered: Southern Italy and England. Their writings range from serial biography (Dudo of St. Quentin's biography of the Norman dukes, and the subsequent reworkings of it by William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni), to Latin verse chronicles (William of Apulia), to vernacular accounts (as seen in the works of Wace and Benoit).

The paper concentrates on the area of my own research, namely Norman identity, and will examine the use of chronicle accounts in creating, consolidating and defending ethnic identities in the period. Specifically it will focus on the use of distant origins to explain differences in the authors' present. It thus examines the use of past origins as an explanation for present differences between peoples, the possible use of chronicle accounts in forging new identities amongst their broader audience, and the relationship between the two.

It will examine two historiographical themes in depth. The first, advanced specifically for the Normans by Graham Loud (*Gens Normannorum*), and more generally for the period by Susan Reynolds (*Origines Gentium, Kingdoms and Communities*), is the idea that medieval

polities consolidated their existence through creating a >people= to populate them (so that the creation of Normandy precedes the creation of the Normans). I will argue that the Norman chronicles, and their redactions, offer scant evidence of the centrality of common origin to the conception of >normanness=. I will also argue that the passages that deal with the supposed common origin of the Normans seem to have held little interest for their audience, for whereas we have clear examples of passages which are common to chronicles in both Italy and Normandy, the origin passages are extremely varied (if present at all). We should therefore distinguish between recovery of an audience for a text (the Normans chronicles seem to have had quite a broad audience) and this audience=s response to specific parts of it in creating a social bond.

The second theme is a more specific examination of how present differences can be explained as a result of origins. It argues against the idea that these texts serve to bind communities by a process of cultural explanation: so that Normans are like this now because of an event in their past. In contrast, I will seek to show how ascriptions of characters and behaviour for peoples are extremely varied and driven by instant textual demands. In contrast, a series of events and figures does seem specific to the Norman chronicles (see Capitani). I will therefore conclude that the social function of these chronicles, insofar as they relate to identity, is to provide a common resource of stories and characters, rather than to explain the present identities of its audience through reference to the past.

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Das Aheilige@ Land Brabant und die Devotio moderna

Aloysia Jostes

Der Augustinerchorherrenkonvent Rooklooster in der Nähe von Brüssel wurde wegen der reichen Sammlung von Heiligenleben der Konventsbibliothek von dem Jesuiten Heribert Rosweyde tituliert als das AArchiv Belgiens@. Maßgeblichen Beitrag zu dieser Sammlung leistete der Chorherr Johannes Gielemans (1427B1487). Mit größtem Eifer trug Gielemans frömmigkeitsgeschichtlich relevante Texte zusammen und arrangierte sie in vier umfangreichen Sammelwerken. Gielemans= Interesse galt dabei bevorzugt dem Brabanter Raum. Sein Anliegen war es, Brabant als auserwähltes, heiliges Land auszuweisen: zu allen Zeiten C vom 6. bis ins 15. Jahrhundert C sind in Brabant aus allen Bevölkerungsschichten zahllose Heilige hervorgegangen. Viele andere Brabanter zeichnen sich aus durch große Verdienste, die sie durch ihren Einsatz zur Verteidigung der Kirche und zum Schutz des christlichen Glaubens erworben haben.

Aus dieser Einschätzung Brabants als heiliges Land resultierte Gielemans= Sichtweise von den Ursprüngen der Devotio moderna; ihrem monastischen Zweig, der sog. Windesheimer Kongregation, gehörte auch Rooklooster seit 1412 an. Um 1460 verfaßte Johannes Gielemans das *Primordiale monasterii Rubeae Vallis*. Die von Gielemans sehr lebendig in Dialogform gestaltete Chronik seines Heimatkonvents diente der Unterweisung von Novizen über die Gründungs- und Konsolidierungsphase von Rooklooster sowie über die Entwicklung des monastischen Zweiges der Devotio moderna. Johannes Gielemans benennt nicht Geert Grote, den Begründer der Devotio moderna, als alleinigen Stifter des klösterlichen Zweiges. Durch den Brabanter Johannes Ruusbroec erst wurde Geert Grote veranlaßt, selbst ein devotes Kloster nach dem Vorbild des Brabanter Klosters Groenendaal zu gründen, das eine führende Position und Vorbildfunktion für Rooklooster und andere Brabanter Chorherrenkonvente längst innehatte. Damit spricht Gielemans Geert Grote nicht nur die Initiative zur Klostergründung ab, sondern er negiert auch den Führungs- und Autoritätsanspruch Windesheims als erstem devotem Kloster. Für Johannes Gielemans, der von der einzigartigen Heiligkeit seiner Heimat überzeugt ist, liegt in Brabant der alleinige Ursprung der devoten klösterlichen Lebensform, aus dem später der über Brabant hinaus höchst erfolgreiche Klosterverband der Devotio moderna hervorging.

Diese Sichtweise des Johannes Gielemans, die das vormals von Autoren wie Johannes Busch auf Windesheim zentrierte Geschichtsbild korrigiert, wurde in Chroniken aus dem Brabanter Raum bis ins 17. Jahrhundert tradiert. Sie führten nicht zuletzt zur Kanonisierung Ruusbroecs.

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Reminiscentia and Propaganda in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian Annals: Political Consciousness and Vision of the Past in the Late Medieval Chivalric Society on the Neman

Vladimir Kananovich

The paper is a part of the ongoing study concerning the author=s (authors=) values system as reflected in the medieval Lithuanian-Ruthenian annals and chronicles.

Although the history of investigation of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian chronicle-writing has a long tradition, the author=s mentality, however, has been studied poorly. In the 1999 Conference I considered the perception of time as revealed in the *Letopisets Velikogo Knyastva Litovskogo i Zhomoitskogo*. Now I focus mainly on the regional memories and the author=s (authors=) historical awareness. In the second half of the 13th century the upper Neman area

was an arena of fierce confrontation between the Galician-Volhynian and Lithuanian princely houses. Gradually due to the efforts of the grand dukes Mindovg (Mindaugas), Vojshek (Vajvilkas) and Trojden (Trajdenis) the Lithuanian dynasty took a control over this strategically important region. However, they all had died without leaving heirs, and soon afterwards a new dynasty of Gediminids (which gave an origin to the Jagello dynasty and which ruled Lithuania and later Poland until 1572) came to power in Lithuania and established themselves in the region of the upper Neman. As elsewhere in the medieval Europe the Jagello dynasty received alongside with tremendous political acquisitions also a possibility to manipulate the memories of their predecessors.

The paper will trace the fate of the grand dukes Mindovg, Vojshek and Trojden in the historiographical tradition of the Jagellonids. As a starting point could here serve Patrick Geary's conclusion about the common medieval practice of using past, according to which new rulers were left not only to enjoy the fruits of the efforts of their predecessors but also to control the manner in which the latter would be remembered or forgotten. I believe that the study will be most fruitful through a comparative analysis of the surviving editions of the Letopisets. In order to understand better the process of transformation of the memories, as well as to elucidate the motives which moved the authors (continuators) to present the past in this or another way a particular attention will be paid to the social and cultural milieu of the main inspirators of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian annals. The problem of the sources, which were used in the chronicles, will be briefly considered in the paper. Finally the methods through which the authors (continuators) used to create their own vision of the past will be studied here.

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AThe Namelist of Bulgarian Khans@ and the Writing of History in the Bulgarian Regnal Court in the 8th Century

Milyana Kaymakamova

This paper aims at researching the functioning of the first Bulgarian regnal list, known as AThe Namelist of the Bulgarian Khans@ in science. Its concept is rather similar to regnal lists and genealogies, which became very popular in other European regnal courts in the early Middle Ages. It was written in Greek and inscribed in stone. The early history of medieval Bulgaria is represented through the names, origin and the years of reign of the Bulgarian khans until the 70s of the 8th century. A remarkable feature of its is the Proto-Bulgarian calendar used, which is a

variant of the twelve-year cycle animal calendar known among the Altaic peoples. The creation of the Bulgarian state is presented like a process evolving in time and having coherent stages. This historical concept is developed by the anonymous author by the means of various speech patterns and approaches such as: the same pattern of counting the years of reign and of life of the rulers; introducing particular verb patterns and phrases to denote a certain state of regnal power etc. The paper searches to find the answers to the questions when, why and how the writing of history in medieval Bulgaria began.

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Opinion and Historiography: Writing Epideictic History in Christine de Pizan=s *Fais et bonnes meurs du roy Charles V*

Douglas Kelly

The place of epideixis in rhetoric has long been recognized. As praise or blame, specific kinds of epideictic achieved currency in historical writing. It is a ceremonial mode, often little more than a fundamentally scholastic exercise for festive moments. But it also served to exemplify. This is Christine's purpose in the *Fais et bonnes meurs du roy Charles V* in which she chronicles Charles V's life. This *Herrscherlob* describes a virtuous prince in order to set a standard for noble thought and action that is beneficial for France. That is, she not only lauds the deceased king, but also uses his virtuous conduct to exemplify nobility of heart, chivalry, and wisdom, and to show how beneficial these three virtues are for the kingdom. In doing so, Christine also reveals how she develops the opinion topos. I propose to examine how the laudatory intent of the treatise is supported by opinion, and that the truth or falsehood of an opinion advanced in epideictic historical writing is grounded in one or more of the three criteria Christine proposes in another treatise, her *Avison Christine*: faith, reason, and experience as *vray sentement* in the context of nobility, chivalry, and wisdom.

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Myth as History, History as Politics: The Short Middle Scots Prose Chronicles

Edward Donald Kennedy

Scholars have long noted the anti-English bias that colors the Scots versions of history at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance. A considerable body of historical work written mostly in Latin, and extending from John of Fordun's late-14th-century *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* through Walter Bower's mid-15th-century *Scotichronicon* and Hector Boece's early-16th-century *Scotorum Historiae* to George Buchanan's late-16th-century *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, and scholars have convincingly linked the development of this Anglophobic theme to the international politics of the period. As to the struggles of the Scots to win and maintain a secure independence from their richer, stronger, and more populous southern neighbors.

Not much noticed, however, has been the heightening of this theme in the small body of prose chronicles written in a Scots dialect (essentially a northern dialect of English) during the late-15th and early -16th centuries: the *Brevis Chronica*, the *Chronicle of the Scots*, the *Scottish Originale*, the *Ynglis Chronicle*, and a hitherto unidentified work we have tentatively named the *St Andrews Chronicle*. These works share a number of characteristics: they are short, highly derivative popularizations of the more serious, more detailed Latin tradition of Scottish history (indeed, the *St Andrews Chronicle* is little more than an abstract of Boece); they build their versions of medieval events on Scotland's foundation myths; and they feed the popular appetite for a history that makes the Scots different from, older than, and superior to the English.

The anti-English bias is most explicit in the *Scottish Originale* and the *Ynglis Chronicle*, where it amounts almost to a definition of Scotland as an anti-England. Flora Alexander has pointed to the *Scottish Originale* as the beginning of a Scottish anti-Arthurian tradition: the British Celtic Arthur long adopted by his English enemies as a national hero, is turned by default into an anti-hero and an enemy of the Gaelic Celtic Scots; the villainous Mordred, made a Scot by Geoffrey of Monmouth, is of necessity turned into a hero. The *Ynglis Chronicle* implies a history of Scotland reflected in a history of English defeats and misdeeds. Neither chronicler betrays any sense of irony regarding the language through which they must reach their audiences.

All of these chronicles exhibit a tendency to exaggerate the claims of Scottish nationalism taken from their Latin sources. Scottish institutions are made older; Scottish kings are made braver; English treachery is made more brazen; implications are made explicit; and qualifications are made to disappear. In short, comparison of these English chronicles with their Latin sources reveals a less cautious, less balanced, and more frankly propagandistic attitude toward history, perhaps in response to an audience perceived by the chroniclers as less sophisticated.

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**Zeitgeschichtsschreibung:
Methodologische Reflexionen mittelalterlicher Chronisten**

Norbert Kersken

Mittelalterliche Historiker lassen verschiedentlich ein ausgeprägtes Bewußtsein für die Probleme der Zeitgeschichtsschreibung erkennen. Sowohl bei ausgesprochenen Chronisten der eigenen Zeit als auch bei Geschichtsschreibern, die einen größeren zeitlichen Darstellungsraum verfolgen finden sich Reflexionen über methodologische und erkenntnistheoretische Probleme. In diesen Abschnitten wird die unterschiedliche Quellenbasis der Vergangenheitsgeschichte und der Zeitgeschichte besprochen. So wird einerseits die schriftliche und mündliche Überlieferung C die durchaus divergieren kann C der Vergangenheitsgeschichte dem Quellenwert des eigenen Miterlebnis bzw. dem Zeugnis der lebenden Zeitgenossen gegenübergestellt. Andererseits sind sich manche Zeithistoriker der Schwierigkeiten bewußt, die sich beim Schreiben der `WahrheitA angesichts der Nähe zu den politisch Handelnden ergeben können. Als Grundlage für die Beobachtungen wird auf entsprechende Passagen aus chronikalischen Texten aus dem gesamten Zeitraum des Mittelalters zurückgegriffen.

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**L=histoire gréco-romaine dans les Achroniques@ de Bède le Vénérable
(De temporibus ch. 17-22 et De temporum ratione ch. 66-71)**

Le but du présent exposé, qui s'intègre directement à une thèse de doctorat en cours, dirigée par les Professeurs Jean-Marie Sansterre (Université Libre de Bruxelles) et Régine Le Jan (Université de Lille III), et portant sur l'image de l'histoire gréco-romaine dans les sources littéraires latines du VIII^e au XI^e siècle, est de dégager empiriquement les bases d'une méthode adaptée à l'étude de la place réservée à l'histoire ancienne dans les chroniques universelles du haut Moyen Âge. Cette méthode est présentée au travers d'un cas de figure particulier, à savoir les deux *Achroniques* universelles de Bède le Vénérable. Ce sont les conclusions de cette dernière analyse que j'évoquerai brièvement ici.

L'étude de la place réservée par Bède à l'histoire gréco-romaine dans ses deux *Achroniques* permet d'abord de mieux comprendre comment celui-ci les a rédigées. Il apparaît clairement que le moine de Jarrow a choisi à chaque fois *une seule* source principale, qu'il a recopiée de façon plus ou moins complète, en en conservant les éléments essentiels de la structure chronologique. Il a modifié ou complété en cours de rédaction ce squelette d'exposé par des informations tirées d'autres sources. Celles-ci sont généralement liées à l'histoire sainte puisque son but était d'offrir à ses lecteurs (des moines) un panorama de l'histoire susceptible de les intéresser, en occurrence l'histoire religieuse.

Dans ce cadre, on aurait pu s'attendre à ce que Bède passe sous silence l'histoire gréco-romaine. Celle-ci est cependant bien présente, mais rarement pour elle-même : lorsque Bède y fait référence, c'est d'abord en tant que cadre chronologique, ou parce qu'elle est en relation directe avec l'histoire sainte ou, ce qui n'est pas sans rapport, avec l'histoire Anationale anglaise. À plusieurs reprises toutefois, le moine de Jarrow en mentionne des éléments de façon gratuite. Ceux-ci sont choisis généralement en fonction d'intérêts particuliers (fondations de cités, acmés d'artistes célèbres), preuve que l'histoire gréco-romaine ne laisse pas l'auteur indifférent. Ces traits profanes ne concernent jamais les aspects les plus païens de la culture antique. Leur caractère hétéroclite et la façon dont ils sont présentés trahissent la difficulté éprouvée dans certains cas par Bède pour maîtriser une histoire ancienne qu'il aurait pu mieux connaître. C'est il disposait au moins d'Orose et d'Eutrope pour ce faire, mais à laquelle il ne semble pas avoir accordé toute son attention.

L'étude de l'attitude adoptée par Bède à l'égard de l'histoire ancienne dans ses deux *Achroniques* me paraît s'intégrer parfaitement dans le programme du colloque, puisqu'elle nous éclaire sur leur fonction, leur forme et la façon dont y sont sélectionnés et présentés les événements du passé.

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Die Chroniken der Rus= als eine Quelle zum Kulturdialog (11. - 14. Jh.)

Jitka Komendová

Die russischen Chroniken des 11. bis 14. Jhs. enthalten die zahlreichen Berichte über den Dialog der Rus= mit der umliegenden Welt, über die Beziehung der altrussischen Autoren zu den anderen damaligen kulturellen Modellen.

Die Autoren der russischen mittelalterlichen Chroniken empfanden den Unterschied zwischen der eigenen und den fremden Kulturen sehr stark. Doch die Beziehung zu den anderen Kulturen ist in den verschiedenen Chroniken nicht identisch, denn das Bild des Fremdes hängt von der Zeit und dem Raum ihrer Entstehung ab. In der mittelalterlichen Rus= formierte sich ein polyzentrisches politisches System, das die Entstehung einer Reihe regionaler kultureller Zentren beeinflusste. In den Grenzregionen entstand eine spezifische kulturelle Übergangszone, in der sich verschiedenartige kulturelle Impulse überlagerten. Deshalb ist z.B. die Wahrnehmung des Fremdes in der Galitz-C-Wolhynischen Chronik und den Quellen aus dem Nordosten der Rus= ganz unterschiedlich.

Für die Autoren der Chroniken waren die Angaben über die Religion der anderen Völker außerordentlich wichtig. Außerdem interessierten sie sich für das unterschiedliche Alltagsleben, die Architektur usw. Die Aufmerksamkeit wurde vor allem dem katholischen Teil Europas, den Heiden im Ostseeraum und den Steppennomaden gewidmet. Nur sehr selten sprechen die Quellen über die damalige jüdische und armenische Kultur, obwohl diese zwei Völker eine sehr wichtige Rolle im Leben des mittelalterlichen Osteuropas spielten.

Außer den verschiedenen konkreten Berichten über die anderen Kulturen enthalten die Chroniken auch ein abstrahiertes Bild dieser Kulturen. Es gab oft eine offene Nichtübereinstimmung zwischen den realen politischen Beziehungen und den kulturellen Kontakten auf der einen Seite, und den Erklärungen dieses Dialogs in den schriftlichen Quellen auf der anderen Seite. Die allgemeine Opposition des Eigenen und des Fremdes (was bedeutet das Gute

und des Böses) wurde in der Form der verschiedenen Konkretisierungen ausgedrückt, u.a. als die Oppositionen des Akulturellen@ und des Arierischen@ Lebensstil, der Schönheit und der Hässlichkeit, des Akulturelles@ Raumes und des feindlichen Raumes der Wälder, bzw. Stümpfe, usw. Alle diese Elemente formen das abstrakte Bild der fremden Kulturen, die als eine Sphäre der Anti-Werte, als ein absoluter Gegensatz zur Apositiven@ Kultur der Rus= dargestellt wurden.

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Autorité fictive et fictionnelle :
lectures médiévales de la *Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*

Aurélie Kostka-Durand

La *Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* mêle dès son élaboration ambition littéraire et stratégie politico-religieuse. Le succès de l=œuvre est indéniable compte tenu du nombre de manuscrits qui nous l=ont transmise, mais il se reflète également dans la prolifération des textes qui s=en sont inspirés. Du calque rimé de la traduction des *Grandes Chroniques de France* qu=offre le troisième livre du *Charlemagne* de Girart d=Amiens en passant par les similitudes qui rapprochent le *Pseudo-Turpin* du *Philomena*, jusqu=à l=adaptation de certains épisodes que proposent des poèmes épiques tardifs à l=instar des *Enfances Garin de Monglane*, les avatars littéraires de la *Chronique* sont divers. Nous proposons de cerner l=instant où le récit historico-légendaire devient une légende détachée de tout substrat événementiel, puis une simple reminiscence littéraire, le rapport à l=œuvre première étant dissout. Ainsi, l=Aquitaine désigne à la fois une cité et une région dans *Valentin et Orson* : si le fait est expliqué dans *De militibus exercituum Karoli*, chapitre XI de la *Chronique*, l=association est purement mécanique dans le roman qui reprend sans le comprendre un héritage onomastique. L=analyse de la nature des rapports intertextuels a pour fin d=étudier la réception et l=interprétation du *Pseudo-Turpin* à la fin du Moyen Âge, de montrer que le texte peut être reproduit tant pour sa valeur idéologique que pour l=intérêt littéraire de ses péripéties.

La communication se rattache par là même aux études s=interrogeant sur le genre de la chronique comme aux recherches portant sur les fonctions de cette dernière. L=objectif est de montrer que la chronique est perçue comme une autorité littéraire et/ou historique en même temps que les événements qu=elle décrit peuvent être détournés pour devenir de simples ressorts fictionnels.

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**Bilder-Geschichten im *Liber ad honorem Augusti*,
einer illustrierten Chronik aus dem 12. Jahrhundert**

Sibyl Kraft

Mit dem heute in der Burgerbibliothek in Bern aufbewahrten Kodex des *Liber ad honorem Augusti* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek cod. 120 II) ist eine einzigartige mittelalterliche Handschrift erhalten geblieben. Der Dichter Petrus von Eboli schildert darin in über 1600 Versen die Ereignisse bei der Machtübernahme durch den Stauferkaiser Heinrich VI. im bisher von den Normannen beherrschten Königreich Sizilien. Mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit entstand die Handschrift zwischen 1195 und 1197 in Süditalien. Sie ist mit insgesamt 53 ganzseitigen lavierten Federzeichnungen illustriert, die den Textseiten jeweils gegenüberstehen. Obwohl die Handschrift 1746 erstmals ediert worden ist und der Wert der Illustrationen als historische Quelle schon lange erkannt ist, wurden sie von der Kunstgeschichte wenig beachtet. Auch in der neuesten Edition von Theo Kölzer und Marlis Stähli (1994) fehlt der Beitrag der Kunstgeschichte. Da keine Vorlagen oder späteren Kopien des *Liber ad honorem Augusti* erhalten sind, untersuche ich in meiner kunsthistorischen Dissertation das Verhältnis von Text und Bildern weitgehend werkimmanent. Nur für einzelne Bildelemente lassen sich im Kontext der süditalienischen Kunst des 12. Jahrhunderts Vorbilder finden. Die Illustrierung eines neu verfassten profanen Textes stellte einen Künstler des 12. Jahrhunderts (mindestens nach unseren heutigen Vorstellungen) vor eine ungewohnte Aufgabe. Meine Vorgehensweise ermöglicht einen Einblick in den künstlerischen Arbeitsprozess, gleichzeitig können wir uns auf diesem Weg auch der Rezeption des Buches in seiner Entstehungszeit annähern und die Funktion der Bilder im Gesamtwerk bestimmen. In meinem Vortrag an der Konferenz in Utrecht werde ich das Verhältnis des sprachlichen und visuellen Mediums in der Berner Handschrift an einem Bild oder einer kurzen Sequenz exemplarisch darstellen und damit zeigen, wie darin mit Bildern Geschichte erzählt wird.

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**Predicting the history:
On Merlin's prophecies in Italian XII-XV century chronicles**

Laura Lahdensuu

This paper is related to the fourth theme of the conference, viz. the chronicle and the reconstruction of the past and fictionality versus historical veracity. My intention is to study the cases where Merlin appears as a prophet or a wizard in the Italian chronicles written in XII-XV centuries.

These appearances are often short and cursory, but in some contexts they extend to anecdotes or even short stories inserted into historiographical texts. In most cases the structure is very similar and rather simple: the author mentions a prediction or a premonition that has been pronounced in the past, and then tells how it became true. The purpose of referring to a fulfilled prophecy seems to be that of seeking credibility or authority or giving a divine or mythical explanation to an event or its interpretation. The use of this clearly legendary figure among historical characters in some cases shows chronicler's ambivalence and uncertainty about Merlin's background in the Arthurian legends which, indeed, becomes a loose connection as Merlin becomes increasingly known as a separate, independent prophet.

Both the Arthurian material and several kinds of prophecies circulated largely in Europe of the later Middle Ages, and therefore their existence in historiographical context is hardly surprising. However their originality, and local, Italian characteristics draw attention, and in my discourse I shall attempt to classify the material in order to define a pattern, chronological, geological or political, of the distribution and divulgation of the Merlin's prophecies and his presence in the contexts where they were used.

Ultimately, the purpose of my study is twofold: on the other hand to clarify, where possible, the connection between the presence of Merlin in the chronicles and in other literary sources, and on the other hand to study the allusions to Merlin in the medieval chronicles to examine closely the purposes of his appearances. The aim is to draw conclusions which might help to understand how this mythical figure has travelled in the medieval literature, show the change of the myth and the ways it has been incorporated into a context largely different from its original.

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**Vers et prose : le jeu de la forme mêlée dans les
Gesta Dei per Francos de Guibert de Nogent**

Armelle Leclercq

Chroniques et chansons de geste relatives à la première croisade (en français, en latin mais aussi en arabe) forment le corpus de la thèse que j'ai entreprise sous la direction de Laurence Harf-Lancner à Paris III sur l'image de l'autre chez les Francs et les musulmans.

Le problème de la forme de la chronique est particulièrement présent dans une de ces œuvres, les *Gesta Dei per Francos* de Guibert de Nogent qui, dans sa chronique rédigée au début du XIIe siècle d'après des témoignages oculaires, mêle prose et vers latins.

Cet intéressant mélange des styles permet à Guibert de Nogent de mettre plusieurs scènes en relief par le vers ; il semble de plus être inspiré par la composition de certains livres bibliques, notamment le livre des *Maccabées*.

La forme versifiée, qui est minoritaire dans cette chronique, correspond souvent à des intrusions du narrateur ou à des passages teintés d'idéologie, le vers permettant une expression directe qui rend la chronique plus militante que dans ses passages en prose. Ces vers, souvent placés au milieu du récit, sont aussi à mettre en rapport avec les débuts de chapitres qui forment autant de prologues successifs où s'exprime le narrateur. Prologues et passages versifiés sont ainsi les deux lieux d'expression privilégiée de l'idéologie, dans cette chronique où Guibert décrit les Francs comme accomplissant une action sacrée voulue par Dieu.

La forme mêlée, et son rapport à l'idéologie sous-jacente de la chronique, n'a pas été beaucoup étudiée, en ce qui concerne Guibert de Nogent. Le fait que cet historien qui est aussi un poète ait utilisé les deux formes est un élément important que l'on peut de plus analyser sous l'angle plus poétique d'une poésie engagée (avec tous ses moyens rhétoriques) insérée dans une chronique historique dont elle vient confirmer, par d'autres moyens, l'idéologie.

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A Tale of Two Stories

Alison Williams Lewin

Though vast, Italian chronicle literature has in the past not been analyzed in great depth. Two lengthy examples provide useful starting points of investigation of the chronicle as a literary and historical genre. Written 150 years apart, in neighboring cities, the chronicle of Bindino da Travale (1315-1416) and the *Cronaca Fiorentina* (1537-1555), both invite examination because of their length and scope. Though contemporary with more sophisticated works of historical investigation, like those of Petrarca and Coluccio Salutati neither claims to present a work of scientific inquiry; rather each represents the chronicle tradition in its richest stages of exposition.

Given the span of time, and the profound literary and historiographic transformations, that separate the two, questions arise concerning the fundamental characteristics of the chronicle and its historical usefulness. One author, Bindino, clearly has literary aspirations. He often he will attempt to create elevated discourse when he represents the speeches of ambassadors, and

moreover ends many brief sections of his chronicle with rhythmic or even literally rhymed sentences. The other, anonymous, author, purports to be much more straightforward, constantly and even anxiously assuring the reader of his truthfulness. Yet he too is crafting a story, complete with villain and hero.

Clearly I am addressing the first theme of the conference, investigating both the literary and historical features of each work. By analyzing these two works, I hope to stimulate discussion about the nature of this oft-used form of historical resource, and to delineate more clearly what the chronicle can and cannot offer the historian.

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LOCAL HISTORIOGRAPHY:
CONTEXTS OF ORIGIN, FUNCTIONALITY, PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH
Narrative Sources
(<http://www.narrative-sources.be>)

In this session, researchers from the University of Ghent (dr. Steven Vanderputten) and the Catholic University of Leuven (drs. Janick Appelmans and drs. Pieter-Jan De Grieck) want to present four papers on the functions and sources of local historiography in the Middle Ages. The online, large scale repertory *Narrative Sources from the Southern Low Countries 600-1500* (a joint project of the two universities) provides extensive documentation for the study of local historiography in the area of present-day Belgium. This documentation will be used in the four papers, in order to illustrate some problems concerning the study of local historiography.

Steven Vanderputten will give a broad survey of the use of written sources in benedictine local historiography. His quantitative approach will allow him to reconsider some current opinions on the methodology of the medieval historian. Pieter-Jan De Grieck will focus on the historiography from St Martin's Abbey in Tournai, debating the genesis of local (urban) chronicles in a monastic context. Janick Appelmans will show how local historiography (*in casu* the account of the Grimbergsche Oorlog) could originate under foreign patronage.

In brief, the aim of these four papers is to study the context of origin of local historiography (patronage, sources, functions) and to raise some problems and questions for present-day research. Therefore, the session could fit within the themes of >function of the chronicle= and >form of the chronicle=.

I

**Some structural observations on the use of written sources
in Benedictine local historiography**

Steven Vanderputten

In the past few decades, historical research has increasingly focused on the medieval historian's methods. However, a quick glance through recent studies on the subject reveals that very little systematic research has been undertaken in order to assess certain structural elements of the local historian's use of sources. For example, how the latter evolved through the centuries, and to what extent historiography, hagiography and archival documents were used as primary sources, is still subject to debate. One of the C for now C utopian solutions for this problem would be to digitalise as many historical narratives, hagiographical texts and archival sources as possible, which would allow scholars to work more efficiently and to develop a semi-automatised method for recognising relations between texts.

While such an instrument is still sorely lacking, it cannot be said that modern historians do not dispose of an important body of information on the subject. One of the most ambitious inventories of this type of information can be found in the online repertory *Narrative Sources*, a joint project of the Department of Medieval History at Ghent University and the Centre for

Medieval Studies at the Catholic University of Louvain, whose ambition it is to provide scholars with a comprehensive overview of the entire production of narrative texts from the Southern Low Countries. Apart from providing basic information on each text, such as authorship, dating, manuscript traditions and bibliographies, *Narrative Sources* complements this with other search fields, in which one can find the sources an author used as well as the influence his text had on other writers. With such large-scale resources documenting the use of sources by medieval historians at our disposal, it would be unfortunate if some of the opportunities to reconsider current opinions on the subject would not be taken. In this paper, I will do so by comparing data for sixty-seven narratives from the eighth to the fifteenth century with a number of commonly accepted views on the local historian's use of written sources. While it would be beyond the scope of this paper to present a detailed inventory of all sources that have been used by these authors, it is my aim to demonstrate to what extent large-scale research provides us with new means to discern general patterns in the methods of local historiographers.

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II

Monks Writing Urban Historiography: The Chronicles from St Martin=s Abbey in Tournai (12th B15th Centuries)

Pieter-Jan De Grieck

Between the 12th and 15th centuries, the monks of St Martin=s Abbey in Tournai produced a considerable quantity of historiography. Since its foundation in 1092, the monastery of St Martin=s had been in close contact with the city of Tournai B both on the economical and social as on the cultural level. Shared interests lead the monks to write chronicles in which they praised the age, the power and the splendour of the city.

This paper wants to examine the form and functions of this local (urban) historiography originating in a monastic milieu. Some elements under consideration are: intentions and

purposes of the monastic authors in their writing of local history; form and language of the chronicles; their contents and use of sources; their influence.

The focus will be on Herman of Tournai's *Liber the restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, the *Liber de antiquitate urbis Tornacensis* and *Historiae Tornacenses* (all three written in the mid-12th century) and the chronicle of the little known prior Mathieu Grenet (ca. 1500). Grenet's chronicle is in fact a vast compilation of local and universal historiography. It has remained unedited and has received until now very little attention.

An important question to be raised: to what extent can this historiography still be called >monastic= historiography?

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III

The War of Grimbergen: Local Historiography versus International Politics

Janick Appelmans

The Middle-Dutch *War of Grimbergen* (*Grimbergsche oorlog*), a literary poem on the edge of historiography, was composed in the fourteenth century. This epic story deals with a twelfth century military conflict (1142-1159) opposing the emerging dukes of Brabant and the Berthouts, local lords of Grimbergen. This old noble family controlled a large area reaching out north from Grimbergen over Malines up to the Kempen region.

In the fourteenth century, when the poem was written down, the function of this chronicle did not fit in its original political context. The Berthouts were not any more the enemies, but the obedient and respected advisors of the ducal family. The paper will discuss the possible patrons of the *War of Grimbergen*.

The study of the reconstruction of the distant past will provide a portrait of the two anonymous authors. Both poets have a different geographical scope and probably diverging political views.

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Understanding the evolution of the medieval chronicle in Castile: The *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla* by Jofré de Loaysa

Purificación Martínez

In his recent yet already classic study *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana 1*, Fernando Gómez Redondo repeats his well-known distinction between general and royal (964), and posits that there existed from 1270 to 1434 a continual process of writing of chronicles, and which ended up being a mere record of political conduct (965). While it is true that this evolutionary pattern offers a magnificent point of departure for the study of medieval Castilian chronicles, it is also certain that a more complete understanding of these texts must necessarily include the study of chronicles authored by individuals outside the courtly environment in which the process Gómez Redondo speaks of occurred.

This essay offers an analysis of one such chronicle, the *Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, originally composed in Spanish (although the only extant version is the Latin translation) circa 1305 by Jofré de Loaysa. This chronicle, a history of the reigns of Alfonso X, Sancho IV and part of that of Fernando IV, stands in contrast to the *Chronicle of Three Kings*. The latter, considered a paradigmatic example of the royal chronicles, records the history of these same reigns, and was written between 1344 and 1350 by Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid. Following Gómez Redondo's theory, according to which the evolution from general chronicle to royal chronicle was due to a great extent to the narrator's introduction of his own point of view into the narrative, it is my intention to analyze the narrative voice in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, contrasting it with that of the *Chronicle of Three Kings*, in order to demonstrate that the

evolution from one type of chronicle to the other, when chronicles not authored by courtesans are taken into consideration, is perhaps not as continuous as Gómez Redondo affirms.

With my proposal, I intend to advance our understanding of the royal Castilian chronicles in various areas covered in your conference: the form of the chronicle, the chronicle and the reconstruction of the past, and the social function of the chronicle.

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History, Fable, Chronicle, Romance: What Distinction in the Eye of the Contemporary Beholder?

Julia Marvin

Medieval and modern definitions of what constitutes historical as opposed to literary writing are far from congruent. The long-lived distinction made by William of Malmesbury between *fallaces fabulae* and *veraces historiae* made truth the operative criterion of history: one easy to assert but not so easy to ascertain in particular instances (*De gest. reg. Ang.*,1.8). Antonia Gransden draws on a somewhat different distinction when she characterizes the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* as a >literary work rather than a chronicle in the technical sense=, the technical sense apparently being that offered by the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*: >a detailed and continuous register of events in order of time; a historical record, esp. one in which the facts are narrated without philosophic treatment, or any attempt at literary style=. The very fact that the author of the *Vita* >wrote clear, precise Latin prose . . . and was judicious, perceptive and highly educated= would seem to render him more >literary= and less >historical= in Gransden's view, the implication being that the ideal chronicle provides raw, uninflected data for the judicious use of the modern historian (*Historical Writing in England*, 2:31). One can imagine the original chronicler's dismay at the notion that his work would be thought historical in inverse proportion to its manifest degree of judgment, >philosophic treatment=, or stylistic verve.

Despite their differences C history, chronicle, literature and fable, much less truth, are terms that can only be roughly compared, and despite the perils of taking such statements as representative, William's and Gransden's characterizations are revealing when considered together. They share the idea that authorial opinion and desire affect representation. But in Gransden's modern view, the historical/documentary and the literary/synthetic represent two different kinds of writing. The medieval distinction, in contrast, seems to be one not of kind, but of degree. History and fable are varieties of the same thing: true story or false story.

The content of both histories and romances demonstrates that medieval writers were vividly aware of, concerned with, and often ready to exploit the distinction between true history and false fable. My question is whether or not we can learn what sorts of distinctions, if any,

medieval vernacular readers in practice drew between chronicle and romance. Do manuscript annotations reveal differences in the use, definition, and understanding of the texts? What do the compilation and presentation of texts by bookmakers and scribes (themselves readers too) have to tell?

I am at the beginning of my thinking and work on this issue: in my paper I expect to lay out the questions I am asking and the ways I am going about answering them, and to offer my preliminary hypotheses, which will largely be based on the corpus of manuscripts I know best, those of the prose *Brut* chronicle. I am looking forward to talking the matter over with other conference participants, and to benefitting from their experience with and knowledge of the range of texts they study. The paper (obviously) relates most clearly to the conference theme >history or literature? = but also bears on the themes of function, form, and text and image.

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Revision and Dissent: Writing the History of Henry IV

William Marx

The position of Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, as King Henry IV of England was controversial from the beginning of his reign, and recent scholarship has tended to argue that the Lancastrians were able to keep a firm grip on fifteenth-century historical writing in order to protect the dynasty's security. This >Lancastrian propaganda machine = it is argued, was broken only with the Yorkist assumption of power in 1461. This paper questions those conclusions by exploring the implications of an English language historical narrative dating from the Lancastrian era and compiled soon after 1437. Only portions of this narrative have so far been published, and little of its textual history and use of sources has been examined. The narrative survives in four recessions witnessed in a total of 13 manuscripts, and is a continuation of the Middle English prose *Brut*, which is the most frequently copied vernacular historical narrative in medieval England. The evidence of the make-up of this continuation shows that a compiler, using mainly Latin historical material, took radical steps to re-write what is known as the >Common Version = of the *Brut* =s fifteenth-century vernacular narrative to highlight in a systematic way the extent of unease and scepticism about Henry IV =s legitimacy as King of England. The first recession contains the most far reaching revisions and the clearest statement of dissent about the Lancastrian king. The other three recessions tone down the force of the first but retain much of its anti-Lancastrian stance.

The paper is concerned with the reception of Latin historical writing in the context of the English language *Brut* in fifteenth-century England. It discusses an important example of the vernacularization of historical writing in fifteenth-century England and the way in which the vernacular could be used to address the controversial question of the legitimacy of the contemporary royal dynasty.

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History or literature C A False Dichotomy? The Case of the *Chronicle of the land of Prussia* by Peter von Dusburg of the Teutonic Order

Rasa Mazeika

The chronicle of Peter von Dusburg, completed in the year 1326, has long been used by historians as a dependable historical source. Certainly the author intended it as a history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and the work of Marzena Pollakówna shows that Dusburg utilized older chronicles, documents, oral traditions and eyewitness accounts in an attempt to build a factual narrative. On the other hand, the ideological, moralizing aspects of the work are equally clear, and have been explored by Vera Nazarova and Mary Fischer.

But how does Dusburg seek to convey his moral message and to make a litany of facts palatable to the reader or listener? From an historian's point of view, I hope to draw attention to what could be called the literary aspects of this work, i.e. Peter von Dusburg's attempts to wax poetic, to create an emotional effect, even to entertain or amuse. These elements have been totally ignored, yet they are essential to this chronicle's panegyric aspects and its possible function as a defense (rather than a triumphant affirmation) of the Teutonic Order. Ideological declarations by Dusburg have perhaps been taken too much at face value, and the most important functions of this chronicle nearly ignored. Moreover, Peter von Dusburg would himself undoubtedly consider the Bible his most important source, which he constantly refers to for both historical examples and literary constructions.

This presentation will look at the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg as an example of the difficulties and perhaps the anachronism of differentiating literary and historical segments of medieval chronicles. It will attempt to show how both literary and historical elements serve the overriding function of the chronicle, and were probably seen as equally important by the author.

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John Hardyng's Maps

Anne McKim

The fifteenth-century English chronicler John Hardyng has received relatively little attention, and that which he has attracted has often been uncomplimentary. Described as "a restless and time-serving character" by no less an authority than Sir Francis Douce (1757-1834), former Keeper of the British Museum, he has also been pronounced a forger, a spy and a propagandist, and a man obsessed for much of his life-time with persuading a succession of English monarchs to conquer Scotland.

In a highly influential article in 1912, the eminent historian C. L. Kingsford went so far as to claim that Hardyng's chronicle was almost "incidental" to his main purpose to defend forged documents supporting English overlordship of Scotland, and to urge his claims for reward for providing these evidences. Recently Antonia Gransden has challenged this view of the chronicle and concluded that Hardyng was a conscientious researcher and antiquary, as well as someone clearly concerned about good government in his own day.

We know that Hardyng revised the chronicle he originally presented to Henry VI in 1457, and that a number of copies of the revised version, prepared for the Duke of York and subsequently presented to his son Edward IV, circulated quite widely. We also know that, unusually, a topographical map of Scotland and a detailed campaign route were prepared and included by Hardyng in both the original and revised versions of his chronicle. Yet Hardyng's maps and itineraries have merited nothing like the study accorded those Matthew Paris produced over two centuries earlier. Like his chronicle, Hardyng's cartography has been undervalued. This is especially true of the fine, illuminated map preserved in Lansdowne MS 204, the presentation chronicle for Henry VI. This paper will examine the map's function in the chronicle and its relation to Hardyng's purpose, and will argue the importance of this little known depiction of late medieval Scotland.

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Illustrations in Mediaeval Persian Chronicles

Charles Melville

Relatively few manuscripts of Persian chronicles were illustrated, and fewer still at the time of composition, or in such a way that the author might have been involved in the illustration of his work.

In this paper, I will first give an account of the surviving evidence of manuscript illustration: which chronicles were chosen to be copied with pictures; in what periods was the commissioning of an illustrated chronicle particularly popular? We will see that it was mainly verse chronicles that attracted illustration, in all periods from the 14th to the 18th century, and that the production of illustrated historical works was especially vigorous in the Timurid period (roughly the 15th century). I will then consider some of the reasons for these choices, which reflect both aesthetic preferences (for the combination of poetry and painting) and political ideologies (the forging of an imperial image by Timur and his descendants). It will also be useful to review the subjects chosen for illustration in different chronicles or at different courts, to gain a better sense of the function and role of paintings in relation to the text and to the overall, possibly changing, message of the work of historiography in different historical contexts.

Finally, I will look at one or two chronicles in which the author was involved in the programme of illustration, especially the world history of Rashid al-Din (d. 1318), who established an atelier to copy and illustrate his own work, and the *Sharafnama* of Bidlisi (1597), the autograph ms. of which contains pictures.

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The Stereotypization of Jews in Medieval Chronicles: The Case of Anglo-Jewry

Sophia Menache

During the last years, new and fresh approaches have been advanced as to the different factors that brought Edward the First to expel the Jews from England and Aquitaine. However, only few historians dealt with the image of Jews before and after the expulsion, as it appears in contemporary records, both narrative and official. This lecture assumes the existence of a favorable public opinion toward royal policy, which favored if not motivated the expulsion. The different facets of Jewish stereotypes before and after the expulsion will be analyzed in some detail.

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**Manuel I Comnenus and the Venetians in the Venetian Chronicle
*Historia Ducum Venetorum: The Problem of impietas Graecorum***

Dimitar Mollov

The anonymous Venetian chronicle *Historia Ducum Venetorum* is probably written in the beginning of the XIIIth century, at the end of the government of Pietro Ziani (1205-1229). Meanwhile, a part of the last section of the chronicle, containing a summary of the historical events regarding the relations between Venice and Byzantium in the last twenty years of the XIIth century as well as a brief account about the crusade attack against Constantinople in 1204, is a later addition to the document, originating from the XIVth century's Venetian chronicle *Cronica Venetiarum*.

The main purpose of this paper will be to analyze the specific way by which the chronicle has represented the development of the political links between the Venetians and Byzantium in the second half of the XIIth century, without ignoring the fact that creating his chronicle in the beginning of XIIIth century the anonymous author was strongly influenced by the ideological and political context of his time. Thus, paying attention to the characteristic aspects of *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, our research will not only deal with the bias and the objectivity of the chronicle, but also try to clarify some components of the Venetian political concept towards Byzantium in the second half of XIIth century.

Simultaneously, approaching the main trends of *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, we will not disregard the specific anti-Venetian point of view expressed by the Byzantine authors John Cinnamus and Niketas Choniates, which will help us to appreciate the historical veracity of

chronicle's concept towards Byzantium and to make clear why the Venetian chronist had been so deeply awared in the perfidy of the Greeks.

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Die Geschichte des Ostbaltikums (Ende 12. B 14. Jh.) im Spiegel der Chronik Hermann=s von Wartberge `Chronicon LivoniaeA

Uvalds Mugur[vi]ks

Hermann von Wartberge, dessen Heimat sich in Westfalen befand, war ein Kaplan des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wilhelm von Vrimerheim (1364 B1385). Das *Chronicon Livoniae* verfasste Wartberge lateinisch in der Zeit nach 1378. Seit den 60.-70. Jahren des 14. Jh. berichtet er eigene Erlebnisse, die er bei seinem Aufenthalt in Livland erlebt hat. Für das Vorgehende musste der Verfasser zum Teil schriftliche Hilfsmittel C die Chroniken des 13.-14. Jh., eine grosse Zahl von Urkunden und mündlichen Tradition verwenden.

Die livländische Chronik Hermann=s von Wartberge behandelt in analytischer Form die Geschichte Livlands vom Ende des 12. Jh. bis 1378. Man muss einwenden, dass der Verfasser, den falschen chronologischen Angaben Livländischen Reimchronik folgend, den Bericht über die Anfänge der deutschen Mission und Geschehnisse in der Gründungszeit der Kolonie vermischt hat. Die Stellung des Autors bracht es mit sich, dass er politische Aufgaben des Ordens im Streit mit dem Erzbischof von Riga und der Stadt Riga erfüllen konnte.

Für die Zeit bis etwa in das zweite Viertel des 14. Jh. hinein bringt der Verfasser nur wenig Neues ausser Plünderungs- und Verwüstungszügen, die Anstregungen der Ordensritter gegen Litauer und Russen. In diesem Zusammenhang findet ein so wesentliches Element der ostbaltischen Geschichte C der Bau der Burgen. Aus der Chronik kan man die Zeit der

Gründung oder Zerstörung vieler Burgen erfahren. Solche wertvolle Information gibt es über 60 deutsche, um 40 örtliche Burgen in Livland und in den Nachbarländern.

Auf Grund der im Ostbaltikum durchgeführten archäologischen Forschungsarbeiten ist es möglich, in der Chronik enthaltene Beschreibungen in verschiedener Hinsicht mit den entsprechenden Ausgrabungsergebnissen zu konfrontieren. Dass der Chronist die Siedlungsorte im allgemeinen glaubwürdig beschrieben hat, ist durch Ausgrabungen an so bedeutenden archäologischen Denkmälern wie Dünaburg, Doblen, Gerceke, Loxten u. a. bestätigt worden. Obwohl die Chronik über die ostbaltische Geschichte einseitige Information bietet, darf nicht abstreiten, dass der Verfasser über die Verhältnisse seiner eigener Zeit wertvolles Material gehabt hatte.

Die Chronik Hermanns von Wartberge ist nur in einer einzigen Handschrift erhalten geblieben. Die Chronik ist ins Deutschen, Russisch und Litauisch übersetzt worden.

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Epic Heroes in thirteenth Century French Chronicles

Peter Noble

The influence of the *chansons de geste* on the chronicle of Villehardouin has long been recognised, but less attention has been paid to their influence on the chronicles of Robert de Clari, Henri de Valenciennes and Jean de Joinville. They all attach great importance to certain

leaders of the campaigns, which they describe. Villehardouin does not conceal his admiration for the Doge of Venice and Boniface de Montferrat, while Clari is much more interested in Pierre de Bracheux and Pierre d'Amiens. Henri de Valenciennes concentrates almost all his attention on the Emperor Henri, while Joinville is most interested in Saint Louis in whose portrait the influence of hagiography can also be seen. An examination of the descriptive techniques used by the various authors will reveal just how far they were influenced by epic poetry and by personal involvement with their chosen heroes. The results will suggest a greater degree of complexity and intertextuality in the work of these authors than has sometimes been suggested.

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Writing Universal History in Ultima Thule: The Case of AM 764 4to

Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir

The quarto no. 764 in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen is a manuscript written in the late fourteenth century at, or for, the Benedictine convent of Reynistaðr in Northern Iceland. The first half of the manuscript contains a universal chronicle in the vernacular, compiled from many disparate sources. The material of the chronicle is arranged according to the scheme of *aetates mundi* and it spans the time from the Creation to the papacy of Clement IV. The chronicle is preceded by a brief *descriptio orbis* and it ends with an account of Judgment Day and the life of the blessed in Heaven.

In my paper I shall discuss the make-up of this work and the selection of texts chosen by its compilers, but these yield a valuable insight into the corpus of foreign learning available in the vernacular in fourteenth-century Iceland. I will also offer some views on the purpose the compilers may have intended their work to serve.

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Honneur et honte dans les *Decem Libri Historiarum* de Grégoire de Tours

Nira Pancer

Telle que Grégoire de Tours la décrivait dans sa fameuse chronique intitulée *Decem Libri Historiarum*, la période mérovingienne apparaît comme une société sans foi ni loi où régnaient l'anarchie et la cruauté. Cependant, au-delà de l'image déformée d'une société incohérente dont les membres violents, indisciplinés et irréligieux auraient été déchaînés par un vent de folie, se cachent des mécanismes sociaux a priori indicibles mais néanmoins prégnants. Une analyse des comportements violents à partir du concept d'honneur et de son pendant immédiat celui de la honte, révèle la présence insoupçonnée d'un code d'honneur régissant l'ensemble des interactions sociales. Cette conférence tentera de montrer à partir de quelques exemples la dynamique de l'honneur et de la honte et leur importance dans la formation des comportements masculins et féminins.

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Some Aspects of the Role of Women in Medieval Spanish Chronicle Texts

David G. Pattison

The traditional view of women in medieval Spanish epic has been that they are subordinate characters, marked by submissiveness and playing no major role in the action; this is commonly exemplified by the case of the Cid's wife and daughters in the *Poema de mio Cid*. However, even in this poem it can be argued that the female characters have a functional importance: the marriages of the Cid's daughters are the mainsprings both of the major plot of the second half of the poem and of its thematic conclusion when they are betrothed to the royal princes of Navarre and Aragon. In *Mocedades de Rodrigo*, Jimena plays a more positive role by taking the initiative and demanding satisfaction from Rodrigo for her father's death.

An examination of the role of women in a range of legendary B originally arguably epic B material in chronicle texts (the legends used are those of *Bernardo del Carpio*, *Fernán González*, *Infantes de Lara*, *la condesa traidora*, *el infant Garcia*, *Sancho II*, and *la reina calumniada*) leads to the conclusion that, though to varied extents, women in these texts are often active (sometimes in an explicitly violent or sexual way), and that in some cases at least they use their power in ways which have clear political or dynastic repercussions.

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Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*

Sarah Peverley

Composed during a period of increased dynastic awareness and political tension, John Hardyng's late fifteenth-century *Chronicle* survives in two very different versions. The first version, dedicated to King Henry VI, is considered to be a >Lancastrian= account of history, whilst the second, originally dedicated to Richard, duke of York, but later presented to York's son, Edward IV, is regarded as a >Yorkist= revision.

This paper will assess Hardyng's representation of the kings and their kingdom in both versions of the *Chronicle*. References will be made to those sections of the work dealing with

the dynastic rivalry between the houses of Lancaster and York, and particular emphasis will be placed on the author's depiction of division within the realm. Examples will be cited from the prologues, epilogues, and chapters concerning fifteenth-century history, in order to reconsider the function of the text, and how this correlates to Hardyng's professed intentions.

The paper will conclude with a demonstration of how the first version of the *Chronicle* has a wider ranging political focus and concern with late medieval affairs than previously accepted, and how the second version is not exclusively concerned with fortifying the Yorkist dynasty. I will highlight why the two versions cannot simply be labelled >Lancastrian= or >Yorkist= by revealing how the dramatically different prologues essentially provide an identical blueprint for each version. Both renditions of the *Chronicle* contain the same primary themes, equating the authorial voice with reliability, in order to comment on the nature of kingship and the qualities essential to good leadership. Each version similarly promotes the imperative restoration of peace and good governance for the prosperity of the king's subjects and England.

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Trinity College Dublin MS 543 and the Writing of History

Raluca Rădulescu

Trinity College Dublin MS 543 is a royal genealogy in roll format of the Kings of France and England which incorporates both traditional elements of biblical genealogy and modern contemporary fifteenth-century commentaries on the French and Welsh connections to the crown of England. In this respect the narrative of the accompanying chronicle (at times containing French, Latin and English additions) presents us with questions regarding the function(s) of genealogical chronicles in roll format, especially those like TCD MS 534, which does not display illuminations.

The execution of the chronicle is quite rudimentary and does not display the same pride in execution as other rolls produced for the house of Lancaster do. The descent on the back however seems to imply a >grander= design and therefore a propagandist purpose is less likely to have been behind the production of this roll. Nevertheless it is easy to see the roll in the context of the 1450s, for two reasons: one would be the idea of boosting support in view of the depressing state of the loss of the French territories, the other, even more helpful in the identification of the date (at least of the descent on the back) is the fact that the Lancastrian descent incorporates the Welsh connection, a ramification which became useful in the political discourse employed by both Lancastrians and Yorkists.

A possible first location for the manuscript might have been the royal house, with the purpose of teaching biblical history, and then, at a time of political instability, a propagandist descent was added on the back, for the same purpose of >in-house= consumption. Another possibility would be that of a noble house C and the same would apply C with the implications of disseminated political ideas from the court.

Last but not least the whole may be regarded as the work of a collector/antiquary, very much in the same manner as John Benet did in his own collection of historical material in Latin, with his own additions. The fascination with the royal house and its descent would be only one of the signs that a wider readership was becoming interested in historical material with a bias towards royal justification B within the country and abroad. It is the purpose of this paper to illustrate these possibilities and explore the connections that may be established between TCD MS 543 and similar manuscripts of this kind, in order to envisage the possible use of genealogical chronicles in roll format at the end of the Middle Ages in England and France.

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Function as an Analogical Concept, on the Example of Vincent Kad;ubek's *Chronica Polonorum*, and Jan of DObrowka's *Commentary* to it

Paul J. Radzilowski

Functional analysis of social and cultural phenomena has been sharply criticized by some in recent decades as useless, irrelevant to historians, or even fundamentally illogical C e.g. as a kind of category mistake that attributes intentionality to social forces that lack the consciousness necessary to it, or as a questionable explanation of a cause by its effects. Yet not only social scientists and literary critics, but also historians, still posit social or political function to explain the impact and the nature of texts, events, genres, institutions, etc., at least implicitly, and find such explanations useful and cogent. My paper will argue that many of the apparent conceptual difficulties of functional analysis resolve themselves, if we understand "function" as a

fundamentally *analogical* concept. In other words, some intentional action by an individual or group of like-minded persons to maintain or undermine some aspect of the social or cultural order is functional in one sense (the most proper), yet other human phenomena (such as texts produced by such persons) may be said to function, in a somewhat different, but meaningfully *similar*, sense. Determining just in *what* sense similarity may be posited in some such instance (or more generally in some given society at some given time and place) is the job of historians most of all.

To illustrate by example how this principle may be fruitfully applied to medieval chronicles, I will attempt to show how the functional intentions of author and patron correspond (or fail to correspond) to the actual functions a single chronicle proved to have in the course of several centuries, through its interpretation, use or re-use by various people and groups of people, and show how the correspondences (or lack thereof) can be most clearly understood in terms of the analogical conception of functionality. My example will be one of the better known Polish chronicles, Master Vincent Kad;ubek's *Chronica Polonorum* (written in the first years of the 13th century), a work which had a long and varied career in later medieval Poland.

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Tracing the Tale of Albina: Affinities between *Castleford=s Chronicle* and MS Harley 941

Lisa M. Ruch

Castleford=s Chronicle, the fourth oldest extant Middle English chronicle, is notable in many ways, not the least being its over 200-line prologue of the founding of Albion by Albina and her sisters. This version of the foundation tale is one of the earliest known. Like much of the chronicle, this prologue is verbose and detailed. Caroline Eckhardt has suggested that the majority of episodes in the *Castleford=s* text are drawn from Latin sources. However, there is no obvious Latin source for *Castleford=s* lengthy Albina prologue.

British Library MS Harley 941 contains an Albina prologue in Latin prose which is strikingly similar to the Middle English verse version in *Castleford=s Chronicle*. In a discussion of the Harley text, Lister Matheson suggests that it was *Aa* one-time exercise, rather than an extract from some larger translation of the *Brut* into Latin.® Friedrich Brie, on the other hand, surmised that the Harley text was a fragment of a Latin *Brut*.

In my paper I will further explore the affinities between the Albina prologues in *Castleford=s Chronicle* and MS Harley 941, addressing the possibility of a textual relationship which may have been obscured. In doing so, I will be touching on key aspects of chronicle

studies, including the provenance of subject matter and the transmission of traditions between languages and styles.

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Anglo-Norman Chroniclers on Episcopal Reform: Reluctant Monks / Resigning Bishops

Marylou Ruud

When considering episcopal authority and leadership, an axiom of the medieval Church was that only those men who despised power could be trusted to exercise it wisely. It was a dichotomy that had existed since the desert fathers first avoided clerical ordination, and it became a prominent feature of monk bishops such as St. Martin of Tours, St. Boniface, and Pope Gregory the Great. It also appears in several chronicles concerning Anglo-Norman monk bishops of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, where the writers strive to make sense of contemporary life, especially the ecclesiastical reform movement that recently had gained momentum. These writings show the impact of reform efforts to eradicate the contamination of simony, the act of purchasing ecclesiastical office. Most striking is that the writers employ the themes of reluctance and resignation to underscore current concerns about simony. Chroniclers regularly reported acts of simony, whether real or perceived, and emphasized the need for those who had committed the sin to resign their offices and be canonically reinstated, thus restoring purity to the office. Unlike earlier writings, that focused primarily on why men would undertake the temporal responsibilities of a bishopric, what seemed to concern the Anglo-Norman chroniclers most was how bishops entered office. Greed or carelessness could not be defended, and even so much as a hint of simony evoked censure.

This paper will focus on the function of these chronicles as interpreters of current eleventh- and twelfth-century concerns. Whereas previous research has dealt with hagiographical patterns and traditions, none has interpreted them in relation to churchmen within the emerging church reform. The Norman church of this period has engaged in considerable conciliar activity that consistently upheld the war against simony, so it is not surprising that with the pervasive Norman influence on the English church after 1066, issues such as simony came to be of prime concern to those who kept records of the events of the realm. For case studies, the paper looks primarily at Remigius, Herbert Losinga, and Anselm, as they are portrayed in the following works:

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The Eye of History:

The Function of the Illustrations in Trinity College Dublin MS 505

John Scattergood

TCD MS 505 was originally in two parts which were evidently put together at an early stage in the book's history. Part A (pp. 5-86) consists essentially of lists. On pp. 5-56 appear genealogies from Noah to Edward IV, but not confined to the English royal line, with Latin notes on the

various rulers as far as Edward 1: the lines of descent are colour-coded and the names appear in decorative roundels. The last person mentioned in Thomas, earl of Huntingdon (1471-75). This is followed by a catalogue of rulers, both biblical and ancient, both emperors and popes B again with the names in roundels (pp. 59-78). The comes a list of archbishops of Canterbury, ending with Thomas Bourchier (1454-86). Part B is a *Brut*-chronicle in English ending early in the reign of Henry VI (pp. 87-285). Both parts are obviously concerned with chronology and history, and so it is not surprising to find them together. But they also have an intermittent programme of illustrations in common. It is usually thought that roundel and line genealogies were originally devised as aids to education, perhaps to the education of the laity: they aim to teach not only by exploiting literary capacities but also the visual sense. And this idea seems to have been taken forward in the illustrations. Two, a full-page drawing of Noah's ark (p. 5) and a picture of the stable in Bethlehem (p. 16) are obviously temporal markers indicating the new beginning after the Flood and the inception of the Christian era. The others, which are highly skilful drawings of English cities and towns, punctuate the genealogies (pp. 9-15). The illustrator is concerned with origins: the cities and towns are drawn when their supposed founder appears in the genealogical sequence, or, in the case of London, when the founder of part of the city appears: Billingsgate is drawn in relation to King Belinus, Ludgate in relation to King Lud. The same illustrator provides a frontispiece to the *Brut*-chronicle with a full-page drawing of London (p. 86) with a lot of detail about England in roundels superimposed on the cityscape.

The argument that this paper will seek to make is that this manuscript is a product, at once, of that view which saw the evocation of place as being one of the >requirements= for writing good history, and of the late-fifteenth century interest in travel around England and the description of place.

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Medieval Chronicles as a Source for the History of Women

Sylvia Schein

While the Medieval Woman did not write chronicles herself, the extant medieval chronicles are an important source for the history of women in the Middle Ages. Of special value is the twelfth-century chronicle of William of Tyre, as other sources for the history of women in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in this period are practically non existing.

The subject matter of this lecture focuses on attitudes toward women revealed by the chronicle of William of Tyre. This author=s stance I shall compare to that of another twelfth century chronicler, Orderic Vitalis, with whom William had much in common.

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Twelfth-Century Byzantine Histories: Chronicles or Literature?

Dion C. Smythe

Traditionally in the English-speaking world, a clear distinction has always been drawn between >chronicles= or >histories=. In this paper C which I would envisage, forming part of a section addressing the first theme of the conference >the chronicle: history or literature?= C I examine some of the generic considerations of >history=, >chronicle= or >literature= as applied to representatives of thirteen or so >histories= that survive from the Byzantine eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The clear literary artifice of Psellos=s *Chronographia* or Anna Komnene=s *Alexiad* places them in the >literary= camp C though interestingly librarians appear to be in two minds, categorizing one as >history= the other as >literature=. The role of character, plotting and at times a cavalier attitude to sequence in time shows that whatever these works may be, they are not chronicles organised on a year-by-year basis, as one might at a very simplistic level expect a >chronicle= to function. Niketas Choniates=s *Narrative*, with its strong point of view and tendency to jeremiad also belongs in this group of Byzantine >literary histories=.

I have pointed out the easier examples first. Manasses=s verse chronicle C if only because it is in verse and not prose C is different. The limited compass of Eustathios of Thessaloniki=s account of the Norman capture of his city sets it apart both from the universal chronicles of an earlier age, such as Theophanes=s *Chronographia* and from the broader histories of period such as Psellos and Choniates, even if Komnene tends worryingly to biography.

Within the allotted 20 minutes, it would be impossible to deal with all 13 >histories= and therefore I intend to concentrate on the similarities and differences between the literary histories on the one hand and the work by Skylitzes on the other.

My specific interest in these Byzantine >long twelfth-century histories= began with my doctoral research at the University of St Andrews, which sought to establish if there was a decline towards prejudice in how the authors of these histories presented outsiders. What I discovered was that there was no such clear decline, and that the greatest impact on the presentation of outsiders was the entire situational complex of addresser, addressee, context, message, contact and code as outlined by Roman Jakobson. To establish how the authors present outsiders C or rather whom they cast into the outsider roles C necessitates an examination of the >literary= qualities of the sources in question, and this in turn means that I must have some notion of genre boundaries and what is significant in determining generic adherence.

This paper, therefore, forms part of the introduction to my book on the Perceptions of the Byzantine Outsider, currently in progress. The presentation will be work in progress, rather than over-determined conclusions. I believe, however, that a process of interaction between historians working on texts from the medieval west and from the Byzantine Greek east would be of benefit to both sides, though I do recognise that I feel it would be of great personal benefit to me. In the presentation I wish to examine Skylitzes more exactly for two reasons: reading the texts for outsiders, it is >different= from Psellos, Komnene and Choniates (not to mention Kinnamos) and I wish to establish how and why; secondly, one of the research strands at Belfast concerns a study of Skylitzes and I would like to establish the nature of the beast that we are to examine.

The long and rich traditions of Greek historiography, of which the Byzantine authors were only too aware, shaped to an extent generic expectations and production. Production was also heavily influenced by the dictates of Byzantine rhetoric. Such considerations are not completely alien to examinations of the traditions in Latin and the Western vernaculars, but they are different. I hope that discussion and juxtaposition will show similarities and differences so that we can move forward to formal, abstract definitions of what is meant by >chronicle=, >history= and >literature= without relying on particular examples.

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History, fiction and imagined reality in early fourteenth-century English and Flemish verse chronicles

Thea Summerfield

The task of finding sources for the handful of English verse chronicles and establishing relationships between chronicles and romances was undertaken with assiduity in Germany before the so-called Great War, and by a number of editors of the English texts. Zetzl, for example, highlighted in copious footnotes the close links between the *Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* and the Auchinleck Manuscript. Less well known is that Robert Mannyng probably also knew this manuscript. In these cases seemingly straightforward borrowing is at issue.

The search for sources does not always yield satisfying results. The section in Lodewijk van Velthem's verse chronicle which is famous for its description of an Arthurian Round Table in fancy dress organised by Edward I has always defied historians desiring to find a source or occasion for the event. In my paper I shall concentrate on the campaigns described by Velthem as resulting from the Round Table festivities for which the author used a fascinating mixture compounded of his reading and knowledge of contemporary dramatic practice.

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From Chronicle to Legendary: Image Cycles of St Ladislav in 14th-Century Manuscripts

Béla Zsolt Szakács

St Ladislav was King of Hungary (1077-1095) and a saintly patron of the Kingdom, canonised in 1192. His cult flourished especially in the 14th century under the Anjou kings of Hungary (Charles Robert and Louis I). His legend was written in the 13th century focusing on the sanctity of the king. However, Ladislav was also famous of his knightly virtues which is described in the Hungarian Chronicle. The richest illustrated version of this text is known as *Chronicon Pictum* (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae. 404), dating from ca. 1360. One of the most extensively decorated part of this chronicle is dedicated to the activity of King Ladislav. Surprisingly enough, the only later addition to the original pictorial program is to be found here. Rounded marginal images were painted related to the events described in the text. What is more, these illustrations contain usually more information than the related text itself.

Another important pictorial source of the life of Ladislav is to be found in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary. This extraordinary codex (ca. 1330) is fragmented and divided into six

collections of the world: Rome (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Paris (Louvre), St Petersburg (Hermitage), New York (Morgan Library and Metropolitan Museum), and Berkeley (Bancroft Library). The codex does not contain the texts of the legends, however, it keeps 58 image cycles of saints with 549 pictures. The legend of St Ladislav is one of the longest one with 24 images. The story is an interesting combination of the known version of the king's legend and paragraphs from the Hungarian Chronicle. Evidently, the legend was not satisfactory for the donor who was rather interested in a version with more knightly profile. Thus, the image cycle of St Ladislav of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary shows a stimulating case when parts of a chronicle were applied for decoration of a legendary.

**The Vikings and the Natives:
Ethnic Identity in England and Normandy c. 1000**

Letty ten Harkel

Even though the issue of ethnicity is not new in medieval historiography, recently it has received an increasing amount of scholarly attention. As Simon Trafford states in his recent contribution to a study of Viking settlement in the Danelaw: >Peoples are back on the historian=s agenda= (Trafford 2000, p. 29). In Trafford=s opinion the modern preoccupation with ethnic identity and nationalism is the result of recent developments in European history, >or, more sinisterly, through events in the East= (p. 29), and there seems no reason to question his explanation. Still one reservation has to be made: we should be aware of the fact that topics which are an issue nowadays were not necessarily of equal importance in any other historical period. Or, in the words of the historians Hadley and Richards: >There is also a need to address the question of what people thought of themselves and their >ethnic= allegiances, if, indeed, they ever or normally thought in those terms= (Hadley 2000, p. 4).

In this paper I will focus on the issue of ethnicity in the Viking Age. In order to establish whether ethnic perceptions of >Viking-ness= played a significant role in tenth- and eleventh-century England and Normandy, I will look at the depiction of the Scandinavian invaders and settlers in contemporary written sources. I will start with a comparison between *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Dudo of St. Quentin=s *De Moribus et Actis primorum Normanniae Ducum*, and then I will move on to the portrayal of the Vikings in sources of a more literary character, such as the English and Frankish battle poems. After all, even though these >literary= sources, in particular those written in verse, have often been ignored by historians because of their questionable historical veracity, still they can give us much insight into peoples= own perceptions of their cultural and social environments, and, indeed, of their own A>ethnic= allegiances@.

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The Vikings as Depicted in Early Arabic Sources

Amin Tibi

Arabic literary sources are amongst the earliest and most reliable sources for the early history of the Vikings, the earliest of these being the mission of the Andalusian al-Ghazâl (845 A.D.) to the court of the Viking king in Ireland, and the mission of the Iraqi Ibn Fadlân (921-2 A.D.) to the king of the Bulghârs in the upper Volga region.

The Mission of al-Ghazâ (845 A.D.)

A group of Vikings raided the western coast of the Iberian peninsula and occupied Seville for six weeks (September - October 844 A.D.). The raiders were eventually driven out by the *amîr* of Cordoba and returned to their base, probably in Ireland. Shortly afterwards, the king of these Vikings sent an envoy to Córdoba to seek peace with the *amîr* who, in return, dispatched a mission to the Viking king headed by the celebrated Andalusian poet al-Ghazâl.

A full account of al-Ghazâl's mission is that of Ibn Dihya (d. 1235 A.D.) who says that al-Ghazâl arrived at the royal court in a great island in the [Atlantic] Ocean. According to al-Udhrî, a leading 11th-century Andalusian geographer, the Vikings had no base other than the island of Ireland.

Ibn Dihya says that al-Ghazâl had noteworthy sessions and famous encounters with the scholars and champions of the Vikings. When Otta/Ottar (Nûd in Ibn Dihya's account), wife of the Viking king Turgeis, heard of al-Ghazâl, she sent for him. He would tell the Queen of the social life and history of Muslim lands. The queen is reported to have told al-Ghazâl that, among the Vikings, a woman stays with her husband as long as it pleases her to do so and leaves him if it no longer pleases her.

al-Ghazâl's mission was, as far as we know, the first Muslim mission to the Vikings, and had political as well as economic objectives.

The reference of Ibn Dihya's account to the presence of interpreters at the court of the Viking king can also be taken as an indication that trade relations had already existed between Muslim Spain and the Vikings.

Ibn Fadlân's Mission (921-22 A.D.)

Having converted to Islam in the early 10th century, the king of the Bulghârs (to the east of Moscow) sent an envoy to the Abbâsid caliph in Baghdad requesting him to send someone to instruct him and his people in the laws of Islam (*Shariâ*), and also seeking the caliph's assistance against the king of the Khazars (in the lower Volga region) who persisted in mounting incursions against his people and in exacting tribute from them. In response to this appeal, the Caliph dispatched a mission, a member of which was Amad b. Fadlân, which left Baghdad in June 921 A.D. and, one year later, arrived at the court of the king of the Bulghârs. Ibn Fadlân was thus afforded a unique opportunity to see for himself Swedish traders - whom he calls Rûs/Rûsiyya - arrive at the bank of the Volga where they exchanged their wares with those of Muslim merchants.

In his account Ibn Fadlân says: >I have seen the Rûs as they came on their merchant journeys and encamped by the Atil [the Volga] ... Each man carried one axe, a Frankish-type sword and a knife with him ... They drink wine excessively day and night. =

The Rûs were heathens and worshipped idols. On arrival at Bulghâr, >everybody ... proceeds to a long upright piece of wood that has a face like a man's ... The Rûs prostrates himself before it and says >0 my lord, I have come from a distant land and have with me such and such a number of slave-girls, and such and such a number of sables=, and he proceeds to enumerate all his wares. Then he says: ?I have brought you this gift ... I wish that you would send me a merchant with many *dinars* and *dirhams* who will buy from me all that I want to sell and who will not disagree with me [over the price]@.=

Ibn Fadlân witnessed the funeral rites for a prominent Rûs who was cremated, with one of his slave-girls, in a vessel, in which food and meat, as well as weapons, were placed. After the slave-girl was stabbed to death and laid side by side with her master, the vessel was set alight until it turned into ashes.

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**The Holy Land:
The Duchy of Brabant as a Land of Saints in Brabantine Historiography and
Hagiography of the Fifteenth Century**

Jaap Tigelaar

>The beautiful duchy of Brabant has brought forth more saints (male and female) than the rest of the world did together.= Those remarkable words were written down by the Brabantine chronicler Hennen van Merchtenen in 1415, at the end of his short verse-chronicle about the

duchy of Brabant. In the beginning of the fifteenth century it was already a known fact that the Brabantine ducal family contained many saints: the Brabantine dukes were the descendants of the Carolingians (from the Brabantine point of view: the Carolingians *were* Brabantines), and that provided a large corpus of >Brabantine= saints. But as it seems, Van Merchtenen is one of the first to state that Brabant has raised more saints than any other country. This theme, Brabant as a land of saints, has been elaborated by several Brabantine chroniclers and hagiographers in the fifteenth century.

This paper will examine the origin of this tradition and the way it was formed in chronicles and collections of saints= lives in the fifteenth century. It will also demonstrate that collectors of Brabantine saints= lives, for example Johannes Gielemans in his *Hagiologium Brabantinorum* (1484), used different strategies to enlarge the collection of Brabantine saints. This remarkable phenomenon may be interpreted as an expression of a growing sense of national identity: national saints as instrument of constructing an identity, and as a >lieu de mémoire=.

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Literary Context and Ideology in Ericus Olai=s *Chronica regni Gothorum* (c. 1470)

Biörn Tjällén

The history of 15th-century Sweden is distinguished by political turbulence. A typical feature of this agitated period is the conflict between the royal power and the clergy of the archdiocese of Uppsala concerning the appointment of archbishops. The composition of the first Latin national chronicle in Sweden is completed around 1470 by the future dean in the Uppsala cathedral chapter. The conflicts with the monarchy earlier in the century, and the new political situation at the date of the completion of the work, are, in my opinion, of major importance for our understanding of the emergence of the chronicle and its specific ideological tendencies. This paper is an attempt, at the very earliest stage of the work on my dissertation, to evaluate the author's ideological use of the literary context of the chronicle in the light of the socio-political context suggested above.

The *prooemium* of the chronicle gives an overall impression of an ambition to legitimize the glory and power of the Swedish archdiocese in particular, and the position of the clergy, as

opposed to secular rulers, in general. This clerical tendency is emphasized in earlier research. Also the author's extensive and often literal use of various sources for the chronicle, i.e. its character of compilation, has been noted. In this paper I analyze the author's use of such literary reminiscences as a means of communication with his clerical and well-read equals. Of particular interest in this context of a clerical interpretative community is the chronicler's use of biblical and hagiographical texts.

A study of two shorter parts of the text demonstrate how the biblical and hagiographical reminiscences frequently appear in important positions in the argumentative structures of the text. Undoubtedly, these texts were valuable sources to exploit in the construction of the chronicler's argumentation, due to their authoritative position in medieval society. It is possibly less obvious how the chronicler's use of biblical and hagiographical texts incorporates the temporary occurrences of the history of the nation, within the divine framework of man's history of salvation. The inclusion of this theologically based concept of history was not without ideological implications. It made clear to the audience which actions and behaviours of previous kings made way for a *civitas diaboli*, and which (together with the position of the Uppsala-church) had divine assent.

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Lost Illustrated Chronicles on the Base of the Miniatures of the Skylitzes Matritensis

Vasiliki Tsamakda

The famous Codex Vitr. 26-2 of the National Library in Madrid contains the *Synopsis Historion* of Ioannes Skylitzes. It is prolifically decorated with 574 miniatures. The manuscript is of great significance, owing to its lavish decoration and the fact that it is the only preserved illustrated chronicle of the Byzantine era. The appearance of Byzantine, Western and Arabic elements in the illustrations of the Skylitzes Matritensis ensures to it a particular place among the manuscripts produced in the Middle Ages and makes it very important in a cultural point of view.

Ioannes Skylitzes, a high official of the Byzantine court, was born shortly after 1040 and is believed to have died in the first decade of the twelfth century. The *Synopsis Historion* is dated to the decade of 1070. It deals with the history of the Byzantine emperors from 811 to 1057, that is, from the accession of Michael I Rangabe to the reign of Isaak Komnenos. The work of Skylitzes is a compilation. The sources which he used are only partially known. He used among others Ioseph Genesios, Theophanes Continuatus, Leon Diakonos, Symeon Logothetes, Theodoros of Sebasteia and several others unknown sources. The Chronicle of Skylitzes remains the principal source about the history of the Macedonian dynasty.

The Skylitzes Matritensis is a copy made in Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century. The >physical= relationship between text and image is very close. The text is written in one

column and is interrupted by illustrations forming friezes, which as a rule visualize the passage written directly above or below them.

A thorough examination of the relation between text and image reveals that the miniatures cannot always be interpreted and identified by their basic text, i.e., the *Synopsis Historion*. In a few cases, the deviating miniatures and in rare cases the accompanying inscriptions can be better explained on the base of other written sources. These sources were primarily chronicles, used by Ioannes Skylitzes for the compilation of his work, like that of Theophanes Continuatus, Leon Diakonos and Michael Psellos. A few miniatures seem to be based on the narration of Theophanes and Leon Grammatikos. In two instances, one must consider whether the miniatures illustrate passages from the *Epitome Historion* of Ioannes Zonaras, which was written after 1118 A.D. Zonaras' work is partially based on that of Skylitzes. The assumption that miniatures from a lost illustrated Zonaras Chronicle were included among the illustrations of the Matritensis, would lead to a dating of its model in the first half of the twelfth century. The miniatures of the Skylitzes Matritensis, thus, provide significant evidence about the existence of further illustrated chronicles, which are now lost.

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The Vikings in the Low Countries: Pirates and Politics

Betsy van der Hoek-Springer

In the Viking Age, present-day Belgium and The Netherlands were part of a Frankish empire which extended from France to northern Germany and as far south as Italy. The prosperous and conveniently-located coastal towns of the Low Countries formed an irresistible temptation for Viking raiders. Trading centers such as Quentovic and Dorestad were pillaged and burned to the ground regularly, and quickly rebuilt only to be pillaged again. Frisia was even home to a fortified base for the Vikings for a time, and they had a camp on the island of Walcheren in the mouth of the Schelde.

The chronicles and annals of the Franks are full of references to Viking raids and their political consequences. They also point to the divided loyalties which made the empire more vulnerable to attacks from outside in the first place. But references to raids in the Low Countries are also found in Viking literature, in the sagas of the kings and in skaldic poetry. How were the Vikings viewed by the chroniclers and their contemporaries? And how did the Vikings regard their presence along this stretch of North Sea coast? My paper will compare the differing portrayals of Viking activity in the Low Countries against the backdrop of political conflict, treaties and treachery. This part of Dutch history last received full treatment in 1923 with Jan de Vries' monumental *De Wikingen in de lage landen bij de zee*. I hope to bring in information obtained from recent archaeological excavations as well as the testimony of Frankish chronicles and annals and Old Norse sources to shed fresh light on the Vikings in the Low Countries.

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Some structural observations on the use of written sources in Benedictine local historiography

Steven Vanderputten

[See **Local Historiography**]

In Eusebius' footsteps. Developments in Syriac Historiography until AD 1400

Jan van Ginkel

Within the context of the Christian Middle East, historiography has been used by its authors as a means to identify and characterise communities. In this region there were several communities living together, which belonged to different Christian movements C e.g. Chalcedonian, West-Syrian, East-Syrian, Armenian, and Coptic C and/or different linguistic traditions C e.g. Greek, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic and Syriac-Aramaic. They needed to define their place in world-history, not only with regard to Islam, but also with regard to each other. These traditions have independently evolved from the same source, the Church History and Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea, while continuously influencing each other.

In a recent dissertation, Dorothea Weltecke has illustrated the importance of the non-verbal aspects of the *Chronography* of Michael the Great (written ca. 1195) for a better understanding of this text. In this paper the main focus will not be on one particular text, but rather on the development of historiography as a >genre= within the Syriac-Aramaic literature of the West-Syrian Church. The >evolution= of Syriac historiography will be described and discussed, not only as far as the contents of the work is concerned, but C more importantly C as far as the non-verbal aspects of these chronicles are concerned like the structure and layout. How do these features reflect the ideology or world view of this Christian community?

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Evolutions dans le discours historiographique des chroniqueurs français du moyen âge

Theo Venckeleer and Jesse Mortelmans

En principe, nous lisons une chronique pour prendre connaissance de son contenu. Sa lecture nous fournit des anecdotes organisées dans un certain ordre et dotées d'explications ou d'interprétations. Pour exploiter ces informations, les démarches typiques de la critique historique nous donnent en général entière satisfaction. Cependant, force nous est de constater que les sources historiographiques du moyen âge ne sont pas toutes également convaincantes et que leurs écritures, c'est-à-dire l'agencement de leurs récits ou autrement dit leurs discours présentent une variété de formes.

Outre leurs divergences dialectales, les sources vernaculaires se différencient sur un nombre important de points : écrits en prose ou en vers, témoignage direct ou indirect, présentation analytique ou synthétique, texte seul ou texte illustré, objectivité ou volonté moralisante, etc., etc. Tous ces aspects peuvent influencer notre interprétation.

En revanche, ce dont nous ne tenons guère compte en les consultant, c'est leur mode de transmission . Quelle était la relation escomptée entre auteur, texte et destinataire? Les textes étaient-ils dictés ou rédigés à la moderne? Était-il prévu que quelqu'un les déclame, les lisait-on à haute voix, étaient-ils destinés à la lecture silencieuse ?

Voilà des questions également importantes pour nous représenter les conditions dans lesquelles le savoir était transmis. La question ultime est alors de savoir si ces divers modes de transmission influencent la forme ou vice-versa?

A l'aide de quelques échantillons étalés sur trois siècles de chroniques françaises, nous voulons tenter, dans cette communication, d'évaluer quelques paramètres utilisables dans cette approche linguistique et formelle du phénomène.

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Charters and chronicles. Chronicles in charters?

In the early 13th century, a practical explosion of historical memory can be documented. In the chronicles according to the old tradition the foundation of the country, the beginnings of estates, were told with little room for individual noble families. This was made up for by the narrative formulae, *narrationes*, of royal deeds. In these charters it appeared sporadically over the latter half of the 12th century and became customary from the 1220s that the section concerning the endowment is preceded by the merits of the beneficiary and his family in the service of the king in detail, often in lengthy sentences. This unique practice was first pointed out and analysed by the Hungarian historian Elemér Mályusz. This was the only means for those who did not know Latin to record their family history and potentially to promote their family's political future. They had to be involved personally in the charter issuing process. The Latin record had a memo function as well, though naturally only the top aristocrats had the chance to relate their heroic deeds personally in the presence of the king. It is especially interesting that within a short period of time a person was rewarded with several deeds. In such cases the scribes of the chancellery either copied sentences from earlier documents, logically completing them, or new, somewhat changed oral variants of the same heroic acts were put down. That cannot be conceived in any other way than the stories being told to the notaries involved in drafting the charter, of which they put down more or less. The potential beneficiaries probably entertained the scribes with endless stories in the vernacular, and it was the scribes' job in their daily routine to compact the stories and render them in the appropriate Latin phrases. In the emergence of this practice, a contributory factor must have been the royal intention to mediate a certain value system towards the warring layers of society. The implied message was that valiance, the knightly service of the king >ennobled= one, that is, one could rise to the immediate surroundings of the king for battle merits. When it had become a fashion, a process of mutual reinforcement must have begun: a story belonged to an estate, and vice versa. In some cases a far more intriguing history of the country unfolds from the charters than from the national chronicle itself, predominated by a >dead chronicle= character.

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**The Occult Anecdotes in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and their Place in the
>Renaissance= Historiography of the Twelfth Century**

John Ward

The occult anecdotes in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* have lately aroused considerable interest (Oldoni 1977 and 1980 C and see Otter 1996: 187 n.29, Peters 1978: 28-33, Rollo 2000). These writings have identified a number of ways of >reading= William's >anecdotes= C as cautionary tales inspired by the increasingly vivid clerical view of Satan and evil that was taking shape in 11th and 12th century Europe (Peters 1978, who thinks some of William's stories >are surely of Italian origin= and reflect >that literary tradition of stories of magicians and witches that seems to have survived into the eleventh century in central and northern Italy=, and Moore 1987), as ways of dealing with the intractability of historical narrative (Otter 1996), as the erasure of intellectual elitism, scholarly hubris, misapplication of intellectual talent (Rollo 2000), as a Christian condemnation of >secular modernism= (Oldoni 1977 C William's Gerbert being >a figure of curiositas, a kind of premodern Faust= [Otter 1996: 187]), as a form of >entertainment / light relief= (with mild didacticism [Stubbs 1887, Gransden 1974, Gillingham 2001: 19-20] C >spiced with entertaining and scandalous anecdotes, many of them set far away from England ... for variety=s sake ... in order to reach a wider and courtly audience ... part of the pleasure history gave him [William] ... a young man=s entertainment=, and Thomson [? C as quoted in a footnote by Rollo 2000: 180 n.3]).

The debate so aroused is interesting from the point of view of the function of the highly literate chronicle and the nature of elite literacy in the first half of the twelfth century. C. Stephen Jaeger has, in *Envy of Angels*, alerted us to the tensions between the Augustinian and the classical precepta-based view of knowledge in the medieval period (not the least interesting aspect of Rollo's analysis is his use of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* as the key pointer [literally !] and model for William of Malmesbury). The emergence of the learned chronicle is a vital feature of the literary revival of the twelfth century, and the position of highly-literate scholars in a fast-moving and increasingly >secularised= world has attracted much attention from recent scholars (Stock 1983, for instance, and see Mews 2001). Peter Abelard (cf. Mews 1990: 475ff) and John of Salisbury (cf. Hirata 1999: 153-65) occupy key positions in the emerging understanding of literacy and change in the period, and the place of a chronicler from the margins, such as William of Malmesbury, is an important one. Is William adverting in a nuanced and allegorical manner to the contentious issues of the day (literate / illiterate, Augustinian versus precepta-based view of learning, behaviour and morals versus >knowledge=, >good= and >evil= etc.) or is he simply seeking to relieve his narrative with the kind of exemplary tales that later became a staple of Cistercian and Dominican historiographical efforts (see Ward in forthcoming proceedings of the Utrecht II Chonicles conference)? Who were his initial audience, and hat was the function of >high history= in his day? What is William's real significance in the debate about >England or the Continent in the twelfth-century Renaissance=?

In this paper I propose to review the various interpretations of the occult anecdotes in the *Gesta Regum*, and to indicate their significance, both with regard to the function of the highly literate chronicle and the nature of elite literacy in the first half of the twelfth century. If there is time, I will attempt to look to comparable contemporary chronicles to substantiate my interpretation of the place of the occult anecdote in William's *Gesta*.

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The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in The Middle Ages

Scott Waugh

The various ways in which the life of Edward the Confessor was conceived and expressed in twelfth and thirteenth-century England provide insight into the nature of historical consciousness in the middle ages, that is, into what contemporaries thought about purpose of writing history as well as about the relationship between literary genres. Beginning with the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (c. 1067) and running through *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (c. 1245), the life of Edward the Confessor (c. 1005 - 1066) was composed in different but overlapping formats, whether biography, hagiography, annals, or history. The authors of these lives worked from a limited repertoire of events and characters, fixed by prior accounts, such as the *Vita* or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. The writing and rewriting of Edward's life over several generations therefore offers a particularly good example of the way in which medieval historical writing was an intertextual enterprise, based almost exclusively on the reading and rewriting of earlier historical texts. Writers changed emphasis and coloration of these elements to suit their ideological goals, but seldom tried to expand the base of historical knowledge or to verify the accuracy of the information provided in other texts by seeking out factual data. In addition, writers were clearly influenced in their narratives by genres outside of what would now be considered history, such as the chansons de geste, raising the questions of where the border between history and fiction lay as well as what the relationship was between different forms of historical discourse.

Borrowing freely from other works, the composers of Edward's lives felt comfortable altering texts to make them fit their particular purpose or structure. Historical details were important insofar as they aided in teaching lessons, confirming views, or developing arguments. The authors had less of a commitment to the accuracy of historical information, than to the didactic meaning of the historical narrative. Their protestations of historical authenticity and authoritativeness were not lies, however; they were rhetorical strategies intended to persuade the reader of the truth of the ideological substance of the account. Thus, as political and cultural circumstances changed during the course of two centuries, so the significance assigned to the life of Edward the Confessor changed, and biographers reflected those changes in the way they arranged and re-arranged the pieces of his life.

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**>They show like a painting the picture of each time=:
Syriac universal chronicles reviewed**

Dorothea Weltecke

Syriac universal chronicles have hitherto not been estimated very highly, neither by scholars of Aramaic studies nor by scholars of the history of historiography. They are considered to be rather uninspired follow-ups of the chronological canon of Eusebius of Caesarea (H339/40). While it is true that Eusebius played a key role in the formation and the development of the Syriac chronicles, the theses of their being 'just' epigonic is no more than an assertion. None of the chronographical dispositions have as yet been studied. How and why exactly did medieval Syriac scholars make use of the Eusebian model? What did the chronological canon mean to them? Did they, and how did they integrate the world that had changed so radical since Late Antiquity? The example I would like to discuss in greater detail is the chronicle of Michael I the Great, Syriac-orthodox patriarch of Antioch (1166-1199). Far from seeing the chronological canon as a dull chart Michael points towards its cognitive advantage (compared to a linear text) and, what is more, he emphasizes its aesthetical value. The graphical disposition to him was a third dimension, which allowed him to invent a new universal 'picture of each time' corresponding to his specific experiences as an Oriental christian in the 12th century.

As Eusebius is both the source for Western and for Oriental christian chronicles, the chronicles of the Eusebian type are a transcultural phenomenon. To integrate the Syriac chronicles into the international discussion of the genre and its scientific and artistic background is the prime aim of the present paper (thereby corresponding to sections 2, 3 and 5).

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The Function of Dreams in Classical Arabic Chronicles

Johan Weststeijn

In the classical Islamic conception of history, dreams played a pivotal part. The passing of time after the death of Muhammad, the last of the prophets, was seen as a process of decline. With Muhammad, divine revelation had ended, and every following generation remembered less of the wisdom taught by the Prophet and of the example of righteous behaviour and just leadership he and his contemporaries had offered. After its pristine beginning the community of believers disintegrated; morals corrupted. With every succeeding generation, the line of human C and therefore corruptible C transmitters who tried to hand down Muhammad's teachings became longer, and the Golden Age became more remote.

The only way to establish direct contact with the Prophet and his virtuous contemporaries was the dream. While dreaming, Muslims could be visited by the founders of their culture, who offered judgement on contemporary matters, and showed the dreamer visions of future events: the coming of the Mahdi, the Muslim messiah, who would once again reunite all Muslims under just leadership and herald the End of History.

Dreams, so to speak, were hyperlinks, that connected Muslims with their idealised past and their expected future. Dreams offered the possibility of flashbacks and flash-forwards in the story of the passing of time.

One would, therefore, expect dreams to occupy a central place in classical Arabic history writing, being used as a means to connect present and past. In fact, classical Arabic chronicles, as the famous 10th-century *History of Prophets and Kings*, abound in dreams. However, if we want to study in detail how these dreams function within the framework of the chronicle, a problem arises: These chronicles are compilations, an amalgam of texts copied from older written sources, which in their turn claim to be based on a long process of oral transmission. Therefore, when we encounter a dream in these histories, it is unclear whose opinion is voiced: that of the compiler, that of an older writer, or the opinion of one of the many quoted transmitters. It is extremely hard to establish whether the dream was slavishly copied from older authors or inserted intentionally. Would there be a way to avoid this question of authorial voice and still study the narrative function of dreams in a text written by so many different authors?

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Die Heiligenlegende als multivalente Gattung zwischen klösterlich-dynastischer Memorialkultur, Chronistik und laikal-privater Andacht

Jürgen Wolf

In den 1430er Jahren verfaßte (vermutlich) der Eisenacher Chronist Johannes Rothe eine volkssprachlich-gereimte Vita der seit ihrer Kanonisation im Jahr 1235 in ganz Mitteleuropa ungemein populären Elisabeth von Thüringen.

Ein Exemplar seines heute noch in 20 mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Textzeugen erhaltenen >Elisabethlebens= gelangte umgehend in das nahegelegenen Kloster Reinhardsbrunn. Im Hauskloster der Landgrafen von Thüringen ging man sofort daran, die neue Vita der Lichtgestalt des Landgrafenhauses in die Memorialkultur des Landgrafengeschlechts einzubauen: Eine noch vor der Jahrhundertmitte hergestellte, überaus sorgfältig betreute Abschrift wird in Buchbindersynthese mit einer rund 40 Jahre älteren Abschrift der im Kloster entstandenen volkssprachlichen Vita des ebenfalls heiligen Gemahls der Elisabeth vereinigt (Hs. C). Die Geschichte des >Elisabethlebens= endet aber nicht bei dieser Memoriavariante. Einige Jahre später wird im Kloster der gesamte, nun die Viten Ludwigs und Elisabeths vereinigende Sammelband erneut komplett abgeschrieben und überarbeitet (Hs. G). Die Heiligenmemoria wird dabei in einen größeren historisch-genealogischen Rahmen eingebunden. Den Legenden wird quasi als historiographische Einleitung eine kurze Geschichte der Landgrafen von Thüringen vorangestellt. Als Epilog ergänzt man zusätzliche Berichte über die selige Jutta und aktuelle Wunderberichte vom Grab des heiligen Landgrafen. Aus der Heiligenlegende ist im Kodex eine >heilige= Geschichte der Landgrafen von Thüringen von der mythischen Gründung der Dynastie bis in die Gegenwart geworden. Aber auch mit dieser Variante ist die historiographische Vereinnahmung der Elisabeth-Vita noch nicht an ihr Ende gekommen. Es dauert wiederum nur wenige Jahre, bis diese schon historiographisch >umorientierte= Buchvariante Teil eines gewaltigen Geschichtswerks zur thüringischen Geschichte wird: Hs. S fügt den Heiligenviten die weit über einhundert Blätter starke *Thüringische Chronik* Johannes Rothes und Auszüge aus dessen *Weltchronik* hinzu. Es entsteht ein umfassendes Geschichtskompodium zu Thüringen und der Welt, in dessen Geflüge die Heiligenviten auf eine historiographische Funktion reduziert werden. Vorbild ist dabei die um 1340/50 ebenfalls im Kloster Reinhardsbrunn entstandene lateinische *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis* die genau diese Verschränkung von Kloster- und Landgrafengeschichte sowie Heiligenvita bietet. Diese *Cronica* ist nicht nur Vorbild für die klösterlichen Redaktoren des 15. Jh.s, sie wird auch ganz konkret für einige Berichte als Quelle herangezogen.

Im Gegensatz zu dieser unmittelbar an das Kloster Reinhardsbrunn gebundenen Entwicklung von der Heiligenvita über die Dynastiememoria bis hin zum universalen Geschichtskompodium prägen sich außerhalb der Klostermauern völlig andere Traditionsstränge aus: Die Elisabeth-Vita entwickelt sich zu einem Medium der privaten Andacht. Die entstehenden Handschriften werden zu diesem Zweck mit angelagerten Gebeten, geistlichen Liedern, Traktaten und Abhandlungen zu regelrechten Andachtsobjekten ausgestaltet.

Die je unterschiedliche Verortung des >Elisabeth-Lebens= in den einzelnen Handschriften läßt ein kontext- und funktionsabhängiges Changieren zwischen Memorialkultur, Geschichtsschreibung und (privater) Andacht erkennen, wobei die pragmatisch-historiographische Vereinnahmung der Legende innerhalb der Klostermauern ihren Platz hat, die geistlich-erbauliche aber außerhalb - und, das macht das gewählte Beispiel so wertvoll, jeder einzelne Aspekt dieses Changierens ist anhand der zahlreich erhaltenen Redaktor-Autographen konkret und unmittelbar an der Überlieferung selbst nachvollziehbar.

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Froissart est-il historien, poète ou homme d'affaire? Une étude de la fonction et de la représentation des *Chroniques*

Shahrzad Zahedi

Jean Froissart, chroniqueur et poète du quatorzième siècle, pensait-il que la chronique comme livre pouvait entrer en concurrence avec le livre du roman de chevalerie ou même un recueil de poésie? Pour tenter d'éclairer ce problème à nouveaux frais, nous pourrions nous référer à l'article de Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet qui met en relief l'importance du livre comme élément culturel à la fin du Moyen Âge. L'auteur précise qu'au quatorzième siècle, on peut discerner un amour des livres, * des moyens de s'en procurer, des soins à leur apporter. + Or, dans les *Chroniques* de Jean Froissart, nous trouvons deux passages qui portent sur la description et l'usage des recueils de poésies écrits par l'auteur lui-même: afin de pouvoir trouver un statut privilégié dans la cour du roi Richard II d'Angleterre ou de Gaston Phébus (comte de Foix), Froissart a jugé utile et même nécessaire d'offrir deux de ses propres oeuvres poétiques. Pensait-il alors que son rôle de journaliste, et de rapporteur des paroles de ses interlocuteurs ne suffisait pas à lui garantir renommée et privilèges?

Dans mon étude des *Chroniques* de Jean Froissart, je tenterai de déterminer la valeur utilitaire de la chronique. Dans une première partie, j'étudierai la manière dont Froissart décrit la réaction de ses protecteurs face aux œuvres poétiques qu'il leur dédie. Puis, j'ai l'intention de mettre en relief le rôle de Froissart comme biographe de ses interlocuteurs. Enfin, je voudrais étudier la réception de l'œuvre de Froissart pendant sa vie et quelques années après sa mort, afin de montrer, chez l'auteur des *Chroniques* et chez ses contemporains, l'incertitude qui règne quant à la fonction et l'utilité de la chronique comme livre et comme genre. Cette étude apportera une nouvelle perspective sur l'usage du livre, notamment de la chronique, au quatorzième siècle, et montrera pourquoi Jean Froissart ressent le besoin de faire coexister le fait réel et le récit romanesque.

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